City, Countryside, and the Spatial Organization of Value in Classical Antiquity

EDITED BY

RALPH M. ROSEN &
INEKE SLUITER

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To Ellen and Margriet
with love

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Ineke Sluiter and Ralph M. Rosen

1. *Introduction*

In a famous scene at the opening of Aristophanes' *Clouds* (39–55) the buffoonish Strepsiades laments that his marriage to a city-girl brought with it a troublesome clash of cultures. Before marriage he lived the 'sweetest rustic (*agroikos*) life' (43); his young wife, however, turned out to be marked by her urban lifestyle—haughty, decadent, aristocratic, and erotically unrestrained. Strepsiades holds his wife's city ways responsible for the profligacy of his son, Pheidippides, and for the fact that Pheidippides' debts were now his own. Virtue resides for Strepsiades in the rustic life, far removed from the temptations of horses (Pheidippides' particular weakness), and where basic subsistence left little time for leisure and luxury. Country = 'good', city = 'bad'. But as a merciless Aristophanes makes clear in the play, such rustic virtue eventually comes to represent a laughable kind of cluelessness that leads to moral weakness and instability. Incapable of anything but the most unreflective, rule-following sort of virtue at the beginning of the play, Strepsiades learns the hard way, as the play humorously implies, that life in the big city makes ethical behavior far more complicated than an *agroikos* would normally expect. The play exploits to the full the possibilities, obvious and subtle, of the opposition between city and countryside, especially when it comes to the discursive strategies associated with each side of the polarity. The play's humor turns to a large degree on Strepsiades' attempt to get a rhetorical education (an *agroikos* in search of an urban form of speech), and Pheidippides' disastrous mastery of the new 'city' rhetoric. As we will see, this 'linguistic turn' is hardly an accident: the value systems represented by city and countryside respectively tend to manifest themselves most clearly in different modes of speech, and they invite reflection on those very modes. *Clouds* presents as topsy-turvy a moral world as anything we might find in Aristophanes, and through its rambunctious

ridicule of rustics and urbanites reveals how complex even such a basic polarity as 'city-country' can be.

This polarity has been played out innumerable times and in innumerable contexts, from antiquity to the present, ever since humans began to organize themselves in the complex social aggregations that we designate 'cities'. As this volume will show, it is a polarity with particularly rich dimensions in the cultures of Greek and Roman antiquity, and seemed a fruitful topic for the third Penn-Leiden Colloquium on Ancient Values. Earlier colloquia in this series addressed *andreia*, 'manliness and courage' (2000) and *parrhêsia*, 'free speech' (2002), values relevant to individual lives and communities respectively. The third colloquium, 'City and Countryside in Classical Antiquity', held in Leiden in 2004, turned to one specific form of the cognitive organization of value systems.

When people think and speak about right or wrong, they tend to relate such notions to aspects of their physical existence. The mind is inherently embodied, and sensory-motor information provides us with the metaphors we use in organizing our world conceptually.[1] Human beings have a front and a back, we move forward, and leave things 'behind'. This consequence of being embodied in our specific way helps us conceptualize abstractions as well. We can do this by locating them in space, but also by mapping them on to a time-line, so as to produce a mental picture of the passing of time as marking moral progress . . . or decay.[2] The time-line itself remains the same, it has a beginning and an end, and goes from past to future, but different values can be assigned to its different parts or poles. Thus, the history of mankind may be regarded as a gradual decline into immorality or as the struggle for perfecting what was originally imperfect. Although it is seductive to reduce this conceptualization of history to a structural representation of clear-cut oppositions, in fact the picture is often problematized and complex. A historical narrative of progress may be stalled by the eruption of moral problems, as in Protagoras' story in Plato's *Protagoras*,[3] or, in fact, progress itself may be morally perilous, as in the famous ode in Sophocles' *Antigone*, celebrating human *deinotês*.[4] The relation between elapsing time and

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[1] See Lakoff & Johnson 1999.

[2] This model for thinking about values is familiar to classicists, cf. Lovejoy & Boas 1935; Edelstein 1967; Dodds 1973.

[3] Pl. *Prt.* 322a3ff., with 322 b7ff.

[4] *Deinotês* is itself morally ambiguous. S. *Ant.* 332ff., and Dodds 1973, 8.

development or decline of values is far from straightforward, yet the time-line is helpful as a cognitive organizational device.

Values are not just mapped on to history so as to produce a socially and ethically meaningful conceptualization of time, they are also conceptualized in spatial and local terms: the most basic of the metaphor systems that come to mind here are the complexes UP IS GOOD and DOWN IS BAD.[5] In addition, there are far more specific spatial constructions that help us organize value systems, for instance, East versus West, or center versus periphery. Once again, initially clear-looking oppositions may be complicated in actual discourse, depending on local goals and interests. Out of the possible chronological or spatial coordinates that people activate to structure their evaluative thought, our third conference focused on the spatial ones of 'city' and 'countryside', on the hypothesis that the results won in this case-study would be applicable also to other such organizing principles. We studied the evaluative conceptualization of social space, particularly as defined according to an urban-rural binary.[6] 'City' and 'countryside' may not in themselves indicate 'values' in the way that *andreia* or *parrhêsia* do, but they are used frequently and throughout antiquity in organizing evaluative judgments. In fact, as soon as they are turned into adjectives their axiological resonance comes into clear view—'urban/rustic', 'cosmopolitan/provincial' are oppositions every bit as fraught today with debate over values as they were in antiquity. The results of our conference were illuminating not just for what they revealed about city and countryside in the ancient imagination, but for the light they shed on current methodological paradigms of Classical Studies.

2. *Oppositions and networks*

In the heyday of structuralism, scholars would have felt no discomfort at thinking about city and country as a binary opposition. City and countryside could be considered structural devices to organize opposing values: if the city is good, educated and refined, the countryside is boorish, stupid and vulgar. If the countryside is pure, authentic

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[5] Cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980. Cf expressions such as 'having the upper hand', 'feeling down', 'the moral high-ground' etc.

[6] Cf. Edwards 1993 (e.g. 28 'the normative conceptualization of space').

and truthful, the city will be polluted, corrupt and deceitful. This was certainly a polarity repeatedly articulated throughout the conference—not only did ancient writers often think in such terms (as Strepsiades' example makes clear), but it has been a favored analytical model in modern scholarship as well. More recent methodological approaches, however, came into play at the conference, and inspired a marked and healthy resistance among participants to accept the polarity uncritically or without serious qualification.

Many of the papers contained in this volume, for example, emphasize the blurring of boundaries or deny their existence altogether;[7] they look for the city within the countryside or vice versa,[8] or they focus on the precise nature of the (physical) boundary between city and countryside (the wall) and wonder about its defining potential.[9] Others have been influenced by recent trends in network theory, which has offered new ways of understanding larger complex phenomena such as 'intellectual history'[10] and created something of a revolution in cognitive linguistics and semantics. Instead of locating the 'meaning' of a term or concept in a single definition, it was recognized, following Wittgenstein and his notion of 'family resemblances', that different uses of one and the same term cohered in a network-structure.[11] Ancient constructions of city and countryside likewise existed on a sliding scale or continuum of meaning:[12] often the city-countryside binary must be supplemented with other, further nuanced, categories; 'the wild out-there', for instance, in contrast to a 'tame' domesticated space that allows for human 'culture' and 'progress'.[13] Even the poles of the city-country binary in antiquity turn out to be fragmented and 'fragmentizable' in themselves, as Raymond Williams had suggested in his pioneering 1973 cultural study of the topic for later periods.[14]

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[7] Chapter 14 (Elena Merli).
[8] Chapters 5 (Sheila Murnaghan on the discourse of farming in an urban context), 10 (Ralph Rosen), 11 (Diana Spencer) and 13 (Mathilde Skoie).
[9] Chapters 6 (Angus Bowie) and 8 (Jennifer Clarke Kosak).
[10] E.g. Rawson 1985.
[11] Particularly important is the work by Ronald Langacker (e.g. Langacker 1988). We applied this idea in our study of *andreia*. See Sluiter & Rosen 2003, 6ff. For an application of network theory to the semantics of *sôphrosunê*, see Rademaker 2005, with excellent discussion of the theory (2005, 14ff.); network analysis used in understanding the Greek medium: Allan 2003.
[12] As in chapter 4 (Irene Polinskaya).
[13] E.g. chapters 3 (Jeremy McInerney), or 7 (David Carter).
[14] Williams 1973, 18ff., 289ff.

Apart from the fact that our theme allowed for illuminating methodical reflection on our own preconceptions and theoretical predilections, the conference also yielded surprising results about the discourse of city and countryside itself. 'City and countryside' as a theme differed essentially from the themes of our previous conferences in that in this particular instance a 'reality check' was possible.[15] John Bintliff brought home the striking discrepancy between geophysical reality and our picture of the ancient world as formulated from texts:[16] if for 80% of the population, the reality of life entails a complete blurring of city and countryside, where do the literary distinctions—often categorical and uncompromising—come from? Bintliff impresses upon us how much our picture of the ancient Greek world is skewed by Athenocentrism: the *megalopolis* Athens occupies an exceptional position, yet it has so often come to define our way of looking at antiquity. The reality check provided by Bintliff demonstrates the enormous difference between rhetorically construed categories and real life.[17]

In several of the following chapters it will be argued that the blurring itself of the opposites is meaningful.[18] Yet in order for that to be possible, the opposition must correspond to some aspect of lived experience. To all intents and purposes, the city in the imagination was not especially dependent on the realities of actual cities, and the imaginative uses made of 'the city' as a literary device would be poorly served by a reductive reading.[19] Neither whatever is out there in reality nor actual linguistic usage as a dynamic semantic system of continuums and networks can prevent imaginary binary constructions from being developed and meaningfully deployed. How people live is not always iconically related to how they think, and normal linguistic usage neither excludes nor prevents a value-laden representation of

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[15] Chapter 4 (Irene Polinskaya) similarly tests (modern) conceptual analysis of Greek religion against actual Greek practice.

[16] See chapter 2.

[17] Of course, this observation is not here made for the first time. In a similar city and countryside context, see the interesting paper by Suzanne Saïd on the construction of the countryside in the Greek novel, where both the positive and the negative view of the countryside (as a place of sweet retreat or as one peopled by brigands and barbarians) necessitate the complete removal of all traces of agricultural labor, farmers and cultivated field. Saïd 1987, 151. The linguistic construction of the 'city' begins right in Homer, in the depiction of the city of Troy. Cf. Létoublon 2003.

[18] E.g. chapter 13 (Mathilde Skoie).

[19] Cf. chapter 12, on Carthage as a reflection of Queen Dido (Rachel Sternberg).

social space. Reality may sometimes define ideology, but just as often it is ideology, rather, that will determine our perception of reality and its linguistic representation.

3. *City and countryside as meta-discursive categories*

In the various contributions to the conference, 'city' and 'countryside' as organizing principles of evaluative thought occurred in a surprising variety of texts and domains, yet most were concerned with language, rhetoric and discourse. This state of affairs is probably a consequence of the fact that linguistic behavior invites us to draw straightforward inferences about the values of the speaker. When such valorizations are mapped conceptually on to the city-countryside structure, this provokes meta-discursive observations, i.e. remarks about modes of speech with evaluations in terms of a city-countryside value-system. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for example, Aeschines falsely accused Demosthenes of using vulgar and disgusting words (φορτικοῖς καὶ ἀηδέσι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν), which were immediately associated with rusticity: 'disgusting, vulgar and rustic passages' (ἀηδεῖς καὶ φορτικαὶ καὶ <u>ἄγροικοι</u> κατασκευαί).[20] On the other hand, Pseudo-Longinus, for example, could count *asteïsmos* 'urbanity', 'polished wit', among the graces and virtues of style,[21] and Quintilian ascribes great *urbanitas*, 'urbanity and wit', to Cicero.[22] This particular quality may be called by different names highlighting different aspects (e.g. *sal*), but under its aspect of *urbanitas* it is explicitly contrasted with *rusticitas*:

> One name is '*urbanity*', by which I find is meant language displaying a taste of the *city* in words, accent and usage, and a sort of unobtrusive learning derived from the conversation of the educated; in a word, it is that of which the opposite is '*rusticity*'.
>
> (tr. Russell)

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[20] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Dem.* 57 (250.8–251.6 Usener-Radermacher). This text and the following was discussed by Casper de Jonge at the conference.

[21] Ps.-Long. *Subl.* 34.2 (on Hyperides): 'an untold store of polished wit, urbane sarcasm, . . . well-dressed with wit like the Attic masters' (tr. Fyfe/Russell) (ἄφατοί τε περὶ αὐτόν εἰσιν <u>ἀστεϊσμοί</u>, μυκτὴρ <u>πολιτικώτατος</u> . . . κατὰ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἐκείνους ἅλας ἐπικείμενα). On (rhetorical) *asteïsmos*, see Schenkeveld 1992 and 1994.

[22] Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.2: 'a real remarkable quality of urbanity . . . He produced more witty remarks than anybody' (tr. Russell) (*mira quaedam . . . <u>urbanitas</u>. Nam . . . plura quam quisquam dixit facete*). On urbanity, see Ramage 1973, on linguistic urbanity in particular 1973, 11 and 166 n. 6 (we owe these references to Casper de Jonge).

> Nam et *urbanitas* dicitur, qua quidem significari video sermonem prae-
> ferentem in verbis et sono et usu proprium quendam gustum *urbis* et
> sumptam ex conversatione doctorum tacitam eruditionem, denique cui
> contraria sit *rusticitas*.

The city is here connected with a specific way of speaking, which
is not only distinguished by its choice of vocabulary (*verbis*), its pro-
nunciation (*sono*) and its idiom (*usu*), but also by its erudition.

At Rome, the villa was a suitable locus for philosophical speech
(the city in the countryside) and there are kinds of speech that would
not fit the forum.[23] Knowledge of farming as exhibited in a discourse
of farming can be a sign of cultural distinction and education, and
hence finds a place in the heart of the city.[24] And there is a (bad)
city rhetoric as opposed to a more philosophically sound rhetoric of
hunting.[25] Most of these distinctions ultimately concern language—city
and countryside help organize a discourse about discourse as much
as they do about 'reality' As this volume makes clear, a speaker may
invoke notions of 'rural' and 'urban' with any number of agendas,
and it is important to analyze, from one context to the next, the
shifting dynamics that define the use of these terms.

4. *In this volume . . .*

This volume opens with John Bintliff's remarkable antidote to the
familiar constructions of city and countryside in antiquity. Bintliff
contrasts the *megalopolis* Athens with the data from archaeological
surface survey. These data suggest that what we are used to calling
poleis are in fact glorified villages, so that what looks like a very
'urbanized' countryside in fact must have been the locus of a very
rural type of life. In actual fact, the opposition between city and
countryside would have reflected 'a division of one's time' for any
given individual, rather than two subpopulations (chapter 2). Jeremy
McInerney explores the concept of 'wilderness' and its relations to
the city and its *khôra*. 'Wilderness' is associated with bacchants, hunters
and shepherds. Border sanctuaries and sacred land provide stability
and help negotiate conflict, also as neutral zones in potentially

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[23] As Josiah Davis made clear in a paper presented at the Leiden colloquium.
[24] See chapter 5 by Sheila Murnaghan.
[25] Observations made in the presentations by Carlos Galvao-Sobrinho and Tazuko
van Berkel on Dio's *Euboicus* (e.g. 123; 129). Cf. Desideri 2000.

contested border areas (chapter 3). In chapter 4, Irene Polinskaya radically attacks the notion that the Greek pantheon is divided by city and countryside distinctions. The classification of sanctuaries as urban, suburban or extra-urban is untenable. Neither are individual deities or cults usefully characterized as urban or rural. Adducing a wealth of examples, Polinskaya makes a strong case for interpreting Greek religion holistically: cults and gods should be studied together, as a pantheon. This pantheon represents a network of relationships, a continuum. Her thesis that the city-countryside distinction is meaningful primarily in administrative and topographical contexts serves as a challenge to the chapters that follow hers.

In chapter 5, Sheila Murnaghan studies the role of the discourse of farming in archaic and classical Greece. Knowledge of farming turns out to be a sign of authority, farming is represented as an arena of aristocratic competition. Farming is also associated with truth-telling, not only in Homer, but also in Hesiod, where it is connected to wisdom literature. In Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, discourse about farming is engaged in by Socrates, the city-dweller *par excellence*, and again farm labor is depicted as a pursuit of the elite. This discursive strategy allows rich people to connect to the authentic credibility of the poor, honest farmer—ultimately, it qualifies them to be 'not farmers, but speakers with the clear-sighted judgment of the outsider'.

Angus Bowie discusses the Herodotean passages in which two cities hold center stage, Ecbatana and Babylon. Bowie suggests that the description of Ecbatana is the result of an interest in the structure of power, as it emphasizes enclosure, hierarchy and centralized power—and yet, the city falls. By contrast, Babylon is extremely accessible, and seems to symbolize an ideal, open city—yet it, too, is captured by Cyrus. This study in open and closed communities is followed by an analysis of the role of city walls, and their relation to the safety of their cities. Ultimately, walls do not provide security. Survival may depend on abandoning the city (chapter 6).

Chapter 7 is a study by David Carter of the conceptualization of space in Greek tragedy. He distinguishes three divisions of tragic space: *oikos*, *polis*, and 'out there'. He argues that 'trouble' in tragedy is characteristically located either 'at home' or 'out there', while the *polis* ('around here') may be briefly at risk, but ultimately is a place of relative stability and not in itself 'troublesome'.

Jennifer Clarke Kosak discusses the wall in Aristophanes' *Birds*. It is both the essence of the bird-city, indeed turns the whole universe into one large *astu*, but at the same time contributes to the play's blurring of the traditional discursive boundaries between city and countryside. It also derives meaning from the notion that the essence of a *polis* is ultimately its people—not its contraptions (chapter 8).

Chapters 9 and 10 study the relationship between *agroikia* and humor from a philosophical and a literary angle: Helen Cullyer analyzes Aristotle's views on the relationship between *agroikoi* and pleasure, and between *agroikoi* and pleasant and humorous conversation. The problem she diagnoses is that rustics are the object of two conflicting stereotypes: that of being coarse and uneducated, and that of being nobly industrious and virtuous. She solves the dilemma by demonstrating the existence of a unified ideological construct of the *agroikos* as hard-working, asocial, uneducated and 'quiet'. She considers this picture to be very different from the Aristophanic characters of Dicaeopolis and Trygaeus. To her mind, in Aristotle the polarity city versus countryside is less important than that between 'toil' and 'leisure' (chapter 9). In chapter 10, Ralph Rosen supplements this picture by analyzing the relationships obtaining between *agroikia*, *bômolokhia*, and *aiskhrologia*. The *bômolokhos* turns out to display what are in fact urbanized variations of behaviors traditionally associated with rusticity. When Aristotle focused on the humorlessness of *agroikoi*, he ignored the fact that *aiskhrologia* had long been associated with rustic culture—and indeed, that he himself sought the origins of comedy there. The explanation may be sought in part in the pejorative usage of the term *agroikia*, which had been divorced from the actual behaviors of country people. In a city context, the 'humor' of the *agroikos* does not stand a chance, while the materially not so different humor of the *bômolokhos* at least belongs in that setting, even though the standard of *eutrapelia* 'witty repartee' is beyond his reach.

The next three chapters are devoted to the world of Roman poetry from the age of Augustus, in which pastoral explored the possibilities offered by the contrast between city and countryside, and often completely destabilized that contrast. In chapter 11, Diana Spencer carefully analyzes the position of 'gardens' within the discourse of *rus* and 'Rome', as background to a reading of the *Odes*. Gardens impose order and design and artificially construe nature within an urban setting. Horace, Diana Spencer claims, 'destabilizes his own

autonomy (as author and citizen) by mapping the vistas, perspectives, ethics and political ambiguities of (Augustan) *urbs* onto *rus*'. Gardens may be a symbol of the replacement of the authenticity derived from farming by an 'urbane and highly polished simulacrum of rusticity'. In chapter 12, Rachel Hall Sternberg gives us the corollary to the not unusual idea that the fate of Dido prefigures that of Carthage. She makes a case for a reading of *Aeneid* 4 in which the city of Carthage and its environs represent vital facets of the queen, and more generally, the more important of the queen's external settings (temple, cave, palace courtyard) are used symbolically to convey images of her internal state. Mathilde Skoie focuses on Vergil's *Eclogues* to make the point that the representation of city and countryside in these poems is not presented as a clear-cut opposition. She supports this reading by reference to the setting of the poems' original performance: the wall-painting, with its playful and socio-politically relevant representation and problematization of countryside and city would have influenced the contemporary readership (chapter 13).

The last two chapters discuss materials from the time of the Roman empire: Elena Merli traces the complex representation of the city-countryside motif in Martial's epigrams. Life in the city and life in the countryside are evaluated very differently in different parts of Martial's work. It is not true that Martial always seems to be dreaming of a countryside existence. He also explores the contrast between fond dreams of leaving the city behind and the harsh realities of life in provincial surroundings, unconducive to poetry. As the textual construction of the poet's identity and his history vary, so do his evaluations of city and countryside (chapter 14). In the last chapter, Celina Gray takes us back to the Greek side of the ancient world, now firmly under Roman control. Previous studies have always emphasized the classicism of this period, focusing on the city of Athens, its language, and its literature. Celina Gray identifies a positive link between this glorified past and its rural aspects by studying the funerary art of the second century CE, when there appears a sudden inclination to depict the deceased as 'a rugged outdoorsman or farmer'. She connects this to a larger trend depicting the Attic countryside as 'the site where the purer, antique Athens was still preserved' (chapter 15).

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CITY-COUNTRY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE 'NORMAL POLIS'

John Bintliff

1. *Introduction*

Classical Athens was a giant urban center in the Greek Aegean: the combined built-up walled pairing of Athens and Piraeus came to some 511 hectares, which on the basis of widely followed calculations would indicate some 50–60,000 inhabitants in the walled urban zone.[1] Regarding the combined population of late-fifth-century BCE Athens and its home territory of Attica, we can take the more conservative estimate of Osborne[2]—some 150,000 people living in classical Attica around 430 BCE, or Garnsey and Hansen's much higher 250 or 300,000.[3] The range suggests that the city and its port town housed from one sixth to more than a third of total Attic population.[4]

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[1] Jameson et al. 1994; Bintliff 1997; Hansen 2004.
[2] Osborne 1987, 46.
[3] Garnsey 1988, 89–90; Hansen 1988, 12.
[4] The estimates of the total high classical Attic population vary from minimum 150,000 to maximum 300,000. There is a similar variety in estimates of its composition. Osborne, Hansen and Garnsey between them offer a range of 70–120–165,000 people for total citizen population, respectively; 20– or 35,000 are estimated to be metics by Osborne and Hansen, respectively; finally, slaves are 'guesstimated' at 50– or 80,000 respectively by Osborne and Hansen. The spatial distribution of the three constituent groups is unclear. Metics should have been almost entirely concentrated within the walled double urban complex, which makes the higher estimate of their numbers by Hansen highly problematic when we allow for their possession of at least on average one household slave per family, leaving perhaps just 5–15,000 in the city to be citizens and their household slaves. The lower calculation of Osborne appears far more manageable, allowing citizen numbers resident in the city and Piraeus to be equal or slightly larger than metics, perhaps some 20–25,000 citizens (which would comprise on lower total citizen calculations around one third, on the higher a mere 8% of all citizens in Athens plus Attica). This allows for an average of one slave per urban citizen household. One way to recover Hansen's metic numbers, which do have some textual support, would be to suggest metic residence in the larger Attic agglomerations outside of Athens, a neglected question we will return to later in this chapter. But in any case, all these figures point to confirmation for Thucydides' statement, that at this time the majority of Attic citizens dwelt outside the city conurbation (2.16.1).

It is hardly surprising that those citizens who dwelt in the giant walled city-complex cultivated a cosmopolitan life, given the concentration of maritime, commercial, artisanal and rentier concerns. If Garnsey is right,[5] in good years Attic food production covered more than one half of the region's needs, in bad years imported food could be the dominant source for survival; but on average Athens relied on a significant international component to its markets, and Hansen has recently stressed the passage in the Funeral Oration where Pericles states 'Because of the size of our city, everything can be imported from all over the earth, with the result that we have no more special enjoyment of our native goods than of the goods of the rest of mankind'.[6]

We can quickly see the special character of life in Athens-Piraeus. The size of the conurbation is unparalleled in the contemporary Aegean, and the heavy mix of foreigners, merchants, artisans and financiers alongside resident citizens of mixed pursuits would be unusual outside of similar major commercial foci such as Corinth, and vastly different to life in the country towns and villages (demes) of the Attic countryside. The opposition commonly noted in Athenian literature between the town and the country is easily accounted for, and indeed Frost has even cited an archaic tombstone on the road to Acharnae as early evidence for this mentality: the passers-by should grieve for Tetichus— 'whether [you are] a man of the *astu* or a *xenus*' (whom he interprets as countryfolk).[7]

However, neither Hansen nor Osborne contests the statement of Thucydides (2.16.1), for which there is other supportive evidence, that at the start of the Peloponnesian War the majority of Athenian citizens lived in the Attic countryside. Indeed this large *khôra* was highly productive and as just mentioned, Garnsey has calculated that in normal years it could provide around one half of Attic and Athenian food needs. Hans Lohmann, [Figure 1] in the only detailed archaeological study of a rural deme,[8] has demonstrated that the fifth and fourth centuries BCE saw a corresponding unparalleled intensive

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[5] Garnsey 1988.
[6] Thucydides 2.38.2; Hansen 2004, 23.
[7] Frost 1994. It may be noted, however, that it was also suggested during the discussion of this chapter at the conference from which this volume originated, that the *astu* referred to might also be that of Acharnae itself, giving a very different complexion to the inscription, and a potential support to my comments later regarding rural towns in Attica.
[8] Lohmann 1993.
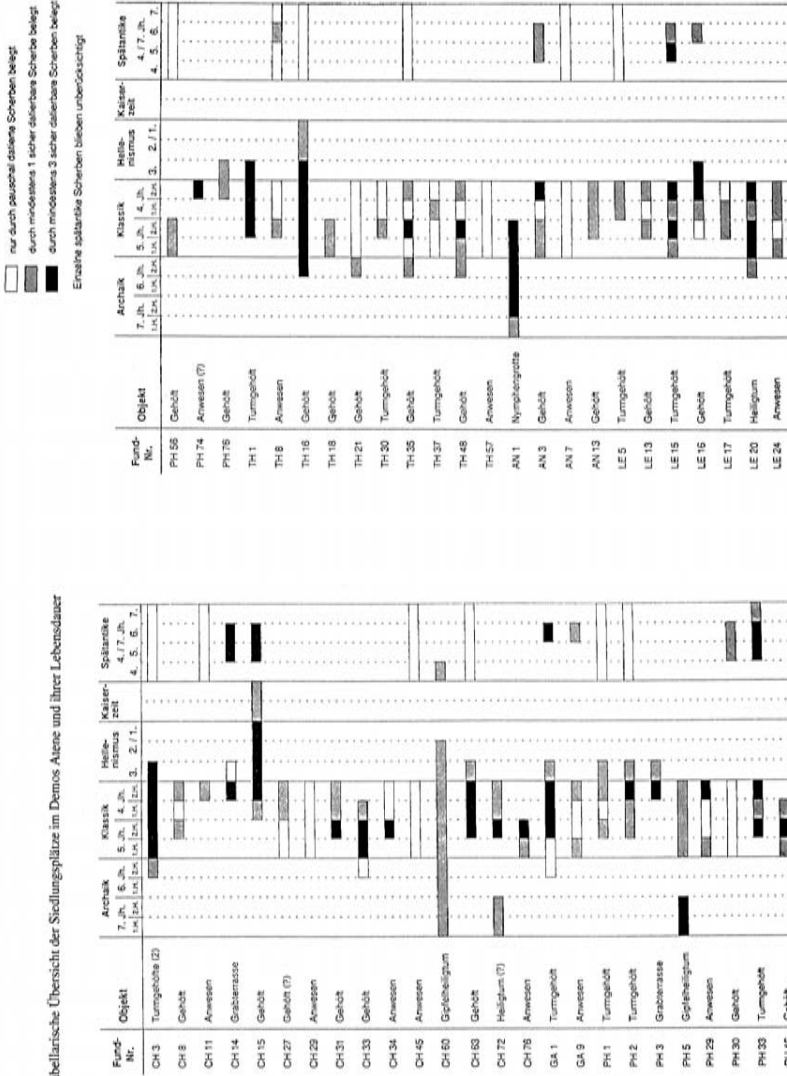
Fig. 1. The explosion of rural farms in the Attic deme of Atene, based on total intensive survey by Hans Lohmann (from Lohmann 1995, Table pp. 534–535).

agricultural exploitation of Attica. My own analysis[9] [Figure 2] has shown that by classical times there had developed a regular network of villages suiting maximal landscape use in the rural sectors of Attica, but around Athens in the *astu* region, the density of demes proba-
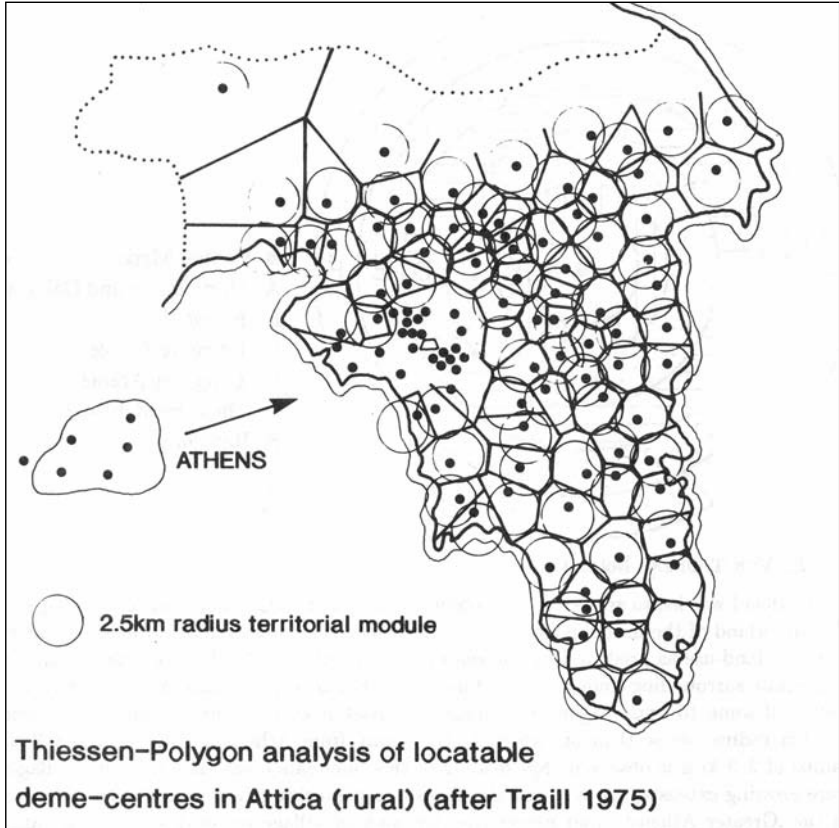
Fig. 2. The infill of the Attic landscape with villages (demes) by the fifth century BCE. Deme location following Traill 1975, Map 2. The spatial analysis by the author (Bintliff 1994) identifies approximate village boundaries using a geographical geometry called Thiessen Polygon Analysis, then places a best-fit circle within the territories proposed, in order to clarify if they conform to recurrent modular sizes. The outer, more rural regions of Attica have village territories of around 2.5 km radius, those in the immediate hinterland of Athens and Piraeus (the 'astu region') are on average 1.7 km in radius (too small to be shown here). Whereas the outer villages have typical commune sizes for dry-farming settlements cross-culturally, the *astu* villages are very confined and close packed, suggesting intensive market-gardening for the city populations.

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[9] Bintliff 1994.

bly anticipated a Greater Athens, with almost continuous communities around the walled city practising more market-gardening than open-field cultivation to feed the city.

Athens as we shall see is better classed as a rare form of city-state, a *megalopolis* rather than a *polis*,[10] and as such its territory was so large that much of its population was too distant for frequent, let alone daily, visits to the city. More reason then to follow the view that the legends regarding a series of Dark Age competing centers of population within Attica had substance behind them, with Athens gaining the sole title and role of *polis* center by the start of archaic times more as a result of a sympoliteia than a synoecism.[11] But it would seem equally likely, given the scale of Attica, that district urban foci continued to act as local centers even in classical times. Sadly no serious intensive study of the larger demes [Figure 3] has been undertaken, but we can compare neighboring Boeotia [Figure 4], approximately equal in size, where a single giant city—Thebes— within its walls much larger than Athens—nonetheless was at the top of an urban network with another 13–14 regular cities of varying size and importance.[12] Certainly Hans Lohmann has argued for several town-like foci in Attica from various archaeological and textual sources.[13]

One can then agree that a large urban population in Athens proper lived a way of life that contrasted with that of the permanent country-dwellers, even if some or many visited their estates as texts remind us. On the other hand we have also suggested that city-based texts can hardly reflect the majority of Athenian citizens, who lived beyond the city confines. I would suggest, however, that a further distinction might be looked for between a semirural suburban mass and those more typical rural villages at regular distances in the outer zones further from the city (perhaps three-quarters of the citizens). The former consists of the large and close-packed deme populations clustering around Athens and Piraeus in the *astu* region [Figs. 2–3], whose livelihood might have depended on a sort of market-gardening and hired labor for diverse jobs, as well as state subsidies.

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[10] For detailed discussion of these terms see Kirsten, 1956.
[11] Bintliff 1994.
[12] Bintliff 1994, 1997.
[13] Cf. Lohmann, 1992, 39; 1995, 527; further evidence can be found in Whitehead 1986.
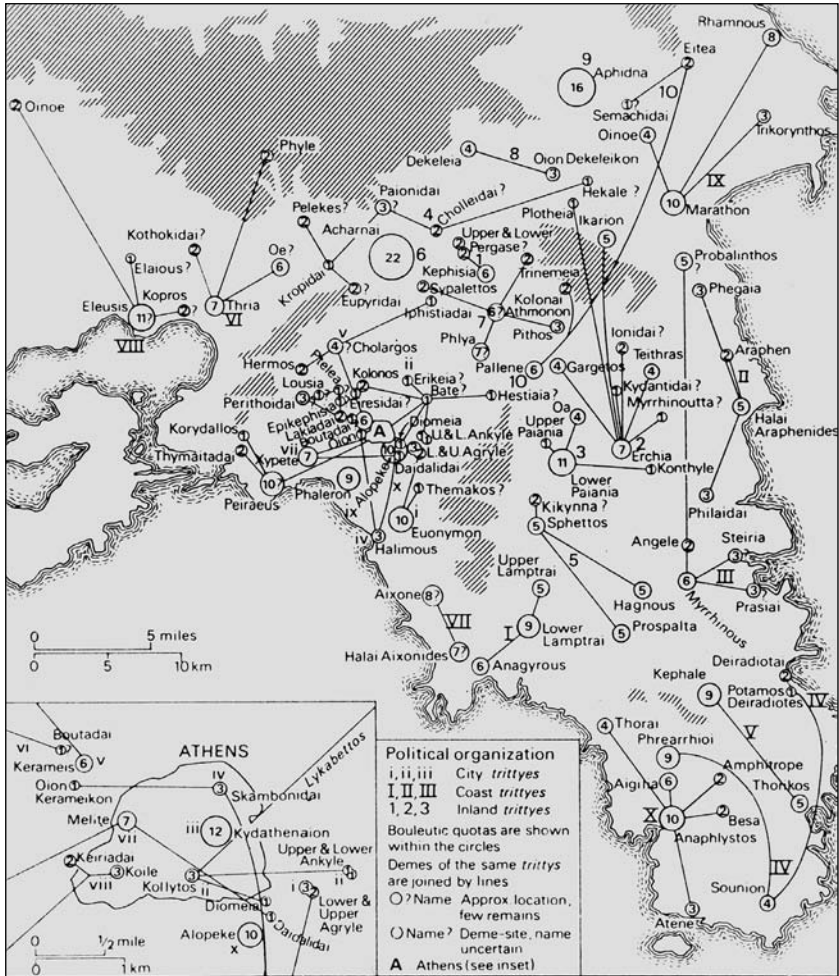
Fig. 3. The rural village communities of Attica in the fifth century BCE, reconstructed by Traill (1975), together with those districts into which the city of Athens was sub-divided. The size of the circles represents the number of councillors each community sent to the Athenian Assembly, and is an approximate indication of relative population at least when these demes were recognized in the course of the final sixth and fifth centuries BCE. Note the presence of a number of exceptionally large rural demes, which could have been of townlike character.
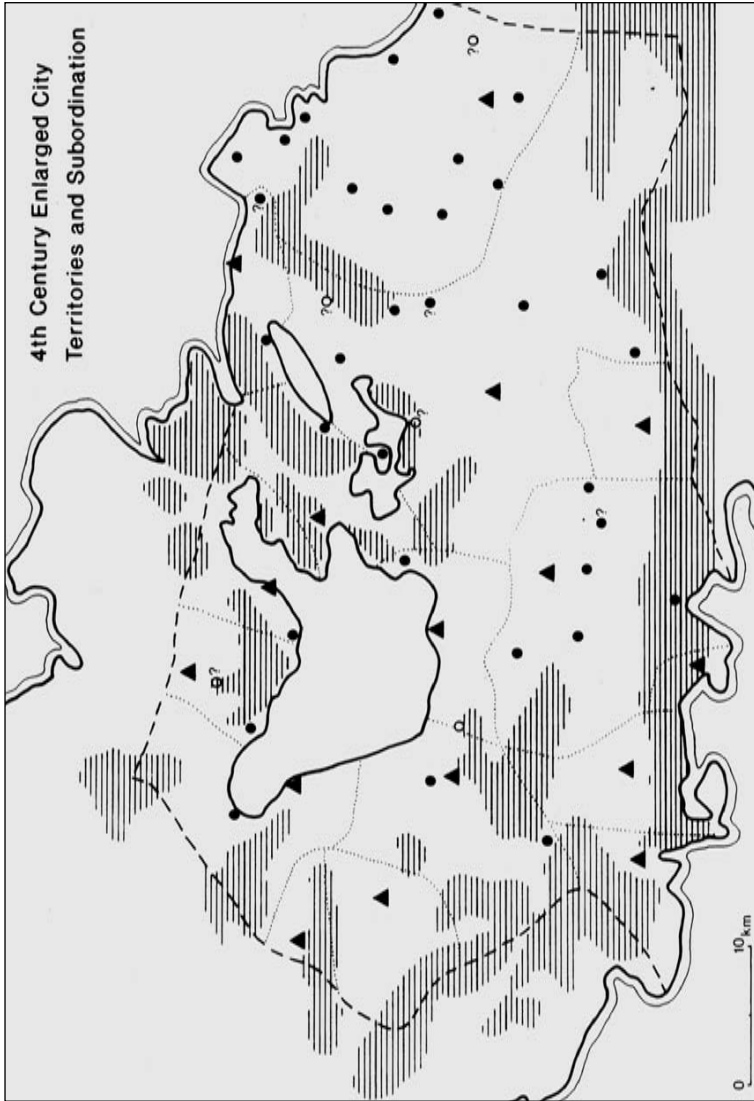
Fig. 4. The political and urban map of Boeotia around 400 BCE. Boundary lines divide city-states. Towns are shown as triangles, dependent villages as circles. Boeotia is a region of similar size to Attica.

In the rural villages, traditional field and tree crops were grown, and a more genuinely rural life might have been experienced. In summary then the Athenian literary voice can hardly be seen as speaking for most Athenian citizens, who lived outside the city walls and the 'Greater Athens' cluster of directly surrounding villages, residing instead in remoter towns, villages and dispersed farms, where they worked their agricultural estates away from daily contact with the urban world.[14]

If this is the case in what must be seen as an exceptional *polis*, a giant imperial city, would not our expectation be far greater of seeing a predominantly rural and agricultural ethos in more typical *poleis* of classical Greece, with very little emphasis on a distinct urban lifestyle and set of values?

2. *The perspective from archaeological surface survey*

If we turn to my own research speciality—regional archaeological field survey—then the blossoming of landscape studies since the 1980s till today would seem to show this very well. As my colleague Anthony Snodgrass pointed out some years ago,[15] whereas classical texts are less focused on life in the countryside than many other topoi, archaeological research has clearly pointed up the opposite for the reality of classical Greece—the commonest type of settlement in the ancient Aegean landscape is a small classical rural site identified as a family farm [Figure 5], and they seem to turn up absolutely everywhere in the regions known to flourish in this era [Figure 6]. Although Robin Osborne warned[16] that some or even most might be second homes for city- or deme-center dwellers, used when estate work was most concentrated in the year—the furnishings found and amount of debris rather argues that the majority were residential for all or most of the year.[17]

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[14] Even for the *astu* region of Attica, the dense villages in what I have termed a classical Greater Athens outside of the walls of Athens and Piraeus, literary allusions appear to relegate the inhabitants to low status when many of their occupants appeared in the city, probably on a regular basis, to sell market produce. Euripides is a favorite target for Aristophanes' wit, since his mother was a vegetable-seller and the family came from a village at the foot of Mount Pendele in the northern edge of this *astu* region (Osborne 1987, 96).

[15] Snodgrass 1987, Chapters 3–4.

[16] Osborne 1985.

[17] Cf. Snodgrass 1987, Chapter 4; Lohmann 1992; Bintliff 1997.
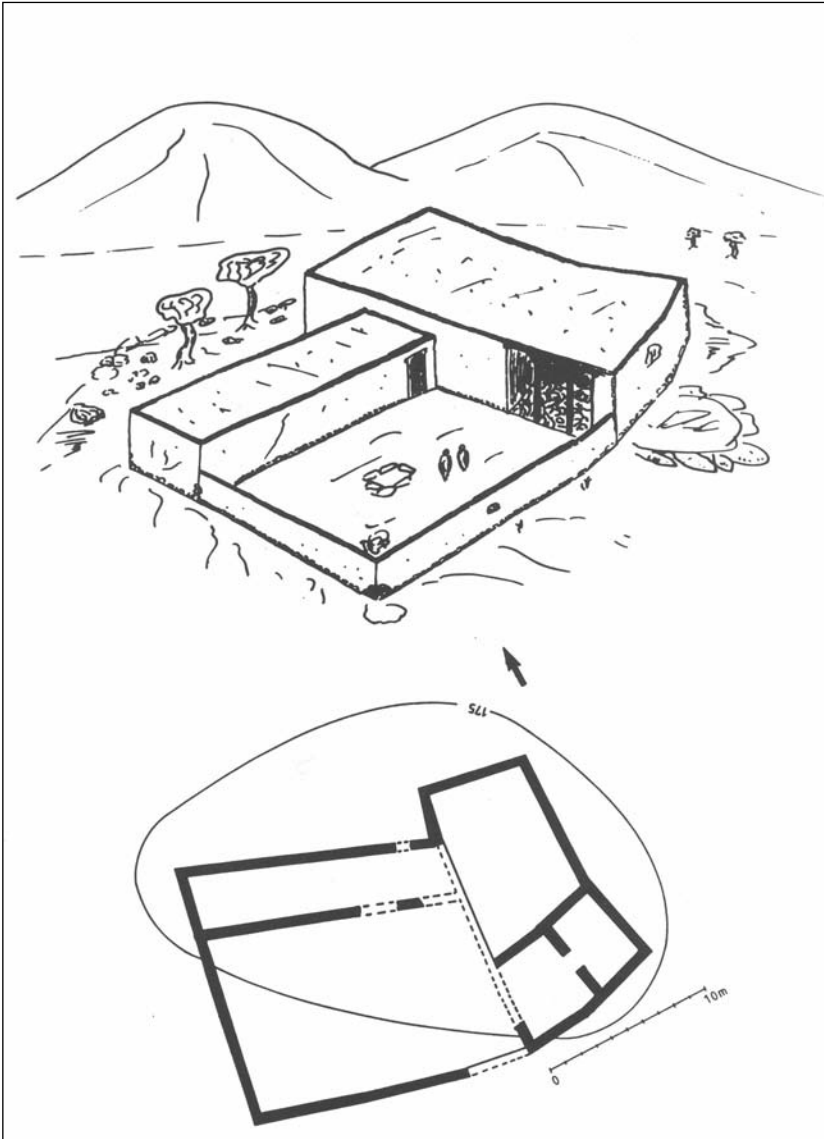
Fig. 5. A small 'family farm' within the deme of Atene in Attica, from the survey of Hans Lohmann (Lohmann 1993).
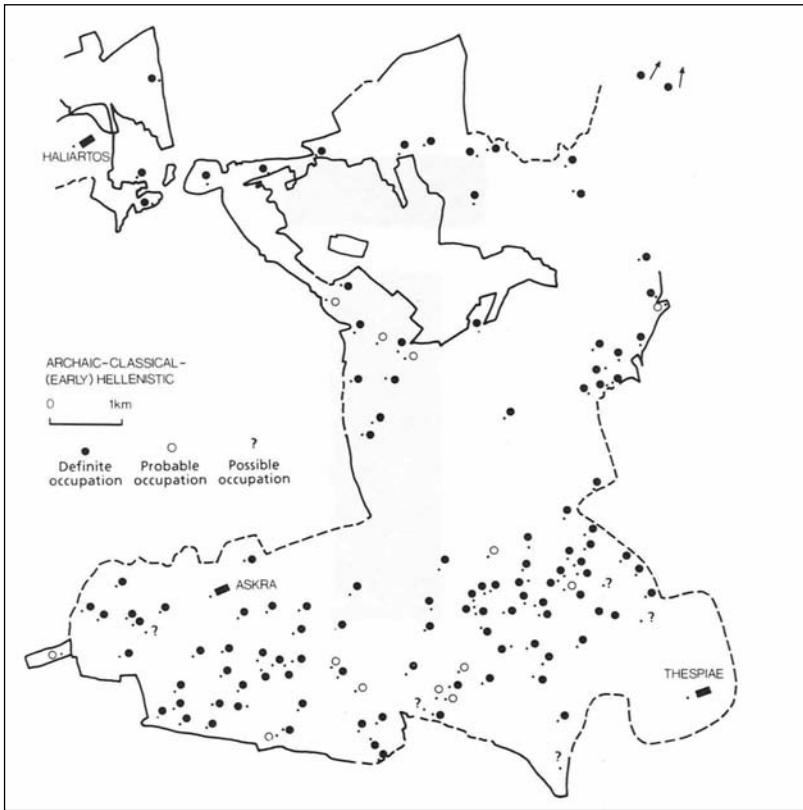
Fig. 6. The classical settlement pattern in S.W. Boeotia, within the territories of the *poleis* of Haliartos (top left) and Thespiae (bottom right). Apart from the village of Askra (center left) almost all the sites shown are farms. Fieldwork by the Boeotia Project, directed by the author and Prof. A.M. Snodgrass.

However, further research has rather turned the tables on this argument for extreme ruralization: once we calculate the likely population dwelling in these small sites and less common rural villages, and then compare the totals to the likely population of the dense network of *poleis* in whose territory they sit as satellites, we in the regional survey community have come to the same conclusion, and a surprising one—that some 75–80% of regional populations were living in the cities of classical Greece, with a mere 25–20% in those numerous but proportionally small farms and villages in their choras.[18] Little

18 Jameson et al. 1994; Bintliff 1997; cf. now Hansen 2004 for the implications of this for ancient historians' views on Greek urbanism.

wonder that classical Greeks were so 'political' in all senses of the word.

If we reflect back on Athens and Attica, where rural citizens greatly outnumber those within the walls, then it would seem that the rest of the classical Greek heartlands were actually more highly urbanized than Athens, and should have been that much more urbane in mentality. Only if we were to go with Hans Lohmann's theories and argue for the existence in the group of medium to larger Attic demes of functional but not 'official' towns, could we even reinstate the Athenian experience into the scale of urbanism seen in the rest of southern Greece.

3. *Ernst Kirsten and the 'problem' of the Greek* polis

Yet having taken you so far, it is now time for our entire analysis to succumb to the Postmodern turn, in other words to be *Deconstructed*. Worse still, this is on the basis of a monograph today hardly read if often superficially cited, published in 1956. I refer in fact to a remarkable study by the German historical geographer of antiquity, Ernst Kirsten, entitled *Die Griechische Polis als historisch-geographisches Problem des Mittelmeerraumes*. What indeed was the Problem of the Greek *polis* or city-state, you might ask—if like most you have not struggled through this dense and difficult German text.

Now Kirsten was the pupil of an even more famous geographer, equally rarely read, Alfred Philippson, and both belonged to a tradition in Landscape History originating in nineteenth-century German-speaking lands and still flourishing there today—*Landeskunde*. This focused on the long-term dynamics of settlement patterns and type within small landscapes, with close attention to social and cultural components as well as to the realities of geology, agriculture and climate. Kirsten's *polis* problem was given to him by a chance remark from Philippson—'Why were there so many city-states in classical Thessaly?' [Figure 7].

The first part of the problem was the fact that ancient Thessaly was not supposed to be *polis* territory at all, lying rather in what anciently was considered a totally different state organization—the *ethnos*. Over and beyond that, the sheer multiplicity of cities throughout Thessaly, the object of a long-lasting research program by a team from Lyon,[19] led to a more fundamental problem in the

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[19] Cf. Auda et al. 1990.

Fig. 7. Distribution of city-states in classical Greece. The North-Central Mainland spread into west and central Thessaly occurs within a federal state usually assigned to the *ethnos* form of political organization (from Kirsten 1956).

clear contrast these cities posed to the accepted concept in Early Modern Western Europe as to what should constitute a genuine urban agglomeration.

At the conclusion of Kirsten's 1956 monograph the answer had become abundantly clear—the classical Greek *polis* or city-state was usually no city at all, but a nucleated settlement of moderate size, yet one in which an unusual degree of politicization had developed, such that despite its unimpressive geographical proportions, the inhabitants of such *poleis* believed and acted as if they were in an Isolated State at odds with all the world. The multiplicity of these small nucleations across the classical Aegean could easily be explained if

one saw them as paralleled not by the medieval-to-early-modern European town, but rather the network of large villages that have made up most parts of the early modern Greek countryside since the seventeenth century CE. Kirsten dubbed this model the *Dorfstaat*—or village-state concept, and he illustrated it with what he considered to be a characteristic example [Figure 8], the small *polis* of Meliteia in Thessaly, whose ancient boundaries happened to be known (note the scale). I can add two further examples from my own study-region of Boeotia in Central Greece: the *polis* of Copai, whose site is exactly overlain by the modern village of Kastro, and the *polis* of Chorsiai studied by a Canadian project,[20] whose territory consisted of some hills, a small coastal plain and some mountain grazing—all today belonging to the adjacent village of Khostia [Figure 9].

4. *The 'Normal Polis'*

Almost fifty years later, have these provocative ideas stood up to more detailed research? Is the typical classical *polis* in Greece a glorified village? One can cite in first place Kirsten's compatriot, the ancient historian Ruschenbusch, who brought together a generation ago a large body of statistics regarding what he came to call 'The Normal Polis':[21] of the 700–800 minimum city-states of the classical Aegean for which data are available, 80% had populations of 2,000–4,000 people, and maximal territories of 5–6 km radius. Most recently, Mogens Hansen's Copenhagen Polis Project has completed an even more exhaustive analysis of every Greek *polis* recorded, but he has included Greek colonial *poleis*, where we know that conditions often favored much larger territories.[22] Nonetheless, even with the non-Aegean additions, the latest figures are that 60% of all Greek *poleis* have a territory of 5–6 km radius, and 80% with an 8 km radius. The first radius means about an hour's walk, the second less than two.

In actuality, my own research in Greek landscapes[23] suggests that the natural tendency in times of dense population is for villages to arise at regular intervals of some 2–3 km radius or half an hour on

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[20] Fossey 1986.
[21] Cf. Ruschenbusch 1985.
[22] Hansen 2004.
[23] Bintliff 1994, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 2002.

Abb. 9: Das Polis-Gebiet von Meliteia (Südost-Thessalien). Inschriftlich gesicher
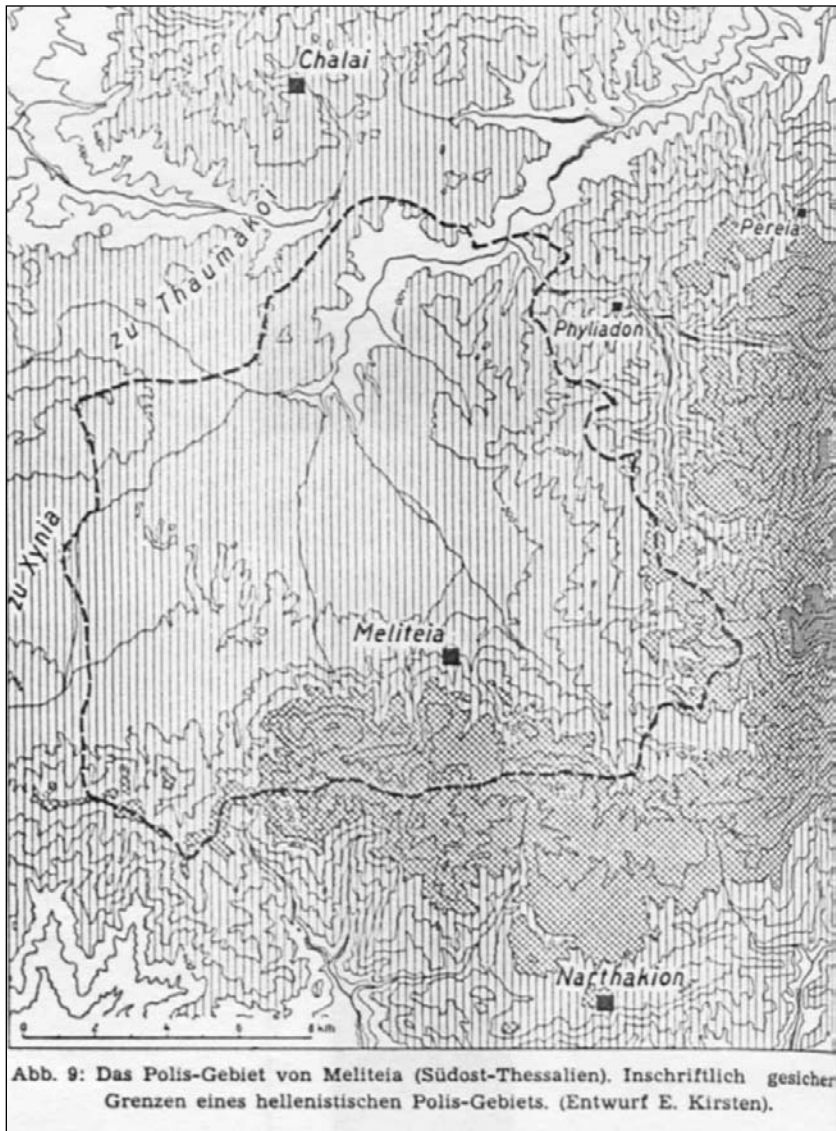Grenzen eines hellenistischen Polis-Gebiets. (Entwurf E. Kirsten).

Fig. 8. The territory of a typical 'Dorfstaat/Dorfstadt', or Normal Polis. The city
of Meliteia in S.E. Thessaly, whose borders are confirmed by inscriptions (from
Kirsten 1956).

foot—we see this in the outer demes of Attica, and the network of towns and villages in Boeotia [Figures 2, 10]. Over time, especially during the archaic era, individual centers came to dominate one or more smaller villages in their territory, and grew on this process, so that the Normal Polis of 1–1.5 hour radius comes into being, with one or more subordinate *kômai*. The super or fat village at the heart of *polis* formation remains in its network as the *Dorfstaat*, for its basic food supply comes from its immediate and original small *khôra*, now supplemented by the surpluses of its dependent villages, which will nearly always lie in a day-return or market radius of the *polis* center. The citizens of the Normal Polis remain primarily farmers, and they can commute on a daily basis to their fields, lying usually within a short ride or walk from their urban homes. This exactly conforms to the conclusions of the ancient historian Hans-Joachim Gehrke, that roughly 80% of the inhabitants in a 'Normal Greek Polis' were peasant-farmers.[24]

So although our classical countryside is unbelievably urbanized, this turns out to be an illusion, because we are merely looking, as the geographers have shown, at large villages of farmers, to which are attached one or several dependent hamlets to cultivate the land which lies too far for the commuting farmer citizens to exploit intensively. Indeed some of the germ cells for the rise of the *polis*—the half-hour-radius villages I have termed *proto-poleis*, could survive throughout antiquity claiming urban status—take little Chorsiai *polis* in S. Boeotia, whose coastal plain and olive-clad hill-land as just seen are easily encompassed in one glance from its acropolis [Figure 9], and whose entire population has been estimated at 500 persons.[25] Its modern successor village of Khostia is substantially larger.

This is not the place to go into the fascinating question as to what peculiar processes transformed these large villages into the complex political and cultural organisms we know as the classical city-state. I have discussed this in detail in earlier publications from a cross-cultural perspective,[26] because in several important respects the process has happened elsewhere and in other times, and it appears to be a latent property of large villages to metamorphose into what anthropologists call corporate communities. I shall merely summon up one

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[24] Gehrke 1986, 18.
[25] Fossey 1986.
[26] Bintliff 1999a–c.

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Fig. 9. The territory of a minimal city-state. View from the acropolis of Chorsiai, Boeotia, over its hill-land, plain and port. A classical citizen population of around 500 is suggested by Fossey (1986). (Photo by the author.)
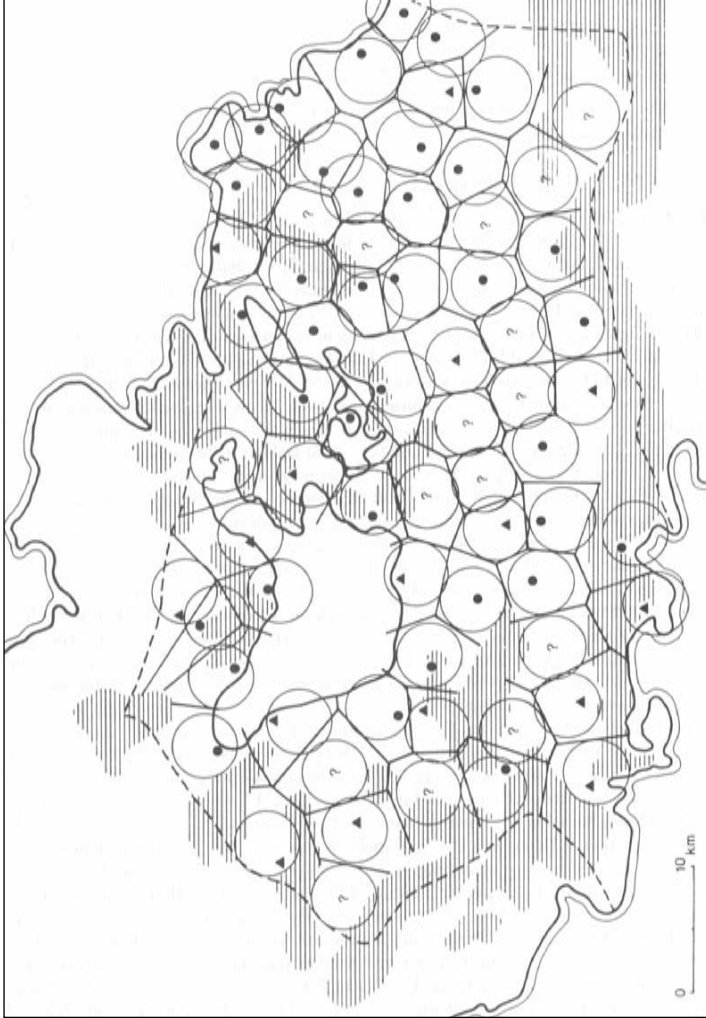
Fig. 10. The origins of the Normal Polis: modular nucleated settlement units of classical Boeotia, or 'proto-poleis' (Bintliff 1994). From this replicated cellular foundation the actual *poleis* emerge by absorbing one or more neighbors, although exceptionally such small units may survive as independent *poleis*. Settlements that became cities are shown as triangles, those succumbing to dependent village status as circles.
Key: putative settlement territories shown by polygons; the circles are of 2.5 km radius and represent typical village support cells in dry-farming societies; question-marks pinpoint areas where a village is hypothesized based on land fertility, distance from known settlements, or the existence of a modern farming village; shaded land is mountain, white cultivable land, sea and lakes.

well-known parallel—in a few centuries after 1000 CE some 400–500 city-states arose in North and Central Italy,[27] and their legacy survives today even beneath the apparent monolith of the Italian state. The citizens of these walled towns retain a strong sense of civic pride and disdain for neighboring agglomerations. Most of them were small and like the Normal Polis, a considerable proportion of the citizens farmed the surrounding countryside [Figure 11]. Today they still describe themselves as farmers by day and urbanites at night.[28] Thus an intense urban politics and culture can arise from a farming nucleation, and this must have been the case for the Normal Polis of ancient Greece too.

5. *Conclusion*

In conclusion, for the typical classical Greek inhabitant of the Normal Polis, the opposition Town and Country meant merely a division of one's own time, rather than a way of classifying distinct subpopulations, each with their distinctive attitudes and lifestyles. The well-known bias of our textual sources to life within the city of Athens, one of a small number of exceptional *megalopoleis* in the classical Greek world (numbering also Corinth, Thebes, Syracuse), has led ancient historians and classical literary specialists into generalizations about the typical lifestyle and values of the remaining thousand or so Greek cities of the Aegean and abroad, which are not even true of the majority of the inhabitants of Attica, who lived beyond the walls of Athens and Piraeus.

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[27] Waley 1988.
[28] Silverman 1975; also the source of Figure 12.

Fig. 11. A typical, traditional 'village-state', or hill-town in Italy (from Silverman 1975, Figure 3).

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CHAPTER THREE

ON THE BORDER: SACRED LAND AND THE MARGINS OF THE COMMUNITY

Jeremy McInerney

1. *Introduction*

In the Greek imagination wilderness existed in a counterpoint to civilization, and also as a separate category of space in its own right. In this chapter I want to explore aspects of how the Greeks configured wilderness, and especially how wilderness operated in relation to the civilized zones of the city and its *khôra*. In particular we shall focus on border sanctuaries and sacred land, the creation of which facilitated the incorporation of wilderness into the religious and legal institutions of the Greeks. The first part of the chapter lays out some of the ways in which sacred land and wilderness have been treated in previous scholarship (section 2). In the second part we shall see how wilderness was imagined and figured as a place of anxiety (section 3). Marginal territory is gendered female through a series of associations with female gods and cults directed at women, thereby reinforcing the gendering of civic space as male. Accordingly, wild terrain and wild woman are categories that reinforce each other. To complement this treatment of wilderness we will then look at the activities of hunting and herding that are associated with the wilderness (section 4). These fit uncomfortably into the institutions, laws and practices associated with urban life, so that in terms of use, I shall argue that the hinterland of the Greek *polis* is anomalous, and hence problematic. The possessed bacchant, the hunter, and the shepherd are all on the move, crossing borders, operating on the edge of society. The presence of sacred land in these areas serves to anchor these transient activities and these marginal figures within a religious system that can exert some control and order in an otherwise wild landscape. In section 5 we shall see that there is another component in the configuring of sacred land on the margins of the city-state: the pressure to create neutral zones in potentially contested border areas.

In a society in which the permanent policing of borders was largely inconceivable, the ephebes of classical Athens being a notable exception, control of the farthest reaches of territory depended on compromise and negotiation. This was accomplished through religion. Border treaties were authorized by the gods, and, in extreme instances, border zones were dedicated to the gods, either as the sites of sanctuaries or sacred lands, or both.[1] In the final section I argue that border sanctuaries and their land also helped stimulate a distinctive economic model, based not on the mixed economy of farming and husbandry typical of the *oikos* and village, but large-scale animal husbandry designed to serve the needs of sanctuaries and the pilgrims who consulted them. Though not all sacred land is situated on the borders, the sacred land which does lie there serves a variety of important functions: at the margins of the Greek state the dedication of land to the gods represented the best possible compromise between competing territorial, economic and religious demands.

2. *Conceptualizing sacred space*

With some exceptions, early studies of the great panhellenic shrines placed much less emphasis on the size, importance and function of the sacred land attached to the sanctuaries than on the monuments and dedications within the sacred precincts.[2] In the case of smaller sanctuaries the problem has been less a matter of indifference and more of misunderstanding. In Attica, for example, where there is

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[1] For a vigorous attack on the notion of liminality and the border zone, see Polinskaya 2003.

[2] The imbalance between the study of sanctuaries through *Baugeschichte* and the study of ἱερὰ γῆ (sacred land) is nicely illustrated by comparing the number of publications generated by the first fifty years of excavation at Delphi with the fact that the first major study of the Sacred Plain did not appear until 1953 (Kahrstedt 1953, 749–757). Maass 1997 provides a full bibliography for Delphi numbering close to 450 items; two concern the sacred land owned by Apollo. Similarly, the volume celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the 'grande fouille' (Bommelaer 1992) contains no reference to the sacred topography of Delphi. Recent studies have often had little to say regarding sacred land located within the region under investigation. See Cosmopoulos 2001, 74–75. The significance of sacred land within the economic systems of ancient cults is the subject of a series of short papers in Linders and Alroth 1992. The best treatment in English is the short discussion in Parker 1983, 160–166, although even here we find the tendency to underplay the religious dimension: 'Worked sacred land thus probably retained a measure of notional sacredness beyond the fact that rent was paid to the god' (p. 162).

evidence for sanctuaries of every conceivable size, from the enormous sanctuary at Eleusis to the modest shrine of Egretes, the tendency until recent times has been to treat sacred land as little more than a legal fiction. Moses Finley believed that the income generated by sacred property could be classified as 'deme funds' and that handling them 'through the temple had no special significance, legally or otherwise'.[3] Finley's dismissal of the importance of sacred land represents a reaction to Aristotle, who had postulated a very clear distinction between sacred, public and private land.[4] In support of Finley's interpretation one might note that sacred and public lands are sometimes referred to together, as if functionally they were the same. A recently discovered inscription from Argos, for example, records honors to 'the man who made a gift of the sacred and public lands' (δωτινατὴρ τᾶς ἱερᾶς καὶ δαμοσίας χώρας),[5] who by persuasion and legal action brought back into the public domain a great deal of land that was being privately cultivated.[6] Here sacred and public are lumped together.

In other instances, however, the categories of sacred, public and private intersect in ways that suggest that sacred land was more than a fiction for deme property. Michael Walbank, for example, has distinguished five categories of ownership of publicly owned property, most of it sacred land subject to leasing, which he lists as (1) the Athenian state; (2) individual cults administering leases themselves; (3) individual cults represented in leases by the state; (4) political bodies, such as *phulai* and demes, and (5) religious corporations, such as *genê* and *orgeônes*.[7] In effect sacred land was found throughout Attica and was incorporated into the economic and religious life of the community in an almost bewildering variety of ways. Some land served the interests of the entire state, such as the territory called Nea, usually thought to have been located close to Oropos, the leasing of which provided funds that the *hieropoioi* spent on cattle for sacrifice

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[3] Finley 1973, 95. For an extensive critique, see Isager 1992, 119.

[4] Aristotle (*Pol.* 1267b) ascribes the division of land into sacred (*hiera*), public (*dêmosia*) and private (*idia*) portions to Hippodamus of Miletus, and he proposes a similar division in his own ideal state. Having divided all land into two categories, common land and private lots, he then subdivides common land into two portions: land given over to religious observances, and the land assigned to support the expenses of common meals (*Pol.* 1330a).

[5] All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

[6] Kritzas 1992, 233.

[7] Walbank 1991, 152.

at the Panathenaea.[8] In other cases, such as the shrine of Egretes, the owners were a religious brotherhood, the Orgeones, who leased the property to a certain Diognetus of Melite on the condition that he keep the shrine in good repair and make it available to the Orgeones 'whenever they might sacrifice to the hero during Boedromion'.[9] The shrine consists not only of a building, but also of land on which grew trees that, like the buildings, have to be maintained by the lessee. This case illustrates the difficulty of categorizing sacred land. The sanctuary of Egretes falls into Aristotle's category of common land but clearly does not correspond to Finley's notion of state property. Instead, it straddles categories: owned by a corporation, and supplying their needs as a sacrificial group, either as pasture for animals or by generating revenue, it nevertheless also functions as private land, since its usufruct falls to Diognetus.[10] A similar situation can be seen in the well-known inscription of the Athenian Salaminioi: land attached to a shrine of Heracles was rented out by the *genos* to generate the annual revenue of 530 dr needed to meet the demands of the clan's sacrificial calendar.[11] The same varieties of land-use and ownership can be paralleled elsewhere. In Boeotia, for example, some sacred land was shared by the god Dionysus and the city of Thespiae (ἁ γᾶ ἰαρὰ Διονούσω κὴ τᾶς πόλιος Θεισπείων . . .), while the *sunthutai* of the Muses on Helicon enjoyed a piece of sacred land, the produce of which supplied their banquets.[12]

The tendency either to interpret sacred land as no more than one type of public land, interesting only from the point of view of leasing, or to dismiss its importance altogether received a jolt in 1984 with the publication of François de Polignac's *La Naissance de la cité grecque*. His work demonstrated that the *polis* was a composite form arising from a dynamic relationship between the city and countryside.[13] The

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[8] *Agora* XIX L7 (= *IG* II² 334).
[9] *IG* II² 2499.
[10] Another example of a sacrificial group owing land: *IG* VII 1784 (boundary of sacred land owned by the *sunthutai* of the Muses. On the leasing of sanctuary land by individuals belonging to the deme in which the sanctuary was located see Marinatos' remarks in the discussion appended to Lohmann 1992, 29–57.
[11] *Agora* XIX L 4a and Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 182 (no. 37) for bibliography.
[12] Dionysus and Thespiae: *IG* VII 1786. The *sunthutai*'s sacred land: *IG* VII 1785, 1788–1790.
[13] De Polignac 1995 (an English translation and updated edition of the 1984 original). For responses to de Polignac and new approaches to the question of sacred land see the essays collected in Alcock and Osborne 1994, and in Hägg 1996.

assertion of control of the countryside by the planting of extra-mural sanctuaries (such as the Argive Heraion) and the holding of a formal procession through the countryside from center to periphery (such as the *pompê* from Miletus to Didyma) dramatically brought to life the essential nature of the *polis*.[14] It is not a state in anything like the modern sense, but an *astu* (town) facing a *khôra* (countryside). Seen against this backdrop, sacred land was no longer a mere category of public property but an integral part of how the *polis* constituted itself, especially those instances of sacred land found at the farthest extremities of the state's territory. Before de Polignac both Brelich and Sartre had noted the frequency with which sanctuaries were found in frontier areas, but de Polignac's attractive model turned the interpretation of this phenomenon on its head. Only five years before the publication of de Polignac's study Sartre had asserted, 'il est certain que dans plusiers cas où les aspects économiques nous semblent les seuls en jeu, les causes profondes du conflit risquent fort d'être religieuses'.[15] In contrast, rather than positing underlying religious or economic conflicts, de Polignac's thesis stressed the importance of extra-mural sanctuaries as territorial markers. This has been a fruitful thesis, stimulating new approaches to sanctuaries and borders, such as Chaniotis' study of Cretan sanctuaries and borders, and a number of essays by Italian and French scholars on relations between Greek colonists and indigenous populations in Magna Graecia.[16] Carter's study of rural sanctuaries in the valleys behind Metapontum and Cole's work on the location of Demeter sanctuaries, often found within the city's walls and on the border, are two recent examples of fresh approaches to the religious topography of Greek states that derive from de Polignac's work and employ a broad center-periphery model as a way of interpreting the location of sanctuaries.[17]

Yet there is a danger in substituting a new set of binary oppositions for the old, and replacing the dichotomies of private/public and

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[14] On the significance of the *pompê* see Graf 1996.

[15] Sartre 1979, 224. See also Brelich 1961. Most of the epigraphic texts relating to frontiers have been collected by Daverio Rocchi 1988b.

[16] Chaniotis 1988, 21–39. On Magna Graecia see Torelli 1999, 685–705 and de la Géniere 1999, 503–518. Readers of the volume containing the papers by Torelli and de la Géniere should not overlook the valuable bibliography appended to the abstract of a paper by Nicholas Purcell. A valuable overview of the scholarship on Magna Graecia is found in Nafissi 2001.

[17] Carter 1994, 161–198 and Cole 1994, 199–217.

sacred/secular with an oversimplified opposition of town and country, in which the frontier sanctuary is relegated to the edge of a crude center-periphery model. For example, John Pedley has recently written, 'it is worth noting that the *polis* consisted of two key zones: the urban core—the nerve center for administrative, political, legal, military, naval, and economic activity—and the surrounding rural territory, or *chora*, critical for provision of food, water, wine, timber and minerals'.[18] This formulation omits wilderness altogether, and leaves us with yet another binary formulation of implied opposition. However, as Marcel Detienne has recently argued, urban center and rural territory are not natural opposites. Cultivated territory represents the incorporation of the wild into the human realm. Detienne draws attention to the fact that *ktizein*, the verb we associate with the founding and building of a new settlement, also applies to the human treatment of the countryside. In addition to meaning 'to construct', 'to found' or 'to build' it also means 'to clear the ground' (*défricher*), 'cultivate the land' (*cultiver*), and 'to improve the land' (*aménager*). As Detienne remarks: 'Une terre se défriche, un terrain s'aménage'.[19] Land well tended with vines or crops is *eüktimenos*. Cultivated fields transform the countryside, replacing the wilderness of uncultivated lands and forest, replete with carnivorous animals. Cultivation tames the wilds and brings the land into the human domain. Accordingly, on the imagined opposition of town and country, Detienne concludes: 'Il n'y a pas de rupture entre l'urbanisme des villes et l'architecture des champs et des vignes'. It may be that there is a deeply rooted opposition at play in the topographic imagination of the Greeks, but it is not of city and country. Both *astu* and *khôra* bear the signs of human impact. Indeed, the evidence from the colonies increasingly suggests that the first rural and urban cadasters went hand in hand.[20] Rather, the underlying tension is that of wild and tame, of wilderness and civilization, an anxiety located in the topography of the imagination. This is a tension that has been examined by Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who explores the ways a civilized world uses

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[18] Pedley 2005, 24.
[19] Detienne 1998, 26.
[20] Greco and Torelli 1983, 228–229; Morel 1984, 140–141. On the standardization of cadastral units see Guy 1995, 427–444. See also Snodgrass 1994, 9 and Mertens 1998, 55–60.

the wilderness in its construction of social identities.[21] Let us see, then, how wilderness functions in the Greek imagination.

3. *The threat of the margin*

If civilization is the world made by men, orderly, laid out, planned, then the places farthest from society will be marked by disorder, the abandonment of restraint, and have powerful associations with the female. The wilderness is the land described in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite as (5.123–124)

> . . . undivided and uninhabited, where beasts
> which eat raw flesh roam through the shady glens.
>   (tr. Athanassakis)

πολλὴν δ᾽ ἄκληρόν τε καὶ ἄκτιτον ἦν διὰ θῆρες
ὠμοφάγοι φοιτῶσι κατὰ σκιόεντας ἐναύλους.

It is the haunt of Artemis, she who 'delights in the bow and in slaying mountain beasts' (τῇ ἅδε τόξα καὶ οὔρεσι θῆρας ἐναίρειν) (*h. Ven.* 5.18). She is a goddess who may help women in labor but who is, as far as men are concerned, a threat. Actaeon and Agamemnon certainly can attest to that, and the aetiological myth for Artemis' cult at Brauron effectively equates Artemis with a bear who was killed by some young Athenians. It is to expiate this crime that little girls play the bear at Brauron.[22] Another god who haunts the wilds is Pan. This is not the happy little goat of later myth and pastoral, but the god who creates the panic-stricken flight of enemy forces (Hdt. 9.69). Pausanias describes a sanctuary of the god on Mount Parthenius in the Peloponnese where the god appeared to Philippides and conversed with him before Marathon (8.54.6). The god wondered why the Athenians had been so remiss in honoring Pan, and the preservation of this story in Herodotus as well as the popularity of Pan cults in the Attic countryside of the fifth century attest to the

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[21] Vidal-Naquet 1981, *passim*, but especially 156–174. The importance of the frontier zone and the activities which take place there have also been explored by Brelich 1961 (military training) and Chantraine 1956 (hunting).

[22] Schol. ad Aristoph. *Lysis.* 645a and c. On Brauron see Kahil 1963, Simon 1983 and Sourvinou-Inwood 1988. For Artemis and the borders of civilization see Cole 1998, 27–43.

fact that the Athenians took this warning seriously. Mount Parthenius,
continues Pausanias, has tortoises most suitable for the making of
harps; but the men on the mountain are always afraid to capture
them, and would not allow strangers to do so either, thinking them
to be sacred to Pan (8.54.7). Gods in the countryside are not to be
messed with, especially in the mountains.[23] It is in the desolate
stretches, what the Greeks called *khôrai erêmoi*, of marginal land in
the mountains where Dionysus joins his Bacchants, as he declares
in the *Bacchae* (62–63):

> With the Bacchae on Cithaeron's slopes,
> I'll go and take part in their dances.
>
> ἐγὼ δὲ βάκχαις, ἐς Κιθαιρῶνος πτυχὰς
> ἐλθὼν ἵν᾽ εἰσί, συμμετασχήσω χορῶν.

There is a mistaken belief that *oribasia* is a kind of literary trope, but
this is a real feature of the cultic landscape of Greece, a feverish
wild female version or perversion of the manly art of raiding.[24] But
where men stick to pillaging and carrying off property in raids, the
female version is crazed: every living creature faces annihilation at
the hands of frenzied women. Mountains are where men are likely
to end up with their head on a stick, thanks to the madness brought
on by the gods. Five hundred years after Euripides staged a reen-
actment of this wilderness performance Athenian women were still
traveling as far as Mt. Parnassus, above Delphi, to participate in the
holy frenzy. These women, the Thyiades, ran raving (*mainontai*) for
Dionysus and Apollo, says Pausanias (10.32.7), on the heights of the
mountain, above the clouds, where it is hard for even a strong man
to climb. Plutarch, who knew the chief priestess of the women's cult,
also supplies valuable information about the Thyiades. He describes
a band of Thyiades descending the mountain as they also come
down from their frenzied state. Upon arriving in the middle of the

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[23] The importance of mountains in the myths of the Greeks is neatly touched
on by Vernant 2001, 67–86.

[24] On spirit possession see Maurizio 1995; on *oribasia* see Bruit Zaidman 1992,
355–360. The language of the Messenger's speech at E. *Ba.* 750 is revealing: at first
the bacchants are like birds stripping the crop in the plain, but then, like soldiers,
they attack the towns of Hysiae and Erythrae, 'turning things upside down and destroy-
ing everyone in their path'. For a discussion of maenadism see Portefaix 1982, 201–
210. Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992, 173–174 emphasize the *diasparagmos*
as an inversion of normal sacrifice: 'wild nature as opposed to the cultured space
of the city'.

night at Amphissa, the exhausted women collapse in the agora. Mean-
while, the good women of Amphissa discover them and, afraid that
the Thyiades will be attacked, they stand guard over them, silent. When
the Thyiades awake, the Amphissan women attend to their needs
and, with their husbands' consent, lead them safely to the border.[25]
The story sheds light not just on the cult, but on the clear deline-
ation of the spaces appropriate to men and women. What is holy
and sanctioned on the mountaintop is a threat when transferred to
the agora. The threat posed by the Thyiades is that the female and
wild will be let loose in the midst of orderly male society. The fact
that they do not offer violence to the manly world of the agora only
reminds us of the difficulty of distinguishing between a threat of vio-
lence and the male fear of the female. Whether or not they are out
for blood, the Thyiades represent a threat that provokes the response
of an equal and opposite violence, male and harnessed in defense
of the civic order. Only the intercession of the Amphissan women,
silent, still and subservient, successfully mediates between the poles
of imminent violence and defuses the situation.

Because of these associations, men should only enter these zones
on special occasions. These may include rites of passage, when the
wilderness provides the backdrop for transformation of the boy through
the *ephêbeia* to manhood, or while hunting, when the man temporarily
leaves his social identity behind. As Actaeon discovers, the hunt is
an especially perilous activity. Inherently dangerous, it also takes on
a larger significance. Judith Barringer has recently argued that the
hunt was much more than an aristocratic substitute for war. As a
social activity it was freighted with meaning and she notes: 'The dis-
aster that befalls those who fail to recognize their place, their appro-
priate social, religious and gender roles, is the hallmark of hunting
myths'.[26] Danger lurks in the wild, both in the form of Artemis but
also in the heroes from the marginal land who remain outsiders.
Oedipus is one example. He is not a Corinthian raised in Thebes;
he is a creature of the margin, of Cithaeron, found by shepherds
who inhabit borderland. His origins on the margin mark him as an
outsider, as does his first act of impiety. The killing of Laius takes
place at the Cleft Way in a no-man's land between Daulis, Ambryssos

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[25] Plut. *Mor.* 249ᴇ. For a fuller treatment see McInerney 1997, 270–272.
[26] Barringer 2001, 206.

and Delphi, and involves men on the way from somewhere to some-where else, rather than men in an actual social setting. So when he does try to establish his position in society as king, husband and father, each of these social positions is tainted by his earlier act of pollution. His very presence is an offense to civil society. He must pay for this, and although Oedipus does not have to be eviscerated by wild women on the mountain, he ends up symbolically castrating himself and becoming a wanderer.

Another hero operating in the wilderness is Pelias. After his var-ious tribulations, including the murder of his half-brother and the accidental killing of his host, Pelias (the man of Pelion) flees alone to Mt. Pelion to collect a flock of sheep to take to Eurytion's father as blood-price. When the offer is rejected Peleus then lets them roam free, in accordance with an oracle he has received, whereupon a wolf falls on the flock and tears them to pieces. A shepherd reports that Pelias' sheep have all been slaughtered by a ravening wolf, and the final sentence of Antoninus Liberalis' version hints at the story's local significance: 'And this wolf was transformed by a spirit into a rock which for a very long time was between Locris and the land of the Phocians'.[27] The borderland where magic wolves attacked sheep and where foundlings like Oedipus were saved was marginal in every sense of the word. Even if in reality ordinary activities took place in the wastelands, activities such as charcoal burning, wood cutting and grazing, in the imagination of the Greeks wilderness was figured as wild. Extreme things happened here; order and proper behavior were inverted here. The gods are at their least constrained and there is something wild, untamable and female about the whole place.[28]

If the mountainous borderlands resonate with dangerous associa-tions, they also invite conflict, due to the fact that where cattle go, rustlers follow. In Indo-European thinking and myth-making, stock-raising seems to go hand in hand with cattle-rustling.[29] It is as if a herd of cattle always has about it the aura not just of Apollo and his gleaming herds, but Hermes and his precocious theft. As Apollo says to Hermes (*h. Merc.* 4.286–288):

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[27] Ov. *Met.* 11.379–381; Ant. Liber. 38.5.
[28] The importance of rituals located in mountain settings is dealt with by Buxton 1994, 80–96.
[29] Lincoln 1976, 53–58.

You will be a pain to many shepherds dwelling outdoors
In mountain glades, when you come upon their herds of cattle
And fleecy sheep, driven by a craving for meat.

(tr. Athanassakis)

πολλοὺς δ᾽ ἀγραύλους ἀκαχήσεις μηλοβοτῆρας
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃς, ὁπότ᾽ ἂν κρειῶν ἐρατίζων
ἀντᾷς βουκολίοισι καὶ εἰροπόκοις ὀίεσσιν.

And if the god does not steal your cattle there is always the anxiety
caused by having to entrust your cattle wealth to a herdsman who
might rip you off. Pausanias 4.4.5 tells the story of Euaephnus, the
Spartan, who sold the cattle of his boss, Polychares, the Messenian, and
then claimed that he had been robbed. The lie was exposed, no
redress was given and eventually Sparta and Messenia went to war.

4. *Pastoralism and the landscape of mind*

This was a potent set of psychological associations for a region occu-
pied by real people, notably by hunters, shepherds and their flocks.
Attitudes towards these activities were necessarily colored by the asso-
ciation with the wilderness in which they took place. Hunters, we
have seen, were at risk. So too were herders, who roamed over fields
and up into the hills. Recent studies have emphasized the integration
of herding into the wider regime of Greek agriculture, but what is
at issue here is not the empirical phenomenon of animal husbandry so
much as the imaginative response to it. Even when herding is part
of a larger, integrated economic system, the herder is as distinct from
the cultivator as Cain is from Abel. The distinction, in the case of the
Greeks, may be a response to long-term shifts in agricultural practice,
first towards pastoralism in the sub-Mycenaean period, and then back
towards agriculture in the archaic period. Drawing on the analysis
of the animal bones from Nichoria, for example, the excavators have
asserted that 'there was a shift between LH [Late Helladic] and DA
[Dark Age] from a mixed economy in which agriculture had prece-
dence to one based much more heavily on herding, with the empha-
sis on cattle'.[30] In a more recent study of the early Iron Age settlements

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[30] McDonald et al. 1983, 323 imagine a mixed economy in which agriculture
replaced stock-raising as the dominant regime of food production. Commenting on
Sloan and Duncan's analysis of the Nichoria animal bones, McDonald and Coulson

on the western side of the Gulf of Mirabello, East Crete, Wallace has argued that settlements increased in size and sought 'easier access to a large arable . . . hinterland'.[31] Whatever the exact relationship between pastoralism and cultivation, those activities that involved grain production, viticulture, arboriculture and market gardening took place on fixed land holdings. But herds are no respecters of fixed boundaries, and the herder cannot both attend his flock and cultivate crops. Even though stock-raising was an integral part of the agricultural economy, and was conducted by herders coming and going from agricultural communities, it also occupied a place in the imagination of the Greeks, who associated herding with the hinterland.[32] Odysseus' loyal swineherd, Eumaeus, lives with the pigs and four other men at an enclosure built high in the hills above the harbor and well away from Odysseus' palace. It is described as a lofty enclosure 'in a place with views all about'. When Odysseus visits, one of the swineherds has gone down to the city with a porker for the suitors. We learn that Philoetius the cowherd was put in charge of Odysseus' oxen in Cephallenia when little and had even considered driving them off to another district. So the pigs and sheep and cows are raised well away from the house, even across the water in some other region entirely. In epic, at least, flocks and herds are raised away from the town, even if they are destined for consumption in the town. It is tempting to assume that in the early Iron Age some Greeks practiced a type of limited transhumance similar to the Irish practice of 'booleying' (Gaelic: *búailteachas*). Edmund Spenser,

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conclude, 'Basing their analyses on bones from "pure" contexts only, they find that beef comprised on the average 15–20% of the meat diet through the Middle and Late Bronze Age, dropped to only 11% at the end of LH, and then rose again to 29% in DA1, 35% in DAII, and 40% in DA III. Also, from their calculations on average age at slaughter of both cattle and caprovines, they project a change from a spread-out pattern in LH, typical of a regime favoring use of milk products, to the DA habit of early butchering which is characteristic of meat ranching'.

[31] Wallace 2003, 605.

[32] The exact configuration of pastoralism in the broader scheme of Greek agriculture is a subject with a long history, and I am not trying to resurrect arguments for long-distance, seasonal, transhumance, a practice no longer believed to have been part of the ancient economy. See Halstead 1987, Hodkinson 1988 and Alcock, Cherry and Davis 1994. Instead my major concern is for the pastoralism in the imagination of the Greeks. Hanson 1995, 74 sees small-scale farming as generally antithetical to pastoralism but does not distinguish between actual farming practice and the representation and perception of it. On pastoralism on the margin of cultivated territory see Skydsgaard 1988. For a complete summary of the debate on pastoralism in the Mycenaean economy and in the Dark Ages see Palmer 2001, 40–84.

in 1595, commenting on the Irish practice of moving into the mountains with their cattle for summer pasture, observed: 'There is one use among them to keep cattle and live themselves the most part of the year in boolies pasturing upon the mountain and waste wild places'.[33] Even if the practice in the Greek world was more limited than the Irish instance, with only small numbers of men spending time away from the agricultural communities, rather than entire communities relocating to the mountains, it was nevertheless a practice that people still recognized in classical times. Sophocles' audience would have had no problem understanding the Corinthian shepherd's explanation of how he and Laius' shepherd used to meet on Mt. Cithaeron (S. *OT* 1133–1139):

> . . . For I know, that
> He is well acquainted with the country of Cithaeron.
> We kept company for three years, he with two flocks,
> I with one, each year for half the year,
> From spring till autumn
> And then when winter came I drove my flocks
> To our fold home again and he to Laius' steadings.

> . . . εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι
> κάτοιδεν, ἦμος τῷ Κιθαιρῶνος τόπῳ,
> ὁ μὲν διπλοῖσι ποιμνίοις, ἐγὼ δ' ἑνί,
> ἐπλησίαζον τῷδε τἀνδρὶ τρεῖς ὅλους
> ἐξ ἦρος εἰς ἀρκτοῦρον ἐκμήνους χρόνους·
> χειμῶνα δ' ἤδη τἀμά τ' εἰς ἔπαυλ' ἐγὼ
> ἤλαυνον οὗτός τ' εἰς τὰ Λαΐου σταθμά.

That is a description that Sophocles' audience would have found perfectly reasonable. In the mental topography of the Greeks, agriculture takes place in the plain and stock-raising uses the marginal, upland pasture.

  If we move from the heroic world of Homer and Sophocles and enter the actual world of the fifth and fourth centuries we find increasing competition between agriculture and pastoralism. As states began to grow and to assert control of the countryside there was increasing pressure to bring marginal and previously unproductive land under cultivation. Michael Jameson, for example, suggested that the term *eskhatiai* when used in Athenian inscriptions refers not to uncultivated commonland but to land that needed terracing if it was

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[33] See Watson 1998, 46.

going to be brought into production.[34] There is only a limited amount
of choice bottomland, the very land incidentally that the Greeks
looked for as they sent out colonies, but there was exploitable land
on the slopes especially for non-cereal production. Victor Davis
Hanson has argued that Attica experienced a 'veritable agrarian rev-
olution in the seventh and sixth centuries. It had turned Athens'
sparse countryside into a highly populated, terraced land of trees,
vines and yeomen homesteaders'.[35] The bigger the *astu* the more pres-
sure to expand the *khôra*, and keeping land under cultivation gener-
ally meant pushing grazing and herding out towards the extremes
of the territory, precisely where the herds and flocks of other com-
munities were also congregating. We glimpse these tensions in reports
in the fourth century that the Phocians and Locrians frequently came
to blows over grazing on the summer pasture of Mt. Parnassus.[36] It
was easy to tell where Phocis and Locris were when you were in
the plain or river valley, where the towns were located, but less clear-
cut up in the hills where flocks and herds might move through the
same uplands.

As pressure increased to use land, disputes over ownership increased
as well. Such disputes are the subject of many inscriptions, as inde-
pendent arbitrators recorded both their decisions and, on occasion,
an account of the witnesses they interviewed. One dispute, between
rival communities claiming an area of pasture in northern Thessaly,
has left an especially rich dossier. One witness, Menippus, testified
that he had grazed his flocks in the contested area and had heard
from the old men in the region that the meadows (οἰκόπεδα) in ques-
tion had belonged to two men from Gonnoi, Callias and Philombrotus.
In further testimony offered to the judges investigating the dispute,
another shepherd, Ladicus, testified that not only had he heard from
the old men in the area that the people of Condaea had occupied
the region, but he also swore that the Condaeans had collected tolls
(τὸ παραγώγιον) in this district, something he knew because he had
grazed up there alone for long periods of time: καὶ μόνος ἐπίσταμαι
νομεύων ἐν τῇ χώραι πλείω χρόνον καὶ Κονδαιεῖς τηροῦντας τὸ παραγώγιον
ἐν τούτωι τῷ τόπωι.[37] The isolation of upland pasture made asserting

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[34] Jameson 2002, 63–68.
[35] Hanson 1995, 83.
[36] *Hell. Oxy.* 21.3 (Chambers).
[37] *IG* IX 2 521. ll. 15–18. See also Daverio Rocchi 1988b, 102–106, following
Piccirilli's reading of κ[αὶ αὐ]|τὸς, and Lucas 1991, 142.

control difficult. Demonstrating that they had collected taxes was one way of asserting ownership, but ultimately judges, variously called *gaodikai*, *dikastai*, or *ekdikoi*, would be dispatched to survey the land and render a decision. Daverio Rocchi has demonstrated that this frequently resulted in the publication of a boundary line, and we possess records of many such adjudications. For example, in the case of Miletus and Myus, who in the early fourth century submitted their case to a jury of at least twenty-five Ionian commissioners, the final decision was ratified by Strouses, the Persian satrap.[38] The boundaries thus determined were usually published as inscriptions erected in sanctuaries belonging to the contesting parties, or at a major international shrine such as Delphi (or both), thereby receiving the *imprimatur* of the gods. The boundaries established by these covenants thus became sacred. In fact, so fixed in Greek thought is the notion that a boundary is sacred that the term 'sacred line' was even applied to the boundary between opposing sides on a checker board.[39]

But grazing flocks do not pay much attention to whether they are chomping on grass on the east or west side of a line drawn on a map. For this reason, pasturage rights remained a difficult area to integrate into Greek law. We glimpse this in an archaic inscription from Western Locris, where the founding of a new community necessitated the division of fertile valley land in the plain of Hyla and Liskara. One of the first issues taken up by the community concerns *epinomia*, usually taken to mean pasturage rights, suggesting an early attempt to reconcile the needs of the farmer with those of the herder.[40] Yet the final sanction remains religious: the new covenant is referred to as a *tethmos hiaros* to Apollo and the gods who share his sanctuary.

It was not only the decisions regarding land that were sanctioned by the gods. The very land itself might be dedicated to a god. From the point of view of grazing herds this made sense. As long as both

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[38] For Miletus and Myus see *SIG*³ 134. Examples of linear border treaties collected by Daverio Rocchi 1988b, 92–129, include Cnossos and Tylissos; Orchomenos and Methydrion; Megalopolis and Thouria; Mondaea and Azoros; Ambracia and Charadros; Aetolia and Acarnania; Oeniadae and Metropolis; Copae and Acraephia, Halae and Boumelitae; Miletus and Magnesia. The list is by no means exhaustive. At Delphi, for example, at least one of the arbitrations classified by Daverio Rocchi as part of 'le zone di frontiera' should be regarded as linear. See *FD* III 2 136, ll. 18–33.

[39] Alcaeus *Fr.* 82 B. = Z28 L.-P., with an explanation by Eustathius, *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 1.107.

[40] Buck 1955, 255–257.

sides could agree on how to use the land, there was no need to fight over who actually owned it. Thus, when the Locrian towns of Myania and Hypnia agreed to a *sumpoliteia* in the second century they settled the question of the border zone by simply guaranteeing that no one could stay on it long enough to claim it:

> If any of the shepherds who have pastured their sheep in the area in the past brings his sheep before they are clipped, let him take them away once he has clipped them. But all the shepherds who have not previously used the land as pasture, while they are clipping their sheep and putting them to pasture here, may remain and fold their sheep here for ten days.[41]

> Εἰ δέ τις τῶν προβατέων τῶν χρησαμένων τὰ πρόβατα ποτάγοι πρὸ τᾶς λώτιος λωτίξας—Ὅσοι δέ κα τῶν προβατέων μὴ χρήσωνται τᾶι χώραι λωτίζοντες τὰς πόκας νέμοντες ἐν τᾶι χώραι αὐλιζόντω ἀμέρας δέκα.

The stipulation that herds could only pass through *temenos* land rather than staying indefinitely was a natural development of the Greek practice of keeping flocks off the god's terrain, as can be seen in the well-known regulations from Arcesine on Amorgos:

> No one shall be allowed to bring flocks into the sanctuary; if anyone does bring them in, the flocks are to be sacred to Zeus Temenites. Anyone who wishes can make an indication to the council and be rewarded with half.[42]

> Πρόβατα δὲ μὴ ἐξέστω ἐμβιβάσκεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος μηδενί. εἰὰν δ᾽ ἐμβιβάσκηι, ἔστω τὰ πρόβατα ἱερὰ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τεμενίτου. ἐνδεικνύεν ἐξέστω τῶι βουλομένωι ἐπὶ ἡμίσει εἰς τὴν βουλήν.

These arrangements were practical responses to the simple fact that moving herds and fixed borders are incompatible. Sacred land and border sanctuaries allowed these herds and herdsmen to be brought at least partially within the sphere of recognizable institutions. This is what happened, for example, when the Aitolians invaded the northern Peloponnese in the 240s. The sanctuary of Artemis, which lay midway between Kynaitha and Kleitor in the Peloponnese offered

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[41] *FD* IV 4 352 Col. 3 ll. 2–7. The terms λῶτις and λωτίζειν, which are translated here as references to shearing, remain opaque. In the case of a *sumpoliteia* between Ilion and Skamandroi, Piejko has also suggested seeing an agreement to share pasture land as one of the terms of the accord. He restores ll. 22–23 as follows: κατανεμ]έσαι [καὶ εἶναι κοι]νοὺ[ς γεωργοῖς καὶ βουκόλοις εἰς τ]ὰ βουκόλ[ια τὴν Π]έτραν φ[ρούριον or φ[υλακήν. See *I.Ilion* 63; *contra* see *SEG* 41 (1991), 1055.
[42] *IG* XII 7 62, ll. 36–38.

asylum to the herds and herdsmen of both communities.[43] Located at the edge of either *polis*' territory, the extramural sanctuary could serve as a safe haven for pastoralists regardless of the city to which they belonged.

It is not surprising that religion offered a means of resolving potential disputes over land. Inviolability was supposed to trump conflict. In fact, it is these very themes of conflict and resolution that underlie the confrontation (and its happy resolution) between Hermes and Apollo in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*. The hymn can be read as authorizing the belief that a sacred meadow is hallowed not merely because it has sacred cows on it but because its inviolability arises from a reconciliation between the gods. Unlike other hymns that deal primarily with a single god's *aristeia* or sacred journey, the *Hymn to Hermes* puts us in the world of Apollo the cattle herder, and Hermes, the cattle rustler, who sets his eye on cutting fifty head out of the herd (*hMerc.* 4.68–72):

> Helios was plunging down from the earth into the ocean
> with his horses and chariot when Hermes in haste
> reached the shaded mountains of Pieria,
> where the divine cattle of the blessed gods had their stalls
> And grazed on the lovely untrodden meadows.
>   (tr. Athanassakis)

> Ἥλιος μὲν ἔδυνε κατὰ χθονὸς Ὠκεανόνδε
> αὐτοῖσίν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἅρμασιν· αὐτὰρ ἄρ' Ἑρμῆς
> Πιερίης ἀφίκανε θέων ὄρεα σκιόεντα,
> ἔνθα θεῶν μακάρων βόες ἄμβροτοι αὖλιν ἔχεσκον
> βοσκόμεναι λειμῶνας ἀκηρασίους ἐρατεινούς.

Hermes goes on to steal the cattle, drives them backwards all the way to sandy Pylos and is eventually confronted by Apollo in his crib on the side of Mt. Cyllene. This is a lengthy sacred journey, in some ways harsher than the Delos-to-Delphi route of the *Hymn to Apollo*, and also different in that it is not a pilgrimage route and is associated with not one god's *aristeia* but two. Thematically the hymn moves from theft to restitution, from conflict to amity, from deceit to *timai*, shown by the most potent sign of compromise, the exchange of gifts. At the end, the poet can sing (*h. Merc.* 4.506–509):

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[43] Plb. 4.17–18. See Sinn 1992.

Then both of them turned the cows toward,
the divine meadow, and the beautiful children of Zeus
rushed to return to snowy Olympus,
delighting in the lyre . . .
                              (tr. Athanassakis)

ἔνθα βόας μὲν ἔπειτα ποτὶ ζάθεον λειμῶνα
ἐτραπέτην· αὐτοὶ δέ, Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα,
ἄψορροι πρὸς Ὄλυμπον ἀγάννιφον ἐρρώσαντο
τερπόμενοι φόρμιγγι . . .

The hymn establishes the sacred meadow as an uncultivated location, dedicated to the god's cattle and, more importantly, as a place where the gods have settled their dispute and resolved their conflict. If the gods agree not to fight on such land, what choice have humans?

The inviolability of space is analogous to the inviolate time of the *ekekheiria*, the Olympic truce. Just as there were times when conflict was banned, so too sacred places were meant to be free of armed conflict. According to Polybius 4.73, the wealthy gentry of Elis had no experience of danger, were untouched by war and led a holy life (*hieron bion*) because their entire territory was declared holy and inviolate, thanks to their stewardship of Olympia.[44] Even the violations of this, such as the invasion by Philip V, only serve to show that over the long duration of Greek history this was a powerful idea.

5. *Sanctuaries, sacred meadows and borderlands*

The *Hymn to Hermes* offers a model for the use of sacred territory as neutral ground. Just as the hymn asserts the inviolability of sacred land and transforms it into a place of gift exchange and the resolution of conflicts, so too actual sanctuaries could mark the places where the extremities of a city's territory intersected with that of its neighbors.[45] It makes sense, then, that where three territories meet, such as in the center of the island of Rhodes, there should be a sanctuary to Zeus Atabyrios marking the highest point within the border zone separating Ialysos, Lindos and Kamiros. Or, that on the border between Messenia and Lacedaemon there was a sanctu-

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[44] For a nuanced treatment of Elian identity and the importance of Elis' control of Olympia see Nafissi 2003.
[45] Chaniotis 1992, 21–39.

ary of Artemis Limnatis and that both Messenians and Lacedaemonians shared possession of the cult (Paus. 4.41).

The sacred land attached to such border sanctuaries was frequently left to go uncultivated. In part, as we have seen, this allowed for small flocks and herds to pass through intermittently. A second factor, however, was that sacralizing the land undercut the chances of any single state cultivating and thereby claiming the land. For example, a famous fourth-century inscription from Delphi detailing the administration of the sacred land of Apollo stipulates:

> Should anyone cultivate the land which the Amphictyons have declared sacred, when the circuit inspection (*perodos*) takes place, let them be fined [a certain number] of Aeginetan staters per plethron.

> Αἴ τις τὰν γᾶν ἐπιεργάζοιτο ἂν Ἀμφικτίονες ἰάρωσαν, ἐπεί κα ἁ πέροδος γίνεται, ἀποτεισάτω . . . στατῆρας Αἰγιναίος κὰτ τὸ πέλεθρον ἕκαστον . . .[46]

Attempts by the people of Amphissa to seize and cultivate this land precipitated the fourth-century Sacred War. But the desecration of Delphi's sacred land in this one instance must be measured against the centuries during which the decision to take such fertile land out of production was honored. Even when states could not agree on their borderlands and required outside adjudication, the sanctuaries shared by them might be the one point of agreement, as in the case of Phthiotic Thebes and Halos, who called upon an arbiter to reconcile their border dispute. The judge noted that even though the two sides had disagreed and had sent representatives to accompany the judge on his circuit, they nevertheless had both displayed goodwill regarding the sacred land on their borders.[47] Another example of uncultivated land is the Skorta plain, in the highlands between Athens and Thebes, where according to Thucydides the Athenians and Boeotians swore oaths that neither side would inhabit the upland district around Panakton and instead agreed to use the area as common pasture land. The arrangement broke down during the Peloponnesian War, when a fort was built in this neutral zone (Thuc. 5.42):

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[46] *CID* 1.10. 15–16
[47] *FD* III 4 335, ll. 25–29: . . . ἐκατέρων εὐδοκεόντων περὶ τᾶς μὲν ἱερᾶς χώρας . . . Similarly, provisions regarding pasturage may be part of the border agreements recorded for Messenia in *IG* V 1 1429 and 1430. In the former it may be preferable to restore ἐπινομία rather than προνομία, while the latter stipulates that water is to be shared, another stipulation understandable in the context of flocks moving through a border zone. On *epinomia* see Georgoudi and *IG* IX 2 3 (Hypatae) for *epinomia* as an honor comparable to *proxenia* and *enktêsis*.

In the meantime, . . . the Lacedaemonian ambassadors, Andromedes, Phaedimus, and Antimenidas, who were to receive the prisoners from the Boeotians and restore them and Panakton to the Athenians, found that the Boeotians had themselves razed the fort at Panakton, on the excuse that oaths had been anciently exchanged between their people and the Athenians, after a dispute on the subject, to the effect that neither should inhabit the place, but that they should graze it in common. . . . The envoys at the same time announced the razing of Panakton, which to them seemed as good as its restitution, as it would no longer lodge an enemy of Athens.

ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ . . . οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀνδρομένης καὶ Φαίδιμος καὶ Ἀντιμενίδας, οὓς ἔδει τὸ Πάνακτον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς παρὰ Βοιωτῶν παραλαβόντας Ἀθηναίοις ἀποδοῦναι, τὸ μὲν Πάνακτον ὑπὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν αὐτῶν καθῃρημένον ηὗρον, ἐπὶ προφάσει ὡς ἦσάν ποτε Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Βοιωτοῖς ἐκ διαφορᾶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅρκοι παλαιοὶ μηδετέρους οἰκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ νέμειν . . . τοῦ τε Πανάκτου τὴν καθαίρεσιν ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς, νομίζοντες καὶ τοῦτο ἀποδιδόναι. πολέμιον γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίοις οἰκήσειν οὐδένα . . .

The advantage of common pasture was that it sidestepped the question of ownership.

The best-known example of sacred land employed as a neutral zone was the Eleusinian land on Attica's western border with Megara. Challenged to rescind the Megarian decree the Athenians countered with the charge that the Megarians were working land that Thucydides describes as 'sacred and unbordered' (Thuc. 1.139):[48]

But Athens was not inclined either to revoke the decree, or to entertain their other proposals; she accused the Megarians of pushing their cultivation into the consecrated ground and the unenclosed land on the border, and of harboring her runaway slaves.

(tr. Crawley)

οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε τἆλλα ὑπήκουον οὔτε τὸ ψήφισμα καθῄρουν, ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεῦσι τῆς γῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ὑποδοχὴν τῶν ἀφισταμένων.

This land, also known as the Sacred Meadow (*orgas*), continued to be a source of contention between the states, and in the fourth century the neutral zone was extended. Androtion and Philochorus both record the decision to consecrate the territory adjacent to the Orgas, and both also note that the decision to leave the land untilled was recommended by the oracle at Delphi, which said that it would be

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[48] The land was sacred to Demeter and Persephone; see Isager 1992.

'profitable and better' if they did not cultivate this land.[49] The inscription detailing the Athenian embassy to Delphi shows that the Athenians took seriously that it was up to Apollo to decide. Unless the land was entirely empty the only economic activity that would not have violated these terms was the grazing of animals. It may be that animals here would end up sacrificed at the sanctuary of Eleusis. Certainly it was the Eleusinian priests, the Hierophant, the Kerykes and Dadouchos and Eumolpidai, who conducted the inspection. So the pressure on the *orgas* may have come from a need to keep the sanctuary supplied with meat, a pressure which I have argued elsewhere helps to explain the dedication of the sacred plain below Delphi.

6. *Integrated economies?*

When viewed through this lens, sanctuaries come into focus in a new way. We are used to seeing sanctuaries as centers of mediation, both of aristocratic competition and interstate rivalry, but to this we can add that border sanctuaries were where the pastoral economy intersected with the agrarian. In this respect even modest sanctuaries may have resembled the vast panhellenic sanctuaries like Delphi, Olympia or Delos. At these supra-regional sanctuaries leasing arrangements made it possible for large stretches of land to be exploited in a variety of ways. At Delos, for example, a considerable corpus of inscriptions attests to the detailed leasing of *hiera khôra*, which might include plots for the growing of grain, cultivation of grapes, and the raising of sheep and cattle. The leased land often came with buildings both for human habitation and stalls for the animals, such as the *boustasis* and *probatôna athura* mentioned in *I.Delos* 452. Based on the evidence of the Delos leases Robin Osborne has proposed that the sacred land was primarily dedicated to cattle-raising. This has been challenged by Michele Brunet, who finds in the epigraphic evidence and in the signs of terracing, especially towards the southern end of the island, indications of the full range of farming activities taking place in what she calls 'un terroir florissant'.[50] Yet it is worth noting that the sacrificial calendar of a great sanctuary with its relentless cycle

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[49] Andotion, *FGrH* III B 324 F 30, Philochorus, *FGrH* III B 328 F 155 (= Didymus, *Comm. in Dem.* 13.40–14.49).
[50] Brunet 1990, 676–682, in reply to Osborne 1985 and Osborne 1988.

of sacrifice, consultation and dedication, required a constant supply of enormous quantities of meat.

At the regional level, the scale of husbandry may have been more modest, but the unique function of the sanctuary as a place for integrating agriculture and husbandry can be seen at work. For example, the sanctuary of Artemis at Hyampolis in eastern Phocis controlled extremely rich agricultural land. Instead of taking it out of production by making it pasture for sacred herds, it was leased in large numbers of smallholdings, presumably separate plots of cultivatable land, not pasture. In return for access to this desirable land the locals dedicated some of their animals to the goddess, believing that these animals grew up fatter and free from disease.[51] They may have been brought onto the sacred land to supply manure and grazed in the hills around as well. In this arrangement the sanctuary guaranteed the fair distribution of land. For this the sanctuary was paid in livestock, and since the goddess did not eat many cows herself, ultimately this wealth was redistributed to the community, probably at the Elaphebolia, the greatest festival in the Phocian religious calendar. So even though the sanctuary's land was better suited to agriculture than herding, it still served as a point of connection between the two different ways of exploiting the land. A similar arrangement probably existed at Epizephyrian Locris, where rent for plots of the sacred land was termed 'sacred monies' but collected in *medimnoi* of grain, suggesting that land was being kept under cultivation.[52] And sanctuary land might even be leased to another community altogether. The people of Epidaurus evidently relied on the land of Apollo near Asine since their own territory was insufficient (Thuc. 5.5). At Oropos, too, the sacred land included some of the best terrain, including the coastal plain. This is suggested by the high proportion of wheat to barley in the first fruits dedicated by the Amphiaraon, an indication that the land was particularly productive. Even as the countryside shows evidence of increased levels of habitation and more intense agriculture during the classical period, the sanctuary of Amphiaraus came to control an area of perhaps 3,414 ha., or 17% of the total area under the control of Oropos.[53]

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[51] *IG* IX 87; Paus. 10.35.
[52] Ampolo 1992, 26.
[53] See Cosmopoulos 2001, 74–75.

There is a last way in which sanctuaries ended up shaping the relationship of agriculture and pastoralism, by limiting the time and conditions under which flocks grazed key areas. Even a sacred herd was subject to stipulations, such as those designed to avoid over-grazing, as shown by the sacred law from the sanctuary of Athena Alea in Tegea. The regulations include the clause (ll. 15–16): τὰ ἱιερὰ πρόβατα μὲ νέμεν ἰν Ἀλέαι πλὸς ἀμέρας καὶ νυκτός, εἰκ ἂν διελαυνόμενα τύχε, 'The sacred sheep are not to graze in the sanc-tuary of Alea for longer than a day and a night if they happen to be driven (onto its land)'.[54] The only exception was during festival time, when the demand for sacrificial animals required a greater sup-ply of meat at hand (ll. 8–10): τᾶς τριπαναγόρσιος τὰς ὑστέρας τρῖς ἀμέρας νέμεν ὅ τι ἀν βόλετοι ὃς μὲ ἰν τοῖ περιχόροι, 'During the last three days of the three major festivals they may graze wherever they wish, provided no animal is pastured in the concourse'. In addition to the animals brought in at festival time, the sanctuary allowed the priest to keep a small herd of animals, presumably for sale to visi-tors at less busy times. The inscription begins (ll. 1–2): τὸν ἱιερὲν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι οἶς νέμεν καὶ ζεῦγος καὶ αἶγα, 'The priest may pasture 25 sheep, a yoke of cattle and a goat'. In fact, what is happening is that the sanctuary is functioning like a county fair, encouraging the bringing of animals to a central location in a controlled setting. Pausanias describes just such an event at Tithorea, a small town on the north side of Parnassus, saying that on the third day of the fes-tival of Isis, the morning was given over to the sale of slaves, flocks, herds, clothes, gold and silver, while the afternoon was given to sacrifice, beginning with the wealthiest sacrifices of cattle and going down the scale to geese and guinea fowl. This picture conforms to Poseidippus' description of Hellenistic Plataea as 'a strip of land most of the time and only a *polis* at festival time' (τὸ πολὺ μὲν ἀκτὴ, τοῖς δ' Ἐλευθερίοις πόλις).[55] How ironic! Even as the towns of Hellenistic Greece were shrinking, the seasonal fair and festival was imported from the countryside, allowing the city to flourish, if ever so briefly.

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[54] *IG* V 2 3 = Sokolowski *LSCG* 67. See Georgoudi 1974, 178.
[55] Poseidippus, quoted by Heraclides Criticus I 11 (Pfister).

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, it was in the hinterland that wild met tame, where shepherd met hunter, and where the sanctuary provided safety for all. Accordingly, rather than seeing sacred land as just public land under another name, or seeing extra-mural sanctuaries as the penetration of the hinterland by the *astu*, as does de Polignac, we should see border sanctuaries and their territories as playing a critical role in modulating conflict at the edge of cultivated territory and allowing for the incorporation of wilderness and hinterland into the world of the *polis*. Borderland, the quintessential liminal land, was made sacred to render wilderness safe and to allow its integration into the culture of the *polis*.

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CHAPTER FOUR

LACK OF BOUNDARIES, ABSENCE OF OPPOSITIONS: THE CITY-COUNTRYSIDE CONTINUUM OF A GREEK PANTHEON

Irene Polinskaya

1. *Introduction*

Distinctions between city and countryside deities, and between urban and rural sanctuaries are familiar classifications in contemporary studies of ancient Greek religion. City and countryside represent a paradigmatic pair that extends its hermeneutic force beyond the field of ancient religion to the fields of political, social and economic history of the ancient world, and figures in debates that range from pastoral and subsistence economy to the rise of the *polis*, urbanization, colonization, and the relationship between social and religious structures in general. This chapter addresses the city-countryside paradigm in current studies on ancient Greek religion and reexamines the imports and implications of the paradigm for the definition of ancient Greek deities and local Greek pantheons.

Quotes from two recent programmatic books on Greek religion illustrate the main ways in which the city-countryside distinction plays out in the field of Greek religion.

> Much less attention has been directed towards the questions why some divine sanctuaries were located in the polis but others not. If a sanctuary important for the religious life of the community is not situated in the heart of that community or at such a distance that citizens have to leave their familiar surroundings in order to worship, we may expect those cults to be in some ways in opposition to those which occupied a more central location. As cults co-determine the character of gods, an extra-mural cult may also point to an 'eccentric' or less central divinity . . .[1]

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[1] Bremmer 1994, 29. More specifically, Bremmer 1994, 17 gives examples of Zeus, Athena and Apollo as standing 'in the center of the polis', and of Demeter and Poseidon as standing 'off center'.

We should note two characteristic points in this summary statement which reflect a common perception among scholars: first, there is a direct association between the placement of sanctuaries and the social values ascribed to the notions of center and periphery. The city is equated with the physical and symbolic center of the social unit, the state, and as such, with the presence of order, hence, an in-town location of sanctuaries signifies the social centrality of cults, while an off-center location signals the deviance and eccentricity of cults.[2] Secondly, a direct parallelism is being postulated between the location of sanctuaries and the nature or character of deities worshiped at those locations. Accordingly, depending on their placement in either central or eccentric locations, deities are identified as 'orderly' or 'disorderly.'[3] The location of sanctuaries in or out of the city signals a hierarchy of social importance that informs the character of deities worshiped there, and more specifically serves to identify deities in terms of their relationship to the social order. The same perception is found in a more recent handbook on Greek religion by Simon Price:[4]

> The deities whose sanctuaries lay on a city's acropolis or agora were normally ordinary Olympian deities, *central both physically and metaphysically*. But the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros [situated about 750 meters to the west of the city outside of what was probably the main gate of Selinous], though important, was concerned with rites of transition and women, who *were not politically central* . . . Sanctuaries of Dionysos were also characteristically suburban: in some cities he bore the telling name 'in front of the city' . . . *The outsider-status of Dionysos made it appropriate for the sanctuaries to be away from the center, either physically or in terms of mythical origins*.[5]

The two passages quoted above outline the ways in which the city-countryside distinction models our views of Greek religion today: first, the dichotomy 'city-countryside' informs the significance of the topographic position of sanctuaries. The sanctuaries are commonly

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[2] Cf. Jost 1994, 227: 'human sacrifices like those celebrated on the peak of Lykaion, the practice of which seems connected with the making wild of a place where violence and primitive cruelty flourish in a way which would not be acceptable in the town'.

[3] Bremmer 1994, 15, with reference to Graf 1982, 157–185, esp. 166 as persuasive demonstration of the correlation between location of sanctuary and social order.

[4] Price 1999, 51–53.

[5] Emphases are mine.

classified *vis-à-vis* towns as urban, suburban, or extra-urban.[6] Second, the classification of sanctuaries *vis-à-vis* the city is extended to characterizing individual cults and deities as either urban, belonging to the city (*polis*), or rural, belonging to the country. Finally, in identifying deities as either city or country gods, many historians of Greek religion treat them as modalities, with respect to their name and nature, unaffected by the specificities of time or place, in other words, as composite (panhellenic) rather than concrete local personae.[7]

Already some twenty years ago, the simplistic equation between the placement of sanctuaries in the city center (usually on the acropolis or agora) and their primary civic importance in contrast to rural sanctuaries have been challenged and redefined in the studies of de Polignac (1984 [1995]) and Osborne (1987). Both have argued that rural, or extra-urban, sanctuaries were no less important for the social and political definition of the Greek states than urban sanctuaries.[8] In spite of this recognition, the old paradigm that equates center with order, and order with statehood, and hence makes urban sanctuaries symbolic of the social cohesion of ancient Greek states, still prevails.

This paradigm and the accompanying connotations have a long history in the scholarship. It goes back to the early sociological treatises of the nineteenth century, such as Fustel de Coulanges' *La cité antique* (1924), as well as to the early theories of urbanism.[9]

Katherine Morgan duly warns against misapplying 'the notion of urbanism . . . to ideas of political progress in the rise of the polis' because it was only in the nineteenth century that 'urbanism, in the sense of the city as an organic whole and life within it as an issue of moral and physical public health, was intimately linked with ideas of social progress'.[10] The association between the notions of 'city' and 'social order' is so deeply ingrained in our contemporary minds

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[6] Price 1999, 47.

[7] The problem with this approach has long since been articulated: see Sourvinou-Inwood 1991.

[8] Osborne 1987, 168–169; de Polignac 1995 [1984], 21–25.

[9] See Finley 1981.

[10] Morgan 2003, 49, and she continues: 'Similar overtones are evident in attempts to assess the relative date of "planned" towns in early Greek colonies and their mother cities as a sign of political development . . . Such preconceptions about the role of urban centers in the polis have biased interpretations of developments even in supposedly paradigmatic mainland cases, as Athens, Corinth and Argos'.

that a scholar is rarely moved to supply specific evidence in support
of an alleged connection between the two in particular historical
cases, while the association of countryside with wilderness more often
inspires a flurry of examples.[11]

While there has been some further reevaluation of the urban and
extra-urban locations of sanctuaries in recent scholarship, the second
common perception, namely that deities can be classified as urban
or *polis* gods as opposed to rural or country gods still holds strong,
in spite of the recognition that 'no particular god or goddess was
worshipped solely in a town or solely in a country environment . . .'.[12]
Most significant for this long-standing perception, which goes back
at least to the nineteenth century,[13] has been the influence of struc-
turalism, which operates with series of oppositions, functionally par-
allel to each other, so that:

	city	is opposed to	countryside
as	civilization	to	wilderness
as	culture + cultivation	to	pasture + hunting locales
as	center	to	periphery, borders
as	norm	to	abnormality (reverse of the norm)
as	order	to	disorder

In his seminal study of Hermes and Hestia as two opposed and, at
the same time, complementary religious figures, Vernant lists a whole
range of qualities associated with countryside in the modern, especially
structuralist, perception:

> In contrast to the world of town, house, and even cultivated fields,
> what the Greeks call ἀγρός is actually the pastoral sphere, land for
> pasturage, open country to which animals are led or where wild ani-
> mals are hunted—the wild and distant country filled with herds.[14]

And later, in the discussion of the Amphidromia ritual, Vernant con-
trasts 'the humanized ground within the house' with 'the untamed
ground of the great outside . . . the wild and distant country-side . . .
the alien and hostile space of the *agros*'.[15]

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[11] See Vernant 1983, notes 14–15 below.
[12] Osborne 1987, 166. See also Alcock and Osborne 1994.
[13] Cf. Fustel de Coulanges 1877, 198: 'Thus there were in Greece and in Italy
a multitude of city-guarding divinities. Each city had its gods, who lived within its
walls'. Fustel de Coulanges cites Hdt. 5.82; S. *Ph.* 134; Thuc. 2.71; E. *El.* 674;
Paus. 1.24, 4.8, 8.47; Ar. *Av.* 828, *Eq.* 577; V. *A.* 9.246; Pollux 9.40; Apollodorus
3.14 as supporting evidence.
[14] Vernant 1983, 151–152.
[15] Vernant 1983, 155.

The notion of countryside as wilderness, accentuated in the works of structuralists, is commonplace in scholarship on the ancient Greek world.[16] Exacerbating the situation, de Polignac has created a doubly problematic methodological knot by combining the classification of sanctuaries *vis-à-vis* the city (urban, suburban, and extra-urban) with the structuralist sets of opposed values in a way that has produced far-reaching and often undesirable effects on modern scholarship of Greek religion. For example, most regional studies of cults adopt de Polignac's classification in the structuring and organization of their publications.[17] Also instructive is the editorial step made by Bruit Zaidmann and Schmitt Pantel, in their *Religion in the Ancient Greek City*, who insert into the quote from Pausanias on the pantheon of Mantineia their own sub-divisions 'in the city', 'in the country (khora)'.[18] These examples illustrate to what extent the models that use the city-countryside distinction have become foundational in the studies of ancient Greek cults and sanctuaries. The danger of such uncritical usage of the city-countryside distinction is double: it impresses strong divisions where they did not exist; and, it makes all the ancient Greek cities look alike in their religious topography. This was plainly not the case.

2. *Identifying urban and rural sanctuaries and deities*

A brief survey of some paradigmatic cases commonly taken as proof for the validity of applying the city-countryside distinction to the classification of sanctuaries and deities in Greek religion helps to out-line the scope of issues involved. We may begin by recalling the fact, widely acknowledged in the scholarship on Greek religion, that the diversity of religious expression in the Greek world defies simple gen-eralization.[19] The main source of religious diversity was the existence of multiple local religious worlds corresponding to the geo-political fragmentariness of the Greek world throughout antiquity. It is this local evidence that constantly throws off any attempt to outline over-all, panhellenic rules and regularities in Greek religious practice. This is no less true for the classification of deities into city and country

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[16] Cf., e.g., Jost 1994, 222–223.
[17] Cf. Jost 1985 and Sporn 2002.
[18] Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1994, 210.
[19] Burkert 1985, 8.

gods than in many other cases. For example, if we call Zeus and
Athena city gods *par excellence*,[20] we have to qualify this with regard
to such states as Aegina where Athena was not worshiped at all,[21]
or where Athena's sanctuaries were out of town as, e.g., in Troezen.
And while, from one perspective, Poseidon is the 'off-center' deity, he
is 'la divinité civique par excellence' in Mantinea.[22] Similarly, some
scholars consider Dionysus the god of boundaries and margins *par
excellence*,[23] but one is immediately led to wonder if he is still that
when placed in the center of towns, as, e.g., in Athens, Aegina, and
Thasos.[24] Whenever we try to establish categories *par excellence* in
Greek religion we find ourselves playing an endless game of explain-
ing away exceptions to the rules. In the process of doing so we
explain away the very nature of the ancient Greek world, that is,
the political fragmentariness intimately linked to and supported by
the social and religious diversity.

To continue the survey, Pan would seem a prime candidate for
the rural god *par excellence*. Burkert states that 'the goat-god Pan stands
at the boundary of the *polis* culture and of humanity itself'.[25] Yet,
the locations of Pan's sanctuaries are not always rural. Indeed, most
of his shrines are found in the hills, but in some places they were
inside the city walls, e.g., in Arcadia, Athens, Thasos.[26] In Thasos,
the cave of Pan was on the slope of the acropolis right below the
summit, and within the city walls.[27] Pan's cave on an acropolis cer-
tainly challenges his definition as a rural god *par excellence*, but it does
not mean that one needs to swing the pendulum of characterization
to the other extreme and call him an urban deity. Rather these
examples show that the distinction between city and countryside fails
to produce meaning in the case of Pan. If Pan could be shown to
have a consistent cultic identity throughout the Greek world, it would
not be based on the location of his sanctuaries *vis-à-vis* the city.

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[20] Bremmer 1994, 17. Cf. note 1.

[21] The subject of Athena on Aegina is treated in detail in Polinskaya forthcoming.

[22] Bremmer 1994, 17; Jost 1985, 290.

[23] Von Reden 1998, 176.

[24] Athens: Travlos 1971, 537–552; Aegina: Paus 2.30.3; Thasos: Grandjean and
Salviat 2000, 92–94.

[25] Burkert 1985, 172.

[26] In Athens: cave on the northwest slope of Acropolis: Travlos 1971, 417–421
(figs. 536–539); Borgeaud 1988, 151–162.

[27] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 117–118, fig. 71 and fig. 12.

Artemis is another deity commonly associated with the countryside as the locus of wild animals and hunting. She is also thought to prefer wetlands, coastal or marshy areas. At the same time, Artemis frequently appears in town, as in Athens, Aegina, etc.[28] Demeter is yet another complicated case. Connected to the fertility of land, she is often placed in the countryside in proximity to the cultivated fields, but at the same time she is found in town, in Athens and Corinth, for example—below the acropolis and on the way to the agora. In Thebes, Demeter was the central deity resident on the acropolis. Susan Cole observed 'three patterns of sanctuary location for cults of Demeter: within the city, just outside, and at the borders of the city's territory. All three patterns seem to occur in all parts of the Greek world, and common to all is the identification of Demeter with the land, whether inside or outside the city'.[29] Once again we are forced to ask ourselves: if Demeter can be both rural and urban, does the classification of her sanctuaries into urban, suburban, or extra-urban have any general utility in defining her character?

3. *Dionysus and the Dionysia in Attica: a few notes*

Dionysus is a still more complicated case. Dionysus 'eludes definition', says Burkert.[30] The image of Dionysus as an outsider-god, an antithesis of social order, is mainly associated with his portrayal in Euripides' *Bacchae*,[31] but Albert Henrichs has shown that the Dionysus of myth, as seen in the *Bacchae*, was quite unlike the Dionysus of cult, at least in Attica. Pertinent to our discussion is the attestation of a terminological distinction between the Dionysiac festivals related to the city and the countryside in Attica: Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει and Διονύσια τὰ κατ᾽

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[28] Travlos 1971, 124–226 (Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis), and two other sanctuaries away from the Acropolis (Artemis Agrotera and Artemis Aristoboule), Travlos 1971, 112–123; on Aegina: Paus. 2.30.

[29] Cole 1994, 215.

[30] Burkert 1985, 222. Cf. von Reden 1998, 176.

[31] Henrichs 1990, 258: 'The mythical Dionysus of Euripidean drama in particular has lately been viewed against the background of these and similar pairs of conceptual opposites, including that of "city" and "country". The Thebes of the *Bacchae*, for instance, has been perceived as the conceptual antonym to Mt. Kithairon, where Pentheus, the defender of "polis-values," meets his challenger, the "foreign" god and his "mad" female companions, the mythical maenads. This contrast between the civic center of the polis and its hinterland does not function solely on the level of myth'.

ἀγρούς.[32] It is a profitable case for exploring the relationships between the location and the nature of cult because the distinction between city and countryside here stems from the ancient context and not from a modern conceptual approach. Let us examine whether there is a connection between the terminological distinctions ἐν ἄστει and κατ᾽ ἀγρούς and the ascription of specific values to the concepts of city and countryside, as Henrichs sees it: 'by differentiating between the City Dionysia and the Country Dionysia, the Athenians recognized the distinctive cultic identities of the city and the surrounding country with its inland and coastal regions'.[33]

The earliest attestation of the Διονύσια τὰ κατ᾽ ἀγρούς occurs in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, staged in 425 BCE. This comedy is commonly taken as the most explicit evidence for the sharp opposition between the values of city and countryside felt by the Athenians, at least at the time of the Peloponnesian War.[34] The play presents a displaced farmer Dicaeopolis who has been confined to the city for the entire six years of the war. After concluding his private peace with the enemy, he goes to his native deme to celebrate the Country Dionysia. Henrichs observes: 'The Dionysus of the country reorients the city toward its rural roots and thus toward peace ... It is this Aristophanic vision of the country Dionysus as the wine-god, the peacemaker, the cultivating force and even the matchmaker bringing the sexes together that prevailed in postclassical antiquity'.[35] Accordingly, the distinct cultic identity of the Attic countryside is

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[32] Henrichs 1990, 272, note 8: 'Διονύσια τὰ κατ᾽ ἀγρούς, the collective name for the sum total of rural Dionysia as seen from the viewpoint of the city rather than the demes, occurs in Aristophanes (*Ach.* 202, 250), Aeschines (1.157) and Theophrastus (*Char.* 3.5); cf. Isaeus 8.15 Διονύσια εἰς ἀγρόν. For Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει see, e.g., Dem. 21.10; Aesch. 1.43, 2.61 and 3.68; *IG* II 2 851.11f., 958.29f.; cf. Thuc. 5.20.1 ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθὺς τῶν ἀστικῶν. Plato (*Rep.* 475d) differentiates between Διονύσια κατὰ πόλεις (a difficult plural, unless he was looking beyond Athens) and κατὰ κώμας ... Διονύσια tout court ... the usual designation in inscriptions can refer to either festival ... The rural Dionysia of Piraeus ... acquired a special status Διονύσια τὰ ἐν Πειραιεῖ ... The Διονύσια τὰ ἐπὶ Ληναίωι, or Lenaia, are distinct from both the City and Country Dionysia'.

[33] Henrichs 1990, 259.

[34] Cf. Rusten 1989, 120–121: 'The rural opposition to the war never seems to have been politically organized, but it proved a powerful literary image; the heroes of *Acharnians* and *Peace* (Chremylus in the postwar *Wealth* resembles them) are displaced farmers, whom Aristophanes depicts as honest and pious, uninterested in politics, pursuing a life of simple, elemental pleasures—suppressing the fact that the rural population was, by and large, the wealthier ...'.

[35] Henrichs 1990, 270.

that of peaceful Dionysus, or vice versa, Dionysus of the Athenian countryside is predominantly colored by the perception of country-side as the locus of peace and stability.

In modern classical scholarship, countryside is, on the contrary, more often seen as the locus of anti-civic activities. It is considered a proper place for such disorderly females as the Bacchants, and hence appears as the locus of wilderness and unruly behavior.[36] Vernant, as seen above, associates these connotations with the term *agroi* in particular. From such a perspective, *Dionusia ta kat' agrous* should have all the accompanying characteristics of hostility, danger and disorder. The latter perception is in stark contrast with the image of countryside that emerges from the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes. In the *Acharnians*, countryside is the traditional habitation area for most Athenians, and hence is not a wilderness;[37] and, Dicaeopolis envisions celebrating Dionysus in the countryside in a peaceful civic way. In other words, while we may agree that a contrast between city and countryside is present both in the *Bacchae* of Euripides (from which many scholars still take their image of both Dionysus and the wild countryside) and the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, the values associated with the coun-tryside are the reverse of each other in these two cases.

Consequently, for those who see a direct link between the loca-tion of a religious festival and the character of a deity, the task of sorting out two quite different images of Dionysus in Attic drama is formidable: one image is wild and antisocial, the other is peaceful and civic, and both are linked to the countryside.[38] We may avoid facing such a paradox if we allow that while ancient Greeks some-times articulated a contrast between city and countryside, they attached no permanent ideological values to each member of the pair or to the pairing itself. Rather, the contrast may have in each case derived from the specific circumstances of time and place. Fortunately, in the case of Attica, we have contemporary textual evidence that helps to shed light on the peaceful image of the countryside that emerges from the *Acharnians*.

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[36] Cf. quotes from Vernant 1983 above at note 14 and 15; also, e.g., Osborne 1987, 169–170, and McInerney in this volume.

[37] See Polinskaya 2003, 93–97.

[38] The question is not whether the historical Theban countryside was different from the Athenian, and hence could explain the difference between the images of Dionysus in the *Bacchae* vs. the *Acharnians*, rather the question is how a scholar using the city-countryside paradigm of opposing values can reconcile it with the blatantly contradictory testimonia of Attic drama.

In the famous excursus on the synoecism of Attica by Theseus, Thucydides testifies that the Athenians from time immemorial and up to the Peloponnesian War had always lived in the countryside, and that Theseus' synoecism was purely political, and did not affect traditional patterns of habitation. Quite apart from the question of dating the synoecism of Attica, this testimony clearly presents a picture of Attica with multiple local centers of habitation, but only one political center of decision-making applicable to all the subdivisions of Attica.[39] In addition, this passage beautifully illustrates the use of the most common terms denoting city and countryside in ancient Greek texts: πόλις, ἄστυ, ἀγρός, χώρα.[40]

In this passage, Thucydides uses *polis* in the sense of 'town', which is the seat of communal power, administrative autonomy.[41] These towns, or townships, were located throughout what was in the days of Thucydides called *agroi*, 'countryside': in 2.14.2 Thucydides uses the phrase *en tois agrois* to describe the locales of Athenian habitation (διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ εἰωθέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διαιτᾶσθαι),[42] and three lines later, in 2.15.1, he uses the phrase *kata poleis* with reference to the same pattern of habitation: ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐς Θησέα αἰεὶ *κατὰ πόλεις* ᾠκεῖτο. We must conclude that *kata poleis* and *en tois agrois*

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[39] Hornblower argues for a Dark Age date on the basis of 'analogy with Athens' neighbors', but points out that the testimony of Thucydides 'about continued physical settlement in the countryside *can* be checked, and has been confirmed, by archaeology and epigraphy' (Hornblower 1991, 264).

[40] Thucydides 2.14.2–17: 'And the removal [into Athens] was a hard thing for them [Athenians] because most of them had always used to live in the countryside (*en tois agrois*). This habitation pattern had been characteristic of the Athenians more than of other [Greeks] since very ancient times. For, at the time of Cecrops and the first kings up to the time of Theseus, the population of Attica had always lived in multiple towns (*kata poleis*), each with its own town hall and magistrates . . . and they each had self rule and took counsel for themselves . . . (2.15.2) but when Theseus became king showing himself powerful in addition to being wise, he regulated the country (*tên khôran*) in many respects, and also dissolved the councils and the rule of the other towns (*poleôn*) [bringing them] into what is now one town (*polin*), creating one council and one town hall; he united them all, and although they each continued to dwell in their own locations as before, he compelled them to use only that one town (*polei*) [as their political center] . . . (2.16.2) they were depressed and bore it heavily leaving behind their homes and sanctuaries . . . (2.17) and when they arrived in town (*es to astu*), there were homes and places to stay with friends and relatives for only a few of them'.

[41] Cf. Skydgaard 2000.

[42] Thucydides repeats the same phrase in 2.16.1: διὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς γενόμενοί τε καὶ οἰκήσαντες.

describe the same locales of habitation, and in this case *agroi* must mean 'countryside' in general. This is also, in my opinion, the meaning of *agroi* in *Dionusia ta kat'agrous*. Although there was only one *polis* (center with the seat of political authority) in Attica in the days of Thucydides and Aristophanes, people continued to live in *agroi* until the Peloponnesian War and the forced removal into the city of Athens. Hence, in the cases under discussion, *agroi* do not refer exclusively to 'wilderness', uncultivated areas where wild beasts roam,[43] but embrace all types of terrain and landscape outside of the urban center of Athens, that is, the land under human exploitation, both fields and pasture.

In a recent study, Nicholas Jones has challenged the translation of *kat' agrous* as 'rural', and I agree that it is not the best way to render the Greek phrase in English, but Jones' arguments in favor of limiting the sense of *agroi* to 'fields' raise more questions than the alternative translation as 'rural'.[44] Jones does not discuss the third possible translation of *agroi* as 'country' used by Henrichs and adopted in the present study. The understanding of *agroi* as fields is useful for Jones in two ways. It underscores what he sees as the agricultural origin of the Dionysia, and helps explain the presence of the Country Dionysia in two intra-mural demes, Piraeus and Collytus.[45] Agricultural activity could take place in urban, near-urban, and extra-urban locations, as Jones argues, and since Piraeus and Collytus contained some fields, they were fit to conduct what should be called, in Jones' terms,

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[43] Cf. above at notes 14 and 15, quotes from Vernant 1983, 151–152 and 155. In Homeric usage and perhaps in its origin, *agroi*, etymologically linked to ἄγειν, may have referred to the wilderness as a realm of wild beasts and grazing herds, as Chantraine 1956, 34–35 has shown: 'Tous les employs du mot ἀγρός . . . semblent confirmer l'étymologie . . . derivée de ἄγω: il s'agit du terraine découvert qui entoure la ville ou la maison et qui est envisagé non comme un emplacement que l'on cultive mais comme l'espace libre où, notamment, l'on mène les bêtes (ἄγειν)'. In post-Homeric usage, however, 'the feeling of this etymology has been lost' (Chantraine 1956, 36), and the word primarily refers to cultivated lands. The derivatives of ἀγρός, however, e.g., ἀγρότερος and ἄγριος, preserve the original meaning of *agros* as the countryside where herds and wild beasts roam (Chantraine 1956, 36–37).

[44] Jones 2004, 126 furthers notes that if the Athenians meant to say 'rural Dionysia' they would have used a phrase *ta kata khôran Dionusia*, but *khôra* did not always signify 'all of a state's territories outside the walled central conurbation', as Jones (2004, 293, note 10) has it. In our passage from Thucydides 2.15.2, e.g., *khôra* refers to the country (territorial state of Attica) as a whole.

[45] Jones 2004, 126 and 141.

Dionysia in the fields.[46] It seems to me that the narrow understanding of *agroi* in *ta kat'agrous* as 'fields' is unnecessary. That Piraeus and Collytus should celebrate the Country Dionysia would not contradict their urban, intra-mural, location if we allow for the possibility that they had been celebrating the Dionysia long before they found themselves encircled by a city wall.

Although I think Jones and Henrichs are correct in their view on the agricultural connection, perhaps even the origin, of the Dionysia in Attica, I do not believe that the description τὰ κατ᾽ ἀγρούς has either an evaluative or a technical meaning. In other words, I suggest, first, that τὰ κατ᾽ ἀγρούς does not refer to the 'fields' specifically, but to the countryside in general, in contra-distinction to the city of Athens (*astu*); second, that this terminological distinction does not carry with it an evaluative opposition that somehow reflects the cultic nature of Dionysus in Attica. Two facts in particular support my position. First, the terminological distinction Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει and Διονύσια τὰ κατ᾽ ἀγρούς is attested for the first time in 425 BCE, but the Country Dionysia had been celebrated long before that date, as we gather from the *Acharnians*, and presumably did not need such a distinction until 425 BCE. The unprecedented displacement of Athenians from the Attic countryside into the city during the first years of the Peloponnesian War, and the concomitant crisis of daily life in the city may have produced an antithesis of city and country-side,[47] which was nevertheless a time-specific phenomenon of short duration.[48] This antithesis was not generally sensed before the late fifth century BCE, as Henrichs himself observes with regard to Attic drama.[49]

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[46] Jones 2004, 126–127 and e.g., 138: 'Plainly, Peiraieus town, though enclosed within the walls and hardly "rural" in the customary sense of that term, did possess sufficient "fields" to justify the phrase *ta kat' agrous Dionysia*'.

[47] 'Pericles' strategy (13.2) was to defend only the city; though he approves the policy, Thucydides emphasizes how much hardship and resentment it produced when the rural population had to abandon its homes for refuge inside the walls (Xen. *Oec.* 6.6–7 and Hansen, V.O., *Warfare and Agriculture in Classical Greece*, 1983, 111–126). The natural antipathy between the populations of town and country was thereby exacerbated' (Rusten 1989, 120).

[48] At the same time, the demographic situation may have experienced more lasting changes: 'The shift of population from countryside to city, here remarked on by Th., seems to have been never reversed . . . Study by A. Damsgaard-Madsen of the funeral inscriptions (plenty of country demesmen buried in the city, few city demotics in country deme contexts) suggests that "classical Athens witnessed a considerable migration into the city area from the rest of Attica"' (Hornblower 1991, 268).

[49] Henrichs 1990, 269.

Second, the expression *ta kat' agrous* is never used in the epigraphic records from the demes, where the festival is always simply called *ta Dionusia*. This circumstance, as Jones rightly observes,[50] suggests that the distinction is made from the point of view of Athens, and most likely has a literary origin. In other words, from the point of view of Athens, *ta Dionusia* of the Attic demes are those celebrated in the countryside (*kat' agrous*), rather than those celebrated in Athens (*en astei*). The underlying sense of these distinctions may be more political and demographic than religious: the difference of the Country and the City Dionysia was in their status.

The City Dionysia assembled an audience of Athenian citizens coming from all demes, for which Athens was a common political center. The Country Dionysia, while they might have been open to non-demesmen, assembled primarily the residents of one or several particular demes. The Country and the City Dionysia may be said to reflect the demographic and the political structure of Attica respectively, with a traditional pattern of habitation in the countryside, *kata poleis*, in the words of Thucydides, but with one political center, one present-day *polis*. In this case *kat'agrous* is primarily a spatial reference. Jones' translation 'fields' underscores the agrarian nature of the festival, but the testimony of Plato, *Republic* 5.475d, describing the fans of choral performances who run around the Dionysia, leaving out neither those *kata poleis* nor those *kata kômas*,[51] seems to indicate spatial, or administrative divisions, not agricultural origins. Although agriculture, or more specifically, viticulture, may have been the origin of the festival, this was not the purpose of the terminological distinction apparently invented in the late fifth century BCE. Rather, as is clear from Aristophanes, the phrase *ta kat'agrous* is explicitly used to distinguish the country festival from the city one, the former that gathers together Athenians by deme, i.e., on the basis of their place of residence, and the latter that gathers Athenians as a citizen body, on the basis of their political membership.

In sum, the word *agroi* in the phrase *ta kat'agrous Dionusia* does not exclusively refer either to an agricultural, or to a wild realm, but to countryside in general, which was comprised of various agricultural

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[50] Jones 2004, 127.
[51] Henrichs 1990, 272, note 8 remarks that the plural of *kata poleis* is difficult to explain 'unless Plato was looking beyond Athens', and Jones 2004, 126 also finds no profitable way of making use of this testimony.

and pastoral areas with accompanying villages, urban settlements, and individual farms, in contrast to Athens as *astu*, the largest walled urban settlement in Attica, the political and administrative center of all Athenians. The distinction between the Dionysia in Attica, τὰ κατ᾽ ἀγρούς and τὰ ἐν ἄστει, neither signifies two images of Dionysus, nor derives from some inherent evaluative opposition, city vs. countryside, but has to do with the traditional habitation patterns and the history of political organization in Attica.[52]

4. *Cults and sanctuaries: urban vs. rural?*

Classification of deities into urban and rural, and classification of sanctuaries along the same lines are, of course, related phenomena. As we move on to the discussion of the classification of sanctuaries *vis-à-vis* the city, it is appropriate to inquire further into the questions of not only terminological, but conceptual definitions: what was city, and what was country in the Greek world? And no less importantly: how justified or useful is such a modern division, even distinction? We need to address the issues of urbanism and population, of city walls in relation to boundary lines, and of politico-territorial organization of the Greek states.

4.1. *Urbanization and population*

Urbanization of the Greek world was an uneven process both in chronological and in topographic terms.[53] In some parts of the Greek world, nucleated walled settlements that can be called towns are attested 'by 700 BC, or even earlier. They include e.g. Argos, Thebes and Eretria in the Greek mainland, Smyrna in Asia Minor, and Megara Hyblaia and Syracuse in Sicily'.[54] John Camp refers to the study by Hayden and Nowicki who list sixteen walled sites on Crete ranging in date from the eleventh to ninth centuries BCE, and remarks that 'the known settlements on Crete are huge in comparison to what

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[52] Cf. Susan Cole's warning (1995, 317): 'There does not seem to be a simple explanation that works for all Greek poleis at all times and in all places. Only by a case by case analysis, with sensitivity to local variation and regional pressures, will we be able to understand how the individual polis represented civic life by its relations with the gods'.

[53] Cf. individual studies and overall conclusions in Damgaard Andersen et al. 1997.

[54] Hansen 1997, 41.

has been revealed by excavation in Greece proper; this contrast between the Greek mainland and Crete in the Dark Ages can hardly be emphasized enough. On the basis of all this I would argue that fortifications were, in fact, sine qua non in the rise of the Greek polis and perhaps the process of city-state formation can most profitably be studied in Iron Age Crete'.[55] In other parts of the Greek world, however, towns did not form until ca. 600 or even ca. 500 BCE.[56] Scholars who privilege the latter evidence maintain that 'both in Greece and in the colonies polis-formation in the sense of state-formation was so slow that it would be misleading to speak of cities in the urban sense before the late sixth century'.[57] Hansen, who argues that town-formation in general preceded state-formation in the Greek world, nevertheless notes that 'although the ancient Greeks showed a tendency toward clustering together in urban centers, it is a curious fact that they never coined a word to denote the urban population'.[58] With a view to the unevenness and the chronological range of the processes of town-formation, it would appear that such terms as 'urban' and 'extra-urban' sanctuaries would be for the most part misnomers in the eighth and seventh centuries: if there is no 'urban' center, there can be no 'urban' or 'extra-urban' sanctuary. This evidence undermines at least the weight of the examples taken by de Polignac from Arcadia in support of his bi-polar model of an early archaic state.[59] As Hansen notes, 'of the Arcadian poleis fourteen are attested in the archaic period as poleis in the political sense but to date only two of these are known to have been nucleated settlements before 500 BC viz., Orchomenos and, probably, Phigalia'.[60] In addition, as has been pointed out, many scholars, including de Polignac himself, admit that some sanctuaries that in the classical period are found in extra-urban locations, away from political centers of states, originally, in the late-geometric and early-archaic periods, were centers

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[55] Camp 2000, 49. Cf. Morgan 2003, 49.
[56] Hansen 1997, 37–40; Morris 1991, 33.
[57] Hansen 1997, 34.
[58] Hansen1997, 10.
[59] De Polignac 1995, 36–37 refers to Artemis Caryatis and Hemerasia in Arcadia. Also, as part of his central case study, the Argive Heraion, de Polignac sees it as an extra-urban sanctuary *vis-à-vis* Argos, Mycenae and Tiryns, but at least with respect to the latter it could not have been called that as 'the acropolis of Tiryns seems to have been the political center of a polis which had no urban center' (Hansen 1997, 38).
[60] Hansen 1997, 39.

of their own, centers of mediation and exchange for the neighboring populations.[61] Such cases, where the identification of center and periphery changed over time while the position of the sanctuary and the identity of the deity stayed the same, clearly invalidate a fixed parallelism between the association of center with order and periphery with disorder, showing that it cannot be used to define the character of deities worshiped in these locations.

4.2. *City walls as boundaries?*

Walls might appear as a strong physical indicator of separation, and hence of contrast, between city and countryside. This notion, which in great part derives from the medieval European context, if comparable, is less pronounced in the ancient Greek world of the late classical period, and is quite different altogether in earlier periods. There is no presently known evidence of marked boundaries between city and countryside,[62] and there was never such thing as a *pomerium* in the Greek world, a sacred boundary of the city.[63] While Greeks used boundary markers, both inscribed and un-inscribed, to mark off practically every conceivable physical feature in their social worlds,[64] one boundary they apparently did not mark was that between town and countryside. It is most logical to conclude that this is because they did not perceive there to be one. But what about the walls? Were they not boundaries, if silent, in and of themselves?

There is a strong polarity of opinions about the dates and functions of early fortifications in ancient Greece. Some scholars argue that only by the fourth century BCE does a wall become an indispensable feature of a cityscape. Fred Cooper maintains that 'Epaminondas originated the Greek idea of a monumental walled city, the very type admired by Aristotle (*Politics* 1330b–1131a)',[65] and argues that 'most Greek cities did not begin with fortifications. Rather, rural

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[61] De Polignac 1994; Morgan 1996.

[62] Cf. Jameson 1997, 490: 'The use of boundary markers (horoi), often inscribed, was widespread in Greece for distinguishing sacred from secular space and, under certain conditions, the space of separate subcommunities from each other, but I know of none for the town as such, as opposed to the countryside'.

[63] Neue Pauly, s.v. *pomerium*.

[64] For representative discussions of the subject, see Finley 1985, 3–4; Lalonde 1991; Ober 1995, 114–123.

[65] Cooper 2000, 177.

defenses developed haphazardly as need arose over generations, and these show no similarity of practice'.[66] Other scholars, for example Camp, point out the abundant evidence for early Iron Age fortifications on Crete, concluding that a wall was a feature of nucleated settlements from the early historical period onward, at least on the Aegean islands.[67] At the same time, there is some evidence that there were cultural reservations in Greek antiquity, at least among some Spartans and Athenians, about the defensive function of walls, the express function for which they were built.[68] Such reservations persist even in such walled cities as Athens, although it can be argued that Plato's view (*Laws* 6.778b–e) reflects his general fascination with Sparta.[69]

Whatever the sentiments of individual ancient Greeks, it remains the case that 'in contradistinction to what happened in the Middle Ages, the walls around an ancient Greek polis did not become a barrier between the town and its countryside'.[70] If we are not to take walls as separating city from countryside, the placement of sanctuaries within or outside city walls loses its oppositional value as well. As the cases of Pan in Athens and Thasos show, there was a place for the wild inside the city walls as much as outside,[71] and the local pantheons of the Attic demes show that likewise there was a place for orderly and civic gods outside the city walls of Athens.[72] In other words, if there were an opposition between city and countryside in the minds of the ancient Greeks, it was not the city walls that constituted it. This observation stands true even in the face of the evidence that walls have served as a symbolic marker of cities in poetry since the time of Homer.

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[66] Cooper 2000, 156.

[67] Camp 2000, 48–49; Ducrey 1995 argues the opposite for the early period.

[68] Hansen 1997, 52. See also the chapters by Bowie and Clarke Kosak in this volume.

[69] Cooper 2000, 191.

[70] Hansen 1997, 52; see also Tracy 2000, 71–116.

[71] Borgeaud 1988, 151–152: 'Pan is lodged neither in the city proper nor within the sacred enclosure of the Acropolis. In the heart of town (in the astu), a wild spot has been found for him. The place set aside for him, this cave near other caves, has a precise symbolic meaning: it belongs to an excluded space and an earlier time'.

[72] These observations are rendered even more relative if one considers the fact that some demes in Attica, e.g. Ramnous, Sounion, or Eleusis, had walled urban centers of their own.

4.3. *Political and territorial organization of ancient Greek states*

The very conditions of the politico-territorial organization of ancient Greek states make it clear that there was no sharp boundary or permanent ideological contrast between city and countryside. The allocation of political centrality to an urban center in ancient Greece (which underlies the claim of the primary civic importance of city gods) is once again inconsistent with our evidence. The subject has been extensively studied within the framework of the Copenhagen Polis Centre, and most discussions rotate around the Aristotelian definition of *polis* in the *Politics*. The *polis* is first and foremost the community of citizens; it is people rather than place.[73] In the words of Raaflaub, 'because the community of citizens was the primary element, the loyalty and mentality of citizens—their identification with their community—were more important than external features. For the same reason, polis was movable, as was demonstrated by Phocaeans . . . Athenians . . . and by countless others who recreated their polis wherever they settled after they had emigrated from home or escaped the ravages of war'.[74] Some famous remarks from Thucydides can be adduced to illustrate this point: Athenian general Nicias says that 'men constitute the *polis*, not *polis*-walls, nor warships devoid of men' (Thuc. 7.77.7). The same notion is behind Pericles' 'profoundly anti-territorial argument that the loss of bodies should be lamented, not that of houses and land (Thuc. 2.43.5)'.[75] And what about Themistocles' proposal to move Athens to South Italy reported to us by Herodotus 8.62? Once again in the words of Raaflaub: 'There was no contrast between urban and rural, and political rights were distributed not according to where a citizen lived or how he made his living but according to wealth and social status'.[76]

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[73] Raaflaub 1991, 566: 'What, then, constituted a polis? Not necessarily independence—although this was normally perceived as an important asset—because, as the example of the subjected allies of Athens in the fifth century BC indicates, dependent communities did not cease to be considered poleis. Nor the existence of a city and the combination of urban center and territory—although this, too, clearly was a critical feature of most larger and prominent poleis—because there were poleis without cities, poleis with several cities, and even poleis without territory. Rather, the polis was a community of persons, of place or territory, of cults and laws, and a community that was able to administer itself (fully or partly)'.

[74] Raaflaub 1991, 566. As an example of a movable *polis*, one may consider the exiled Aeginetans settled in the Eastern Peloponnese for the duration of the Peloponnesian War.

[75] Von Reden 1998, 171.

[76] Raaflaub 1991, 567; also Finley 1981, 5.

To sum up, the considerations of historical reality, as well as the social and politico-territorial contexts of the notions of city and countryside in Greek antiquity suggest that the classification of sanctuaries into urban, sub-urban, and extra-urban is unhelpful and misleading for the better part of archaic and classical Greek history: various Greek cities developed urban centers at various points in time, some not before 500 BCE; city walls were not a consistent feature of the Greek landscape in the archaic and classical periods; and political power was not linked to the notion of city as an urban center, but rather with the political body, wherever its members resided. Finally, the actual patterns of settlement varied so greatly throughout the Greek world and from state to state, depending on the specific geophysical and ecological conditions, that we encounter all degrees of dispersed, concentrated, or clustered habitation that would be seriously over-simplified if described as either rural or urban.[77] In addition to the geo-ecological factors, the varying patterns of settlement were a result of specific historical and social changes in individual regions of the Greek world.

Thus, the question is not whether ancient Greeks distinguished between city and countryside, but whether they saw them as opposites, as representing different sets of values, or as existing in some different kind of relationship. The implications for the study of ancient Greek religion are serious. Study after study of Greek cults uses the city-countryside distinction as an organizing principle for the presentation and cataloguing of cults. As a result, all Greek cities appear to be the same, consisting of *astu* and *khôra*, with sets of cults for each. This mechanistic arrangement is not sensitive to the possibility that in some or most places there may have been no such distinctions at all. It ignores the great variability of landscapes, and of types of eco-social arrangements. The human interaction with land and gods was structured in more varied social ways, and hence, often requires different terms. Recent archaeological survey work has led to various new conceptions of the socio-ecological compartmentalization of the Greek world. For example, Horden and Purcell define 'Mediterranean microecologies', Cyprian Broodbank identifies 'small worlds'.[78] In the definition of such 'worlds' everything matters: size, island vs. mainland, terrain (mountainous vs. plains vs. mixed), size and density of

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[77] Horden and Purcell 2000, 89–122.
[78] Horden and Purcell 2000, 51–172; Broodbank 2000, 175–210.

population, history of social organization (mono-nucleous, synoecized), form of government, etc.

If we consider religion a social phenomenon, and accept that religious and social structures are inter-dependent, as historians of Greek religion we must take seriously the conclusions reached by the social historians, namely that ancient Greek social structures were not based on the opposition of city to countryside. The variability of local geopolitical and, hence, religious worlds in the Greek world calls for a more refined locally-centered approach to the subject of relationships between people, gods and the land that they jointly inhabit. Several specific cases will illustrate that the locations of sanctuaries in town and in countryside do not stand in mutual opposition, but constitute a spatial and religious continuum.

5. *Oppositions or continuities? Landscapes and pantheons*

5.1. *Deities and sanctuaries in the Attic deme of Erchia*

The sacrificial calendar of Erchia (*LSCG* 18; *SEG* 21.541) presents an annual program of sacrifices, and hence, of public festival occasions, for the Attic deme of Erchia some time in the middle or second half of the fourth century BCE. The inscribed calendar offers unique evidence for the placement of sanctuaries in the territory of the deme. This evidence, to my mind, serves to undermine the validity of the classification of deities and cults on the basis of the opposition between city and countryside.

The calendar mentions a number of different locations within the territory of the deme where sacrifices were to be performed: some of them are identified by the name of the sanctuary, e.g. col. I, 26–27, ἐν Δελφινίωι Ἐρχ; others are landscape features, such as acropolis, or agora, or the gateway of Erchia (ἐμ πυλῶνι Ἐρχ), or a stony place (ἐμ Πέτρηι Ερχ, col. V, 24–25);[79] a rocky hill (ἐμ Πάγωι Ἐρχ, col. III, 56–57); a reedy place (ἐπὶ Σχοίνωι Ἐρχ, col.V, 5). In other words, the sanctuaries of the deme are not concentrated in any one place, but are found in various locales of the territory, although we cannot tell how far apart they are and if they cover the local territory evenly.[80] There is no evidence in the calendar that any location of

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[79] Jameson 1965, 158.
[80] Vanderpool 1965 made suggestions for the locations of the Acropolis and Pagos of Erchia.

sacrifices is opposed to another, e.g. as central vs. off-center loca-
tion. Rather, the places mentioned seem to be recognizable estab-
lished locations whose toponyms are familiar to the locals. The local
landscape is made of the entirety of these marked points rather than
through a contrast between any sets of them.

I cannot agree with Dow that the reason for the specification of
location for every sacrifice lies in their general unfamiliarity to the
local public. On the contrary, the way locations are indicated in the
calendar suggests that the readers of the inscription were expected
to know exactly what places were meant.[81] The picture of the local
sacred topography in the Erchian calendar reveals no perception of
the city-countryside distinction, but rather a network of marked locales
of various nature, with no indication that any one is more 'central'
or more important than others. If this argument appears to be
ex silentio, there are further indications that support it.

While the toponyms and the distribution of sanctuaries in the Erchian
landscape, as they are described in the calendar, reveal no hierar-
chies of importance, and might be presumed to indicate an inde-
pendent significance of each, the analysis of the sacrifices offered
to the Erchian deities reveals strong cultic connections between the
local deities. In other words, the evidence shows an interdependence

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[81] 'The Deme was not vast, the number of sacred precincts was limited. The
explanation, as best I can make it out, is that the location of the various altars,
and the proper ones to use, could not be assumed to be familiar. The sacrifices
were being taken over from the *gene*. The Gennetai, who supplied the Priests and
other cult personnel, knew where the altars were. Many other citizens did not'
(Dow 1965, 212). Dow provides no supporting evidence for these general claims,
and I doubt such evidence can be found. His opinion derives from the overall
hypothesis for the origin of the calendar: the transfer of responsibilities for the
sacrifices from the *gene* to the deme (Dow 1965, 198). From my point of view, the
purpose for entering locations was not simply denotative, but served to prevent pos-
sible confusions in the cases of multiple sanctuaries for homonymous deities, or in
the cases where a deity did not own a sanctuary. It would not have been enough
to list a sacrifice, e.g., to Hermes, or Heroines: for each had two sanctuaries in
Erchia, hence it was necessary to specify at which sanctuary a sacrifice on a par-
ticular day was meant. Kourotrophos was offered sacrifice in the sanctuaries of four
other deities in addition to the ones on the Erchian acropolis and in the town of
Erchia, hence it was imperative that a location for each should be specified. In
other words, it was not the lack of familiarity with the locations of sacrifices in gen-
eral, but the need to prevent confusion among the multiplicity of possible locations
for homonymous deities that dictated the need to specify locations in each case. In
all other cases where deities had a single sanctuary in Erchia, the only topographic
reference was Ἐρχ, Erchia. In these cases it was necessary to mention Erchia in
order to avoid confusion with the two days in the year when sacrifices were to be
performed in Athens.

and cohesion within the local pantheon, rather than an isolation or
opposition on the basis of spatial location. The interconnectedness
of the deities is evident, e.g., from the fact that several deities are
offered sacrifices on the same day, and some share an altar. There
is a sacrifice to Dionysus on the sixth of Elaphebolion, col. IV, 33–36,
and on the same day, there is a sacrifice for Semele, col. I, 44–49,
specified as ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βωμοῦ, on the same altar with Dionysus.
Kourotrophos, a deity that seems not to have had a personal sanc-
tuary, was offered sacrifice at various sanctuaries of the deme of
Erchia (in the Delphinion, col. I, 25–29; in Erchia town, col. I,
59–61; in the sanctuary of Hecate, col. II, 7–9; in the sanctuary of
Hera in Erchia, col. II, 33–35; ἐς Σωτιδῶν in Erchia, col. III, 3–5;
on the acropolis of Erchia, col. IV, 3–5). Athena Polias and Zeus
Polieus receive sacrifices together, once just in Erchia town, in the
month of Skirophorion, col. I, 62–64 and col. III, 61–63, and another
time, either both in Erchia and Athens, or just in Athens, in the
month of Metageitnion, col. III, 15–17 and col. IV, 15–17. In all
of these cases, we observe a polytheistic system at work. The group-
ings of deities and sacrifices indicate the interconnections between
the deities of a local pantheon rather than spatial hierarchies of
importance, such as some scholars might like to attribute to the posi-
tion of certain cults on the acropolis of Erchia in opposition to some
other locations in the deme.

   Finally, we must note the disproportionate under-representation in
the Erchian calendar of any cultic activity to be attended to in the
city of Athens. Only two days out of the whole year are given to
the sacrifices in the city of Athens. There can be no doubt that the
center of religious life for the Erchians was their deme, and not the
political center of Athens. From this religious perspective, Athens
appears to be somewhere on the periphery of the Erchian world,
while the real center is at their home base. In this regard, the dis-
tinction between urban and rural sanctuaries, or urban and extra-
urban sanctuaries, not to mention the related ascription of rural/urban
character to the deities, becomes completely meaningless. *Vis-à-vis*
Athens, all the Erchian sanctuaries and deities should be considered
rural, or extra-urban, but such a distinction would be entirely unin-
formative, devoid of any religious meaning to the actual worshipers,
that is, Erchians, from whose perspective the locations of their sanc-
tuaries have local site-specific relationships with each other.

5.2. *Deities and sanctuaries in the territory of Colophon*

Another piece of epigraphic evidence, the decision of the Colophonians to encircle their old town with a new wall,[82] some time in 311–306 BCE, offers further insight into the non-oppositional relationship between city and countryside in the sacred topography of a Greek city. The inscription from Colophon (from the sanctuary of the Mother, now in the museum of Smyrna), *SEG* 19.698, reads in lines 9–12:

> . . . be it resolved by the people . . . that the ancient city, which brought glory (in the eyes of all Greeks) to our forefathers when they received it from the gods and established it and when they founded its temples and altars, be enclosed within a common system of walls together with the present city.

> ἐψηφίσθαι τῶι δήμωι τὴμ παλαιὰμ πόλιν ἣν τῶν θεῶν παραδόντων τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν κτίσαντες ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ναοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς ἱδρυσάμενοι παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἦσαν ἔνδοξοι σ[υ]ντειχίσαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν·

The inscription further records that the Colophonians appoint their religious and civic officials to go to the market place in the old town and to make a vow 'to Zeus Soter, to Poseidon Asphaleios, to Apollo Klarios, to the Mother Antaia, to Athena Polias, and to all the other gods and goddesses as well as to the heroes who occupy our city and country'.[83]

The rationale for the decision to enclose within a new circuit of city walls the old town and its agora has an explicit religious ground: the Colophonians wish to enhance their safety (lines 8–9: ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι παντὸς τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Κολοφωνίων) through the renewed attention to the ancient gods of their city, and they intend to do so by honoring the original places of worship for these deities since they were given to the Colophonians by the gods themselves (lines 9–10: τὴμ παλαιὰμ πόλιν ἣν τῶν θεῶν παραδόντων τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν κτίσαντες ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ναοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς ἱδρυσάμενοι).[84]

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[82] According to Holland 1944, 171, the new city of Colophon was on the acropolis where the inscription was found, while the ancient city was most likely 'on the long ledge of rock to the north of the acropolis, the western edge of which drops almost vertically to the right bank of the Değirmendere . . . The ancient market place, with the altars of the gods, would be apt to be beside rather than upon the narrow hill . . . it should be looked for to the south'.

[83] Translated from the *editio princeps*: Meritt, 1935, 361, by Holland 1944, 170.

[84] Cole 1995, 296 identifies the purpose of the sacrifice in the old agora more narrowly: 'before the new city wall was actually built, the people performed sacrifices

Colophonians sacrifice on the altars of the gods that were left to them by their ancestors: [ἐπὶ] τοὺς βωμοὺς τῶν θεῶν οὓς ἡμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι κατέλιπον (lines 15–16). A number of deities are listed, and then a crowning formula in lines 18–20: καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν οἳ κατέχουσιν ἡμῶν τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν, 'and to all the other gods and goddesses that possess our city and country-side'. It can be argued perhaps that such a traditional formula sim-ply serves as a safety valve against the potential anger of the gods lest anyone be forgotten in the prayers,[85] and does not express a conscious intent to include all the deities. Even if this is so, the jux-taposition of city and *khôra* in this formula does not lose its significance. The question is whether this juxtaposition implies a conscious indige-nous classification of deities into city and country ones. Some schol-ars might like to see it this way, and some might even be tempted to infer which were 'city' deities (e.g., Athena Polias) and which 'country' ones (e.g., Apollo Klarios).

To my mind, this inscription provides evidence to the contrary: first, it treats all the deities of the city-state as a collectivity, it appeals to them as a collectivity (καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν); secondly, the deities of Colophon all together are said to 'hold, possess' the city and country of Colophon, rather than some being said to possess the city and others the country. The Colophonians are praying inside the old city to *all* gods and goddesses of their land, whatever the location of their sanctuaries. The implication is

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to solicit the support of the gods for their project'. I see the rationale both for the construction of a new wall and for a sacrifice to the gods as broadly directed to the same end: to enhance the safety of the citizens of Colophon. The enhancement of safety consists in the very act of encircling with a wall the old places of wor-ship established by the ancestors. The text of the inscription links together the ances-tral act of establishing temples and altars to the gods with the subsequent glory of the Colophonians. The implication is that a new wall of the city that is to bring back into the city circuit the ancestral places of worship would act as a renewal of an old contract between the deities and the people of Colophon. Only together can the physical wall and the divine protection enhance the safety of the community. In sum, the sacrifice to the specific deities and then to 'all the gods and goddesses who possess the city and the country', to my mind, secures more than divine approval for a construction project; it also constitutes a renewal of mutual com-mitment between the people and the gods of Colophon.

[85] Cole 1995, 296–297 who discusses this inscription with the specific purpose of demonstrating how misleading it is to take the epithet Polias as a sure indicator of the civic centrality of cult in each and every place of the Greek world. She deduces this from the impossibility to single out any one of the deities listed by name in the inscription as the primary civic deity of the Colophonians in opposition to others.

that *all these* deities wherever they are in the land are *jointly* responsible for the well-being of the state of Colophon. In other words, the Colophonians in this case do not think in terms of separate urban and rural cults, but in terms of their pantheon as a spatial whole; they are concerned to embrace all their deities in the prayer, and expect that all the deities will reward them with their favors. So, the formula 'city and country' is not used divisively or even distributively, but cumulatively, it seeks to embrace the whole of the land, in the same way as the formula 'all gods and goddesses' seeks to embrace all of the local pantheon.[86]

5.3. *Deities and sanctuaries in the territory of Miletus*

The final example that helps illustrate a continuous rather than a disjoint picture of a sacred landscape, and the lack of opposition between city and countryside within it, comes from yet another epigraphic source, an inscription (*Milet* I.3.133) that describes a procession of the Molpoi, a college of religious officials, between the city (Miletus) and the outlying sanctuary (Didyma). Processions between a city and a rural sanctuary have been interpreted as defining the two poles in the organization of civic and religious space of a Greek state.

Such cases as the procession of the Molpoi demonstrate the problem with de Polignac's bipolar model of a Greek city-state, where center and periphery are equated respectively with order and disorder, civilization and nature, according to the structuralist paradigm. While most of the processions that de Polignac discusses connect only two points, thus suggesting a possibility of opposition between them, there is plenty of evidence, and the case of the procession from Miletus to Didyma is one of them, to show that there is no opposition, no dichotomy, but rather a continuous line drawn through the landscape between multiple sacred spots, each segment of which is meaningful; the spatial classification *vis-à-vis* the town thus loses meaning (*Milet* I.3.133 [= *SIG* 57, *SEG* 15.682], lines 25–31):

> Two *gulloi* are carried, and one is wreathed and placed upright by the image of Hecate before the city gates, and you make a libation of unmixed wine, and the other is placed by the doors at Didyma. Having

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[86] Cole 1995, 297 also observes that the Colophonians seek the approval of all their gods, 'making no distinction between gods in the city and gods in the country'. Cf. Sissa and Detienne 2000, 172.

done this, they [the Molpoi] set out along a wide road until the sum-
mit, and from the summit through a copse. And they sing paeans first
by the side of Hecate before the city gates, then by the side of Dynamis,
then in the meadow at the summit by the side of the Nymphs, then
by the side of Hermes Enkelados, then by the side of Phylios, then at
the Keraiites, then at the statues of Chares; and in the sacrificial [*pan-
thuos*] year a flayed animal is offered at the Keraiites, and incense is
burnt to Phylios every year.

Καὶ γυλλοὶ φέρονται δύο, καὶ τίθεται παρ᾽ Ἑκάτην τὴν πρόσθεν πυλέων
ἐστεμμένος καὶ ἀκρήτω κατασπένδετε, ὁ δ᾽ ἕτερος ἐς Δίδυμα ἐπὶ θύρας τίθεται.
ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἔρχονται τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν πλατεῖαν μέχρι ἄκρο, ἀπ᾽ ἄκρο
δὲ διὰ δρυμῶ, καὶ παιωνίζεται πρῶτον παρ᾽ Ἑκάτη τῇ πρόσθεν πυλέων, παρὰ
Δυνάμει, εἶτεν ἐπὶ λειμῶνι ἐπ᾽ ἄκρο παρὰ Νύμφαισ᾽, εἶτεν παρ᾽ Ἑρμῇ Ἐνκελάδο,
παρὰ Φυλίωι, κατὰ Κεραιίτην, παρὰ Χαρέω ἀνδριᾶσιν, ἔρδεται δὲ τῶι πανθύωι
ἔτει παρὰ Κεραιίτῃ δαρτόν, παρὰ Φυλίωι δὲ θύα θύεται πάντ᾽ ἔτεα.[87]

This inscription provides us with unique information on the itinerary
of a sacred procession, complete with a list of religious ceremonies
to be performed on the way. The procession connects two sanctuaries
of Apollo (that of Apollo Delphinios in Miletus, and the other, of
Apollo at Didyma) and moves along the designated sacred road.[88]
The itinerary represents a route which twines through the land of
the state like a string of beads, connecting several, perhaps not
all, religiously significant locales on the way.[89] The procession thus

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[87] According to Fontenrose 1988, 74–75, *gulloi* were 'probably baskets of offerings
covered with garlands'. Herrmann 1997, 168 translates *gulloi* as 'Steinwürfel', 'stone
cubes', and refers to a study of the word by Kron 1992. Fontenrose 1988, 74–75
also comments on the topography: 'the first stretch of the Sacred Way, southward
from the city gate, is fairly level. Then the road crosses hills (Stephania); from the
summit it goes through a forest'; with regard to the *panthuon etos*, Fontenrose sug-
gests that 'it may be some observance in the cult of Apollo Delphinios', and he
translates *dartos* as sheep. Tuchelt and his collaborators (1996, 1) take *Akron* as a
toponym, the name of a mountain range about 6 km south of Miletus. Herrmann
1997, 168 takes Ἐνκελάδο as a prepositional expression of place: ἐν as a preposi-
tion with a genetive form of a noun. He also provides an apparatus criticus for
many problematic lines of the text, including this phrase.

[88] Fontenrose 1988, 14.

[89] The archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggests that there were more sanc-
tuaries along the Sacred Way between Miletus and Didyma than those included in
the procession of the Molpoi. See Tuchelt et al. 1996 for a publication of a sanctuary
containing several cult buildings and a row of statues (active from the middle of
the sixth to the middle of the fourth centuries BCE) discovered on the Sacred Way.
Included in the publication is a map showing a section of the Sacred Way with
the sanctuary of the Nymphs. Tuchelt 1996, 237 also refers to a boundary marker
that reads 'temenos of Aristodemos' found on the Sacred Way north of Didyma,
and to Paus. 7.2.6 who describes a grave of Neileus.

represents a line that connects multiple sacred dots in the landscape, presenting it as a continuity of religious locales rather than as a line that goes through religious emptiness connecting the only two significant points. If we apply de Polignac's classification, all sanctuaries between Miletus and Didyma will have to be described as extra-urban, but they are 'extra' in various degrees, some are further away from Miletus than others. They constitute a gradual scale that makes their designation as 'extra-urban' simply uninformative. Does their extra-urban location suggest that they are all the same in character? If they are all the same in character, why do they house different deities and why are there so many of them? It is clear that simply lumping together the sanctuaries between Miletus and Didyma as 'extra-urban' does not help in understanding either the significance of each sanctuary and deity in the respective location, or their roles within the local pantheon. The procession of the Molpoi is an example of the interconnectedness within the local pantheon, and within the local sacred topography. Examples can be extended to Thasos,[90] Arcadia,[91] and other areas of the Greek world.

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[90] The city of Thasos contains a high concentration of sanctuaries within the city walls. In the topographical sense, almost all the Thasian sanctuaries are urban. The fact that both 'orderly' (Athena, Zeus, Apollo) and 'disorderly' (Dionysus, Poseidon, Pan) deities reside within the city walls on Thasos calls into question the validity of the evaluative city-countryside opposition. The placement of sanctuaries inside the city walls on Thasos is perhaps better seen as a result of specific historical and geographical circumstances rather than as a reflection of some universal correspondence between the location and the character of a deity. Thasos was a colonial foundation, and from the very beginning (seventh century BCE) interested in the economic exploitation of the mainland coast to the north, while simultaneously threatened by the potentially unfriendly presence of Thracians there. The need for self-protection may explain the early date of the fortifications around the city and the concentrated pattern of occupation on the island, and hence, of the location of sanctuaries within the city walls. That said, at least two sanctuaries are known outside of the city walls of Thasos: of Arkouda, 300 m south of the Gate of Silenus; and of an unknown deity in the southern part of the island near the marble quarries at Aliki, with two cultic caves nearby (Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 129 and 162–164). On the basis of an ambiguous inscription, Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 47 also hypothesize a sanctuary of Demeter.

[91] Jost 1994, 224–225 reaches similar conclusions in her monumental study of Arcadian cults. She points out that both landscape and the related forms of human habitation and subsistence economy influence the distribution of sanctuaries over landscape, and hence where they appear in relation to city and countryside. The variability of landscape in Arcadia entails different forms of exploitation, and the placement of sanctuaries corresponds to the lay of the land, and local economy: 'In this area [high plains of eastern Arcadia], the normal situation is that the majority of sanctuaries, and the most important sanctuaries, are not always found in the countryside. Tegea provides a striking example: some fifty cults are attested within

6. *Conclusion*

While ancient Greeks distinguished terminologically and conceptually between city and countryside, these distinctions were meaningful primarily in administrative and topographical contexts. In the religious sphere, the distinctions between city and countryside were relative. Taken from the administrative and socio-economic contexts, the terms and notions of city and countryside are sometimes found in conjunction with religious data, but no consistent and universal attributions of religious meaning can be traced in such associations. The varied landscapes and ecologies of the ancient Greek socio-territorial units determined the forms of habitation, and hence the distribution of settlements and sanctuaries. Finally, special historical circumstances, e.g., those of the Peloponnesian War, could occasion a sharpening of the city-countryside distinction and even the association of specific sets of values with each.

The social and historical relativity, or, in other words, the local specificity of distinctions between city and countryside in the Greek world suggests that any universalizing classification of ancient Greek deities and sanctuaries as urban or extra-urban is devoid of meaning. Stronger and somewhat more consistent from one socio-territorial unit to another are associations of certain deities with particular types of landscape, e.g., Poseidon with water, or Pan with caves. Such associations often ignore the hypothetical boundaries between city and countryside, so that, e.g., in Thasos, Poseidon (an 'off-center' deity according to Bremmer) is found right in the center of town, which hardly by accident happens to be right next to the shoreline, and Pan (another 'wilderness' deity) resides on the acropolis, but again, not surprisingly, in a cave.

Not only the lay of the land and the corresponding patterns of its exploitation determine the relationship between city and countryside in various parts of the ancient Greek world, but also specific historical circumstances of the origin and social development of communities.

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the wall, and that is where Athena Alea is . . . In other basins, the situation differs from one city to another. At Orchomenos and Stymphalos a preponderance of urban sanctuaries can be observed. At Pheneos, on the other hand, rural sanctuaries predominate . . .' Jost concludes: 'Over the centuries the influence of physical and human geography on the founding of sanctuaries has sometimes been corrected by the political element. The result is a network of subtle correspondences, varying from one city to another, between the sanctuaries of the countryside and those of the town' (Jost 1994, 230).

Such special historical circumstances may have to do with the political reorganization of a territory, such as *sunoikismos*, internal colonization, displacement of population, refuge taking and return. Any of these conditions may lead to a change in status of various areas as center or periphery within the territory of the state, and may also literally affect the perspective of the inhabitants, in terms of where one looks to and from in space and landscape. We are forced to acknowledge once again that the potential for change of the spatial status of sanctuaries *vis-à-vis* the habitation centers undermines the claim that the location of sanctuaries *vis-à-vis* the city somehow reflects the fixed 'nature' or the social meaning of the corresponding deities. It bears reiteration that any general observation on the correspondence between the character of deities (urban-rural) and city-countryside distinction is doomed. Zeus and Apollo, seemingly good candidates for city gods *par excellence*, are at the same time, 'Zeus of rain', worshiped on mountaintops, and Apollo of the 'frontiers' in de Polignac's bipolar model. Distinctions between urban, suburban, and rural spatial positions have to be adjusted, modified, and verified for each socio-territorial unit of the Greek world separately. It is counter-productive to establish universal links between particular deities and urban-rural connotations.

Finally, it must be pointed out that while city and countryside are hardly reliable categories in the modeling of ancient Greek religious structures, it does not follow that there were no other spatially rooted determinants of religious life. One of the most striking features of ancient Greek polytheism is in fact the closest imaginable connection between deities and territory. It is not, however, the territory and land of cities, against the land of countryside, but rather the land of each individual ancient Greek community taken as a whole vs. that of another. People and deities commonly inhabited this land, and while the position of each deity within the local landscape was presumably meaningful for the local inhabitants, it was the presence of the whole multitude of them in their land that constituted a meaningful functional social universe. The bonds between people and gods, while potentially transferable from place to place,[92] were nevertheless underscored, strengthened, and materialized via the physical presence of both in the same land.

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[92] As in the cases of forced exile, or voluntary move to a new place as a colonizing enterprise.

Thus, when studying the relationship of deities to the land, cults and gods have to be viewed together, i.e. in relation to each other, that is, as a pantheon. As a pantheon they represent a network of relationships, the evidence of which we also observe on the ground. Religious processions are often the most obvious testimony: processions not only connect the sanctuaries to each other and lay claim to the land, thus serving social and political functions, they also literally connect the deities of a local pantheon to each other. The same is accomplished by the placement of altars of some deities in the sanctuaries of others, as well as in the consecutive sacrifices to related deities, e.g., Dionysus and Semele, in the Attic deme of Erchia, on the same altar. The same logic underlies the creation of 'doublet' sanctuaries within one state, especially in the cases of *sunoikismos*, one in the original location, and another in the new center.[93] Both local pantheons and landscapes are continuities. Religious processions visibly illustrate interconnections between local sacred places, between gods within the local pantheons, and between people of the community; they ultimately achieve the overall goal of connecting people to their local gods and land. Gods, people and land together constitute the basic polytheistic matrix that underlies the structure and functioning of the local religious worlds in ancient Greece.[94] It is in such local interrelationships that we should seek the meaning of each ancient Greek sanctuary and deity.

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[93] Many examples in Megalopolis, Arcadia; perhaps the cults of Artemis Brauronia and Demeter Eleusinia on the Athenian acropolis and agora respectively should be seen in this light as well.

[94] See Polinskaya 2003. The subject is also treated in detail in Polinskaya (forthcoming). Cf. von Reden's (1998, 181) comment on S. *OC* 53–63: 'The tension between the two topographies is taken further in the last two lines of the speech: it is the gathering of lands, gods and people which gives this place importance—not *logoi*'.

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FARMING, AUTHORITY, AND TRUTH-TELLING IN
THE GREEK TRADITION*

Sheila Murnaghan

1. *Introduction*

This chapter is concerned with what it means in the Greek tradition
for someone to profess a detailed knowledge of farming—not nec-
essarily to be a farmer, but to speak the language of farming. Speech
about farming might seem to be an obvious mark of rusticity, branding
someone as belonging in the country rather than the city and as un-
qualified to address the sophisticated topics discussed in urban cen-
ters. Our sources, however, paint a different picture: giving voice to
an intimate knowledge of farming proves to be a sign of authority,
a superior qualification for a central role in communal life.

This link between the discourse of plowing and sowing and a posi-
tion of broader authority is established in several rather surprising
scenarios. While agriculture is not a frequent subject of Greek liter-
ature,[1] several authors do stage dialogues in which prominent speak-
ers legitimate themselves by voicing a detailed knowledge of farming
practices. This discussion locates the shared concerns and purposes
of these dialogues at the several points in Greek literary history in
which they appear: first in a cluster of related texts from the archaic
period, including the *Odyssey* (section 2), the *Works and Days*, and
some lines of Theognis (section 3), then in the fourth century, in
Xenophon's Socratic dialogue, the *Oeconomicus* (section 4).

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[1] On the relative silence of Greek literature about agriculture, see Osborne 1987,
16–21.

2. *A proposed contest in farming*

My first example, which comes from the *Odyssey*, is an encounter that
takes place in an indoor setting, the *megaron* of the house of Odysseus,
but that nonetheless turns on the question of who is good at farm-
ing. The suitor Eurymachus tauntingly proposes to the disguised
Odysseus that he should work for him, on the outskirts of his estate,
gathering stones for walls and tending tall trees, and says he would
compensate him with a *misthos arkios*, 'an adequate wage', compris-
ing food and clothing. But he goes on to opine that Odysseus would
never take him up on this offer (*Od.* 18.363–365):

> But since you know only worthless work, you wouldn't be willing
> to put your hand to real labor. You'd rather beg among the people
> in order to feed your insatiable belly.[2]

> ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν δὴ ἔργα κάκ᾽ ἔμμαθες, οὐκ ἐθελήσεις
> ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πτώσσειν κατὰ δῆμον
> βούλεαι, ὄφρ᾽ ἂν ἔχῃς βόσκειν σὴν γαστέρ᾽ ἄναλτον.

Odysseus responds with a fantastic proposal: an *eris ergoio*, a contest
between the two of them in farming (*Od.* 18.366–375):

> Eurymachus, I wish we could have a contest in farming,
> in the season of spring, when the days grow long,
> out in the meadow. I would be holding a curved sickle,
> and you'd have one like it, so we could compare our efforts,
> going hungry until dark, with plenty of grass to mow.
> Or if there were two oxen to drive, the very best,
> ruddy and big, both well fed on grass,
> the same age and strength, able to pull a lot,
> and we had to cover four measures, cutting the earth with our plows.
> then you'd see what I was like, whether I could carve a straight furrow.

> Εὐρύμαχ᾽, εἰ γὰρ νῶιν ἔρις ἔργοιο γένοιτο
> ὥρῃ ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τ᾽ ἤματα μακρὰ πέλονται,
> ἐν ποίῃ, δρέπανον μὲν ἐγὼν εὐκαμπὲς ἔχοιμι,
> καὶ δὲ σὺ τοῖον ἔχοις, ἵνα πειρησαίμεθα ἔργου
> νήστιες ἄχρι μάλα κνέφαος, ποίη δὲ παρείη.
> εἰ δ᾽ αὖ καὶ βόες εἶεν ἐλαυνέμεν, οἵ περ ἄριστοι,
> αἴθωνες μεγάλοι, ἄμφω κεκορηότε ποίης,
> ἥλικες ἰσοφόροι, τῶν τε σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν,
> τετράγυον δ᾽ εἴη, εἴκοι δ᾽ ὑπὸ βῶλος ἀρότρῳ·
> τῷ κέ μ᾽ ἴδοις, εἰ ὦλκα διηνεκέα προταμοίμην.

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[2] Translations from Homer, Hesiod, and Theognis are my own.

He then goes on to envision a different, but implicitly comparable, situation (*Od.* 18.376–386):

> Or if the son of Cronus sent us a war
> today, and I had a shield and two spears
> and a bronze helmet fitted over my temples,
> then you'd see me joining in on the front lines,
> and you wouldn't make remarks about my belly.
> But now you insult me and treat me with contempt,
> and you think you are someone great and strong,
> because you hang out with a few worthless cowards.
> If Odysseus appeared here, back home again,
> suddenly the house doors, wide as they are,
> would seem far too tight as you tried to scramble out.

> εἰ δ᾽ αὖ καὶ πόλεμόν ποθεν ὁρμήσειε Κρονίων
> σήμερον, αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ σάκος εἴη καὶ δύο δοῦρε
> καὶ κυνέη πάγχαλκος ἐπὶ κροτάφοισ᾽ ἀραρυῖα,
> τῷ κέ μ᾽ ἴδοις πρώτοισιν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι μιγέντα,
> οὐδ᾽ ἄν μοι τὴν γαστέρ᾽ ὀνειδίζων ἀγορεύοις.
> ἀλλὰ μάλ᾽ ὑβρίζεις καί τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής·
> καί πού τις δοκέεις μέγας ἔμμεναι ἠδὲ κραταιός,
> οὕνεκα πὰρ παύροισι καὶ οὐκ ἀγαθοῖσιν ὁμιλεῖς.
> εἰ δ᾽ Ὀδυσεὺς ἔλθοι καὶ ἵκοιτ᾽ ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
> αἶψά κέ τοι τὰ θύρετρα, καὶ εὐρέα περ μάλ᾽ ἐόντα,
> φεύγοντι στείνοιτο διὲκ προθύροιο θύραζε.

Between them, Eurymachus and Odysseus outline an ascending scale of occupations from begging to heroic warfare, with farm labor as a kind of bridge, occupying a shifting position in between. In responding to Eurymachus' supposed offer with his proposed contest, Odysseus redefines the meaning of farming, from an arena of social difference, in which a superior pays an inferior to work for him, to an arena of aristocratic competition, in which two men of high status engage in labor, with the goal being the determination of honor as much as getting the work done. What kind of event Odysseus has in mind is underscored when he goes on to juxtapose his imaginary farming contest and combat, which he describes in terms familiar from the *Iliad*.

Odysseus' redescription of farming is also a correction of Eurymachus' ongoing mistake about whom he is talking to. It is an oblique announcement of Odysseus' identity, which becomes even more pointed as he alludes to his battlefield experience and then projects his own return, an announcement that Eurymachus is, however, too blind to grasp. Odysseus' skill in farming here functions as a vehicle for conveying the central truth that organizes the *Odyssey*'s narrative:

Odysseus' identity and the claims that go with it.[3] The projected
contest neatly defines who Odysseus is in relation to Eurymachus, a
member of the same class, but one who outranks him in honor—
since Odysseus is presumably implying, although he does not quite
say so, that he would surpass Eurymachus at mowing and plowing.
What makes Odysseus superior is, in part, his transcendence of the
belly, his ability to endure hardship and deprivation, and especially
to go without food. This ability to withstand hunger is what sets
Odysseus apart from several sets of social equals in the poem: his
companions, who fatally eat what they should not, and the suitors,
who are eating up the wealth of Odysseus' house.

   At the same time, Odysseus' claim of superiority to Eurymachus
is also based on actual knowledge of such farming practices as the
proper way to drive an ox so as to produce a straight furrow. This
knowledge is displayed here in verbal form, through his command
of the discourse of farming, expressed in allusions to seasons, tools,
and the attributes of oxen. Familiarity with farming is similarly bound
up with his identity in the final recognition scene of the poem. Asked
by Laertes for a reliable sign to back up his claim, Odysseus first
shows him his scar, then identifies the trees in the orchard that Laertes
once gave him, on an earlier occasion when Laertes led Odysseus
through the trees telling him their names: thirteen pear trees, ten
apple trees, forty fig trees, and fifty vines (*Od.* 24.336–344). Knowledge
of these trees is clearly a sign of landownership, as their remem-
bered transmission from father to son indicates, but landownership
combined with skilled attention and expertise. Odysseus is showing
himself capable of the care for tall trees that Eurymachus proposes
to him, but in the role of their owner, not as a hired gardener.

   By uniting farming and competition in this improbable fashion,
Odysseus' proposed contest combines two markers of aristocratic sta-
tus: landowning and participation in contests. The way these two
elements fit together can be illustrated from the earlier episode in
Book 8, in which Odysseus confuses one of his Phaeacian hosts,
Euryalus, by refusing his invitation to participate in a contest. From
this Euryalus draws the logical but mistaken conclusion that Odysseus
must be a merchant (*Od.* 8.159–164):

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   [3] At *Od.* 17.20–21, Odysseus links his need to go to town to beg rather than
staying behind to work on Eumaeus' farm to his age, which is a component of his
disguise.

Stranger, I wouldn't consider you a man who knows about
contests, such as often take place among men;
you're more like one who travels about on a well-secured ship,
a captain of sailors who are also traders,
with his mind on his cargo and an eye out for goods
and the getting of profits. I don't see you as a contender.

οὐ γάρ σ᾽ οὐδέ, ξεῖνε, δαήμονι φωτὶ ἐΐσκω
ἄθλων, οἷά τε πολλὰ μετ᾽ ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται,
ἀλλὰ τῷ ὅς θ᾽ ἅμα νηὶ πολυκληῖδι θαμίζων,
ἀρχὸς ναυτάων οἵ τε πρηκτῆρες ἔασι.
φόρτου τε μνήμων καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ᾖσιν ὁδαίων
κερδέων θ᾽ ἁρπαλέων· οὐδ᾽ ἀθλητῆρι ἔοικας.

As Carol Dougherty has recently pointed out, the significance of
trading is fluid in the *Odyssey*.[4] Trading is sometimes engaged in by
respectable figures like Mentes, the family friend impersonated by
Athena when she comes to visit Telemachus in Book 1; sometimes,
as in Euryalus' formulation, it is an activity that disqualifies some-
one from the kind of honor that aristocrats accord one another. The
dishonor of trading is connected to the view of merchants as liars,
which is widespread in the Greek tradition. Merchants can easily fall
into the category of suspect wanderers that Alcinous evokes in Book 11
to describe what Odysseus is not (*Od.* 11.363–369):

Odysseus, we can tell from watching you that you are not
a charlatan or a thief, of which there are many
raised up by the black earth, who wander the world,
making up lies that a person can't test for himself.
There is a shapeliness to your words, and they show a sound mind.
As expertly as a singer you have told the story
Of the sad troubles of all the Argives, and of yourself.

ὦ 'Οδυσεῦ, τὸ μὲν οὔ τί σ᾽ ἐΐσκομεν εἰσορόωντες
ἠπεροπῆά τ᾽ ἔμεν καὶ ἐπίκλοπον, οἷά τε πολλούς
βόσκει γαῖα μέλαινα πολυσπερέας ἀνθρώπους
ψεύδεά τ᾽ ἀρτύνοντας, ὅθεν κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο·
σοὶ δ᾽ ἔπι μὲν μορφὴ ἐπέων, ἔνι δὲ φρένες ἐσθλαί,
μῦθον δ᾽ ὡς ὅτ᾽ ἀοιδὸς ἐπισταμένως κατέλεξας,
πάντων 'Αργείων σέο τ᾽ αὐτοῦ κήδεα λυγρά.

Odysseus' projected competition allies him with truth-telling, both
because it is a covert announcement of his true identity, and because
it positions him as a farmer, and thus not the kind of wandering

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[4] Dougherty 2001, 46–49. See also von Reden 1995, 58–76.

adventurer, possibly a merchant, who is constitutionally deceptive. The wanderer's unreliability stems from his connection to far-away places that are invisible to his auditors, who cannot check his information by seeing for themselves.[5]

Eurymachus' taunting offer to Odysseus makes it clear that participation in farming, even as a hired hand, is a step up from the wandering life of a beggar. By accepting the offer, the beggar would become fixed in one place, the edge of Eurymachus' estate, and would be providing tangible services, such as building walls and pruning trees, in exchange for his wage. In this way, he would become respectable, more so perhaps than even the desirable wanderers named by Eumaeus in Book 17, men who are summoned for their skills, but who trade in expertise that cannot always be readily evaluated: seers, healers, ship-builders, and poets (*Od.* 17.382–386).

The inclusion of poets in Eumaeus' list raises again the difficult relationship between wandering and truthfulness. Truth is the poet's stock in trade, so much so that Alcinous can cite Odysseus' resemblance to a poet as evidence that he is not a deceptive wanderer. But the Homeric epics, and hexameter poetry in general, are marked by awareness that poetry can easily make lies appear true;[6] as wanderers, poets are like traders in purveying wares from unknown sources. Thus many readers have found irony in Alcinous' expression of confidence in Odysseus, and hexameter poetry engages in a number of strategies for asserting the truthfulness of poetry, beyond the subjective impression of sincerity voiced by Alcinous.

The central guarantee of poetry's truth is the poet's relationship to the Muses, which is highlighted in prominent invocations. But even the Muses themselves are capable of lying, as they famously declare to Hesiod (*Theogony* 27), and so we see attempts to reinforce the reliability of poets through the depiction of their human circumstances. The *Odyssey* includes portraits of two poets, Phemius and Demodocus, who are not wanderers, but are permanently attached to great households and embedded in aristocratic relations of gift-exchange.[7] In addition, the poet-like hero of the poem is ultimately

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[5] That appears to be the point of Alcinous' formulation that wanderers make up lies ὅθεν κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο, i.e. 'from sources which no one could see for himself'. This is the interpretation of Merry and Riddell in their commentary on this passage and is strongly endorsed by Stanford in his.

[6] For an overview of this much-discussed point, see Pratt 1993.

[7] Dougherty 2001, 50–57.

identified, for all his wandering, as the preeminent insider in Ithacan society, with a fixed, incontrovertible position at the center of his household and of the larger community.

Odysseus' self-revelation coincides with a simile that compares him directly to a poet and so affirms the connection between poetry and truth-telling (*Od.* 21.404–411). This revelation is also prefigured in his veiled response to Eurymachus' offer, which serves to offset Odysseus' many deceptive and unreliable tales through its verbal performance of farming. The agricultural references in this speech refute Eurymachus' claim that Odysseus is too much subject to his belly, implicitly reinforcing Odysseus' explicit prediction that his performance in battle would make Eurymachus stop taunting him about his belly. Mastery of the belly denotes truthfulness, because the belly is associated with the deceptive, self-interested speech of wanderers, and so with poetry at its most elusive and opportunistic.[8]

Like trading in particular, wandering in general has, however, an ambiguous status in the archaic Greek world.[9] If wanderers are associated with lies, they are also associated with truth, and there is a close association between the wanderer and the sage. Their travels give wanderers a breadth of knowledge and experience that those who stay home do not have. The truth of Demodocus' song of Troy is vouched for, not only by his connection to the Muses, but also by the approval of Odysseus, the traveler who has actually been to Troy. Wanderers have access to information that is beyond the purview of their audiences because it is removed in space or even other-worldly, a conception reflected in the place of seers and healers on Eumaeus' list. In addition, it is important for a poet to be an outsider because outsiders have a distinctive ability to describe a culture to itself. In particular, such figures are able to see through the ruses and pretenses of those in power and thus to expose the abuses of power to which every community is vulnerable. This is a function of poetic truth-telling that complements the functions of praise, entertainment, and distraction from care performed by Phemius and Demodocus and reflects latent connections between epic and the satiric genres of blame poetry.

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[8] Svenbro 1976, 50–59; Nagy 1979, 261 n. 4; Arthur 1983, 102; Pucci 1987, 191–208; Marsilio 2000, 10–13.

[9] Montiglio 2005, 91–100.

The strongest claims to truth in archaic poetry thus depend on a paradoxical vision of the poet as both mobile and rooted, as both like and unlike a wanderer. This vision receives one form of expression in two programmatic episodes in which singers who are fixed in one place are paired with and bound up in a reciprocal relationship with wandering singers. One of these is the encounter of Odysseus and Demodocus in *Odyssey* 8, in which Demodocus glorifies Odysseus in the Phaeacian court, while Odysseus authenticates Demodocus' song and promises to carry the fame of Demodocus' singing with him on his travels (*Od.* 8.487–498). Another is the exchange in the *Hymn to Apollo* between the Delian maidens, who attest to Apollo's powers at the place of his birth, and the poet-speaker who promises to spread the fame of their song wherever he goes (*h. Ap.* 156–176).

A further expression of this vision is the figure of the disguised Odysseus, who is at once an insider and outsider. Both conditions are balanced in his proposal to Eurymachus, which hints at his true identity, but also maintains the lowly status of his disguise. To those who know, Odysseus' words announce his true position, but to Eurymachus and the other suitors, they signal the seeming rusticity that conceals his true nature, building on Eurymachus' mistake of seeing Odysseus as a lowly outsider, who might just be brought into the realm of respectability through paid farm labor, if he were not so incurably shiftless. In the extended stretch of narrative in which he penetrates his home in disguise, Odysseus speaks with the peculiar eloquence of his double role. He announces his own presence in statements that are at once ironic and prophetic; he challenges and exposes the bad faith and abusiveness of the suitors; and he offers the wise advice of the well-traveled sage, especially in his warning to Amphinomus, delivered shortly before his proposal to Eurymachus (*Od.* 18.125–150).[10]

3. *Hesiod's agricultural poetics*

The outsider status of Odysseus' disguise, combined with dispossession, a detailed knowledge of farming, and a distinctive mastery of the truth, suggests a close connection to the figure of Hesiod, as he

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[10] Notably, this warning includes an autobiographical element, which is characteristic of the advice of the wise outsider. See Martin 1992, 16.

presents himself in the *Works and Days*. The *Works and Days* brings Odysseus' speech in *Odyssey* 18 into sharper focus by supplying analogues both for the persona Odysseus is adopting and for the poetic genre that he briefly deploys in proposing the contest.

Odysseus' proposal of an *eris ergoio* is generally evocative of the *Works and Days* and especially of Hesiod's expanded notion of *eris* as occurring in a good form that can be an incitement to *ergon* (*WD* 20–24):

> She incites even the lazy man to work.
> For he becomes eager to work as he looks at another,
> a rich man, who is quick to plow and plant
> and to put his house in order. Neighbor contends with neighbor
> as he goes after wealth. This Strife is good for men.

> ἥ τε καὶ ἀπάλαμόν περ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ ἔργον ἐγείρει
> εἰς ἕτερον γάρ τίς τε ἴδεν ἔργοιο χατίζων
> πλούσιον, ὅς σπεύδει μὲν ἀρώμεναι ἠδὲ φυτεύειν
> οἶκόν τ᾿ εὖ θέσθαι· ζηλοῖ δέ τε γείτονα γείτων
> εἰς ἄφενος σπεύδοντ᾿· ἀγαθὴ δ᾿ Ἔρις ἥδε βροτοῖσιν.

The circumstances of Odysseus' encounter with Eurymachus also recall the dramatic situation of the *Works and Days*. In making the point, now widely accepted, that Hesiod's account of himself is shaped by poetic concerns rather than autobiography, Gregory Nagy observes that Odysseus' challenge to Eurymachus provides a Homeric counterpart to the relationship of Hesiod and Perses: 'the resourceful king, disguised as beggar-poet, is challenging the idle usurper of his possessions to a hypothetical contest . . . in the activity of "working the land"'.[11] Hesiod, like Odysseus, takes on the role of an apparent outsider who is a true insider, and who is capable of speaking with particular authority to those in power. Richard Martin has labeled this position 'metanastic', after the figure of the *metanastês* or 'displaced person', and has shown its connections to various traditions of wisdom literature.[12] The *metanastês* can assume several forms: he can be an immigrant, like Hesiod's father or Phoenix in the *Iliad* or the beggar whom Odysseus pretends to be; he can also be a mystic,

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[11] Nagy 1990, 71. For the case against reading Hesiod's first-person statements as autobiographical, see also Griffith 1983, and the survey of the debate at Stoddard 2004, 1–33. For a recent endorsement of the view that Hesiod really was a farmer, see Nelson 1998, 36–39.

[12] Martin 1992.

who gains wisdom in far-off places and returns home as a stranger,
a figure Odysseus himself resembles. From his place on the margins
of the community, he has a clearer view of the center, and his verbal
style includes outspokenness, which allows him to denounce the mis-
deeds of kings; as Martin notes, this quality links Hesiod to Thersites.

Notably for my purposes, and paradoxically, Hesiod deploys his
metanastic vision through detailed information about how to farm.
Now that it is increasingly recognized that the *Works and Days* is not
actually a farming manual but rather a broader meditation on justice
and the will of Zeus, we have to ask why the poem foregrounds,
not just the virtues of the farmer, but the nuts and bolts of farming
practice. The agricultural discourse that Odysseus appropriates in a
brief, pointed way is here the primary mode of the entire work.[13]

As Hesiod presents it, farming is the most reliable and honorable
solution to the puzzle that defines human existence. The gods have
hidden *bios*, the means of life, and human survival depends on finding
it. Hesiod describes several undesirable approaches to this quest. One
involves spending time in the agora listening to disputes, which is
connected to trying to get other people's property for oneself through
disputes (*WD* 27–33). Another is seafaring, about which Hesiod
expresses considerable ambivalence in the passage known as the Nautilia
(*WD* 618–694). In that passage, Hesiod acknowledges that livelihood
can be won through *emporiê*, voyaging by sea for the sake of trading,
but he makes it clear that he views this as a desperate measure full
of risk. He gives some advice about better and worse times to embark
on a sea voyage, but disavows personal knowledge of sailing.

Hesiod can thus be compared with a number of other wise quasi-
outsiders who simultaneously stigmatize the agora, as the site of
deception, and trading, bringing the two even closer together in var-
ious pithy formulations. One of these is the half-Scythian, half-
Athenian sage Anacharsis, who according to Diogenes Laertius, 'called
the market a place set apart where people could deceive one another
and get more than they gave', τὴν ἀγορὰν ὡρισμένον ἔφη τόπον εἰς τὸ
ἀλλήλους ἀπατᾶν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. (Diogenes Laertius 1.105). Another
is the figure of Cyrus in Herodotus' *Histories*, who offers a similar
characterization: '[He said] he had never feared men who had a

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[13] Odysseus' speech is particularly close in content and diction to *Works and Days*
436–440. See Marsilio 2000, 57–58.

place marked off in the middle of their city where they came together to deceive one another under oath', Οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσί ἐστι χῶρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὀμνύντες ἐξαπατῶσι (*Histories* 1.153.1).

As he rejects both time spent in the agora and sea-voyaging, Hesiod brings out the associations of both with dubious or deceptive speech. The man who gains wealth through disputes in the agora is involved in an exchange in which nothing is given for his gains except clever words. Thus Hesiod describes him as stealing property with his tongue: ἀπὸ γλώσσης λήίσσεται (*WD* 322). In this respect he is like a beggar, who also gives nothing for what he gets except his pleading speech, which explains why Perses is cast in both of these seemingly contradictory roles.[14] Beggar is also, of course, the role that Odysseus implicitly disavows when he speaks to Eurymachus of his own capacity for farm labor.

Hesiod warns Perses that, if he does not work, he will have to beg from his neighbors. Begging may succeed two or three times, but eventually the beggar's empty offering of words will net him nothing (*WD* 401–403):

> Two, even three, times you may well succeed. But if you bother them
>   any more,
> you will not get anything, all you say will be profitless,
> and your range of words will be fruitless.

> δὶς μὲν γὰρ καὶ τρὶς τάχα τεύξεαι· ἢν δ᾽ ἔτι λυπῇς,
> χρῆμα μὲν οὐ πρήξεις, σὺ δ᾽ ἐτώσια πόλλ᾽ ἀγορεύσεις,
> ἀχρεῖος δ᾽ ἔσται ἐπέων νόμος.

The phrase *nomos epeôn* in line 403 has been recognized as a reference to poetry,[15] suggesting a form of inefficacious speech that contrasts with Hesiod's own powerful advice as expressed in his poem. There is a similar evocation of poetry in Hesiod's denigration of seafaring in the Nautilia. There he explains that he is not *sesophismenos* in seafaring and can communicate the mind of Zeus in this endeavor only because he is inspired by the Muses. This mention of the Muses points to the way that Hesiod's account of seafaring functions as a programmatic statement. As Ralph Rosen has shown,[16] Hesiod's avowed

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[14] On the connections between Perses' roles as litigant and beggar, and on his generally deceptive speech, see Marsilio 2000, 4–13.
[15] Marsilio 2000, 8–9.
[16] Rosen 1990.

preference for farming over sailing as a means of livelihood serves as
a metaphor for the poet's choice of agricultural didactic over heroic
epic. Hesiod's chosen genre is more reliable than epic, in part because
the truths it conveys are secured by the poet's own first-hand knowl-
edge as well as by the authority of the Muses. By making farming
the main subject of his poem, Hesiod enhances his authority as a
poet, much as Odysseus enhances his authority as a character when
he briefly uses Hesiod's agricultural idiom in his response to Eury-
machus (although Odysseus does not observe the generic distinction
that Hesiod insists on, since he follows his evocation of agriculture
with the language of heroic epic).

The farmer surpasses the beggar, the sea-trader, and the litigant
because he is a man of substance. He is the rightful possessor of land,
even if that land is in someone else's hands, and he achieves a steady
bios through the visible fruits of his labor. The poet who sings of
farming offers words that also have substance, that are not ineffective,
deceptive, or unverifiable. Because the farmer is a just man, earning
an honest living, he speaks just words, and Zeus rewards him with
prosperity for doing so (*WD* 280–281). He is thus in a position to
expose, condemn, and admonish those like Perses whose way of life
is dishonest and insubstantial, and the corrupt kings whose greed for
bribes makes them Perses' accomplices. Furthermore, in recounting
the procedures of his livelihood, the farmer-poet is detailing the will
of Zeus.

Successful farming entails noting and following the set of clues to
hidden *bios* that Zeus has inscribed in the natural world. These clues
are a set of seasonal prompts, signals that the proper time has come
to take one action or another, and these can be relied on to pro-
duce a livelihood that is the just compensation of the farmer's labor.
To begin where Hesiod does, it is when the Pleiades rise that the
farmer should begin his harvest; it is when they are setting that
he should begin to plow (*WD* 383–384). In articulating and impart-
ing this knowledge of the proper timing of the farmer's tasks, Hesiod
is a prophetic figure, giving voice to the mind of Zeus. Thus he
can claim a special authority, which Odysseus, in his proposal to
Eurymachus, also briefly accesses in his allusion to springtime (ὥρῃ
ἐν εἰαρινῇ, *Od.* 18.367) as the proper time for their contest. But
Hesiod is also noting what any hard-working farmer knows through
observation and experience. He is at once disclosing the secrets of
the universe and stating the obvious, repeating facts that it would
be open to anyone to figure out or confirm for himself. Throughout

the year, the successful farmer of the *Works and Days* depends on his powers of observation, responding knowledgeably to what he sees and hears: the arrival of rain (415–416, 492) and frost (543), the appearance of certain stars (383–384, 564–566, 598, 609–610, 615–616), the calls of the crane, the cuckoo, and the swallow (448, 486–487, 568–569), the sight of the snail (571–572), the emergence of leaves on the top of the fig tree (678–681). As he responds, he himself gives a visible display of fruitful industry, as we learn from the account early on of the sluggish man who is spurred to *ergon* by good *eris* when he looks at the activities of his busy neighbor (*WD* 21).

This sense of what it means to be attuned to the particulars of farming practice resurfaces later in a passage from the corpus of elegiac verses attributed to Theognis. The passage recalls both a particular passage in the *Works and Days* and, more generally, a Hesiodic conception of farming lore. In the lines alluded to, Hesiod supplies an alternative signal to the setting Pleiades for the beginning of plowing (*WD* 448–451):

> Take note, when you hear the voice of the crane
> high in the clouds shrilling her annual cry.
> She gives the signal to plow and shows the season
> of rainy winter—and bites the heart of the man with no oxen.

> Φράζεσθαι δ᾽, εὖτ᾽ ἂν γεράνου φωνὴν ἐπακούσῃς
> ὑψόθεν ἐκ νεφέων ἐνιαύσια κεκληγυίης,
> ἥ τ᾽ ἀρότοιό τε σῆμα φέρει καὶ χείματος ὥρην
> δεικνύει ὀμβρηροῦ, κραδίην δ᾽ ἔδακ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἀβούτεω·

Theognis reworks Hesiod in such a way as to give the subjective experience of the man whose heart is pierced by the cry of the crane (1197–1202):

> I heard, Polypaides, the voice of the shrilling bird
>   who comes to mortals as a messenger of plowing
> in season. And it struck my sad heart,
>   for other men now have my flourishing fields,
> mules no longer pull the curved plow for me,
>   because of the other memorable sea-voyage.

> Ὄρνιθος φωνήν, Πολυπαίδη, ὀξὺ βοώσης
>   ἤκουσ᾽, ἥτε βροτοῖσ᾽ ἄγγελος ἦλθ᾽ ἀρότου
> ὡραίου· καί μοι κραδίην ἐπάταξε μέλαιναν,
>   ὅττι μοι εὐανθεῖς ἄλλοι ἔχουσιν ἀγρούς,
> οὐδέ μοι ἡμίονοι κυφὸν ἕλκουσιν ἄροτρον
>   τῆς ἄλλης μνηστῆς εἵνεκα ναυτιλίης.

In becoming the speaker of the poem, the man who is pained by
the voice of the crane has been transformed. In Hesiod he is the
improvident man who has failed to supply himself with oxen, as is
clear a few lines later when Hesiod describes him as desperately try-
ing to borrow some oxen and a wagon from his neighbor. In Theognis,
he is a dispossessed landowner, no longer controlling lands that are
still somehow his. How this dispossession is related to the sea-voyage
of the final line is a matter of some difficulty, so much so that some
part of that line is usually obelized. Whether it has something to do
with the actual exile of aristocrats from Megara, as has often been
thought, or whether it refers more metaphorically, as Nagy has pro-
posed, to the faltering of the ship of state, sailing out of season,[17]
dispossession does not, however, weaken—but rather strengthens—
the speaker's authority. It places him in the company of other dis-
possessed speakers such as Odysseus and Hesiod. Thus this passage
is in keeping with other ways in which Theognis constructs an iden-
tity strikingly similar to that of Hesiod, particularly through his rela-
tionship to Cyrnus, which echoes Hesiod's relationship to Perses.[18]

Lifted from the rest of the corpus, Theognis' poem might seem
to be simply an expression of anguish, a testament to the piercing
pain of displacement. But within that larger corpus, it serves to iden-
tify the figure whose voice is heard throughout. That figure is not
a farmer, but an expert advisor on the proper functioning of a *polis*:
one who knows how to tell the *agathoi* from the *kakoi*, how to avoid
stasis and find *dikê*, how to achieve the proper use of wealth; one who
can tell when the city is in the hands of false rulers, who do not
guide it properly. The speaker constructed in the Theognidean cor-
pus is best suited to do this because he too can claim the position
of the outsider who is a rightful insider, and one mark of this posi-
tion is his informed response to the voice of the crane. That response
both impels him to speak and guarantees the value of what he says.

In the worlds of Homer and Hesiod, there is not yet a full-blown
polis, to which the countryside is related in the same way that it is
in later periods. But these are, all the same, worlds defined by central
spaces in which power is concentrated—the aristocratic household

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[17] Nagy 1985, 64–68. Nagy's interpretation involves finding a further Hesiodic
resonance in the Theognis passage since the danger of sailing out of season is a
central point of the Nautilia.

[18] This connection was first made by F.G. Welcker in the preface to his 1836
edition of Theognis. See also Griffith 1983, 42–44, 59.

and the agora—and the proper relationship of these spaces to what lies beyond them is a matter of considerable concern. Neither of these spaces is sharply demarcated from the surrounding land which is subject to farming, and there is an equally, or even more, significant opposition here, as in later periods, between the city together with its surrounding farmland and the wilder realm that lies beyond. Nonetheless there is a competition in play over who most properly controls that central space and articulates its values, in which those who are associated with farming are set against those who are not, in ways that anticipate more fully developed oppositions between country-dwellers and city-dwellers.

The figures who stay closest to the center are, as it turns out, the more suspect; they are people like Eurymachus and Perses, who hope to sustain themselves solely by taking advantage of others. They thrive on the possibilities of deception and trickery that arise when people come together and exchange words. In this respect, they are allied with those who travel furthest from the center, the roaming merchants who are connected to what cannot be verified, telling stories that have no independent witnesses and trading in goods that have no fixed value.

Farmers, by contrast, are tied to spaces that are within the purview of the center. Whether they own the land or work the land, they are reliably rooted and well known. A connection to the farmland that surrounds the center places figures like Odysseus and Hesiod above those who occupy themselves only at the center in several ways: it gives them the social position that comes with owning land and it gives them the moral authority that comes from having an honest and open source of livelihood. But we see already here a sense of the farmer as something of an outsider, a conception we meet in a more fully developed form in texts from the classical period, that also contributes to the claims of these figures to be the most worthy insiders. As Odysseus and Hesiod speak of farming, they take on the authenticity of the honest laborer and the authority of the clear-eyed outsider who is best equipped to describe a culture to itself.

4. *Socratic agriculture*

Jumping ahead to the fourth century and the only other surviving work of Greek literature that devotes significant attention to farming, Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, we enter the classical *polis* with its more

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diverse population, its complicated negotiations between democratic ideology and actual disparities of wealth, its expanded causes for suspicion towards those who trade in words alone, and its constant concern with the proper qualities and activities of citizens. Xenophon's Socratic dialogue on estate management brings *geôrgia*, the occupation of farming, squarely into the discussion of citizenship, arguing that farming produces the best citizens. The kind of farmer who interests Xenophon is, of course, a wealthy, landowning aristocrat like Odysseus, rather than a laborer such as Eurymachus imagines Odysseus might be. Such aristocratic landowners are represented in the dialogue by two figures: Critobulus and Ischomachus. But, as in the case of Odysseus predicting his own distinction in a mowing and plowing contest, there is also in the *Oeconomicus* a slippage between owning the land and working the land, by which the landowner acquires the virtues—and the distinction from other kinds of workers—of the farm laborer. Critobulus and Ischomachus are very much city-dwellers, occupying large houses in the town, but they are distinguished from certain other city-dwellers by their regular commute to the countryside to tend their estates.[19]

This focus on farm labor as a pursuit of the elite is particularly pronounced in the first section of the dialogue, in which Socrates is conversing with Critobulus. In their initial discussion of various occupations, farming emerges as the best route to physical and mental fitness, and thus to the expression of citizen virtue in warfare. Farming is distinguished from the banausic occupations, which keep their practitioners indoors, leading to effeminate bodies and weak minds, and which leave no leisure for attention to friends and the city. Socrates evokes as an ideal the Persian king Cyrus: 'they say that he classifies farming and the art of war among the noblest and most essential concerns, and he is seriously concerned about both of them',[20] (ἐκεῖνον γάρ φασιν ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἡγούμενον εἶναι

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[19] Even for poor farmers who live on the land, being in the agora can be discreditable, if they are there to sell their produce for gain. Cf. *Mem.* 3.7.6. Under those circumstances, their produce loses its reassuring connection to the land that produced it. 'The grain on the market might have come from anywhere; it no longer bears any clear mark of being the community's own', Osborne 1987, 96. Farmers in the market are thus like the wanderers described by Alcinous, who tell tales from unknown sources.

[20] X. *Oec.* 4.4. Translations of passages from the *Oeconomicus* are taken from Pomeroy 1994.

ἐπιμελήμασι γεωργίαν τε καὶ τὴν πολεμικὴν τέχνην τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι). Here we see the same redescription of farming as a form of athletic endeavor that is akin to warfare but essentially recreational that occurred in Odysseus' speech to Eurymachus. This allows Xenophon to classify farmers as possessing the leisure needed for good citizenship, while Aristotle in the *Politics* classes farmers with craftsmen and says they are too busy to be good citizens (*Politics* 1328b41–1329a2).[21] Between Aristotle and Xenophon farming thus exhibits the same fluidity as it does between Eurymachus and Odysseus, capable of serving variously as a mark of low or high status.

Xenophon's assimilation of farming to exercise becomes even clearer when, at the end of a long account of Cyrus' equal interest in military preparedness and land-cultivation, he quotes Cyrus' response to the Spartan general Lysander. Lysander admires the beautifully arranged trees in Cyrus' *paradeisos* and is astounded to learn that Cyrus has arranged them all and has even planted some of them himself (*Oec.* 4.24–25):

> And Cyrus replied, 'Lysander, are you amazed at this? I swear to you by Mithras that whenever I'm in good health I never dine before working up a sweat either by practicing some military skill or doing some agricultural work or, at times, engaging in some competitive activity'. Lysander himself said that when he heard this, he congratulated him and said, 'Cyrus, I think you deserve your good fortune, for your good fortune is a result of your virtue'.

> Θαυμάζεις τοῦτο, [ἔφη] ὦ Λύσανδρε; ὄμνυμί σοι τὸν Μίθρην, ὅτανπερ ὑγιαίνω, μηπώποτε δειπνῆσαι πρὶν ἱδρῶσαι ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἢ τῶν γεωργικῶν ἔργων μελετῶν ἢ ἀεὶ ἕν γέ τι φιλοτιμούμενος. καὶ αὐτὸς μέντοι ἔφη ὁ Λύσανδρος ἀκούσας ταῦτα δεξιώσασθαί τε αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπεῖν· Δικαίως μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Κῦρε, εὐδαίμων εἶναι· ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖς.

Here, as in the *Odyssey*, the planting of trees serves to identify and to legitimate someone's position at the very peak of the social hierarchy. Lysander's compliment makes it clear what is involved here: hands-on labor is a display of industry, which turns the possession of land and the wealth that goes with it into the reward of merit rather than the result of arbitrary good fortune. In this context, it is perhaps not so surprising that farm labor becomes closely allied with athletic

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[21] See the chapter by Cullyer in this volume.

competition, because that too serves to ground aristocratic privilege in demonstrable merit.

Through a connection to farming, rich men can acquire the credibility that belongs to the figure of the poor, honest farmer who lives in the country and views the life of the city with a clear-eyed skepticism; detached from the city and its corrupt interests, the poor farmer is often the voice of good sense and decency. This type is represented in drama by the farmer who is married to Electra in Euripides' *Electra* and by the farmer who speaks up for Orestes in the corrupt trial reported in the *Orestes*, who is described by a highly sympathetic messenger as nothing to look at but possessed of manly courage (ἀνδρεῖος), studiously absent from the agora, and irreproachably upright (*Or.* 917–922). Another example is Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians*, who cannot stand being cooped up in the city by the war and longs for the country, where everything was provided and he never heard the word 'buy' (*Ach.* 32–36). In Menander's *Dyscolus*, there is a moment in which a character of this type explicitly vouches for a wealthy landowner by identifying him as one of them. When the hardworking farmer Gorgias sees the father of Sostratus, the rich city kid who is wooing his sister, he exclaims: 'Zeus! He's a rich man,/ and deservedly so, since he's an unbeatable farmer', (νὴ Δία, πλούσιος γ' ἀνήρ,/ καὶ δικαίως γ', ὡς γεωργὸς ἄμαχος) (*Dysc.* 774–775).

This appeal to the nuts and bolts of farming to justify the advantages of the landowner takes an even odder form in the second part of the *Oeconomicus*, in which Socrates recounts to Critobulus an earlier conversation with Ischomachus, whom he sought out and interrogated because he was widely credited as a perfect example of a *kalos kagathos*. Ischomachus' superiority can be traced in the topography of his daily life. Socrates encounters him sitting in the agora, but that is not his usual situation. He is only there because he has an appointment with some foreigners, who have not shown up yet. He does not spend much time at home, however, because he has a well-trained wife to look after the inner workings of the house. His usual practice is to get up early, transact whatever business he has to in the city while everyone is still home, then—if he has no further business—to head to his farm, making both the transaction of business in town and the journey to the countryside occasions for healthful walking. While in the country, he inspects the work, redirecting the workers if he happens to know of a better way of doing whatever they are engaged in, and rides around on his horse in a

way that replicates cavalry maneuvers. So, when Ischomachus happens to be in the agora, he is the most worthwhile person to talk to there, but that is because he spends a significant amount of his time elsewhere, in the country.[22]

Ischomachus' conversation with Socrates covers several topics, including the education of Ischomachus' wife, the topic for which the dialogue has received the most attention in recent scholarship, followed by the analogous education of the foreman who runs the farm. But the conversation takes a particularly odd turn towards the end when Socrates asks Ischomachus to teach him the *tekhnê* of *geôrgia*. His motive is vague, but Ischomachus is delighted to comply because there is no other subject so very easy to learn, so *rhastês mathein* (*Oec.* 15.4), so not *duskolos mathein* (*Oec.* 15.10). In fact Ischomachus is dismissive of the authors of technical treatises on agriculture, of which there were beginning to be some in the fourth century, as making the topic overly intricate, producing words about a subject of which they have no experience (*Oec.* 16.1–2).[23]

It turns out, however, that experience is not a prerequisite for proper understanding of farming, for Ischomachus then goes on to show that Socrates himself already knows everything he needs to, using a version of Socrates' own doctrine of recollection.[24] He starts he lesson by asking (*Oec.* 16.8): 'Well then, Socrates, where would you like me to begin to refresh your memory about farming? For I know that when I am telling you how farming must be done, I shall be speaking to someone who already knows a great deal about the subject' (Πόθεν οὖν βούλῃ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἄρξωμαί σε τῆς γεωργίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν; οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἐπισταμένῳ σοι πάνυ πολλὰ φράσω ὡς δεῖ γεωργεῖν).

The ensuing lesson starts with the indispensable first question of when to plow (the first speaker is Ischomachus; the 'I' who responds is Socrates) (*Oec.* 16.10–12):

> Well, I suppose you know that you must plough up fallow ground in
>   preparation for sowing?
> Yes, I know, I answered.
> Then suppose we begin to plough the soil in winter?, he asked.
> But it would be muddy then, I replied.

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[22] On the multiple, often contradictory roles of the agora in Athenian cultural life, see Millett 1998; von Reden 1995, 105–111.

[23] On fourth-century agricultural treatises, see Pomeroy 1994, 322–323.

[24] Wellman 1976, 314–317. For the judgment that this is a painful travesty of Socratic method, see Caster 1937, 49 n. 2.

Do you think we should start in the summer?

No, the ground will be hard for the oxen to plough, I answered.

It looks as if we should begin the job in springtime, then, he said.

Yes, I said, for the soil is most likely to crumble if it is turned at that season.

Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν οἶσθα, ὅτι τῷ σπόρῳ νεὸν δεῖ ὑπεργάζεσθαι;

Οἶδα γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Εἰ οὖν ἀρχοίμεθα, ἔφη, ἀροῦν τὴν γῆν χειμῶνος;

Ἀλλὰ πηλὸς ἂν εἴη, ἐγὼ ἔφην.

Ἀλλὰ τοῦ θέρους σοι δοκεῖ;

Σκληρά, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἡ γῆ ἔσται κινεῖν τῷ ζεύγει.

Κινδυνεύει ἔαρος, ἔφη, εἶναι τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀρκτέον.

Εἰκὸς γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐστι μάλιστα χεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν τηνικαῦτα κινουμένην.

Ischomachus' task is eased not just by the fact that his pupil already knows everything and only has to be reminded of it, but also by the extraordinary accessibility of his topic. Unlike other occupations, farming is entirely transparent. The earth reveals its nature to any passer by (*Oec.* 20.13): 'she doesn't make a display in order to deceive, but speaks the truth and reveals clearly what she can do and what she can't' (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅ τι ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ δείκνυσιν, ἀλλ᾿ ἁπλῶς ἅ τε δύναται καὶ ἃ μὴ σαφηνίζει τε καὶ ἀληθεύει).

Furthermore, farmers delight in being watched (*Oec.* 15.11):

For other skilled workers tend to conceal the most vital pieces of information about their occupation, but among farmers the one who is best at planting would be particularly pleased if someone were watching him; so too would the one who is best at sowing. If you were to ask him about any of the things he does well, he would not conceal from you the way in which he does them.

καὶ γὰρ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τεχνῖται ἀποκρύπτονταί πως τὰ ἐπικαιριώτατα ἧς ἕκαστος ἔχει τέχνης, τῶν δὲ γεωργῶν ὁ κάλλιστα μὲν φυτεύων μάλιστ᾿ ἂν ἥδοιτο, εἴ τις αὐτὸν θεῷτο, ὁ κάλλιστα δὲ σπείρων ὡσαύτως. ὅ τι δὲ ἔροιο τῶν καλῶς πεποιημένων, οὐδὲν ὅ τι ἄν σε ἀποκρύψαιτο ὅπως ἐποίησεν.

This stress on the transparency of farming in part reflects a particular concern of the classical city, namely the problem of *ousia aphanês* or invisible wealth, a potential source of destabilizing inequality.[25] But it also connects to the theme of farming as the particular arena of truthfulness that goes back to Homer and Hesiod. There, as we saw, farmers are portrayed as honest in contrast to traders and other wan-

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[25] On the distinction between seen and unseen wealth, see Harrison 1968, 230–232; Humphreys 1983, 10; Kurke 1991, chapter 9.

derers; wanderers tell tales whose sources cannot be inspected, while farmers engage in an activity that yields visible results, and thus naturally brings the truth to light.

Xenophon elaborates on the essential truthfulness of farming in the passage alluded to before in which he rejects treatises on farming as being constructed out of words rather than grounded in experience. This subject comes up in connection with the question of how much learning is required to understand the nature of soil (*Oec.* 16.1): 'First, Socrates, he said, I want to show you that the aspect of farming that the writers who lay it out most precisely in words, but have themselves worked the least, say is the most complicated, is not difficult' (Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοῦτο ἐπιδεῖξαι βούλομαί σοι ὡς οὐ χαλεπόν ἐστιν ὃ λέγουσι ποικιλώτατον τῆς γεωργίας εἶναι οἱ λόγῳ μὲν ἀκριβέστατα αὐτὴν διεξιόντες, ἥκιστα δὲ ἐργαζόμενοι).

The writers of treatises are here described in terms that ally them to the traders of the market place: through verbal elaboration, they make something out of nothing. They trade in information that has no basis in observation, acquiring it from some unknown source. It is not clear that this information is necessarily false, but it is nonetheless dangerously misleading, for it distracts and discourages the would-be farmer. In fact, the nature of soil is something he can easily judge for himself, as Ischomachus goes on to explain (*Oec.* 16.3): 'It is possible, said Ischomachus, to see what another man's land can and cannot bear by looking at the crops and the trees' (Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ ἀλλοτρίας γῆς τοῦτο ἔστι γνῶναι, ὅ τι τε δύναται φέρειν καὶ ὅ τι μὴ δύναται, ὁρῶντα τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ τὰ δένδρα).

The visible presence of crops and trees provides a concrete, indisputable witness to the nature of the soil. This is the most reliable information, generated by nature and proof against manipulation by words. A little later, a telling contrast is drawn between the self-evidence of farming, which is easily understood from visible signs, and the opacity of money, which cannot easily be judged as either authentic or counterfeit (*Oec.* 19.16–19).[26]

As crops offer a public proof of the properties of the soil they grow in, so the success of a farmer offers a public display of his intrinsic character. Farming is construed as an activity in which merit

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[26] Farming thus gains the firm grounding that is lacked by two conventional systems, language and money. These conventions were often linked in ancient thought. For references, see Sluiter 2000, 117–118 n. 45.

is publicly displayed, like the athletic contest, so that a plowing match would allow Eurymachus to see what sort of man Odysseus is, just as a battle would allow him to see Odysseus fighting in the front ranks. This visible display of merit is related to clear entitlement, uncontaminated by unfair advantage. Farming is the realm of the level playing field—a notion expressed in the identical sickles and identical teams of oxen that would be issued to Odysseus and Eurymachus—and a concept that occludes the essential fact that you have to own fields to play at all. In Xenophon's text, the exclusivity of ownership is obscured by the free availability of information. It somehow does not matter that you cannot have your neighbor's crops if you can have the knowledge that comes from looking at those crops, which he automatically shares with you.

The leveling effect of farming is evident in the highly improbable conversation between Ischomachus and Socrates, in which both prove to be equally familiar with, and equally fascinated by, the details of agricultural practice. As they come together in the agora and trade words about agriculture, farming becomes equally the possession of both and each is cleared of the suspicions to which he is subject. Through his free, open sharing of the details of farming, as through his free, open sharing of the details of his household, Ischomachus is cleared of the suspicion of hidden resources and unfair advantages that attached to members of the class that he represents. He is thus able to represent the ideal *kalos kagathos* as disingenuous and public spirited.

Recent scholarship on the *Oeconomicus* has introduced a note of skepticism about the figure of Ischomachus; some critics have suggested that Xenophon, far from idealizing Ischomachus, expects his readers to see that Ischomachus is obtusely complacent and a poor teacher, or fundamentally materialistic.[27] One sign of Xenophon's detachment might be Socrates' rather mocking treatment of Ischomachus at points, especially towards the end of the dialogue when Ischomachus claims that his father loved farming, as shown by the energy he invested in buying up underperforming farms, improving them, and selling them at a profit. Socrates sardonically compares this love of farming to the merchants' love of the grain that they sail after and sell at the highest possible price (*Oec.* 27–29).

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[27] The first view is that of Too 2001, the second of Stevens 1994.

But we do not have to turn Xenophon into an ironist to explain these features of the dialogue (or to make Xenophon interesting). Uneasy references to Ischomachus' love of wealth can be understood as acknowledgment of the charges that men like Ischomachus were always having to defend themselves against. Ischomachus makes his own joke about this situation at the beginning of the conversation. Approached by Socrates as one known to be *kalos kagathos*, Ischomachus replies that he is known by his proper name when summoned to an *antidosis*—that is, when under suspicion of having excessive wealth, perhaps more than he lets on (*Oec.* 7.3). His subsequent discourse on farming serves to clear him of that suspicion.

Socrates, by participating in this conversation and being revealed as inherently a master of farming, is assimilated to his interlocutor in accord with Xenophon's portrayal of him as an exponent of traditional morality and himself a version of the *kalos kagathos*.[28] Clearly, this is not the characterization of Socrates we find in Plato, or even elsewhere in Xenophon. As A.R. Lacey puts it, 'The *Economicus*, where Socrates discourses on how to run a farm, is generally agreed to be unhistorical, since everything else we know about Socrates, including what we learn from Xenophon himself, makes him a townsman'.[29] Leaving aside the historicity of any portrait of Socrates, we can see that Socrates' well-known identity as a townsman is what inspires Xenophon's decision to depict him as speaking of farming. For speech on that topic, as we have seen, serves to neutralize Socrates' subversive way of life, which involves spending virtually all of his time in the agora, rarely venturing into the surrounding countryside, and doing nothing but talking. The nature of his speech makes him a sage figure, not unlike Hesiod or the disguised Odysseus, one who speaks to those in power from the perspective of an outsider. But the very fact that he devotes himself to speech as an end in itself opens him up to the charge of dangerous insubstantiality, like that leveled against merchants and tale-telling wanderers. Within the *Oeconomicus*, Socrates alludes to his questionable position in Athens in a joke that echoes Ischomachus' earlier remark about being called by his proper name when challenged to an *antidosis*. Socrates shrugs off Ischomachus' suggestion that, on hearing the details of Ischomachus' way of life, Socrates might be able to offer him some correction (*Oec.* 11.3):

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[28] On Xenophon's mission in portraying Socrates, see Waterfield 2004.
[29] Lacey 1971, 34.

As far as that goes, how could I properly put a perfect gentleman on
the right track, especially when I've gained the reputation of being an
idle chatterer who measures the air, and am called 'poverty-stricken'—
a charge I reckon is the most senseless of all?

Ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ μὲν δή, ἔφην, πῶς ἂν δικαίως μεταρρυθμίσαιμι ἄνδρα ἀπειργασμένον
καλόν τε κἀγαθόν, καὶ ταῦτα ὢν ἀνὴρ ὃς ἀδολεσχεῖν τε δοκῶ καὶ ἀερομε-
τρεῖν καί, τὸ πάντων δὴ ἀνοητότατον δοκοῦν εἶναι ἔγκλημα, πένης καλοῦμαι;

In the cases of Odysseus, Hesiod, and Theognis, the clear-eyed advice
of the outsider is legitimated by the depiction of that outsider as
simultaneously an insider. This insider status is secured by the right-
ful possession of land of which the wise advisor happens to be dis-
possessed, and the sign of that rightful possession is his ability to
speak knowledgeably about the proper cultivation of land. In the
case of Xenophon's Socrates, the same legitimacy is conferred simply
by that knowledgeable speech; by speaking of farming, Socrates gains
the respectability of the landowner and sheds the stigma of poverty,
while holding a conversation in the agora, and without actually own-
ing any land. As each gets the other to talk about farming, Ischomachus
and Socrates grant each other legitimacy, assuring that Ischomachus'
wealth and Socrates' urbane, often ironic conversation each acquires
the respectability and authority that the topic of farming is pecu-
liarly able to confer.

5. *Conclusion*

In this series of texts spanning the archaic and classical periods,
Odysseus, Hesiod, Theognis, Ischomachus, and Socrates all speak
the same language: the language of farming. And so, one might add,
does Homer, in composing the speech of Odysseus in which he pro-
poses the contest, or the similes in the *Iliad* in which warfare is com-
pared to farming, or the portrait of the city at peace on the shield
of Achilles. The mastery of this language that these figures display
does not necessarily qualify them to be farmers. Their expositions
of farming practice are definitely not farming manuals, and there is
no reason to envision any of them actually working the land. Speaking
this language qualifies them to be—not farmers—but speakers. It
allows them to engage with authority in the activity that lies at the
heart of Greek civic life and that takes place at its most central loca-
tions, giving advice about how the members of their community

should conduct themselves. That they are conversant with farming guarantees the truthfulness of their advice, grounding it in the consistency of the natural world, in the authenticity and honest labor of the farmer, and in the disinterested clear-sightedness of the insider who is also an outsider, viewing the culture he commands from a perspective that is just a bit detached, just a bit off-center.

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CHAPTER SIX

HERODOTUS ON SURVIVAL:
CITY OR COUNTRYSIDE?

Angus Bowie

οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ὧδε μένουσαν πόλιν,
ἀλλὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπιζητοῦμεν

For here have we no continuing city,
but we seek one to come
(Hebr. 13:14)

1. *Introduction*

For all the immense riches to be found in Herodotus on a great range of topics, it is notable that he says remarkably little about cities, at least as far as their topographical organization and their occupational pattern are concerned. He can be uniquely informative on the historical, cultural, social and religious aspects of their inhabitants or their geographical surroundings, but, as we shall see, only twice describes a city in any detail. Thus, for instance, Book 2, though abundant in detail about the history, peoples, customs and countryside of Egypt and other countries, says little of the great cities in Egypt, even though there were 'no less than twenty thousand cities' in Egypt in the time of Amasis (177). He devotes a chapter to the sanctuary at Bubastis (138), since it is the 'most beautiful' in Egypt, but other aspects are ignored. At Tyre, he is most interested in the age and affiliations of the Temple of Heracles, but no more is said of that famous city (44). The city of the Pygmies is mentioned, but only the size of the people is commented on (32.7). At Memphis, it is the water engineering which interests him (99); at Saïs, 'a large and remarkable palace' is mentioned, but not described (169.5).

Given their nomadic life-style, one would not expect much on Scythian cities, though some tribes did in fact have large *oppida*.[1]

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[1] Cf. Rolle 1989, 110, 117–122; Kryzhickij 1991, 187–200; Sulimirski & Taylor 1991, 551, 580–589.

Herodotus notes the city of Gelonus (4.108.1), which was notable for being made of wood, but apart from giving its size, he concentrates mostly on customs, religion and language. In the rich geographical description of the Libyan tribes (4.168ff.), there is nothing on cities: perhaps there were few, but the western Libyans, unlike the eastern, were not nomadic.

In Persia, Susa is often mentioned, but not described; on Persepolis and Pasargadae he is silent. When describing the Royal Road, he does not mention the cities that lay on its route, though one of the main functions of Persian roads was to join the capitals and other important towns:[2] 'ancient Mesopotamia was a fundamentally urban civilisation'.[3] When the Greeks sack Sardis, he explains the failure to plunder it by the fact that the fire rapidly took hold because 'the greater part of the houses in Sardis were of reeds, and those that were of brick had roofs of reed' (5.101.1), but no more is said, here or during Cyrus' sack of it (1.88–89), of the physical aspects of the city. The one aspect of the city that is mentioned is thus put in to explain a historical fact.

Unless they contained some notable wonder then, the physical aspects of cities do not attract Herodotus' interest like the countryside. In contrast to the two descriptions of cities, when Herodotus treats of Egypt (2.5–34), lands at the end of the world (3.102–117), Scythia (4.17–31, 37–41, 48–58, 99–101) and Libya (4.168–199), he gives very detailed and lengthy accounts of the geography, flora and fauna amongst which the nations live. Though these passages can involve simple factual description, say of the physical measurements of Egypt (2.6–9), they are not always purely descriptive. Descriptions of the countryside are combined with descriptions of the customs of the peoples. In pursuance of his prefatory expression of interest in 'wonders' (θώματα), Herodotus devotes a good deal of time to remarkable natural phenomena, such as the three harvests in the area around Cyrene (4.199) or the gold-digging ants in India (3.102). In the latter case, he is able to describe the hunting customs that the Indians have developed to exploit the gold. The evidence of natural features allows him to engage in debates about how different environments came about: evidence from Asia Minor and elsewhere

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[2] Briant 2002, 357–364.
[3] Stone 1995, 235.

supports his claims about the recent creation of Egypt through silting (2.10–11), and allows him to predict likely changes in the country in the future (2.12–14). One topic for which he does not see fundamental importance in the physical environment and climate is the determination of national characteristics: 'the role of the physical environment as an explanation of ethnicity is rather muted'.[4] On the other hand, natural descriptions may also be used to reveal truths about the universe, such as the demonstration of the wisdom of Providence in ensuring that timid creatures, which are the prey of others, are preserved from extinction by their prolific breeding, whereas violent creatures that could gain excessive power are prevented from doing so by bearing few offspring (3.108–109), a fact which is later attributed by Themistocles to history in general. Of the defeat of Xerxes' expansionist expedition he says that 'the gods and heroes did not wish one man to be master of Europe and Asia' (8.109.3): in the natural world of the countryside and in the world of human culture, the same divine principle operates.

If Herodotus does not spend much time in describing the countryside in Greece, when dealing with unfamiliar nations and countries he gives full accounts of what he has learned. Of cities, however, he has little to say. Many 'cities' perhaps barely deserved the name, and simple lack of knowledge may on occasion explain the absence of description of cities, but that does not work for Greece or Egypt.[5] In this chapter, I want to trace what Herodotus has to say about cities, first in explicit terms in the two descriptions he does give, and second implicitly in his account of the defeat of Xerxes, where he ascribes a principal role to the Athenians, who abandoned their city. The first part of the discussion concerns the history of the Medes and Persians, and will focus especially on Herodotus' descriptions of the cities of Ecbatana and Babylon and the ideologies of the city there involved (section 2); the second concerns the theme of walls and cities as possible modes of defense in the face of Xerxes' invasion which runs through the last three books of the work (section 3). These two aspects will then be related together.

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[4] Thomas 2000, 105; cf. 104–114 generally.
[5] Here is not the place to discuss the precise meaning of *polis*; for an encapsulation of its use in archaic and classical times, cf. Hansen 2000. The work of the Copenhagen Polis Centre is of course central to all aspects of *polis*-study; there has not yet been a separate treatment of the word in Herodotus, as far as I can see.

2. *Ecbatana and Babylon*

The first example consists of four passages contained inside the story
of Cyrus (1.95–216): the description of Ecbatana at the inauguration
of the Median kingship by Deioces (1.96–101), the story of Cyrus'
childhood 'kingship' (1.114), his assumption of the actual throne
(1.126–129), and the description of Babylon on its capture by Cyrus
(1.178–200). These four passages have an ABBA pattern, whereby
the two descriptions of cities surround two tales of Cyrus' accession
to 'kingship', and present two contrasting models of the 'city' and
of its relationship to the countryside.

  The first passage is the account of the taking of power by Deioces
and the establishment of his capital at Ecbatana. After the Medes
threw off the Assyrian yoke, Herodotus says that they returned to
tyranny under Deioces, who cunningly arranged for himself to be
made their ruler. After gaining their freedom, the Medes 'lived in
villages' (κῶμαι, 1.96.2), but amid 'considerable lawlessness'. Deioces,
having shown himself a fair judge in his own village, became judge
for all the Medes; but he eventually tired of the volume of cases
and gave up judging. As a result, lawlessness returned and the Medes
decided that only a king could put a stop to it, and that Deioces
should be that king. He demanded bodyguards, 'a palace worthy of
his kingship', 'a large, secure residence', and that they build a sin-
gle city (πόλισμα) in place of their individual villages. At the center
is Deioces' stronghold (1.98.3–6):

> He built big and strong walls, which are now called Agbatana, one
> standing inside the next in circles. This fortress is designed so that
> each circle of walls is higher than the last by no more than the height
> of its battlements; that the site is a hill in the plain contributes to this,
> but mainly it was accomplished by design. There are seven circles in
> all; within the innermost circle are the palace and the treasuries. The
> longest wall is about the length of the wall that surrounds the city of
> Athens. The battlements of the first circle are white, of the second black,
> of the third red, of the fourth blue, and of the fifth orange, so that all the
> battlements are colored by dyes. The battlements of the last two cir-
> cles are coated, one with silver, the other with gold.[6]
>
> οἰκοδομέει τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερά, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται,
> ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεῶτα. μεμηχάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος, ὥστε
> ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἑτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισί ἐστι ὑψηλότερος. τὸ

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[6] All translations are my own.

μέν κού τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχέει κολωνὸς ἐών, ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ
καὶ μᾶλλόν τι ἐπετηδεύθη. κύκλων δ᾽ ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἑπτά, ἐν δὴ
τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλήια ἔνεστι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δ᾽ αὐτῶν μέγιστόν ἐστι
τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστά κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου
κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνές εἰσι λευκοί, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ
κύκλου φοινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι. οὕτω
πάντων τῶν κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἠνθισμένοι εἰσι φαρμάκοισι· δύο δὲ οἱ
τελευταῖοί εἰσι ὁ μὲν καταργυρωμένους, ὁ δὲ κατακεχρυσωμένους ἔχων τοὺς
προμαχεῶνας.

Deioces also ordered the people to build their houses outside the
stronghold and, where once he was immediately accessible for justice,
now makes new rules (1.99.1):

> Deioces was the first to make the rules that no one should come into
> the presence of the king, but conduct all business by means of mes-
> sengers; that the king should be seen by no one; and in addition that
> it should be a disgrace for anyone to laugh or to spit in his presence.

> Δηιόκης πρῶτός ἐστι ὁ καταστησάμενος, μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα,
> δι᾽ ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρᾶσθαι, ὁρᾶσθαί τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός, πρός τε
> τούτοισι ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ πτύειν ἀντίον καὶ ἅπασι εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν.

The reason for his secrecy was that he was conscious that he was
of no better lineage than his peers, and so feared that if they could see
him they would conspire against him, but if not, they would think
him changed. Furthermore, he now became a 'harsh' pursuer of jus-
tice: where once he sat in the agora to dispense justice, people now
had to send in written lawsuits and the answer was brought out to
them. He also kept spies and informers who reported to him all that
was happening, and men were punished on hearsay.

Even though this is a relatively extended description of a city for
Herodotus, its highly schematic nature might suggest that it is less
the product of an interest in the physical description of cities, than
a speculation on cities and power.[7] It emphasizes enclosure, hierarchy,

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[7] But note the possibility raised by Scully 1990, 156: 'As with Mesopotamian
cities, the whole city was magically protected and built in imitation of the heavens
(Ecbatana presumably modeled on the circuits of the planets)'. The archaeology of
Ecbatana does not yet allow us to check this description. It is also reminiscent of
the way that north Mesopotamian towns generally used height to segregate different
functions and express hierarchies, and had a citadel, not in the center but at one
edge of the city, often walled off from the rest of it; cf. Stone 1995, 243–247. The
description has something of the ziggurat about it, and the use of colored enam-
elled tiles is well known in Mesopotamia from the third millennium. Cf. Briant
2002, 84–85.

invisibility and exclusion, with power firmly at the center. Ruler and ruled are strictly separated, the ruler rules by secret informers, and even the instrument of writing features, as often in early Greek culture, as a feature of tyrannical rule.[8] The original open and scattered rural communities of the Medes had as their down-side the fact that they were plagued by lawlessness; but the kingship that is to put an end to that lawlessness, though it creates a united and law-abiding urban community, does so only at the cost of a secretive and oppressive tyranny. Country and city thus represent very different values as indicators of the nature of the communities in them. We have here a reflection of the standard Greek idea that city-foundation is the imposition of *kosmos* over *chaos*, with the former privileged over the latter,[9] but here the privileging is far less clear: if rural life is lawless, the city has a surfeit of law.

This foundation inaugurated the Median empire, which had a chequered career. Deioces' son, Phraortes, overreached himself against Nineveh (1.102). After his death, his son Cyaxares participated in the destruction of Nineveh, but saw his country occupied by Scythians (1.103), and his angry treatment of another band of Scythians led him into a long war with Lydia (1.73–74). His son, Astyages not only tried to murder Cyrus but was also responsible for the ultimate subjection of the Medes to the Persians because of his own sharpness of temper (1.130.1). This showed itself in his punishment of Harpagus for not killing the baby Cyrus: Harpagus was made to eat his own son (1.119). A thread of oppressive and intolerant behavior can be seen throughout this Median domination. One notices too the absence of any explicit reference to the countryside or agriculture, or indeed to religion.

The basic pattern and some of the details of this assumption of power by Deioces are also visible in the second passage to be discussed, the childhood of Cyrus. After he had been saved from the death Astyages intended for him, Cyrus was brought up in the countryside, in a village. In their games, the village boys chose him as 'king', 'because they thought that I was best fitted for the task', as he puts it (ἐδόκεον γάρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεότατος, 1.115.2). As 'king' Cyrus takes control (1.114.2):

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[8] Cf. Steiner 1994.
[9] Cf. Vian 1963.

He gave them various jobs to do: some built houses, some formed his bodyguard, one of them was the King's Eye, and one of them was privileged enough to be allowed to bring messages in to him; thus he gave everyone their task.

ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δέ κού τινα αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ δέ τινι τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ὡς ἑκάστῳ ἔργον προστάσσων.

Like Deioces, therefore, Cyrus demands bodyguards and uses 'Eyes' to watch his subjects; like Deioces too, he separates himself from those subjects, allowing only certain people to visit him.[10] The son of Artembares, a powerful man amongst the Medes, is the only one to refuse to obey and is soundly thrashed. Cyrus too thus changes a country village that is free from controls into a mini-state; the move to greater civilization and order is figured as a move from country to a 'city', consisting of houses and a palace and a social hierarchy. Order is produced, but again at the expense of coercion of the ruled. There are however clear differences. Artembares' son is the only one to disobey (1.114–115), and though Cyrus is prepared to punish him soundly, this is done openly and he is happy to justify his actions openly to Astyages.

Despite the Magi's confidence that the oracle saying that Cyrus would become king had been fulfilled by this game of his contemporaries (1.120), he soon becomes an actual king, and again this is figured through the opposition between city and country. His worsting of the son of a prominent Mede becomes a prelude to this defeat of the Medes at Ecbatana (1.128.2–3). When Harpagus has convinced him to revolt against Astyages, he summons the Persians and offers them a choice either of continuing in their current servile position or of seizing power, which choice is embodied by their activities on two successive days (1.126). On the first, they bring their sickles and clear a dense patch of thorny scrub; on the second, they come washed and dressed for a banquet given by Cyrus. The Persians naturally choose the second and revolt successfully against Astyages and the Medes. The life of slavery is signified by rural work; that of power by

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[10] In the bodyguards, the 'King's Eye' and the restricted access there are clear references to the institutions of the Achaemenid kingship: for the 'King's Eye', cf. A. *Pers.* 980; Hdt. 1.114; Ar. *Ach.* 92; X. *Cyr.* 8.2.10–12 (though there is in fact no reference to this position in Achaemenid sources; cf. Briant 2002, 343–344). For the restricted access to the king, cf. the agreement between the Conspirators who overthrew the Magi and installed Darius (Hdt. 3.84.2–3).

the banquet, redolent of urban authority and wealth, and this repeats
the pattern of the first example. Cyrus' kingship, in contradistinc-
tion to Deioces' in Media, is thus marked as a positive development
for the Persians, and it inaugurates the idea of Cyrus' kingship as
something of an ideal monarchy. The subsequent description of
Persian customs (1.131–140) reinforces this idea.[11]

   The final passage to be considered in this section is the second
and last description of a city, Babylon, the Assyrian capital after the
destruction of Nineveh. The capture of this great city is one of the
glories of Cyrus' rule, and the description, like that of Ecbatana, has
a formalized quality to it again expressing strength and centrality,
but it presents a very different ideology of the city from that of
Ecbatana (1.178.3, 179.3, 180.3–4, 181.1–4):[12]

> First a deep and broad moat full of water surrounds the city. Then
> around it runs a wall fifty royal cubits thick and two hundred high . . . In
> the circuit of the wall there are a hundred gates, all of bronze . . . The
> city is divided by straight streets . . . and at the end of each street there
> are postern-gates set into the wall that runs by the river . . . This wall
> is the city's armour; inside it runs another circular wall, not much less
> strong than the former, but narrower. In the middle of one part of
> the city is the royal palace, surrounded by a high and strong wall;
> and in the middle of the other there is the bronze-gated sanctuary of
> Zeus Belus, a square with sides of two stades, which was still stand-
> ing in my time. In the middle of this sanctuary a solid tower has been
> built, a stade long and broad; on this tower stands a second tower
> and on it another, until there are eight. The way up mounts in a spi-
> ral outside the towers; about halfway up is a resting-place and seats
> to pause on, where those who ascend sit down and take a pause.

> τάφρος μὲν πρῶτά μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα [καὶ] πλέη ὕδατος περιθέει, μετὰ
> δὲ τεῖχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πήχεων βασιληίων ἐὸν τὸ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ διηκοσίων
> πήχεων . . . πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστᾶσι πέριξ τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατόν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι . . . τὸ
> δὲ ἄστυ . . . κατατέτμηται τὰς ὁδοὺς ἰθέας . . . κατὰ δὴ ὦν ἑκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν
> τῆι αἱμασίηι τῆι παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπῆσαν . . . τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος
> θώρηξ ἐστί, ἕτερον δὲ ἔσωθεν τεῖχος περιθέει, οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἀσθενέστερον
> τοῦ ἑτέρου τείχεος, στεινότερον δέ. ἐν δὲ φάρσεϊ ἑκατέρῳ τῆς πόλιος ἐτετείχιστο
> ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλήια περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ
> ἑτέρῳ Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι τοῦτο ἐόν, δύο σταδίων
> πάντη, ἐὸν τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται,

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[11] Cf. Bowie 2004.
[12] For the historical aspects and problems of the capture, cf. Briant 2002, 40–44,
883–884.

σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων. ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποίηται. μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιός ἐστι καταγωγή τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες.

Herodotus' Babylon is thus surrounded by a moat and a massive defensive wall, but it contrasts with Deioces' enclosed fortress by having not only one hundred bronze main gates, but also a large number of postern-gates at the end of each street; there is also a bridge built by Nitocris to make getting between the two halves of the city divided by the river all the easier (1.186). Babylon is thus a wide open city. Furthermore, the people live within the walls, not outside them. Inside this wall is another wall, but where Deioces' concentric walls were each higher and more imposing than the last, this second wall is a little weaker than the first and less thick: entry gets easier, not more difficult as one moves towards the center. In the center of that half of the city which holds the temple of Bel, stands the ziggurat. Deioces had seven concentric walls, and here there are eight towers piled one on top of the other, but where Deioces' excluded, these towers are actually made accessible by a staircase that runs up the outside for people to climb, and there is even a place for people to rest half way up.

In order to gauge the symbolic meanings of Herodotus' description, it is worth comparing his account with what archaeology has revealed about the Babylon of his time, that built by the Neo-Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562 BCE). Herodotus' Babylon is, in terms of geography and organization, broadly comparable with the archaeological record, though there are significant differences. The main city was enclosed by a rectangle of turreted walls, with eight gates; through the middle flowed the Euphrates. At its center was the main temple and palace complex, including the great ziggurat probably with seven stages; the palace was next to the temples, not on the other side of the river; a bridge linked the eastern and western halves. Straight streets between the gates and the center divided up the city, which was densely inhabited. Enclosing this central rectangle to the east and making a triangle with the Euphrates on the left was an outer wall with a small number of gates.[13]

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[13] Cf. Kuhrt 2002 for bibliography and the plan on p. 476.

The differences in part emphasize the contrast with Deioces' city.[14] In the actual city of Babylon, the main city wall is that round the rectangular, inner part which is, on one side at least, surrounded by a less spectacular outer wall. In Herodotus, the second wall is less grand, the eight gates become one hundred main gates and many posterns, and the ziggurat gets a spiral ascent to ease the way for worshipers. All of this contributes to the idea of Babylon as an open city, potentially easy of access and to move around in, the very things that contribute to its downfall.

Two other aspects of the city attract Herodotus' attention: first, the remarkable feats of engineering in the defensive works of Queen Nitocris (1.185–187), and second, the remarkable fertility of Babylon's countryside (1.192–193), which is organized so that it feeds the King and his armies for a third of the year, the whole of the rest of the empire serving for the other eight months. It is a city that has control of its countryside, and in this, as in its prominent temples, it contrasts with Ecbatana, where, as we saw, there is no mention of country or cultivation or religion, but only of grim political control.

Babylon is therefore something of an ideal city, open, well defended, rich and set amid fertile lands. However, the context of this description is of course its capture by Cyrus. All Nitocris' defensive works are circumvented by equally clever water-engineering, and its very accessibility enables its capture: because Cyrus' occupation is so swift, the Babylonians are unable to close all the postern-gates, and the sheer size of the city meant those in the center knew nothing of the capture of the edges, but danced and sang unknowing at a festival (1.191). It will fall again, through trickery, after a similarly laborious siege, when Zopyrus makes his remarkable personal sacrifice on behalf of Darius (3.153–160).

The story of Cyrus thus encloses a series of reflections on the values inherent in cities and country. The countryside offers freedom, but lawlessness; the city offers order, but at a cost, that cost depending on the ruler. Cities too may differ, from the grim citadel of a Deioces to the openness of a Babylon. Each type existed for a good period: Deioces rules for 53 years (1.102.1) and the Median kings for 150, with a gap of 25 years of Scythian domination (1.130.1);

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[14] How the differences came about does not affect the above argument, but Herodotus is perhaps casting either his own visual testimony or oral traditions he has collected into a form that conveys the contrast with Ecbatana.

Babylon had been significant for a millennium.[15] At the same time, neither kind of city offers any long-term guarantee of safety: the Median empire was defeated and the elaborate defensive works of Babylon can be circumvented by a greater intelligence than the one that installed them. Ecbatana and Babylon offer a double picture of the city. The one, with the dwellings of the people outside its massive, enclosed stronghold, is repressive and inaccessible; the other, with its houses inside the impressive walls, offers wealth and safety, but its very openness, accessibility and size lead to its downfall. We have therefore an almost Hesiodic opposition, not so much between the Good and the Evil Cities, but between closed and open communities. Given the placing of these two paradigms at significant points in the first book, one might have expected them to have played an important role in the work as a whole. This may not be as much the case as one might expect, but it could be said to prefigure the conflict between the Persians, ruled by their kings, and the Greeks, with their sense of their own freedom (though this is an opposition that Herodotus himself is at considerable pains to deconstruct).[16] Herodotus does however, as we shall see, return to these ideas at the end.

Cyrus ends his life when he moves out of the Persian sphere into that of the nomadic Scythians: Queen Tomyris offers him the choice of retreating into his country and fighting her there or advancing to meet her on her home ground (1.206–208). Cyrus again uses a banquet, this time to get some of the Scythians drunk, but his success is short-lived and he is defeated and mutilated by Tomyris (1.211–214). This idea of an 'invasion too far' will recur in the reigns of Darius and Xerxes.[17] It is to the Scythians themselves that we now turn for the next stage in Herodotus' reflections on city and country.

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[15] Babylon was long part of the Assyrian empire, until it revolted in the 620s: 'it is undoubtedly the great, pervasive power of Assyria that led Herodotus to visualise it as the imperial predecessor of the Medes and Persians (1.95), and to think of Babylonia (rather uneasily, Kuhrt 1982) as a part of Assyria' (Kuhrt 2002, 486).

[16] Cf. Pelling 1997.

[17] The parallelism with Darius is underscored in the text by Cyrus' dream of Darius bearings wings that overshadow Asia and Europe, which Herodotus interprets as foreshadowing his future rule (1.209–210).

3. *Walls, cities, countryside and salvation*

In 4.46.2, Herodotus makes a slightly surprising attack on the peoples round the Black Sea, whom he berates as the most dull-witted of all men, with no fine inventions to their name and no distinguished men to boast of. He specifically exempts the Scythians from these strictures, and about them he makes another striking remark:

> But the Scythian race has made the cleverest discovery that we know in what is the most important of all human affairs. I do not praise the Scythians in all respects, but they have made this most important discovery, whereby no one who attacks them can escape, and no one can catch them if they do not want to be discovered. For how can men not be invincible and unapproachable, who have no established cities or forts, but are all nomads and mounted archers, and live not by the plough but by raising cattle and carrying their dwellings on wagons?

> τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένεϊ ἓν μὲν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπηίων πρηγμάτων σοφώτατα πάντων ἐξεύρηται τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμαι. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον οὕτω σφι ἀνεύρηται ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν τε μηδένα ἐπελθόντα ἐπὶ σφέας, μὴ βουλομένους τε ἐξευρεθῆναι καταλαβεῖν μὴ οἷόν τε εἶναι. τοῖσι γὰρ μήτε ἄστεα μήτε τείχεα ᾖ ἐκτισμένα, ἀλλὰ φερέοικοι ἐόντες πάντες ἔωσι ἱπποτοξόται, ζῶντες μὴ ἀπ᾽ ἀρότου ἀλλ᾽ ἀπὸ κτηνέων, οἰκήματά τέ σφι ᾖ ἐπὶ ζευγέων, κῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴησαν οὗτοι ἄμαχοί τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν;

Coming from a Greek, this high praise of the nomadic lifestyle may come as something of a surprise. It is true that 'men make a city, not walls' was something of a cliché,[18] and that later the idea that walls were a hindrance to moral and military excellence was embraced by a number of writers,[19] but there is an element of ethical idealism in these works, which contrasts with actual practice. In the *Iliad*, walls offer safety, and in the *Odyssey* Thebes, though strong, still needs walls, which the Phaeacians also get when they settle away from the Cyclops.[20] Furthermore, in Thucydides, the building of walls is a sign of the advancement of civilization: the early phase of Greek civilization was that of 'the men without walls' (ἀτείχιστοι, 1.2.2), and

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[18] Cf. Alcaeus 112.10 ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλιος πύργος ἀρεύιος; A. *Pers.* 347 ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἕρκος ἐστὶν ἀσφαλές; S. *OT* 56–57 ὡς οὐδέν ἐστιν οὔτε πύργος οὔτε ναῦς/ ἔρημος ἀνδρῶν μὴ ξυνοικούντων ἔσω; Thuc. 7.77 ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις, καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί; cf. also *Il.* 15.733–738. Cf. Clarke Kosak in this volume.

[19] Cf. Pl. *Lg.* 778a–779b; Isoc. *Areop.* 13; Plut. *Ap. Lac.* 221ꜰ.

[20] Cf. *Il.* 7.453, 21.446–447; *Od.* 11.264–265; also 6.9–10, 262ff. 7.43ff.; E. *Cycl.* 115–118; Cobet 1997, 249–253; Garlan 1968, esp. 258–259 on the ideology of walls; Ducrey 1995. Cf. too the Homeric epithet εὐτείχεα; Ar. *Av.* 552.

the period of increasing wealth was one where cities endowed them-
selves with walls (1.7–8). Aristotle too, noting that fortification is a
matter of theoretical dispute, roundly rejects Plato's position: 'to
demand that a city should be left undefended is the equivalent of
wanting to have the territory left open to invasion' (ὅμοιον γὰρ τὸ
τείχη μὴ περιβάλλειν ταῖς πόλεσι ἀξιοῦν καὶ τὸ τὴν χώραν εὐέμβολον
ζητεῖν, *Pol.* 1331a3–4).

   Darius' attempts to conquer these Scythians prove Herodotus' case.
When Darius expresses exasperation at king Idanthyrsus' refusal to
fight him openly, Idanthyrsus replies (4.127.1–2):

> I have never fled a man in fear before, and I do not flee you now. Nor
> am I doing now anything different from what I do in peacetime. Why
> I will not fight you now, I shall explain. We have no towns or culti-
> vated land about whose capture or destruction we might be concerned;
> otherwise, we would engage you in battle quickly enough.
>
> ἐγὼ οὐδένα κω ἀνθρώπων δείσας ἔφυγον οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν σὲ φεύγω·
> οὐδέ τι νεώτερόν εἰμι ποιήσας νῦν ἢ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐώθεα ποιέειν. ὅ τι δὲ οὐκ
> αὐτίκα μάχομαί τοι, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω. ἡμῖν οὔτε ἄστεα οὔτε γῆ πεφυ-
> τευμένη ἔστι, τῶν πέρι δείσαντες μὴ ἁλῷ ἢ καρῇ ταχύτερον ἂν ὑμῖν
> συμμίσγοιμεν ἐς μάχην.

The appurtenances of settled, civilized life are marked as an encum-
brance and even a source of danger: Scythian identity is created by
their tribal allegiance, not by allegiance to any settled, city community.
In other words, they place no value on these appurtenances, since
they constitute a potentially fatal tie.

   This corresponds to a number of other passages in Herodotus
where cities do not offer safety. For instance, the Ionians fortified
their cities (τείχεά τε περιεβάλοντο, 1.141.4) when Cyrus' unwillingness
to pardon them is clear, but it avails them little; though the Phocaeans
build themselves a strong wall, when besieged by Harpagus they
abandon it and their country (1.163–164); the Teians' wall is no
defence (1.168); and gradually Harpagus takes the other cities until
Ionia is enslaved (1.169). Later, when the Paeonians' cities are cap-
tured, it is only the lake-dwellers on their stilts who survive (5.16.1).
Attempts on the part of the Pisistratidae to preserve their power by
ensconcing themselves behind the Pelasgian Wall (5.65), or of
Cleomenes and his men by barricading themselves on the acropolis
(5.72), are swiftly brought to an end.

   Darius' experiences with the Scythians therefore, like those of
Cyrus before him, are emblematic of a certain way of looking at

the city in Herodotus. As Ecbatana and Babylon showed at the start, and as is reinforced at points throughout the work, the city may be a remarkable invention, but its existence is no guarantee of survival.

This idea that walls are no necessary providers of safety then becomes something of a *Leitmotiv* in the account of Xerxes' expedition against Greece. Here I must widen my use of 'walls' to include not just city walls but defensive works generally. I seek my justification in the frequency and prominence of this motif in the later part of the work, in the fact that the wall the Peloponnesians wish to rely on is built ultimately to protect their cities, and in the fact that the values attached to city and countryside are implicit in the argument. At the heart of events is the question of the survival of the city of Athens, towards which Themistocles works; but other possibilities are canvassed, which reveal further aspects of the values that are attached to cities in Herodotus' work.

Central to this *Leitmotiv* is the second oracle given to the Athenians (7.141.3):

> Though all that lies within the border of Cecrops' land
> and the valley of holy Cithaeron is captured,
> far-seeing Zeus gives to you, Tritogeneia, a wooden wall,
> which alone will not be sacked and will benefit you and your children.

> τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἁλισκομένων ὅσα Κέκροπος οὖρος
> ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμῶν τε Κιθαιρῶνος ζαθέοιο,
> τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεύς
> μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.

Themistocles persuaded the Athenians that the reference of the 'wooden wall' was to the fleet, but a small minority thought otherwise. When the Persians finally discover a way up to the acropolis (8.51.2):

> they found a few Athenians in the sacred precinct, stewards of the sacred precinct and poor people, who defended themselves against the attackers by fencing the acropolis with doors and logs. They had not withdrawn to Salamis, not only because of poverty, but also because they thought they had discovered the meaning of the oracle the Pythia had given, namely that the wooden wall would be impregnable. They believed that according to the oracle their wall, not the ships, was the refuge.

> καί τινας ὀλίγους εὑρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἰρῷ ἐόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ
> ἰροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἳ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρῃσί τε καὶ
> ξύλοισι ἠμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες
> ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον τὸ ἡ
> Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι
> τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.

Their resistance does not last long, as the wall is circumvented by the Persians' discovery of an undefended way up.

This episode encapsulates an opposition that runs through the narrative of Greek tactics against the Persians. There is a repeated debate about whether, after their partial victory at Artemisium, the Greeks should oppose the Persians off the shore at Salamis, as Themistocles wants in order to evacuate his fellow Athenians, or whether they should retreat behind a wall across the Isthmus, as the Peloponnesians want. Herodotus gives his opinion on the Peloponnesian strategy immediately before the account of the 'wooden-walls' oracle (7.139.2–3), marking it as an 'unpopular' (ἐπίφθονος) opinion:

> If no one had opposed Xerxes by sea, this is what would have happened on land: even if the Spartans had built lots of walls across the Isthmus, they would have been betrayed by their allies, not willingly but by necessity, as their cities were individually captured by the barbarian fleet; they would have been isolated and, being isolated, after great exploits, would have died nobly.

> εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἠντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατά γε ἂν τὴν ἤπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο. εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοισι, προδοθέντες ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἑκόντων ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀναγκαίης, κατὰ πόλις ἁλισκομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμουνώθησαν, μουνωθέντες δὲ ἂν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως.

Herodotus later takes a more moral line on the Peloponnesians' wish to protect their cities with their wall (8.72, 73.3):

> These were the Greeks who came with all their forces to help at the Isthmus: the Spartans (etc.) . . . These brought help and feared for Greece in her plight, but the rest of the Peloponnesians cared not at all, though they did not have the excuse of the Olympic Games or the Carneia . . . The rest of the cities, apart from those I have mentioned, sat on the fence and, if one may speak bluntly, by doing so they medized.

> οἱ δὲ βοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πανδημεὶ οἵδε ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε . . . οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ὑπεραρρωδέοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ· τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἔμελε οὐδέν. Ὀλύμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρνεια παροιχώκεε ἤδη . . . αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλιες, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμήδιζον.

The implication is that this action by these Peloponnesians was thus not only selfish in its concern solely for their own survival at the expense of the rest of Greece, but also pointless in that it would not have had the desired effect.

This dismissal of walls as a means of defense is borne out implic-
itly by Herodotus' narrative. At Thermopylae the Greeks put their
trust in a wall (7.176.3–5), which the Persians again outflank; at
Artemisium however, the companion-piece to Thermopylae and fought
on the same three days, the Persian attempt to outflank the fleet by
sailing round Euboea fails (8.7, 12–13). This pairing of defeat behind
a wall and victory at sea then reflects upon the subsequent Greek
debates concerning what strategy to follow after the retreat from
Artemisium. The Peloponnesians' view that they should trust their
wall initially prevailed, but, inspired by Mnesiphilus' warning that
the fleet would simply disperse to its individual cities if it left Salamis,
Themistocles proposed taking advantage of the narrows there for the
battle (8.57ff.). The pairing of Thermopylae and Artemisium, the
capture of Athens' acropolis, Mnesiphilus' words and Herodotus'
'unpopular' opinion all conspire to suggest the wisdom of Themistocles'
strategy: the Peloponnesian wall could easily be outflanked by the
Persian fleet, as was the case at Thermopylae or on the acropolis.
Furthermore, the motif of a wall as no source of salvation will figure
prominently at the crucial battles at Plataea and Mycale, where this
time Persian reliance on walls is futile. In each case, the Persians
first defend themselves behind a wall of shields, before retreating
behind a more substantial wall ('wooden', at Plataea [9.65.1]); when
these fall there is great slaughter (9.61–70; 102).

Themistocles' strategy involves of course the ultimate sacrifice an
urban people could make, and this brings us back to the Scythians
'cleverest discovery' that cities are an encumbrance, especially when
facing the Persians. Herodotus emphasizes this point in the dispute
between Themistocles and his Corinthian rival, Adeimantus. When
Themistocles proposes the alteration of strategy from retreat to the
Peloponnese, there is the following exchange, in which possession of
a city is the determinant of a man's status and right to address the
assembled generals (8.61.1–2):

> Adeimantus ordered Themistocles, because he had no country, to be
> quiet, and tried to prevent Eurybiades from giving a vote to a man with-
> out a city. He told Themistocles to give his advice when he had a city.
> He mocked him in this way, because Athens had been captured and was
> in enemy hands. Themistocles replied . . . indicating to them that, so long
> as the Athenians had two hundred manned ships, they would have a
> city and country greater than theirs, because none of the Greeks would
> be able to repel them.

. . . σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μή ἐστι πατρὶς καὶ Εὐρυβιάδην οὐκ ἐῶν ἐπιψηφίζειν
ἀπόλι ἀνδρί· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον ἐκέλευε οὕτω γνώμας
συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δέ οἱ προέφερε, ὅτι ἡλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ
Ἀθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης . . . ἑωυτοῖσί τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἴη καὶ πόλις
καὶ γῆ μέζων ἤ περ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ᾽ ἂν διηκόσιαι νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμέναι·
οὐδάμους γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι.

Themistocles further threatens that if the Greeks do not agree with
him, 'we will immediately gather up our households and travel to Siris
in Italy, which has been ours since ancient times, and the prophe-
cies say we must found a colony there' (8.62.2). Like the Scythians,
the Athenians have their 'city' wherever they are: the Scythians move
away from their enemy in wagons, the Athenians have their ships.
Furthermore, the Athenian imitation of the Scythians, in showing
no concern for their city in the interests of Greece, enables them to
go one better than those Scythians in their dealings with Persia. The
Scythians frustrated Darius from their land, but the Greeks will expel
the Persians completely.

4. *Conclusion*

As we have seen, the idea that 'men are the city, not its walls' is
of course a common Greek idea, but here in Herodotus it has been
raised to something more than a sympotic cliché. The physical city
is no guarantee of safety and may have to be dispensed with at times
of crisis. Deioces' grim citadel at Ecbatana does not prevent the fall
of the Median Empire, and Babylon for all its aquatic engineering
falls twice: so Athens must be abandoned to its destruction for Greece
to survive. In other words, the city is not valued as the *sine qua non*
of continued human existence. Survival may demand its abandonment
and loss. The Scythians, often considered the 'mirror' of the Greeks,[21]
here become a potential model, and wandering the source of safety.
  In 1.5.3–4, Herodotus writes that he has traveled

   . . . visiting small and large cities of men alike. For many states that were
   once great have now become small; and those that were great in my
   time were small before. Knowing therefore that human prosperity never
   continues in the same place, I shall mention both alike.

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[21] Cf. esp. Hartog 1988.

. . . ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄστεα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιών. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι
μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σμικρὰ γέγονε, τὰ δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον
ἦν σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπηίην ὦν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τὠυτῷ
μένουσαν ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

It has long been recognized that he here is evoking Homer's descrip-
tion of Odysseus: 'he experienced the cities and minds of many peo-
ples' (πολλῶν δ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω, *Od.* 1.3). It is
tempting to relate this idea to the experience of Herodotus, the man
who had no continuing city after his expulsion from his own home,
Halicarnassus.[22] The details are disputed, but if we may trust his
word, his travels took him to Egypt, Phoenicia, Palestine, Babylon,
the Black Sea, and a number of places in Greece, such as Athens,
as well as Southern Italy, where he is associated with the founding
of Thurii. The very act of *historiê* demands the same kind of denial
of excessive rootedness which Herodotus praises in the Scythians,
and of which his history illustrates the value.

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    1982, 539–553.

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[22] On the biographical tradition concerning Herodotus, cf. Brown 1988; Flower
& Marincola 2002, 1–3.

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AT HOME, ROUND HERE, OUT THERE: THE CITY AND TRAGIC SPACE

D.M. CARTER

1. *Introduction*

The ultimate concern of this chapter is with underlying attitudes in Greek tragedy to city and countryside. The importance of the city to Attic tragedy has frequently been remarked upon and discussed in modern scholarship. Much work, understandably, has focused on the relationship between the plays and the democratic politics of the city that hosted the festivals.[1] However, recent research has indicated that the central political phenomenon in tragedy is not democratic Athens, but the Greek city-state (*polis*) more generally.[2] This chapter seeks to shed further light on the culture and values of the Greek *polis* as they emerge in tragedy. The tragic city emerges as—ideally—a public space associated with order and security. This ideal of the *polis* can be enhanced in tragedy through implicit contrast with what lies outside the walls of the city. That is not to say that the coun- tryside is automatically savage or dangerous in tragedy—there are places in tragedy where the countryside and its people are idealized. But the city frequently emerges as a less troublesome place.

The method that I shall apply has to do with the staging of the tragedies at first performance and, in particular, the use of dramatic space. I am interested here in how the plays might have come across to their original audience, in the theatrical context for which they were written. It is arguably a pointless exercise to measure the impact of a piece of drama on people who lived two and a half millennia ago; however, a series of educated guesses can be made on certain issues of staging. One issue can, I think, be settled with reasonable certainty:

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[1] See for example Goldhill 1987, 2000, Meier 1993. The role of tragedy in the *polis* has also been the focus of collections such as Winkler and Zeitlin 1990, Sommerstein et al. 1993.

[2] Rhodes 2003, Carter 2004.

it concerns the necessary assumptions that an audience made about what lay beyond the performance space of a particular play.

I would like to begin by making three very general points about the Greek *polis*. First, the *polis*—a self-governing territory with a city at its center—was the basic political unit of the classical Greek world. City-states came in many different sizes and shapes, and other political structures could exist within them (for instance, the demes in Athens), but the *polis* was the principal source of legal and political authority for its citizens.

Second, the city—any Greek city, not just Athens—is usually portrayed in tragedy as a good thing. It is of course true that tragedy can pose questions, perhaps difficult questions, relevant to the life of the Greek *polis*, and I would not want to deny that. But this chapter focuses more specifically on an underlying political value: the ideal tragic city is a place of safety and security. Greek tragedy seems to tread lightly around this ideal (see point three). There are, to be sure, degrees of safety in tragic cities. Athens especially can be contrasted favorably with other cities: for instance, in Aeschylus' *Oresteia* the move from Argos via Delphi to Athens coincides with the introduction of a more sophisticated form of justice, as well as safety for Orestes.[3] But alongside the special idealizing treatment that Athens often receives, tragedy presents us more generally with an ideal of the Greek city.

The city is not just a source of security to its citizens, but also potentially to foreigners. Again, the best example is Athens; in fact it is arguable that to provide sanctuary to suppliants is Athens' most characteristic tragic role.[4] But Athens does not enjoy a monopoly on this role: Argos is the setting for Aeschylus' *Suppliants*. The part played by the city in a suppliant drama is usually central: the suppliants may in the first instance supplicate an individual representative of the city, or its gods, but it is normally the city that provides the authority for asylum and faces the consequences, sometimes on the battlefield.

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[3] The boldest modern interpretation of the contrast between Athens and other cities in tragedy is probably Zeitlin 1990b. Zeitlin's view is that tragic Thebes is the 'anti-Athens'; Argos is a problematic city placed somewhere between the ideal and its reverse. Zeitlin's model is useful, but perhaps she states her view of Thebes too strongly: my first four examples in this chapter are all plays set in Thebes, and all share the tragic assumption that the city should be a source of safety and security.

[4] Heath 1987, 65; Carter 2004, 18. On Athens' self-characterization as a receiver of suppliants more generally, see Mills 1997, 59.

In some cases (as in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* and Euripides' *Suppliants*), the citizens themselves are given the decision. In plays where the king is sovereign, his decision comes no less with the authority of the city (see for instance E. *Heracl.* 262, where Demaphon brings his authority as King of Athens into play to support his actions).

A corollary of the general harmlessness of the city is that its citizens are also a good thing—they are rarely in themselves a source of trouble. Where noxious cities feature in tragedy, it is usually the case that an individual ruler is at fault, perhaps a tyrant or tyrant-like figure. This is to generalize again, so perhaps we can more helpfully consider two of the tragedies discussed in this chapter. One of these plays, Sophocles' *Antigone*, follows what I would suggest is a more usual pattern: the king is at fault, and the people are to an extent distanced from this.[5] The other play, Euripides' *Bacchae*, appears to be far less usual. In this play, the people are as culpable as Pentheus for their non-worship of Dionysus. But even here, the citizens' neglect of the god never tips over into real violence against the women on Mt. Cithaeron. Interestingly, the specter of mob-violence appears somewhat rarely in tragedy, and never really occurs in the city.[6] In this chapter, I shall also look at narrowly avoided episodes of mob-violence in the military camps of Sophocles' *Ajax* and Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*.

The third general point is that households may be wrenched apart but, if a tragedy is set in a city, that city is safe. The only real exception to this is Euripides' *Trojan Women*, a play revolving around the utter destruction of the city of Troy.[7] Cities are destroyed elsewhere in extant tragedy—Troy in other plays, Oechalia in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, but these cities are not the main players: their survival is not dramatically at stake. Further, neither Troy nor Oechalia is a genuine Greek *polis*: the one is not Greek, the other is a fictional city.

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[5] See especially Haemon's news at S. *Ant.* 693–700, 733, cf. Antigone's characterization of the chorus members (509). Haemon's revelation undermines the assumption that Creon speaks for the city, stated first by Ismene (79) and taken to extremes by Creon himself (734–738). See further Carter forthcoming.

[6] Two near-exceptions (again, referring only to the threat of violence): E. *Or.* 776, *HF* 588–594. Each of these plays is set in a city that is in some way not as it should be. Thebes in Euripides' *Heracles* is subject to an abusive tyrant, with the complicity of some of the citizens: see E. *HF* 588–592 with Carter 2004, 22–23. On the Argos of *Orestes*, see Euben 1986, Hall 1993.

[7] Cf. Seaford 1994, xiv.

There *are* tragedies where the survival of a Greek city is at stake—
Thebes, for example, is threatened by plague in *Oedipus Tyrannus*, by
faction in *Heracles* and by civil war in several plays—but every time
the city survives.

   These three points are, one suspects, connected. One suspects that
cities survive in tragedy precisely because of an underlying idea of
the importance of a safe city. Therefore, while dreadful things hap-
pen to individuals in tragedy, the utterly depressing fact of the extinc-
tion of a city is the subject of only one surviving play. This thesis
cannot entirely be proved, but I do hope to illustrate it with some
examples. My contention is that this tragic ideal of the city can be
illustrated through an investigation of dramatic space.

   Following an exploration of the divisions of tragic space into *oikos*,
polis and 'out there' (section 2), I consider four plays in which this
tripartite division of dramatic space applies (section 3). These plays
are Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and Euripides' *Phoenissae*
and *Bacchae*. I then look (in section 4) at two plays that work slightly
differently: Sophocles' *Ajax* and Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*. Both these
plays are set in a military camp, far from the *polis*. Nevertheless, the
dramatic space of the tragic military camp mimics that of the tragic city.

2. *Trouble in tragic space*

This chapter is concerned with what I shall refer to as 'trouble'. I
do not mean to use this English word to translate any particular
Greek one, but the word will do to encapsulate an important idea
in tragedy: the event that leads to tragic suffering. It is not at all
clear whether there is a single Greek term for 'trouble' in this sense.
The Aristotelian term *pathos* comes close (*Poetics* 1452b10–13):

> And *pathos* is a destructive or painful action, such as deaths in public
> and excruciating acts and woundings and all such things.
>
> πάθος δέ ἐστι πρᾶξις φθαρτικὴ ἢ ὀδυνηρά, οἷον οἵ τε ἐν τῷ φανερῷ θάνατοι
> καὶ αἱ περιωδυνίαι καὶ τρώσεις καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα.[8]

The common (but not universal) tendency to translate *pathos* into
English as 'suffering' can lead to confusion here. What Aristotle

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[8] All translations are my own except where indicated.

appears to mean by *pathos* is the action (*praxis*) that leads to suffering.[9]
But Aristotle's frustratingly brief treatment of *pathos* does not really draw
a clear distinction between the destructive action and the suffering that
ensues. The very staging of a tragedy tends to make this distinction
apparent, as will be seen in this chapter. *Pathos* acts almost always
occur off-stage, while the reaction tends to be enacted before the
audience's eyes: the anguished response (often in lyric form) of the
victim or of characters close to the victim. As this chapter is con-
cerned specifically with the actions that give rise to suffering, a new
term is needed, and 'trouble' seems to capture it. If the use of this
word seems somewhat vague, it reflects the open-ended list of actions
that Aristotle associates with *pathos*, all of them violent or traumatic,
ending with the vague καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. To these examples of *pathos*-
trouble, I should like to add what one might call troublesome acts:
violent or dangerous episodes that do not lead directly to suffering
but nevertheless disrupt the human society in which the drama is
set. Trouble and troublesome acts need not always be violent in
themselves: it will be seen that the non-burial of Polyneices in
Sophocles' *Antigone* is troublesome (especially in its effects on the city,
reported by Teiresias), but it is not in itself violent.

Further, this chapter is concerned with the *location* of trouble in
tragedy. I am therefore less interested in the causes of trouble, and
more interested in trouble itself and the areas into which it intrudes.
One assumes that there are good practical reasons that trouble occurs
off-stage: the report of a talented messenger-actor is far more effective
than any special effects can be (however, on this assumption, see
below, p. 148); and the audience still sees the spectacular results of
violent acts, as dead bodies tend to be brought on stage. But along-
side the physical, on-stage/off-stage distinction, I want to draw two
distinctions on a conceptual level. The combination of these two
oppositions will yield three dramatic spaces, which I shall discuss.[10]

The first distinction is between *oikos* and *polis*. Much tragic drama,
certainly from the *Oresteia* onwards, was acted out in front of a stage
building (*skênê*) that represented someone's house, tent or even cave.[11]
At the center of the *skênê* was a door, one of the three opportunities

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[9] See Rees 1972.
[10] On some of the following, especially the distinction between 'at home' and 'round here', cf. Croally 1994, 174–185.
[11] On the date of the stage building, see Taplin 1977, 452–459.

for entry onto or exit from the tragic stage (the others were the two *eisodoi*; I exclude for the moment the *mêchanê* and other devices).[12] In this way, many dramas are located conceptually at the point where the inner world of the *oikos* interfaces with public space.[13] Oedipus comes out of his palace to meet his citizens; Clytaemnestra appears, bloodstained in the doorway, to confront the Argive elders on the political consequences of her intra-familial killing.

The second distinction is between this meeting of *oikos* and *polis* on the one hand, and an outer world on the other. Just as the stage building provided a physical representation of the meeting point of *oikos* and *polis*, the use of the two *eisodoi*, and of various kinds of messenger, could give the audience a very real sense of *polis* and not-*polis*. Messenger speeches could, in a sense, present more vivid images to the audience than existed within the confines of the performance space.[14] Some tragedies therefore come with a sense of an 'out there', either an area subject to the authority of the city but not within its bounds, or a wild place beyond the civilizing influence of the *polis*.[15] Much of this chapter will focus on what occurs 'out there'. Many tragic characters, like Hippolytus on the sea shore, only meet suffering when they reach a place away from human settlement. Sometimes an idea of an 'out there' is established early in a tragedy and kept in mind throughout. Thus a drama can be set firmly in two locations: one that we see, and one reported to us.[16]

Given the purposes of the present volume, I should be precise about what I mean by 'out there', and how this relates to what we understand by the countryside. By 'out there', I mean any space

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[12] On the (generally accepted) view that tragedy made use of a single door, see Taplin 1977, 438–440.

[13] Cf. Wiles 1997, 166. The dichotomy of inside and outside in tragedy is well documented: see especially Dale 1956, Zeitlin 1990a.

[14] Cf. Wiles 2000, 16. To take Sophocles' *Trachiniae* as an example: first, a vivid impression of a rocky sea shore surrounded by mountainous promontories and more distant hills (S. *Tr.* 780–788); later, some detail on the courtyard, altars and marriage chamber inside the house of Deianeira (900–913).

[15] Cf. Lowe 1987, 127: 'a spatial antithesis is set up between the community of the *polis* and the alien territory outside, and this duality can then be further assimilated to specific visualised locations'.

[16] Cf. Hourmouziades 1965, 123–125, on the technique (in E. *Phoen.*, *Ba.*, both discussed below, and *IT*) of describing, comparatively early in a drama, the details of a location that will become important later on. Cf. again Sophocles' *Trachiniae*: Heracles' arrival is anticipated throughout, but until the *exodos* the audience must picture him sacrificing on a Euboean shore, the place where his suffering begins (S. *Tr.* 237–238, 749ff.).

outside the bounds of the city (usually represented by the city walls). The modern English 'countryside' is usually taken to refer to sparsely populated areas that nevertheless are inhabited and cultivated by human beings; the countryside is not generally conceived of as a wild place. My 'out there' can embrace both the countryside and the wild and anything in between. (One example of an area that lies conceptually in between cultivation and wildness is land used seasonally for grazing livestock: see the discussion of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* in section 3.2 below.)

The two distinctions that I have made yield three spaces: 'at home' within the house; 'round here', the neighborhood of the house, frequently the *polis*; 'out there' beyond this neighborhood. I want to show over the next few paragraphs how these three conceptual spaces relate to the physical on-stage/off-stage dichotomy of the performance space. Crudely, 'at home' exists inside the stage building, although domestic scenes can easily spill out into the performance space; 'round here' exists both in performance space and in reported space; 'out there' is usually only a reported space. But there is plenty of room for this pattern to be blurred and distorted.

'At home' is usually an off-stage, reported space, but there are scenes where the domestic appears in front of us, as if we the audience had entered the house.[17] One of the better examples of this comes from Sophocles' *Antigone*, a play discussed more fully below (section 3.1). In the prologue, we are given a reason that two female characters have come out of the house and appear on stage—that what Antigone has to tell Ismene must not be overheard (S. *Ant.* 18–19). This explanation for their appearance before the audience makes dramatic sense, of course, but it also allows the dramatist to portray a scene that might otherwise be hidden from us. Now, tragic poets show no real consistency in explaining the entrances of women from the house;[18] nor perhaps need they have done if, as David Cohen has shown, the position of women was less one of rigid seclusion within the house and more a tendency to separation in society.[19] Nevertheless, the prologue of *Antigone* allows the audience to hear a private conversation between two sisters, not something an ancient Greek man

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[17] Cf. Easterling 1987, 17–18 on the fluidity of the inside-outside distinction in drama (however, this distinction must surely have become more concrete after the introduction of the stage building).

[18] See Gould 1980, 40; cf. Easterling 1987, *passim*.

[19] Cohen 1989, 1991, 148–157, cf. Blundell 1995, 135–138.

might normally witness. Antigone and Ismene leave the house in order to talk, and in this sense they turn the performance space into an extension of the *oikos*.[20] The domestic intimacy of this scene is enhanced by its position in the action: the chorus has not yet entered, and the two sisters are alone; once this chorus of elders appears, the performance space no longer affords such privacy, but becomes a public space. Thus, when Antigone appears for the last time (801ff.), she takes the opportunity to lament in public, addressing the citizens of Thebes (806) and its rulers (940).[21]

There are other plays where female characters give reasons for holding conversations outside that we might expect to take place indoors—in Euripides, the first entrances of Medea and Phaedra are similarly contrived (E. *Med.* 214ff., *Hipp.* 178ff.). But both of these entries come just after the entrance of the chorus. The chorus members in each case are women; this makes for a sympathetic environment, but neither scene quite has the domestic intimacy that exists between Antigone and Ismene. Medea's entry brings her into contact with the women of the city of Corinth, and her first words, 'I have come out of the house' (ἐξῆλθον δόμων, E. *Med.* 214), underline her deliberate movement into public space.[22] In the first episode of *Hippolytus*, the distinction of public and private is made less deliberately than it is in either *Antigone* or *Medea*. As in *Antigone*, we witness a private conversation between two women from the same household—Phaedra and the nurse. However, this conversation is shared with other local women; this again brings events 'at home' into the performance space.

'Round here' exists both on- and immediately off-stage. It can therefore be a little simplistic to construct models of tragic space in which the city exists up one *eisodos*, the countryside up another;[23] in the plays that I shall be considering, the public space of the city begins directly in front of the audience and extends along one or both of the *eisodoi*. It is tempting, therefore, to draw an apparent distinction between two parts of this public space: one visible and the other invisible. This distinction is best understood if we consider the performance area as 'shared' space—frequently part of 'round here',

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[20] Easterling 1987, 22 gives a slightly different view.
[21] Cf. Foley 2001, 31–33.
[22] Cf. Croally 1994, 184.
[23] As perhaps was the convention in New Comedy: see Hourmouziades 1965, 128–136 on this, and the extent to which the convention is anticipated in Euripides.

occasionally an extension of 'at home', and sometimes (as perhaps in the first episode of *Hippolytus*) a place where both of these overlap. Different dramas can indicate at different points how this space is to be shared out. We have already seen that the performance space of *Antigone* comes across as an extension of 'at home' during the prologue, and thereafter functions as public space. By contrast, in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (discussed more fully in section 3.2 below), a sense of the area in front of the palace as public space is established from the very beginning.[24] The Theban children are led in front of the house by the priest, and gather there. When Creon appears, he draws a sharp distinction between this visibly public space and the private area of the house (S. *OT* 91–94):

> Cr: If you want to hear the news in the presence of these people, I am ready to speak; or we can just as well go inside.
> Oed.: Speak in front of everyone; for I feel sorrow for these people even more than for my own life.

> Κρ. εἰ τῶνδε χρῄζεις πλησιαζόντων κλύειν,
> ἕτοιμος εἰπεῖν, εἴτε καὶ στείχειν ἔσω.
> Οι. ἐς πάντας αὔδα· τῶνδε γὰρ πλέον φέρω
> τὸ πένθος ἢ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς πέρι.

'Out there' is almost always in reported space, but there are exceptions to this rule: an obvious example is the entirety of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*. The island, or at least Philoctetes' part of it, is devoid of human society.[25] The performance space is again defined by the stage building, in the sense that all the action takes place in front of Philoctetes' cave.[26] But comparatively little use is made of this cave: only twice does anybody exit into the stage building (S. *Ph.* 675 and 1216) or enter from it (730 and 1263); more to the present point, no action from within the cave is reported on stage during the play. Philoctetes' cave has a household of one, and so is no *oikos* in the strict sense of that word. In fact the absence of the *polis* is felt throughout the play, perhaps most clearly at line 1213: 'O city, my native

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[24] Cf. Hourmouziades 1965, 7.

[25] The latter possibility requires less poetic license in the face of Homeric and Aeschylean precedent, as well as historical fact: see Jebb 1890, xxxii; Taplin 1987, 72–73. If, with Jebb, we suppose that the maimed Philoctetes cannot leave the deserted Eastern shore of the island, then ignorance can explain his view (S. *Ph.* 220–221) that Lemnos is uninhabited.

[26] On the following (and notwithstanding his observation that 'the cave is made memorably palpable in the play') cf. Taplin 1987, 72.

city' (ὦ πόλις, ὦ πόλις πατρία, cf. 1040). The word *oikos* and cognates
are used most frequently in the play of various characters' homes
back in Greece.[27] Hence, the action of the play can be thought to
occur 'out there'. Another exception to the rule that 'out there' exists
off-stage in tragedy is the second half of Sophocles' *Ajax*, which I
consider below (section 4.1).

My central observation on the location of trouble in tragedy is
that it characteristically occurs 'at home' or 'out there', and not
'around here'. I am not aware of any surviving exceptions to this
rule, except one: Evadne in Euripides' *Suppliants* clearly throws her-
self to her death in the temple precincts of Eleusis.[28] There are in
addition some near misses, which I shall discuss.[29] If I am right, then
the simple idea that violence in tragedy occurs off-stage, and that
there are good practical reasons for this, is in need of revision, for
two reasons. First, practical considerations cannot entirely explain
the absence of trouble from tragedy on stage: as Sommerstein (2004)
has shown, there are a great many violent acts in tragedy, including
beatings and some poisonings, that *could* easily be staged, yet are not.
Second, it is more helpful to consider violent and other troublesome
acts in terms of my three conceptual spaces, rather than the simple
dichotomy of on- and off-stage. Trouble in tragedy is generally absent
from the public spaces of cities: both those spaces represented in the
performance space, *and* those reported from off-stage.

Having made this observation, it is not otherwise my intention to
create a model into which every surviving tragedy will fit. I do hope
to have identified a structure that helps us to explain several plays,
specifically plays that are set in Greek cities and that were produced
after the erection of the stage building. Thus our inquiry is effectively
confined to Sophocles and Euripides.[30] An exploration of this struc-

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[27] Of Neoptolemus: S. *Ph.* 58, 60, 240, 383, 469, 488, cf. 460 (δόμῳ). Of Philoctetes:
255, 311, 941, 1368, 1399, cf. 496, 518 (δόμους). Of others: 499 (previous visitors
to the island), 548 (false merchant). The cave is described variously, but only in four
places using *oikos* language: κενὴν οἴκησιν (31), οἶκον . . . ἀμφίθυρον (159), οἰκομένη . . .
στέγη (298), ἄοικον ἐξοίκησιν (534). In this last example, the MSS have εἰσοίκησιν
or εἰς οἴκησιν, neither of which will quite do: see Page 1960, 50–51, who suggests
ἐξοίκησιν, followed by Lloyd-Jones and Wilson in their Oxford text; in any case,
it is clear that some kind of oxymoron is meant, similar to the one at 31. The
island is twice described, using *oikos* language, as uninhabited (2, 221).
[28] E. *Suppl.* 1015–1017. On the problems of staging this, see Collard 1975, 15–16.
[29] See above, n. 6 and below, sections 3.3, 4.1 and 4.2.
[30] Cf. Lowe 1987, 127. Hourmouziades 1965, 127 posits that the Euripidean
plays that have a vivid sense of reported space beyond the *eisodoi* are all late works.

ture, and of how well it applies to different dramas, can help us to understand the way in which city and countryside are portrayed in tragedy. In the next part of this chapter (section 3), I shall consider four plays in which both of my two distinctions of tragic space apply. In other words, each one has a strong sense of an *oikos* that opens out onto the *polis*, and an 'out there', beyond this political world.

3. *Four political plays*

3.1 *Antigone*

In *Antigone*, the safety of the city is at issue, following its near destruction by civil war. The chorus sing about this war as they enter (S. *Ant.* 100ff.). Creon's first words, which come directly after this chorus, bring the reassuring message they wish to hear (162–163):

> Gentlemen, the gods, having shaken the affairs of the city with a great upheaval, have set it right again in safety.

> ἄνδρες, τὰ μὲν δὴ πόλεος ἀσφαλῶς θεοὶ
> πολλῷ σάλῳ σείσαντες ὤρθωσαν πάλιν·

My model of tragic space finds a good fit in *Antigone*. As I argue above, the prologue essentially brings the *oikos* ('at home') into the performance space. At the same time, Antigone's entry from the house coincides with her decision to bury Polyneices, as a result of which she becomes embroiled in the public life of the city. That is not to say that the play can necessarily be reduced to a *polis-oikos* conflict—Creon's claims to represent the *polis* are exaggerated, not least because, as we hear from Haemon, the citizens do not support him.[31] It does mean that Antigone's actions will bring her into conflict with political authority, and thus will become political actions. Following the entry of the chorus of elders, and their first conference with Creon, the performance space becomes part of the public space of the city. This

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The dramatic possibilities afforded by the stage building are of course exploited to great effect in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, see Taplin 1978, 32–33, Sommerstein 1996, 217–241; but this trilogy does not make great use of an 'out there'. Nor perhaps do two plays written on an Oresteian template, Sophocles' *Electra* and Euripides' *Orestes*. Euripides' *Electra* is another matter, set in three locations in the countryside: one at the house of Electra and the peasant; the others (reported) at the tomb of Agamemnon and the sacrifice of Aegisthus, cf. Hourmouziades 1965, 121.

[31] See above, n. 5.

public space can be said to start at the doorstep of the stage building and to extend down one of the *eisodoi*. Haemon appears from this *eisodos*, having heard in these public spaces of popular disapproval of Creon's treatment of Antigone; Creon's decree must have been heard in public space also,[32] and I would suggest that this is the direction from which the chorus enters.

In addition to the private and public spaces of the *polis*, there is a third dramatic space in *Antigone*, the site of the battle between Eteocles and Polyneices. This reported space, occupied by the unburied body of Polyneices, is kept in our minds and visited several times in the play: Antigone goes there to bury her brother at the end of the prologue, and the guard reports this burial in the next episode; next, the guard reports Antigone's second attempted burial of the body; and finally Creon sees to the burial of Polyneices himself.[33] Traditionally, the two brothers fall fighting at the seventh gate, but in this play the body of Polyneices lies at a distance from the city walls, far enough away that the messenger has to guide Creon to it (1196–1198). Polyneices' body lies on the high part of a plain.[34] This plain was until only very recently a no-man's land, the point of engagement between the representatives of two armies. The battle itself is reported in the *parodos*, and several examples in other tragedies of what I am calling 'out there' are battlefields on which events occur and are reported back on stage by messengers. It is important to the current inquiry not only that Polyneices' body is unburied, but also that its troublesome non-burial remains outside the city. The scene is accompanied in the play by various wild features: the risk of mutilation to the body by wild animals (29–30, 205–206, 1198), and the dust storm that accompanies its re-burial by Antigone (417ff.).

Creon visits this site on his way to a second and more distant 'out there', the site of the cave in which Antigone is buried alive.[35] It is

[32] S. *Ant.* 7 (πανδήμῳ πόλει), 27 with Griffith (ἀστοῖσι), 36, 79, 289–294. Griffith, on 18–19, points out that Ismene is—quite naturally—unaware of the decree, having not been out in public.

[33] Croally 1994, 176 therefore underestimates the importance of reported space to the play. *Antigone* and *Oedipus Tyrannus* in my discussion can be used as counter-examples to his claim that 'the use of off-stage scenes to dominate the imagination of the audience is more frequently a feature of Euripides [than Sophocles]'.

[34] S. *Ant.* 1197. Griffith *ad loc.* is right to render ἐπ' ἄκρον as 'at the highest part', not 'at the furthest edge', cf. 411, 1110. Even so, the image conjured up is of a corpse lying in a deserted spot, out on the plain, and not immediately before the seventh gate.

[35] S. *Ant.* 773–776 (ἔρημος, cf. Rehm 2002, 117), 1204ff.; cf. 887.

not necessary that the shortest route to the cave takes one past the corpse of Polyneices—Creon could have taken a deliberate detour—but in the imagination of the audience this is the simplest topography. The second *eisodos*, therefore, can represent the road to the gate beyond which the two brothers fell, the plain and ultimately the cave. The cave, of course, becomes the site of a double suicide.[36]

We are therefore given two senses of an 'out there' in this play: a 'just out there', conveniently out of the walls of the city but within its authority, and a 'right out there', the site of Antigone's imprisonment and death. A little more can be said about the first of these places. During the battle, this scene was a no-man's land, but now it is back under the control of the city: Creon is able to post guards there.[37] In fact, the trouble created by the unburied body of Polyneices is close enough to threaten the city itself, in a manner that crosses the boundaries of space from 'out there' to 'round here'. Teiresias tells Creon that carrion from Polyneices' body is being dropped by birds and dogs on the altars of the city, with grave religious consequences.[38]

A troublesome circumstance therefore does come to affect the city. And the city has previously been at grave risk from civil war. But by the end of the play the city is the real survivor, in contrast to the family of Creon: Haemon kills himself in the cave, and Eurydice reacts to the news by killing herself within the house.[39] These further pieces of trouble have taken place 'out there' and 'at home', not in the public spaces of the city itself, for all that the dead bodies are brought onto the public space before the palace for us to see. It is a matter of scholarly opinion whether Creon survives as king at the end.[40] However, we can be certain of two things: that Creon's *oikos* is in ruins, but that the government of Thebes will continue, in somebody's hands.

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[36] On the use of *eisodoi* in *Antigone* to lead respectively to wild and civic spaces, cf. Lowe 1987, 127 n. 7; Wiles 1997, 151; Rehm 2002, 115.

[37] Easterling 1997, 26–28 (cf. Rehm 2002, 116) points out that this area is in Theban territory and lies under the city's authority. But it also lies outside the walls and the built-up area of Thebes. It is essentially an intermediate 'out there' between the civilized city and the uninhabited area of the cave.

[38] S. *Ant.* 1016–1018. Cf. Rehm 2002, 118–120 on the effects on the city.

[39] On the location of Eurydice's suicide, and the significance of this, cf. Easterling 1987, 22; Wiles 1997, 167.

[40] A recent case for the continuation of Creon's reign beyond the end of the play is made by Griffith 1998, 73–74; 1999, 56–57.

3.2 *Oedipus Tyrannus*

In *Oedipus Tyrannus*, the city is also at risk early in the drama. As in *Antigone*, the play begins with the city in crisis, the subject again of the *parodos* (S. *OT* 151ff.). The threat to the city does not survive (we must assume that it does not, although no mention of the plague appears after line 696).[41]

We have seen that this play from the outset gives a clear sense of a public space, onto which the door of the stage building opens. As the play begins, the people of Thebes come quite literally to Oedipus' door, from which he emerges as their king. In the imagination of the audience, the public spaces of the city must extend from here along one or both of the two *eisodoi*, from which the people and the chorus of elders emerge. A public space beyond one of these two *eisodoi* must also be the place where Creon hears about Oedipus' accusations against him. It seems clear that Creon was not in the house when he heard them; for if news had reached him in the house, how did it not also reach Jocasta, who (at 634ff.) is ignorant of the cause of the argument? In fact, the indications are that Creon has a home of his own to go to, as we should expect.[42] Except for his entrance from Delphi in the prologue, and probably an exit into the palace as the play ends, Creon can be assumed to enter and exit along an *eisodos* leading to his house in the city.

This play does not, like *Antigone*, have a continuous sense of an 'out there'. Instead, we get two examples of an 'out there and long ago': Mt. Cithaeron, and the road junction where Laius was killed. Both places to some extent represent areas beyond the authority of any city, in contrast to *Antigone*, where the locality 'out there' comes under the rule of Creon. Mt. Cithaeron, the site chosen by King Laius for the disposal of his infant son, is a politically neutral territory, available to shepherds from at least two different cities to graze their flocks.[43] In the third *stasimon*, the chorus sing of it as a plausibly mysterious place of origin for King Oedipus (1086ff.). Also 'out there and long ago' is the junction of three roads, the scene of Oedipus' killing of an

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[41] Foley 1993, 530 detects an indirect reference at S. *OT* 1449, where Oedipus asks to be expelled from the city of his father. Foley suggests that he says this for the city's sake; however, the words that follow (ἀλλ᾽ ἔα με ναίειν ὄρεσιν, κτλ.) are a request made for his sake alone.

[42] S. *OT* 637. The exact wording of the line is disputed, but the contrast, between the palace on the one hand and Creon's home on the other, seems clear.

[43] S. *OT* 1133–1139, *pace* Rehm 2002, 225–227; see McInerney in this volume.

old man and his attendants. The place where three roads meet is also conceived as a politically neutral zone, falling between three different civic spaces, and away from the authority of any city.[44] For this reason, Oedipus does not have to answer to any legal or political authority for his actions until such time as he realizes that the old man was king of the city in which he now lives and rules.

In *Oedipus Tyrannus*, as in *Antigone*, trouble that occurs 'out there' comes to threaten the city; as in *Antigone*, the city (we assume) survives, although the *oikos* is subject to trouble and its suffering is revealed on stage.

3.3   *Phoenissae*

The threat to the city of Thebes that is lifted at the beginning of *Antigone* dominates nearly all the action of Euripides' *Phoenissae*. Only the final scenes, concerning the duel of Eteocles and Polyneices, and Iocasta's ill-fated attempt to prevent it, are played out against the backdrop of a city that appears to have been saved. There are constant references in the text to the threat that Thebes might be sacked,[45] culminating in a messenger's good news that the city has survived the attack (E. *Phoen.* 1079, cf. 1196–1197, 1203, 1356). Even this is not the end of the city's troubles, as fighting breaks out again following the duel (1466–1475); but in this last engagement the Thebans easily rout the unequipped Argives. The juxtaposition of the tragedy of individuals with collective safety, implicit in so many surviving tragedies, is especially apparent here. By the end of the play two houses are in mourning, the houses of Creon and of Oedipus ([1317], 1500). The second messenger speech concludes (1478–1479, Craik's translation):

> For this city, some struggles have turned out
> most happily; others most unhappily.
>
> πόλει δ' ἀγῶνες οἱ μὲν εὐτυχέστατοι
> τῇδ' ἐξέβησαν, οἱ δὲ δυστυχέστατοι.

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[44] S. *OT* 733–734; Segal 1981, 221–222.

[45] E. *Phoen.* 241–242, 561–562, [563–565 (enslavement of women)], 629, 756 = [1376], [1122 (fire), 1130–1133], 1155, 1628. The city is surrounded: 250–252, 710–711, 831–832. The text of *Phoenissae* is subject to frequent apparent interpolations; square brackets are used here to indicate passages that are bracketed in Diggle's Oxford text. Diggle accepts the *teikhoskopia* (88–201) and much of the *exodos*, cf. Mastronarde 1994, 168–173, 591–594.

The messenger refers to the fates of the brothers and of Iocasta. But this comment is equally applicable to the earlier self-sacrifice of Menoeceus. This self-sacrifice is directly linked in the play to the salvation of the city.

Against this last statement we must weigh the view of Conacher, that Menoeceus' self-sacrifice is an 'incident, which even the poet seems to forget once its limited purpose has been fulfilled'.[46] Conacher's argument effectively raises two objections: that this is not the most important moment in the play,[47] and that it 'has no discernable effect on the fortunes of the city'.[48] This second objection arises from the sharp distinction that Conacher draws between events on a human and on a divine plane. But in fact events on both planes secure the survival of Thebes. The messenger's report may concentrate on the fighting (1093ff.), but we are left in no doubt by Teiresias (whose prophecies are never wrong in tragedy) that Menoeceus' death is the necessary condition for a successful Theban defense (948, 952). Teiresias' view is echoed by the first messenger (1090–1092) and by Iocasta (1204–1207), as well as possibly by Creon at [1313]. Eteocles may ignore this when he issues his challenge (1225ff.), but we have not been asked to link Menoeceus' death with victory for Eteocles, only with the avoidance of disaster for Thebes. Once the truce has been called, the present threat to the city appears to be lifted (cf. 1233–1234); the duel is called only to decide the identity of its king. The fighting that follows the duel may be 'sordid' in manner,[49] but its outcome is entirely satisfactory to the Thebans. The first of the objections raised by Conacher must be taken rather more seriously, since it is the duel and not the death of Menoeceus that forms the violent climax of the play. The self-sacrifice of Menoeceus may turn out to be a sub-plot, but that does not diminish its political significance. That the messenger glosses over it (1090–1092) has been taken by more than one commentator simply as a measure of the episodic nature of the play.[50] And the messenger is not the last character in the play to mention this event, as we have just seen.

This play also comes with a strong sense of the distinction between

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[46] Conacher 1967, 231, cf. 241–242.
[47] Cf. Kitto 1961, 352–354.
[48] Conacher 1967, 241. On both objections, cf. Craik 1988, 217.
[49] Mastronarde 1994, 392.
[50] See Craik, Mastronarde *ad loc.*

polis and *oikos*, and between the city and 'out there'.[51] The house represented by the stage building is that of the still-living Oedipus, which now has Eteocles at its head. Some of Iocasta's entries are punctuated with references to her place inside the house (296–300, 1068). However, we have seen that it is not unusual for the entry of a woman from the house in tragedy to be introduced in this way, and Iocasta's role (as would-be peace broker between her two sons) is quite a political one. Antigone's status, as an unmarried woman whose place is in the women's quarters (1275), is established more clearly. The second half of the prologue, a *teikhoskopia* staged on the roof of the *skênê*, begins with Antigone being led out by a slave.[52] He makes a point of the fact that she has been given permission to leave the house, and worries aloud that she should not be seen (89–95). The degree of care (arguably unusual for tragedy) with which Antigone's entry from the house is negotiated lays emphasis on the conceptual boundary between *oikos* and *polis*; it also creates a situation, as we shall see, under which the exit of Iocasta and Antigone through the walls of the city can seen as a bold step.

A keen sense of the division between the city and 'out there' is created above all through constant references to the walls surrounding the city of Thebes.[53] The walls, and the gates and towers around them, are referred to in close connection with the city and its safety.[54] The risk to the city seems greatest when these walls and towers are being scaled or otherwise attacked (1165–1168, 1172ff.). The walls, we hear, are built closely around the city (1357), and the experience of being confined within walls through the presence of the enemy will have been long familiar to the Athenians by 409 or 408 BCE, when the play was probably produced. The city of Thebes is described as 'seven-towered' as much as it is 'seven-gated', an anticipation of the death of Menoeceus from one of these towers, but also to provide a general sense of fortification.[55] But the sense of 'out there' in

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[51] This is not a new observation in the case of this play: see Hourmouziades 1965, 123–124; cf. Luschnig 1995, 182–191.

[52] On the staging of this scene, see Craik 1988, 174; Mastronarde 1994, 178–179.

[53] E. *Phoen.* 239, 366, 593, 752, 797 (cf. 809, Sphinx), 1097, 1150, 1475.

[54] E. *Phoen.* 114–117 (gates), 744 (gates and walls), 1196–1197 (towers). The gates are securely bolted: 114, 261 with Luschnig 1995, 167.

[55] Seven-towered: E. *Phoen.* 245, 1058, 1078. Seven-gated: 739, 1093 (stations of champions). Contrast A. *Septem*, in which the city is described twice as seven-gated (165, 284, and cf. 800–801; this excludes the scene in which Eteocles sends champions to each of the gates), but never as seven-towered.

itself is created by the surrounding presence of a massive Argive army, filling the plain of Thebes with bronze (110–111). This area is so dangerous to the Thebans that no one goes out there unless they have to: the report of the battle, given by a messenger in lines 1090–1199, is based on his observations from a tower (1098–1099).[56] The countryside around Thebes has been rendered inhospitable, a no-man's land (μεταίχμιον, 1361)—again an idea all too familiar to the Athenians. When Iocasta takes the surprising step of going out with Antigone to dissuade the brothers from fighting, she is able to do so because a truce has been called, but their journey 'out there' is the first during the course of the play not to have been made under arms, and is marked by Antigone's anxiety at leaving the safety of the house to mingle with the army (1275–1276).

A further 'out there' consists of the caves and their rocky precincts, once occupied by the local dragon. Although these caves are clearly very near to the city (they are situated at the banks of the river Dirke where it flows past the walls of Thebes, and Menoeceus expects his body to fall towards them from one of the towers on the walls),[57] they can be conceived of as a 'right out there', similar to the cave in *Antigone*. While the cave area here is somewhat wild and forbidding, the plain where the armies clash is made forbidding only through human activity: its natural wildness goes no further than the inconvenience to duelists caused by stray pebbles (1390–1391).

We can therefore assume that the palace is situated roughly at the heart of the city, which has seven towers on its walls, underneath each of which are the seven gates. Logically, there can be up to seven streets leading away from the palace area (although it is suggested at line 99 that this area is not the most public space in the city), but the performance space in the theater allowed only two. It makes dramatic sense if the *eisodos* from which Polyneices enters at line 261 is thereafter used by anyone leaving directly for the battlefield.[58] (Polyneices' words here indicate that, for him at least, 'round here'

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[56] This applies whether or not we accept [1104–1140]. In another disputed passage, Eteocles stands on the top of a tower in order to call for a truce ([1223–1224]).

[57] Caves by river: E. *Phoen.* 657ff., 931–932. Menoeceus' fall: 1010–1011 (quoted below), cf. [1315]. The plan of fifth-century Thebes in Demand 1982, 46–47 shows the river Dirke running across the plain (cf. E. *Phoen.* 730) and along the old walls of Thebes; a shrine on the supposed tomb of Menoeceus lay by the river, below the Neistan Gate.

[58] Cf. Hourmouziades 1965, 135, with further detailed suggestions on the use of *eisodoi* in the play (he prefers the term *parodoi*).

is a space to be viewed with suspicion.) Other entrances, for instance, that of Teiresias at 834 (complaining at 842 about the walk through the city), can come from the other side.

Trouble in this play occurs exclusively 'out there', although the continued presence of Oedipus 'at home' might be deemed troublesome in itself. Eteocles, Polyneices and Iocasta all die outside the walls of the city. The death of Menoeceus seems at first to be an example that runs counter to my argument, since the site of his suicide is one of the towers in the city of Thebes. But this act rather nicely illustrates the principle that trouble does not occur in the public spaces of the city (1009–1012 with Craik's translation):

> Rather, I shall go, and taking stance on topmost battlements
> slay myself, into the lair, with dark depths,
> of the dragon, the point the seer indicated,
> and free the land.

> ἀλλ᾽ εἶμι καὶ στὰς ἐξ ἐπάλξεων ἄκρων
> σφάξας ἐμαυτὸν σηκὸν ἐς μελαμβαθῆ
> δράκοντος, ἔνθ᾽ ὁ μάντις ἐξηγήσατο,
> ἐλευθερώσω γαῖαν.

As he dies, Menoeceus allows his body to fall over the battlements and down to the dragon's cave, and his blood therefore to drip on to the ground 'out there'. The use of the word μελαμβαθῆ ('dark depths') adds to the sense of foreboding and mystery surrounding this place.[59] His death therefore articulates the relationship of 'out there' to 'round here': appropriately, since his sacrifice is a necessary condition of the city's safety. The pattern of individual suffering next to collective safety, implicit in other tragedies, is mapped on to the dramatic space of this play.[60]

3.4   *Bacchae*

The fourth play is Euripides' *Bacchae*. The city is again under threat, but here it seems the citizens themselves are at fault, for ignoring the worship of Dionysus. In the prologue, Dionysus warns that, if the 'city of the Thebans' tries forcibly to bring its women back from

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[59] Cf. Luschnig 1995, 224. See Mastronarde *ad loc.* on the spooky vocabulary.

[60] Hourmouziades 1965, 123 would describe the walls here as an intermediate space between 'around here' and 'out there'. The death of Menoeceus might be compared with that of another Euripidean boy to fall from city walls: Astyanax in *Troades*. But he is thrown forcibly, with no benefit for an already doomed city.

Cithaeron, he will lead the women into battle (E. *Ba.* 50–52). However, although the citizens themselves may be culpable (see lines 195–198, from which I quote below, cf. 1377–1378), and although some herdsmen attempt to capture Agave, we are spared the disturbing spectacle of a citizen army being led simultaneously against its own women and an Olympian god. Pentheus does imprison some of the women, and threatens forcibly to capture and imprison the others (226–232). He is on the point of mounting military action when Dionysus begins to win the psychological battle (809–812, cf. 780–785):

> Pe.: Bring me my arms here, and you—stop talking!
> Di.: Ah! Do you want to see them sitting together on the mountains?
> Pe.: Very much—giving a weighty sum of gold, in fact.

> Πε. ἐκφέρετέ μοι δεῦρ᾽ ὅπλα, σὺ δὲ παῦσαι λέγων.
> Δι. ἆ.
>   βούλῃ σφ᾽ ἐν ὄρεσι συγκαθημένας ἰδεῖν;
> Πε. μάλιστα, μυρίον γε δοὺς χρυσοῦ σταθμόν.

Thereafter, Pentheus is persuaded to go to the mountain disguised as a bacchant, and not to lead an army (although, as he goes into the house at the end of that scene, he still says that he will *either* advance under arms, *or* follow Dionysus' advice, 845–846). Thus the march against the city's own women is avoided. This tendency to keep the *polis* out of trouble is reflected in Euripides' use of space. The trouble happens not in the city but elsewhere.

Again, the stage building represents the house of the royal family, a family which is torn apart when the king is killed by his own mother, leaving the house of Cadmus without a male heir.[61] Considering the use of the *eisodoi*, the most satisfying solution is that one *eisodos* leads up to Cithaeron and the other *eisodos* leads everywhere else, although it appears that a walk up either *eisodos* will take us first through parts of the city. The *eisodos* that leads to Cithaeron leads through the town: we can tell this, as Pentheus is worried that he will be seen being led through the city dressed as a bacchant (840–841):

> Pe.: And how will I go through the city unnoticed by the Cadmeans?
> Di.: We will go along deserted streets, and I will lead you.

> Πε. καὶ πῶς δι᾽ ἄστεως εἶμι Καδμείους λαθών;
> Δι. ὁδοὺς ἐρήμους ἴμεν· ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἡγήσομαι.

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[61] E. *Ba.* 1305. Seaford 1994, 288–301, 402–405; 1996, 44–52 explains the destruction of Pentheus' house in Dionysiac terms. But see the criticisms of Friedrich 2000, 2001, alongside the response in Seaford 2000.

(This worry has been set aside by 961–963, discussed below.) The *eisodos* that leads everywhere else leads ultimately from the eastern lands of Dionysus' travels, but also, I would suggest, from the home of Teiresias: it makes dramatic sense if both sets of worshipers come from one direction before leaving for Cithaeron in the other.

Also in the city is the prison in which Pentheus keeps some of the women.[62] They escape from this prison with no difficulty and no violence. Dionysus is then imprisoned in the stables of Pentheus' palace, no doubt so that a closer eye can be kept on him than on the fugitive women (509ff.). His escape is effected with an earthquake that threatens the very fabric of the building (585ff.). It is unclear exactly how this earthquake was staged in the original performance, but it can be said that violent escape takes place in the stage building, 'at home', but not in the city, 'round here'.

In this play, as in *Antigone*, a particular 'out there' is sustained from beginning to end, and placed vividly in our minds in almost every scene: Mt. Cithaeron.[63] We know from the prologue (which I discuss below) that the women of the city have gone there. In the first episode, Cadmus and Teiresias are bound for Cithaeron, and Pentheus tells us of his plan to round up the women there (228). A herdsman gives the spectacular account of affairs on the mountain (677–774), and finally (in the lines quoted above) Pentheus reveals a voyeuristic desire to go to Cithaeron himself. Another messenger brings us the story of Pentheus' gruesome death (1043ff.).

As early as the first speech of the play, Dionysus reveals that he has sent the maddened women to Cithaeron (32–36, translation after Dodds):

> And so I have driven these self-same women mad from their houses, and they inhabit the mountain, frantic in their minds. And I have compelled them to wear the livery of my service, and I have driven the whole female line of Cadmus, as many women as there were, mad from their homes.
>
> τοιγάρ νιν αὐτὰς ἐκ δόμων ᾤστρησ᾽ ἐγὼ
> μανίαις, ὄρος δ᾽ οἰκοῦσι παράκοποι φρενῶν·

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[62] E. *Ba.* 226ff. with Dodds, we can take the πανδήμοισι . . . στέγαις to be a tragic variation on a standard euphemism for the common jail.

[63] The clear dichotomy created by the two worlds of the city and the mountain has invited structuralist readings such as Segal 1982. Of particular and obvious relevance to the current chapter is Segal's chapter on 'The horizontal axis: house, city, mountain' (1982, 78–124).

σκευήν τ᾽ ἔχειν ἠνάγκασ᾽ ὀργίων ἐμῶν,
καὶ πᾶν τὸ θῆλυ σπέρμα Καδμείων, ὅσαι
γυναῖκες ἦσαν, ἐξέμηνα δωμάτων·

The last two lines make it clear that not only the sisters of Semele, but in fact all the women of the city, are on Cithaeron. The tautologous addition of 'as many women as there were' (ὅσαι/γυναῖκες ἦσαν) only serves to emphasize this fact.[64] We must imagine a city emptied of its citizen women. (The first messenger will later refer in passing to the babies left uncared for in their homes, lines 701–702.) This expulsion of the women, from their homes in the city to a place outside the city, is perhaps the strongest sense in which Dionysus disrupts the life of Thebes.[65] Dionysus uses *oikos* vocabulary to underline the removal of the women from their usual life: they now make their homes on the mountain (ὄρος δ᾽ οἰκοῦσι). It is in this place, outside the city, that the citizen women act against and outside the city's authority.

This is a particularly wild and extreme example of an 'out there', as we find out from the first messenger: women let their hair loose and suckle wild animals, turn rocks into springs of milk and perform bloody acts of superhuman strength. Although the actual Mt. Cithaeron was only 13 km from Thebes, the Cithaeron of the play is a world away in cultural terms. Much is made of the start of the journey to this place. In the following two examples, Cadmus leads the blind Teiresias to the mountain, and the manic Pentheus similarly relies on Dionysus (195–196, 961–963; the repetition of μόνοι or μόνος in each example of course underlines the parallelism):

Ca.: Are we the only men in the city who will dance for Bacchus?
Te.: Yes, for we alone have sense, while the others do not.

Κα. μόνοι δὲ πόλεως Βακχίῳ χορεύσομεν;
Τε. μόνοι γὰρ εὖ φρονοῦμεν, οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι κακῶς.

Pe.: Take me through the middle of the Theban land;
     for I am the only man among them to dare this.
Di.: You alone and only you toil for this city.

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[64] Cf. Dodds on E. *Ba.* 35–36.
[65] Goff 2004, 350 expresses this still more strongly: 'What the women's cult signifies is not so much a threat to the *polis* as its very end'. My assumption is that equilibrium is restored to Thebes after the end of the play; however, there is no evidence in the text for the benign *polis* cult envisaged in Seaford 1994, 255; 1996, 50, 252.

Πε. κόμιζε διὰ μέσης με Θηβαίας χθονός·
     μόνος γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰμ᾽ ἀνὴρ τολμῶν τόδε.
Δι. μόνος σὺ πόλεως τῆσδ᾽ ὑπερκάμνεις, μόνος.

And this mountain is the location for Pentheus' troublesome death, which leads to the tragic suffering of this play.

   These four plays have a great deal in common in their use of space. In each one, the stage building marks a division between public and private worlds, while we also retain a vivid sense of an 'out there', beyond this nexus of *oikos* and *polis*. Troublesome activity is located firmly in the building and 'out there', while the public spaces in front of the stage building and beyond the *eisodoi* only see the results of this activity. Trouble does affect the city in these plays, but the city does not stay in trouble, for several reasons, including the following two: there is a gradual shift of emphasis in each play away from the problems of the city and towards the suffering of individuals; there is a strong idea of an 'out there', the location for much of the trouble. The purpose of this chapter so far has been to explore the second of these points. The audience's idea of the *polis* is reinforced in two respects. First of all, the city is briefly at risk, enough to remind us of the importance and value of a safe and stable *polis*. But secondly, the real trouble (if it does not take place in the house) occurs in a space that lies noticeably outside the civilizing influence of the *polis*. By introducing such a strong idea of an 'out there' into some of their most political works, Sophocles and Euripides reinforce a civic value: the ideal of a city that is not in itself troublesome.

4. *Two military plays*

As I stated above, it is not my intention to propose a universal model for Greek tragedy; merely a characteristic structure. So discussion follows of two slightly different examples. Of particular interest is any tragedy set in a military camp in time of war. The army or navy of a *polis* was composed of its own citizens, and so the army could be conceived of as the *dêmos* in military guise. This concept comes across strongly in the historians, who use similar formulae to refer both to the military exploits of cities and to their political decisions: 'the Athenians sailed', 'the Lacedaemonians decided'.[66] Accordingly, there

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[66] Cf. Clarke Kosak and Bowie in this volume. Similar conventions can appear

are tragedies in which the military camp can take the same dramatic shape as a tragic *polis*. The stage building represents a tent (in place of the *oikos*), while the public spaces of the camp stretch away off stage.

The degree to which this correspondence between city and military camp applies will be tested in the discussion that follows. I shall look briefly at Sophocles' *Ajax*, and then at Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*. In each case I shall consider the use of the *eisodoi*. We can also bear four questions in mind: to what extent does the environment of the military camp mimic the environment of the *polis-oikos*? What sense of the public spaces of the camp do we get in each play? What sense do we get of an 'out there', given that the camp is already some way from any Greek city? And, where do troublesome acts occur? The absence of the city is felt in different ways in each play.

4.1   *Ajax*

Sophocles' *Ajax* is located in the Greek camp at Troy. There are ways in which this camp is not closely analogous to a single *polis*, since the army is composed of contingents from all over Greece. However, Ajax's men, of whom the chorus are representatives, represent a mini-community of Salaminians within the larger, panhellenic community of the camp. The security and continuity of this Salaminian community are put at stake in this play: both its members and the *oikos* at its head risk becoming subject to the Atreidae. This is is a concern shared by Ajax's wife and Ajax's men (S. *Aj.* 946–951):

> Cho.: Ah me, you named unspeakable actions of the ruthless twin sons
>   of Atreus when you voiced this grief. But may a god avert it!
> Te.:   Things would never have come to this but for the gods.
> Cho.: They have made the weight of our burden heavier than we can
>   bear.

> Χο. ὤμοι, ἀναλγήτων
>   δισσῶν ἐθρόησας ἄναυδ᾽
>   ἔργ᾽Ἀτρειδᾶν τῷδ᾽ ἄχει.
>   ἀλλ᾽ ἀπείργοι θεός.
> Τε. οὐκ ἂν τάδ᾽ ἔστη τῇδε μὴ θεῶν μέτα.
> Χο. ἄγαν ὑπερβριθές γε τάχθος ἤνυσαν.

A further measure of the *polis*-nature of this tragic scene is the domesticity of Ajax's tent. He has a spear-won wife (Tecmessa), with whom he has even had a son (Eurysaces). The future fortunes of this surrogate *oikos* are thought to rest on this son (Ajax is preoccupied with this at lines 545ff.). Tecmessa, a slave, occupies the dramatic position of a citizen woman in other plays; this indicates the extent to which this tragic military camp both conforms to and deviates from one's idea of a tragic *polis*.

The directions in which the *eisodoi* lead in the first part of the play can be established with reasonable certainty, especially if we can assume that the audience came to the play with an idea of the Homeric Greek camp in mind.[67] As in the *Iliad*, Ajax's ships and tent lie at one end of a long camp that hugs the line of the seashore.[68] One *eisodos* must therefore lead further into the camp, while another leads out along the shore. When the chorus members split into two parties to look for Ajax, it seems that one party goes through the camp, and the other outside, 'to the West of the ships'.[69] To apply the terminology of this chapter to places inside and outside the camp seems easy at first sight, but is complicated by the community-within-a-community status of the Salaminians within the Greek camp. The performance space is a shared 'at home/round here' space, as in some other plays I have discussed, but a walk down the *eisodos* leading into the Greek camp must be assumed quickly to take one from the nearer 'round here' of the Salaminian contingent and into a wider 'round here'. This latter space has become less friendly following Ajax's actions, as Teucer is to find out (see below). The other *eisodos*, on the other hand, leads right away from the Greek camp, into areas that are unambiguously 'out there'.

Ajax ought to present an exception to my model, for the simple reason that the hero dies on stage, or perhaps only just off stage. But even in this respect the play follows the same pattern as the ones I have already discussed. For this drama has a change of scene, which immediately precedes the suicide. This scene change is marked, even more unusually, by the division, exit and re-entry of the chorus. The problem of whether Ajax dies in view of the audience, or just out

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[67] The play echoes Homer in other ways, most famously the way in which Tecmessa's speech at 485–524 reworks Hom. *Il.* 6.407–439; see Easterling 1984.

[68] S. *Aj.* 3–4, cf. Hom. *Il.* 8.224, 11.7; Cuillandre 1943, 28–34.

[69] πᾶν ἐστίβηται πλευρὸν ἕσπερον νεῶν (S. *Aj.* 874), contrast 877–878.

of view, is not our concern here.[70] My point is that the change of scene takes us quite deliberately from the 'round here' of the Greek camp to an uninhabited 'out there'. Ajax dies alone, and must reach this deserted spot in order to do so. This spot, although outside the camp, is not far outside: Teucer, Menelaus and Agamemnon can reach it easily, and the young Eurysaces can be fetched in the space of 177 lines of normal dialogue.[71]

There is one place in this play where violence nearly does occur in the public space of the camp, although this public space is beyond the immediate 'round here' of the Salaminian contingent. Teucer is threatened with death while standing next to Agamemnon's tent. Some other soldiers insult him and threaten him with death by stoning. Swords are drawn and violence is only narrowly averted (719–732). Could it be that the public spaces of a tragic military camp are not as trouble-free as the public spaces of a tragic *polis*? This question will come up again in the final play I wish to discuss, Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*.

4.2   *Iphigenia at Aulis*

Iphigenia at Aulis was written by Euripides while away from Athens, and produced after his death. Much of the text that we have is clearly corrupt in various ways, and it is a matter for debate how much of the transmitted text was in the first performance of the play and (a rather different question) how much of it is by Euripides. Among the most recent editors of the play, the first question is of more interest to Kovacs, the second to Diggle. The extent to which this play is likely to reflect the patterns we have seen in other Attic tragedies might therefore seem doubtful. However, we can still draw some useful conclusions. The producer of the play at first performance had to use a script that yielded a consistent idea of on-stage and off-stage spaces—one *eisodos* leading to Argos, another into the camp, and so on. Therefore the text established by Kovacs is potentially the most interesting to us, since it purports actually to have been performed in the Athenian theater.[72]

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[70] For two recent and contrasting views, see Garvie 1998, 203–204; Hesk 2003, 101–103.

[71] From Tecmessa's exit on Teucer's instructions at 986–989 to the entry of Tecmessa and Eurysaces at 1168.

[72] Most of my conclusions here are supported by lines that are both included by

The play is located at Aulis, which was on the east coast of mainland Greece, opposite Euboea. In the play, this place is now inhabited by the Greek army, and frequent references are made to the size and diversity of the forces in the Greek camp.[73] The women of the chorus have come across the straits from the Euboean town of Chalcis.

The presence of the Greek forces has to an extent politicized the countryside of Aulis. It cannot be shown conclusively from the text that Aulis is part of the countryside; however, external evidence can be adduced. My assumption here is that the original audience came to the play with some idea of what sort of place Aulis is, even if many of them could not have been there personally. Aulis itself had been in hostile territory throughout the Peloponnesian War, but neighboring Euboea was part of the Delian League until the revolts of 411, no more than five years before Euripides' death. Before 411, Chalcis could be used as a base from which to raid Boeotian towns (Thuc. 7.29), and we know that in the year of the Euboean revolts Athenian ships were in action in the straits opposite Aulis (Thuc. 8.95). The coastline around Aulis was certainly familiar to some Athenians, even if the countryside there was not.

Aulis in the classical period was no more than a village on a rocky headland, while the nearest significant *poleis* were Thebes and Tanagra: Strabo describes it as 'a rocky place and a village of the Tanagraians' (πετρῶδες χωρίον καὶ κώμη Ταναγραίων, Strabo 9.2.8). There were two harbors available, north and south of the headland. Strabo argues that only the large harbor to the south, known appropriately as Bathus Limen ('Deep Harbor'), could plausibly have held Agamemnon's Greek fleet; other Greeks, including anyone in Euripides' audience familiar with that part of Boeotia, might well have held the same view. Bathus Limen was approximately 1.5 km away from Aulis itself—in other words, in the countryside.

The camp has a sense of public space equivalent to a tragic *polis*, particularly with regard to places of assembly.[74] The military camp

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Kovacs in his 'first performance' text, and deemed *fortasse Euripidei* (his highest accolade) by Diggle. I shall indicate where I use evidence that falls outside either of these two categories.

[73] See the *parodos* in general (E. *IA* 164ff.), also 1259–1263, 1378ff., and (rejected by Kovacs) 350, 354–355.

[74] In the *parodos*, the women can walk freely around the camp and observe the heroes. The army is addressed *en masse* at 1345ff., cf. 518 (rejected by Kovacs), 538–541 (judged *fortasse non Euripidei* by Diggle).

is therefore a kind of panhellenic *polis*, with one significant difference: the almost complete absence of women. This remains essentially the case until the arrival of Clytaemnestra and her party some six hundred lines into the drama. When he happens upon Clytaemnestra, Achilles (who does not seem to have heard the news of her arrival) expresses surprise to see a woman in the camp at all.[75] Of course, we do see women on stage before this—a whole chorus of them—but this is not in itself as significant. Euripides does not prefer male choruses, using them only twice as principal choruses in sixteen extant tragedies.[76] The femininity of the chorus therefore does not entirely detract from the sense of maleness surrounding the military camp at the beginning of the play: if anything, the rather incongruous entry of the awe-struck chorus women underlines this, creating a distinction between male warriors and female onlookers. (The chorus members begin to seem less incongruous after the arrival of Clytaemnestra and Iphigenia, to whom they show sympathy.)[77] Therefore, to apply the terminology of this chapter, 'at home' is at first absent from the drama, which takes place only 'round here'; Argos is left behind.[78]

But members of the Argive *oikos* presently arrive, and are established for the rest of the drama in Agamemnon's tent. (Before the arrival of the women, an old slave is the only prominent representative of Agamemnon's household.)[79] Although Argos remains the real home, the stage building now takes on the 'at home' status that we saw in other dramas. Something of the domestic is injected into the sense of dramatic space, part of the way through the drama. We can therefore say that in each of his last two dramas Euripides makes play with the role of women in the make-up of the *polis*. In *Bacchae*, we have seen, Thebes becomes disrupted by the removal of its entire

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[75] E. *IA* 825–826. At 735, Agamemnon uses a 'women's place' argument to say that Clytaemnestra should not be in the camp, cf. Clytaemnestra herself at 913–914 (judged *fortasse non Euripidei* by Diggle).

[76] In *Heraclidae* and *Heracles*. This excludes *Alcestis*, which is not really a tragedy, and *Rhesus*, which is probably not Euripidean. We can add the secondary choruses, both male, which probably sang E. *Hipp.* 61–71 (and perhaps 1102ff., but see Barrett *ad loc.*) and *Suppl.* 1123ff.

[77] E. *IA*. 1209–1210, 1336–1337 (the verses making up the second of these speeches judged *fortasse non Euripidei* by Diggle).

[78] A sense of the length of Agamemnon's absence from Argos comes across at 640 (rejected by Kovacs) and 660.

[79] On the evidence of E. *IA* 46–48 (in the part of the prologue seriously doubted by Diggle and rejected by Kovacs) the slave was part of Clytaemnestra's dowry.

population of citizen women from their homes. *Iphigenia in Aulis* presents the reverse: the military camp becomes (in my terms) more like a *polis* when the women arrive from Argos.[80]

When Clytaemnestra, Iphigenia and their retinue arrive, they quickly establish themselves in Agamemnon's tent (represented by the *skênê*), which they make their temporary home. Clytaemnestra enforces the new domesticity of the scene with these words, which negotiate the 'at home'/'round here' dichotomy, newly imported into the play:

> You go and manage things outside the house, but I shall manage matters within. I shall provide what the bridal pair require.
>
> ἐλθὼν δὲ τἄξω πρᾶσσε, τἀν δόμοις δ᾽ ἐγώ·
> ἃ χρὴ παρεῖναι νυμφίοισι πορσυνῶ.[81]

Iphigenia has already gone into the stage building, at line 678. From this point until Iphigenia leaves to her death at the grove of Artemis (at the probable end of the original play), both mother and daughter enter exclusively from, and exit to, the stage building.[82] Further, it is striking that before this point Agamemnon has entered from and gone back into the stage building twice (on most reconstructions of the text, at the beginning and end of the prologue, then in the first episode), yet after this he exits only to the Greek camp. Effectively, he gives up his own domestic space to the women.

The use of *eisodoi* seems to correspond to the dramatic purpose of early parts of the play, which is to introduce Clytaemnestra and Iphigenia into the male world of the Greek camp. It must be assumed that one exit leads further into mainland Greece (from where the Argive women have come), the other further into the camp and to the ships.[83] This second *eisodos* also points in the direction from which the women of the chorus have come. They describe their journey in the *parodos*:[84]

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[80] Cf. Foley 1981, 153–156, on the *polis* and *oikos* as 'mutually defining institutions' (156) in drama.

[81] E. *IA* 740–741, marked *vix Euripidei* by Diggle. Kovacs 2003, 90 n. 56 follows Jackson 1955, 214, who suggests πορσυνῶ for παρθένοις. This allows him to accommodate the lines in his 'first performance' text. I reproduce Kovacs' text and translation here.

[82] Clytaemnestra re-enters at 819–820, and must go back into the stage building at some point before her entry at 1098 (ἐξῆλθον οἴκων) and Iphigenia's at 1110. (Both these last entries come in a passsage marked *vix Euripidei* by Diggle but accepted for first performance by Kovacs.)

[83] Cf. Kovacs 2002, 165.

[84] E. *IA* 164–302. Both Kovacs and (to a greater extent) Diggle cast doubt on the last part of the *parodos* (231–302), but this does not affect my argument here.

across the straits of Euripus (166–167), past the grove of Artemis
(185–186), into and all around the Greek camp, and finally to
Agamemnon's tent. The straits of Euripus were around 3 km north
of the village of Aulis, and the women can be imagined making their
way along the coast from there. The grove of Artemis can therefore
be assumed to be anywhere up to 4.5 km to the north of Bathus
Limen, perhaps (as suggested at Pausanias 9.19.7) by the village of
Aulis itself. Perhaps we should not try to reconstruct the stage geog-
raphy of the play with such a semblance of accuracy.[85] (Note, for
instance, that an attempt strictly to reconcile this account with that
of Pausanias, who places Agamemnon's tent next to the village, would
have the women reaching Agamemnon's tent first, and not last.)
However, it is instructive to think of the play in terms that would
have made sense to anyone in the original audience who happened
to know the area, especially if (as I believe is the case here) geo-
graphical and theatrical considerations point to the same conclusion.
We have seen that to locate the grove beyond the second *eisodos* has
a certain geographical plausibility. It also makes theatrical sense,
since Iphigenia will be led off along the *eisodos* opposite the one from
which she first entered: there is no sense of a 'return' to normal life.
As this second *eisodos* leads to the ships, it leads in addition to a still
more distant 'out there': the battlefield on the Trojan plain.[86] The
drama therefore looks both backwards to the domesticity of Argos,
and forwards to the as yet unfulfilled 'out there' of Troy.

The action takes place in front of Agamemnon's headquarters, which
one might expect to be in the center of the camp, and yet the *eisodos*
leading to Argos does not appear to lead past other tents or ships.
When the old man in the prologue leaves for Argos, Menelaus only
catches him because he has gone out of his way to lie in wait (328).
When Clytaemnestra's party arrives, they do not appear to have
traveled in through the mass of tents and ships. On the other hand,
the chorus of women, entering from the other side, have already
passed through and seen all around the Greek camp. The explanation
must be that this is a long thin camp stretching around the har-

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[85] Cf. Hourmouziades 1965, 110: 'it is highly improbable that the poet composed
his plays with a map of the world before him'.
[86] This comes across most strikingly in the choral ode at 751ff., which, however,
is doubted by Diggle, and later parts of which are rejected by Kovacs. But see also
662–663 and cf. (rejected by Kovacs) 773–784.

bour, as Homer's Achaean camp at Troy roughly is. The Greeks hope and expect to have to sail from Aulis at any moment; their ships are beached in readiness, and their tents are pitched behind that. The audience might easily have reckoned that Agamemnon's tent backs on to open countryside.

Violent action occurs, or rather, is expected to occur, in two places. The grove of Artemis where Iphigenia is to be sacrificed is a sacred place, as well as a public one, but it is located in the countryside, 'out there' in my terms.[87] Achilles is threatened with stoning by his own soldiers while in the public space of the army camp, effectively 'round here' (1349). This second threatened act is closely reminiscent of the threatened violence to Teucer in the military camp of *Ajax*. As I argue above, it is something that we would far less expect to hear about in the public spaces of a tragic city. The explanation must be that the military camp is ambiguous in status: both a form of *polis* and not a *polis*. The differing extent to which domestic and family life is integrated into each play is a further illustration of this point.

My model of 'at home, round here, out there' is by no means the only way to consider space in these military plays, but it does provide a useful lens through which we can observe them, making comparisons with more straightforwardly political dramas. The tragic military camp both follows and deviates from my model of the tragic *polis*. It deviates from the model in two respects: the extent to which this community includes citizen women; and the extent to which violent or troublesome action comes close to occurring in the public spaces of the camp.

5. *Conclusion*

This discussion has revealed something of the generic plasticity of theatrical space, notwithstanding the limits set by certain stage conventions. I hope also to have shown how tragedies are concerned with the city in their very shape, before we even consider political words that are said on the stage. Tragedy appears to place a high value on the strong and stable *polis*, which might be threatened, but is rarely (if ever) destroyed. This tendency is reflected in the role assigned to space outside the city. The Greek city in tragedy tends to remain

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[87] E. *IA* 1444 (altar), 1463 (meadow).

trouble-free in its public spaces. If there is any troublesome activity
in the city, it must therefore occur indoors, while much other trouble
is confined to the space 'out there'. At times, the tragic countryside
can seem a far less safe place to be than the city.[88]

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CHAPTER EIGHT

THE WALL IN ARISTOPHANES' *BIRDS*

Jennifer Clarke Kosak

1. *Introduction*

The *Birds* of Aristophanes presents us with the description of a massive wall that is built to divide the heaven from the earth and to prevent communication and exchange between these two realms unless payment to the wall's builders and owners—the birds—is rendered first. Furthermore, it is the play's conceit that the construction of the wall will enable the birds to wrest power from the gods. This wall—doubly fictive, since it is not only the imaginary construct of a play but is explicitly also a fictional construct within the play[1]—is the essence of the bird-city: it is the first and only physical structure that is reportedly built. Whereas normally the city wall provides protection for those inside against threats from the outside, in Nephelokokkygia, it is not clear where the outside or inside is to be: the city is the wall—or the wall is the city—and it apparently masks the earth and heaven completely. It delineates the territory of the birds, but as this play makes clear, birds are everywhere. Thus, it is a city that extends over the whole earth and sky. In this chapter, I argue that the wall in *Birds*—perhaps surprisingly, given that it is supposedly a massive boundary—contributes to the play's blurring of the traditional discursive boundaries between city and country (sections 2 and 3). In addition, the focus on the need for and construction of the wall and subsequently on its failings consciously plays upon on old topos in Greek literature: the argument that men are the true defenders and thus the true essence of the *polis* (section 4).[2]

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[1] Cf. line 1167 and further discussion in the text below.
[2] See Bowie, this volume.

2. *The wall in* Birds

The huge wall is the primary feature of the bird-city. When Peisetaerus explains his plan to the birds, he puts the construction of the wall as the first and dominant feature of the city and the key to the success of their plan to wrest power from the gods. Thus, when the birds ask how they can gain their sovereignty, Peisetaerus responds that there should be 'one city of the birds', and that they should 'wall around all the air and everything in between with big baked bricks like Babylon' (550–551). That's it for the city: thereafter, Peisetaerus begins immediately to describe how the birds should act to seize power. The play makes no mention of building streets, temples, *agorai*, *stoai*, theaters, even new nests. Although Peisetaerus and Euelpides later discuss the need for a guardian deity to occupy the 'Pelargikon',[3] this place is not described, except to suggest that its guardian, the cock, is well suited to live 'on rocks' (836: are there to be rocks in the air?), nor is it given further mention in the play. The territory of the birds is situated ἐν μέσῳ (187), a phrase that signifies the boundary between two spaces, earth and heaven, but that somehow Peisetaerus intends to transform into its own bounded space.[4] Nonetheless, the space within the wall remains undifferentiated: when Meton proposes to situate an agora in the middle of the new city (ἐν μέσῳ, 1005), he is rejected.[5] 'Real' places outside the walls referred to by the poet retain their topographical features (i.e., Athens is still Athens, Sparta still Sparta, Olympus still Olympus, earth still earth), but the bird-city is remarkably featureless—except for the wall. And even the exact positioning of the wall is unclear, as Dunbar notes in her commentary *ad* 551–552: a vertical wall would not do much to keep out communication between heaven and earth, but the

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[3] The word *pelargikos* means 'having to do with the stork'; at the same time, the Pelargikon is an Athenian term for the ancient walls of the acropolis and also a sacred enclosure on the slope of the acropolis. The reason behind this name remains obscure: it may derive from the idea of a stork's nest; cf. Dunbar 1995 *ad* 832.

[4] On the nuances of this passage and this transformation, see Konstan 1997, 9–11.

[5] Detienne 1996, 91–102 argues that the term *en mesôi* (and the related expression *es meson*) denotes public, common space, space that by the classical period was the political center, the place where citizens came together to voice their public concerns. If we are to hear a resonance of this idea here, it seems to me to have both positive and rather sinister connotations. In *Birds*, the center, which is also the city, comprises practically the whole world; at the same time, the center has no central meeting place (agora) for exchange of ideas or commerce. The public has subsumed the private (cf. below on the absence of a *khôra* in favor of only an *astu*).

description hardly suggests a massive horizontal disc. To be sure, the impossibility of such a wall adds to the comic effect—the grandiosity—of the idea. Finally, in a further rejection of bounded or marked space, the wall itself is not noticeable to those who end up crossing it. The construction is described as an amazing feat of engineering and the resulting structure is likewise a wonder: built with blinding speed to a height of a hundred fathoms (1130–1131), wide enough for two chariots to go along in opposite directions (1126–1129— though why would birds need chariots?). However, the goddess Iris passes through it without even noticing its presence (1211).[6] Indeed, as Dunbar suggests in her commentary on the play, Aristophanes signals to the audience that the wall is a fiction[7] (doubly so, as I said earlier); Peisetaerus himself indicates this at 1167 when he states that the facts of the messenger's story 'seem to me actually equal to lies' (ἴσα γὰρ ἀληθῶς φαίνεταί μοι ψεύδεσιν). The city with no features is surrounded by a huge wall that is fictional. This is an *outopia* indeed.[8]

3. *City and countryside in the* Birds

In a brief discussion that also notes the lack of topography in *Birds*, Nicholas Jones argues that the new city is 'utterly lacking a rural dimension'.[9] This, he suggests, is rather surprising, given the wide variety of non-urban landscapes from which the hoopoe Tereus summons the birds at 227–262. Typically the *polis* comprises both what is within the walls and what stands outside (*astu* and *khôra*), but this city has only a vague *astu* and no *khôra*. The birds' natural habitats could, perhaps, provide the *khôra*, but since the play suggests that their entire sphere of living is to be bounded by the wall, it seems that even the *khôra* is being swallowed by the *astu*. In Aristophanes, tranquillity is usually to be found in the country,[10] and there is a suggestion in *Birds* that rural tranquillity is what Euelpides and Peisetaerus are looking

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[6] It is true that something is happening to affect the gods as a result of the birds' actions, as Dunbar 1995 notes *ad* 1230–1233: Iris would not have come had not the gods noticed a diminution of sacrificial offerings.

[7] Dunbar 1995 *ad* 1126–1129.

[8] Cf. Slater 1997, 97 on the 'performative' rather than the physical nature of this city. For more discussion of the *ou*-topian elements of the play, see Konstan 1997, 9, who also remarks on the 'spatial vagueness' of the play.

[9] Jones 2004, 206.

[10] For a succinct overview of this topos, see Wilkins 2000, 103–107. The idealization

for. In the beginning of the play, Euelpides explains to the audience
that he and Peisetaerus have left Athens because they are tired of its
excessively litigious citizens (39–45). They themselves claim to be true
Athenian citizens (33–34) but at the same time are *apêliasta*, men who
oppose the lawcourts (110). When the hoopoe expresses surprise that
there are any Athenians of such a kind, Euelpides claims that 'you
can find a few if you look in the country' (111). However, the play
in general finds little comfort in the possibility of peace in the coun-
try: the premise of *Birds*, after all, is that a quiet, easy life is not to
be found among existing earthly *poleis*; although the hoopoe suggests
a number of different places where Peisetaerus and Euelpides might
go (the Red Sea, Lepreon in Elis, Opous in Locris), all are rejected
(144–154). Thus, the play dispenses with the notion of a *khôra*, peace-
ful or otherwise, in favor of focusing entirely on a universal *astu*.

   The contrasts between city and country typical of Aristophanes
and the physical features typical of a city (a literary city, at any rate)
are lacking in *Birds*. But if specific topography matters so little to the
vision of the play, why the wall at all, then? Why the emphasis on
the massiveness of the wall: is it mere comic exaggeration (and a
parody of Herodotus' description of the walls of Babylon at 1.178.3ff.)
or is there more to it than that?

4. *The wall and Greek definitions of the city*

The wall is essential, I suggest, for two reasons: first, a wall is impor-
tant to the basic Greek definition of a city and, second, Greek lit-
erature has a long history of contesting this definition of a city. Let
us examine both reasons in turn. First, the notion that, in the Greek
mindset, a proper city has a wall. To found a city, one must mark
its boundaries, show inside and outside. Moreover, the building of
the wall, the marking of the boundary, is, as André Hurst has writ-
ten with special reference to the walls of Thebes, the moment when
'un espace indifférent devient l'espace significatif dans lequel une col-
lectivité reconnaît un habitat qui la protège et qu'elle protège' ('an
indifferent space becomes a meaningful space in which a collective

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of rural tranquillity is not universally present in Aristophanic drama: even in *Birds*,
Euelpides tells the story of how he was attacked by a robber as soon as he got out-
side the walls of Athens on his way to Halimous (496–497). Thus, the country may
be a place of peace, but it is not a place that can protect people from violence.

recognizes a living space which protects it and which it protects').[11] It is true that both archaeological and literary records provide evidence for cities without walls. But, as scholars such as Stephen Scully, Yvon Garlan, Pierre Ducrey and John Camp have argued, the wall is nonetheless a fundamental marker of a city:[12] indeed, Camp has gone as far as saying that 'a substantial circuit wall was the *sine qua non* of the Greek *polis*', and that 'the basic picture of a Classical *polis* [is] a critical mass of population and a fortified site. All the rest is window dressing'.[13] These walls are not automatically sacred boundaries (although, as in the case of mythic Thebes and Troy, they can be);[14] instead, they are military necessities. I hasten to add that this may be, for at least the archaic period in Greece, a *notional* situation rather than a reality: however, by the fifth century, the walled *polis* had become the norm.[15]

In literary representation, the city wall is an essential feature of the Homeric city,[16] and later Greek literature, so often responding to the images and ideas set forth in the Homeric poems, abounds with references to the city wall as emblematic of city identity.[17] However, even as Peisetaerus' plan uses this wall in typical fashion as a marker of the city, it also uses the wall in an entirely different fashion: the wall not only protects a city and its inhabitants, but also serves as a blockade—an aggressive rather than a defensive structure, intended to

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[11] Hurst 2000, 64; cf. also Eliade 1974, 371.

[12] Cf. Camp 2000, Ducrey 1995, Garlan 1968, Scully 1990.

[13] Camp 2000, 47, 49.

[14] Scully 1990, 50 argues that 'all city walls are divinely protected if not actually divinely built'.

[15] Cf. Hansen 2003, esp. 274. Gat 2002, 133–134 argues that nucleated settlements and central strongholds were sufficient deterrents to attacks in the earlier periods of Greek history; he suggests that despite the relative lack of fortification offered by the early cities, the Greeks were reluctant to engage in urban warfare, preferring to fight 'on a level plain and equal terms' (134). As states and armies grew, so, too, he argues (135–136), did the need for walls.

[16] Cf. Scully 1990: while acknowledging that 'a statistical approach might indicate that the city wall [in Homer] is relatively insignificant', he nonetheless argues, 'but if only a few poleis are said to be walled, no single feature contributes more to the definition of the Homeric polis than the city wall' (41).

[17] The walls of Thebes are particularly significant: cf. A. *Th.* 90; E. *Hipp.* 555–556; *Supp.* 274; *HF* 793; *Ph.* 79, 366, 823. The Cyclopean walls of Mycenae/Argos are also metonymic of the city itself: cf., e.g., E. *IA* 534; cf. also the walls of Tiryns in Bacchylides 11.76–77. Walls play an important role in Thucydides' discussion of the historical development of the *polis*: cf. 1.7–1.8; Herodotus, in his discussion of the nomadic Scythians, remarks that they have neither *astea* nor *teikhea* (4.46), which makes them peculiarly difficult to attack.

force others into submission. The ease with which the wall is breached, of course, indicates that it serves neither capacity: this structure, as massive as it is, does not perform its essential function(s). To find protection and to succeed aggressively, what is needed—as Prometheus recognizes and urges upon Peisetaerus—is power, represented literally by the figure of Basileia, in the hands of Peisetaerus himself (1536).

The city cannot succeed without Basileia because, as Prometheus explains, she has custody not only of Zeus's thunderbolt but also of a host of qualities—good governance, good laws, moderation—that are necessary to the proper functioning of any good Greek city (1538–1540). The need for Basileia, who controls both qualities of governance and—comically—more specifically Athenian entities such as the dockyards and jury-pay (1540–1541), underscores the fact that a city is not merely a collection of buildings or a space defined by a wall. Furthermore, Prometheus explicitly connects his advice to acquire Basileia with his traditional role as the divine figure most sympathetic to men (1545)—and not to birds. Sovereignty is clearly being handed over to men—indeed, to one man, even if he has taken on the trappings of avian life: Prometheus states that the agreement between the gods and birds should include the handing over of Zeus's scepter to the birds (1535) and the marriage of Basileia to Peisetaerus (1536). I suggest that this switch in focus during the latter half of the play, from power manifested in the physical structure of the wall to power manifested in the figure of Basileia under the control of Peisetaerus, hearkens back to the familiar debate in Greek literature over whether a city is its physical defenses or its people, and thus to the second and paradoxical reason for the wall's presence in this play, namely its debatable usefulness.

This debate has a long history. Thus, the *Iliad*, as Stephen Scully has reminded us, prefigures a later Platonic vision of warriors as the barrier of the city (*Laws* 778e–779a) in its many descriptions of heroes as towers, wall and bulwarks: Ajax and Hector immediately spring to mind, but the Achaeans as a group also act on occasion as a wall.[18] Such a vision carries on in the poetry of Alcaeus, with his insistence that ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλι]ος πύργος ἀρεύ[ιος (112.10 L.–P., 'for men are the warlike tower of a city').[19] Thucydides tells us that Nicias

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[18] Scully 1990, 59–60.
[19] Cf. also fr. 426 L.–P. (as transmitted by Aelius Aristeides) ὡς ἄρα οὐ λίθοι οὐδὲ ξύλα οὐδὲ τέχνη τεκτόνων αἱ πόλεις εἶεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπου ποτ᾽ ἂν ὦσιν ἄνδρες αὐτοὺς σώζειν εἰδότες, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τείχη καὶ πόλεις ('For indeed cities are not stones nor wood

urged such sentiments on his troops during the final desperate days in Sicily: 'for men are the city and not walls and ships empty of men' (7.77.7). Indeed, Thucydides, as Oddone Longo has argued, describes the Athenian expeditionary force to Sicily in terms of a floating city, a city whose foundations are on ships and sea rather than on land.[20] The wall in *Birds* is easily breached by a succession of characters, both human and immortal,[21] but Peisetaerus, using the instruments of persuasion, enticement and physical violence, over-comes all doubts—human, avian, and immortal—and compels every group to accept his scheme.[22] Hence, it is clear that the success of this city lies not in its fortifications, but in its persuasive leadership. As Aristotle says in *Politics* 1253a, it is the power of speech that both enables and engenders city living. Peisetaerus is able, through the power of words and the power of food, to convince the birds and the gods that his plan is working. The wall is ultimately not neces-sary; only the threat of it is.

5. *Conclusion*

The wall in *Birds*, then, serves as a foil, a weak instrument that stands in contrast to the power of Peisetaerus himself. Yet this doubly fictional wall does have a kind of transforming power: with the tale of its construction, Peisetaerus turns the whole universe into one large *astu*. The playwright fabricates the wall as part of the play's ulti-mately frightening vision[23] of a city without country, without limits, ruled by a man who has himself transcended human limitations.

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nor the craft of craftworkers, but wherever there are men who know how to defend themselves, there also are walls and cities').

[20] Longo 1975.

[21] Thus, after the wall is completed, various mortal characters come on without mentioning the wall in their speeches: the Patraloias ('father-beater') enters without difficulty at 1337; Cinesias at 1373; the Sycophant at 1410–1411. Likewise, Prometheus, Heracles and the Triballian god make no mention of the wall.

[22] For verbal persuasion, cf. his scenes with the Patraloias (note esp. 1370–1371), and with Poseidon, Heracles and the Triballian (1565–1693, esp. 1606–1631 and 1636–1685); for enticement, cf. his breakfast invitation (1602), which wins over Heracles (1603); for violent methods, cf. his threatened treatment of Iris (1253–1259) and his beating of the Sycophant (1464–1469).

[23] Konstan 1997, esp. 13–14, argues that the city is depicted, in contrast to Athens, as a 'well-ordered polity'; cf. also Henderson 1997, 145. But critical unease about the positive nature of Aristophanes' city is widespread: for an example of an interpretation that sees the play in essentially negative terms, see Romer 1997.

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AGROIKIA AND PLEASURE IN ARISTOTLE

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1. *Introduction*

Theophrastus' colorful sketch of the rustic boor (*agroikos*, *Characters* 4) portrays him as loud-mouthed, reeking of thyme, and liable to expose the most private parts of his anatomy when he sits down. Theophrastus' predecessor Aristotle sometimes uses the noun *agroikia* and the adjective *agroikos* to connote quite generally the uncivilized ignorance and manners characteristic of country folk.[1] However, in his *Ethics agroikos* has a far more restricted application, describing: (1) the individual who is insensitive to the pleasures related to touch and taste (i.e. those of food, drink and sex), (*EN* 1104a24, *EE* 1230b18) and (2) the person who is incapable of appreciating or contributing to pleasant and humorous conversation (*EN* 1128a9, *EE* 1234a5). This requires some explanation.[2] For the rustic individual is often portrayed in Greek literature as a pleasure lover, albeit one, of course, untutored in the sophisticated pleasures of city life. Think of the sex and wine-loving Trygaeus in Aristophanes *Peace* or Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians*. Moreover, insensitivity to pleasure is often not a characteristic in the foreground of portrayals of the *agroikos*. For example, in Theophrastus' sketch the focus is on a lack of urbane manners, which is offensive to others, rather than an inability to enjoy food, sex and the company of others, though the latter characteristics are implicit in Theophrastus, as I shall show.

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[1] See *Rhetoric* 1395a6, 1408a32, 1417a23, 1418b25.

[2] Other scholars, with the exception of Ussher 1960, 55 and 57 have ignored the significance of Aristotle's use of the term in the *Ethics*, viewing it as simply consistent with Theophrastus' sketch and other uses of the term in classical and Hellenistic literature. See, for example, Ribbeck 1850, 37 and Gauthier and Jolif 1970, vol. II, 319. Ussher realizes that the conception of *agroikia* is unstable. However, he is mistaken in thinking that 'Theophrastus's conception of the boor is Aristophanic, not Aristotelian'.

The concept of *agroikia* (rustic boorishness) is of course fluid and multi-faceted rather than monolithic. It is not *prima facie* surprising that some authors should portray rustic characters as uneducated pleasure lovers, while others portray them as insensate to pleasure, or emphasize other characteristics. We can usually explain the particular nuances by appealing to historical context, intended audience, the genre of the work, and the persona of the author and his characters where relevant. Aristophanes' portrayals of Dicaeopolis and Trygaeus, for example, are grounded in the realities of the Peloponnesian War. Their view of rustic life is nostalgic and selective, and designed to raise a laugh from a disgruntled audience trapped in the city, as Jones 2004 has shown.[3] But how are we to explain Aristotle's emphasis that the *agroikos* is insensitive to pleasure?

The Aristotelian conceptions of *agroikia* in the *Ethics* are embedded in linguistic usage in the fourth century BCE, and are particularly prominent in comedy. However, Aristotle's emphasis on the connection between rusticity and insensitivity to certain pleasures is explained, and also complicated, by his delineation of farmers and herdsmen in the *Politics*. There the rural populace is portrayed as hard working, with limited desires for bodily pleasure and social interaction. On the one hand, this suggests that rustics are actually paradigms of virtue, living a life of noble self-sufficiency that shares some features with the happiest philosophical life discussed at the end of the *Eudemian* and *Nicomachean Ethics*. Indeed, these rustics are, as we will see, far superior, according to Aristotle, to their low-class and slavish urban counterparts (*banausoi* and merchants). On the other hand, the rural populace, since they lack leisure and education, will certainly fail to develop the full range of virtues, and their tendencies to be non-appetitive and asocial may be manifest as vices rather than virtues.

This construction of rusticity allows Aristotle to present the rustic populace in less than ideal states as a willing workforce, who will not meddle too much in politics or disrupt the political *status quo*. Further, it legitimates in his ideal state the separation of citizens from the class of farmers and herders, whose laborious occupations are inimical to the urbane social and political virtues, which require

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[3] See Jones 2004, 199–205, who describes the portrayal of the countryside in these plays as 'an operation of urban idealization'.

leisure for their development and exercise. The citizens, however, will be landowners (i.e. non-working farmers), enjoying the benefits of both town and country living. Moreover, Aristotle himself appropriates the rustic wisdom of Hesiod in his own texts, and thus we see the philosopher negotiating carefully between and preserving two *endoxa* concerning the rural populace in Greek thought:

1) The rustic is coarse, uneducated and not fit for political life. From the perspective of the urbane elite the rustic is 'other'.
2) The rustic is a paradigm of noble labor and simple virtue.[4]

In sections 2 and 3, I argue that Aristotle's use of *agroikia* in the *Ethics* shows that he shares with Theophrastus and fourth-century comic poets a conception of the rustic as deficient in the social virtues. In section 4, I show that in the *Politics* Aristotle conforms to a different set of Greek *endoxa* according to which farmers are just, courageous and engage in a manner of sustaining themselves that is fully in accordance with nature, while at the same time suggesting that the toil and labor required of the farmer is incompatible with the exercise of all the virtues that constitute the good life. Thus the citizens of the ideal state will be farmers, in so far as they are landowners, but have others to toil for them. As we shall see in section 5, Aristotle's own use of the rustic wisdom of Hesiod in his text is entirely consistent with this urbane appropriation of the virtues of rusticity.

2. Agroikia *and pleasures of the body*

In the *Nicomachean Ethics, agroikia* first makes an appearance at 1104a24 in a brief summary of the ethical virtues (each a 'mean' or middle state) and their corresponding vices. The individual who is *sôphrôn*, self-controlled, is contrasted with the person who enjoys every pleasure related to touch and taste and abstains from none (the *akolastos*) and also with the insensible person who flees every pleasure 'like rustic boors' (*agroikoi*). As we shall see, this type of *agroikia* would

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[4] For discussion of (1), see Jones 2004. For discussion of (2), see Murnaghan in this volume.

have been familiar to Aristotle's audience from fourth-century comedy, though it should not be considered merely a comic stereotype. A version of the vice is also apparent in Theophrastus' sketch of the *agroikos*, although most scholars fail to see the connection with Aristotle's text. Moreover, as I conclude in this section, insensibility is a vice antithetical to good social relations, as well as to bodily health.

   In the *Eudemian Ethics* (1230b13–20*)* when discussing insensibility Aristotle alludes to comedy:

> As to those who are unmoved by these pleasures because of insensibility, some call them insensible, while others call them by other such names. But this state is not very familiar or common because everyone errs in the opposite direction, and to be overcome by and to be sensible to such pleasures is natural to everyone. It is the state most of all of the rustic boors whom producers of comedies lead out on stage, and who hold off from pleasures in even moderate and necessary undertakings.[5]

> τοὺς γὰρ ἀκινήτως ἔχοντας δι' ἀναισθησίαν πρὸς ταύτας τὰς ἡδονὰς οἱ μὲν καλοῦσιν ἀναισθήτους, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι τοιούτοις προσαγορεύουσιν. ἔστι δ' οὐ πάνυ γνώριμον τὸ πάθος οὐδ' ἐπιπόλαιον[6] διὰ τὸ πάντας ἐπὶ θάτερον ἁμαρτάνειν μᾶλλον καὶ πᾶσιν εἶναι σύμφυτον τὴν τῶν τοιούτων ἡδέων ἥτταν καὶ αἴσθησιν. μάλιστα δ' εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, οἵους οἱ κωμῳδοδιδάσκαλοι παράγουσιν ἀγροίκους, οἳ οὐδὲ τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πλησιάζουσι τοῖς ἡδέσιν.

Who, however, are the *agroikoi* whom the comic poets lead out on stage? The titles of many plays from Middle and New Comedy show the importance of the rustic as a type. Antiphanes, Anaxandrides, Anaxilas, Augeas, Philemon and Menander wrote plays entitled *Agroikos* or *Agroikoi*, and the conflict between urban and rustic characters and lifestyles is a staple of Greek comedy as Ribbeck 1850, Jones 2004, and Konstantakos 2005 have shown.[7] However, it is a fragment from Apollodorus of Carystus' *The Tablet-Maker*, preserved by Athenaeus, that shows most clearly the type of comic *agroikia* that Aristotle is alluding to:

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[5] All translations are my own, except where stated otherwise.

[6] Interestingly, the codex Cantabrigensis reads ἐπὶ πόλεως instead of ἐπιπόλαιον. This would add further emphasis to the mention of *agroikoi* in comedy. However, here I follow the consensus of codices P and L.

[7] See Ribbeck 1850, 10–22 and Jones 2004, particularly 216–223. Konstantakos' article (2005) discusses some important evidence from the fragments of Middle Comedy.

O people everywhere, why do you give up pleasant living and devote
yourselves to injuring one another by making war? Can it be that
some boorish fortune today presides over our lives—a fortune which
knows no education at all, is completely ignorant of what is ever bad
or what is good, and in some random way tosses us about in what-
ever way she chances? I think so indeed. For what fortune, were she
really a Greek, would prefer to see men thrashed raw by one another,
and lying prone as corpses, when it is possible to see them jolly, play-
ful, just a little bit tipsy, enjoying the sound of music? Tell me sweet
lady, say that our fortune is a boor. (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 280d–f,
Kock iii.281. Tr. adapted from Gulick 1929)

ὦ πάντες ἄνθρωποι, τί τὸ ζῆν ἡδέως
πάρεντες ἐπιμελεῖσθε τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν
πολεμοῦντες ἀλλήλους; πότερα πρὸς τῶν θεῶν
ἐπιστατεῖ τις τοῦ βίου νυνὶ Τύχη
ἄγροικος ἡμῶν, οὐδὲ παιδείαν ὅλως
εἰδυῖα, τί τὸ κακόν ποτ' ἢ τί ἀγαθὸν
ἔστ' ἀγνοῦσα παντελῶς εἰκῇ τέ πως
ἡμᾶς κυλίνδουσ' ὅντιν' ἂν τύχῃ τρόπον;
οἶμαι γε· πῶς γὰρ μᾶλλον ἂν προείλετο
Ἕλλην ἀληθῶς οὖσα λεπομένους ὁρᾶν
αὐτοὺς ὑφ' αὑτῶν καὶ καταπίπτοντας νεκρούς
ἐξὸν ἱλαροὺς παίζοντας ὑποπεπωκότας
αὐλουμένους ⟨ἰδεῖν⟩;[8] λέγ' αὐτῇ, γλυκυτάτη,
ἔλεγχ' ἄγροικον οὖσαν ἡμῶν τὴν Τύχην.[9]

This passage is strikingly different from a common portrayal in Old
Comedy of the countryside as the locale of peace, prosperity and
fertility.[10] The suggestion that this fortune is not Greek implies that
she is not merely *agroikos* but barbarian, and the explicit contrast is
between an uneducated and educated *tukhê*. But it is not that this
fortune is uneducated in that she delights in vulgar pleasures, rather
she is indifferent to both pleasure and pain. This fits rather well with
the preponderance of fragments from Middle Comedy which por-
tray the farmer's life as hard, painful and laborious.[11] We may, there-
fore, extrapolate from this evidence that when Aristotle speaks of the
agroikoi of the comic poets, he is speaking of characters whose hard
rural life has inured them to pain and toil, and left them deficient
in their appreciation of even bodily pleasures.

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[8] I adopt Palmer's suggestion to fill this lacuna.
[9] The text is that of Kassel and Austin, *PCG* II, 489.
[10] For a discussion, see Wilkins 2000, 124–129.
[11] For a representative selection, see Jones 2004, 216.

However, there is a philosophical problem with Aristotle's invo-
cation of the comic *agroikos*. If Aristotle thinks that, in fact, every-
body is overly sensitive to bodily pleasure, is insensibility a real vice
or rather just a comic stereotype? What is at stake here is whether
the vice of insensibility, which can be named *agroikia*, is merely
invoked in the *Ethics* as a theoretical abstraction, providing a hypo-
thetical deficiency that can be placed in opposition both to the 'mean'
and the 'excess', or whether Aristotle understands insensibility as a
vice that is actually manifest in some individuals.

It might be thought that owing to Aristotle's theory of dramatic
mimesis, the idea that a comic type may be merely a stereotype
is simply wrong headed. In the *Poetics* Aristotle states that comedy
presents characters worse than contemporary individuals (*Poetics*
1449a32–34), but because the pleasure in viewing any artistic rep-
resentation inheres in recognizing 'this is x', the insensible individ-
ual, to be dramatically effective, must bear some relation to real-life
behavior that the audience perceive and conceptualize in universal
terms.[12] However, it is surely plausible that comedy merely exag-
gerates the tendencies of fully temperate individuals to abstain from
certain pleasures and exploits a common conception of temperate
individuals as insensible to pleasure.[13] In fact, the real-life analogues
of comic *agroikoi* may be fully temperate individuals, in the opinion
of the virtuous person, who provides the standard of judgment in
ethical matters. They may actually be more like Electra's just, hos-
pitable and self-controlled peasant husband in Euripides' play than
the insensate individuals on the comic stage. Aristotle's theory of

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[12] *Poetics* 1448b6–19. Else 1957, 132 comments on this passage: 'the trick of rec-
ognizing and identifying images and reproductions is a part of the general process
of acquiring experience, and is pleasurable for the same reason, because we are
learning a part of the grand structure of genera and species which constitutes real-
ity. This would seem to point in turn to the theory that the object represented by
poetry is the universal (*Poetics* Chapter 9)'. Else, however, sees 1448b6–19 as merely
a digression within the main argument of *Poetics* 4. Halliwell's 1992 interpretation
gives the passage a far more central role.

[13] Aristotle shows in the *Rhetoric* how any instance of virtue can be portrayed as
a vice, and any vice as a virtue: 'We are also to assume when we wish either to
praise or blame a man, that qualities closely allied to those which he actually has
are identical with them; for instance, that the cautious man is cold-blooded and
treacherous, and that the stupid man is good, or the thick-skinned man a good-
tempered one' (1367a33–36): ληπτέον δὲ καὶ τὰ σύνεγγυς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ὡς ταὐτὰ
ὄντα καὶ πρὸς ἔπαινον καὶ πρὸς ψόγον, οἷον τὸν εὐλαβῆ ψυχρὸν καὶ ἐπίβουλον καὶ τὸν
ἠλίθιον χρηστὸν ἢ τὸν ἀνάλγητον πρᾶον.

dramatic mimesis does not, therefore, commit him to the position that insensibility is an actual vice.

In the *Ethics* Aristotle opts for a tentative evaluation: the vice is rare and has many names.[14] If we take the schematic treatment of the vice in the *Ethics* passages, and the evidence from comedy (a genre full of hyperbole designed to raise a laugh) too literally, we may be misled into thinking that Aristotle views the vice of insensibility as a total insensibility to bodily pleasures, which is psychologically implausible in reality. The actual vice of insensibility, however, may manifest itself in rather subtle ways, and the summary treatment in the *Ethics* may serve a rhetorical purpose. For as *most* people are overly attracted to bodily pleasures, a full discussion of the rarer deficiency may lead the intemperate to misunderstand their own excess as the virtuous mean.

Each Aristotelian virtue is a 'mean' in a sense that is not purely quantitative, as Hursthouse has shown.[15] The self-controlled individual indulges in pleasures of food, drink and sex to a moderate degree, but also *hôs dei* ('as is necessary'), in that he or she will partake of pleasures at the right time and in the right way. The virtue is as concerned with, say, abstaining from unhealthy food as it is with an

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[14] So in the *Nicomachean Ethics* he states that such people οὐ πάνυ γίνονται (1119a6), which means that they hardly occur, although it could mean they do not occur at all. He also claims that for this reason no name has been given to the vice (1119a10−11). In the *Eudemian Ethics* Aristotle again states that the vice is not very (οὐ πάνυ) familiar or common (1230b16), and the problem of the name of the vice is again hinted at. The ambiguity of the repeated phrase οὐ πάνυ (not very/not at all), shows Aristotle being as dismissive as possible towards this vice, but we should not infer from this that it is never manifest in the souls of individuals: cf. *EE* 1234b9.

[15] Hursthouse 1981 goes so far as to argue that the theory of the mean is in fact incoherent. For the mean implies a quantitative standard: some people go wrong in being too attracted to bodily pleasures, while others are attracted to them too little. But as Aristotle himself admits temperance is a matter of taking pleasure in the right things. However, if we view the theory of the mean as a convenient scheme which expresses the possible extremes of human behavior and disposition, and as expressing poles of a continuum, then it may be possible to view the dispositions of many people as falling within the continuum rather than at the extremes. For example, someone who eats moderately but has an appetite for sex with people that he or she should not have sex with, will be intemperate, but not entirely so. Moreover, the virtuous mean itself should be considered as a continuum rather than a point, just as the equilibrium between hot and cold is, according to Aristotle, extended and divisible (*GC* 334b27). Thanks to an anonymous referee for alerting me to the relevance of the passage from *GC*.

avoidance of unfettered gluttony. Understood in this way, the vice of insensibility becomes more realistic. We are not to think of the insensible *agroikoi* as people who cannot enjoy food or sex, which would be inhuman, but rather as those who have a tendency to be insensible to pleasures, but still find their ineluctable appetites overcoming them nevertheless, provoking feelings of shame and guilt.

We find an implicit example of this in Theophrastus' character sketch of the *agroikos*, who 'makes secret love to his slave, and then grinds with her the ration of meal for himself and the whole household' (*Characters* 4.14–16), according to the text of Graindor.[16] Why does the *agroikos* try to hide his encounter? He talks and interacts freely with his slaves and there is no suggestion of a jealous wife. So perhaps he is not so much ashamed of his congress with a slave, as he is guilty about taking time to indulge a bodily pleasure.[17] As it is, the encounter is merely a brief interlude in the day's toil. We should also note that he eats his breakfast while feeding the animals, suggesting that enjoying food as well as sex is not a priority. He errs in that he does not put enough weight on necessary bodily pleasures, and yet he cannot avoid his appetites.[18]

He also drinks ζωρότερον (*Characters* 4.14). Elsewhere Theophrastus uses this adjective of mixed wine (Athenaeus 10.423ff.). This seems odd, as why is it remarkable that the *agroikos* drinks mixed wine? Moreover, the usual sense of the adjective is in fact 'unmixed'. However, Aristotle at *Poetics* 1461a14 discusses the meaning of a phrase from *Iliad* 9.203: ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε, and interprets the phrase not as 'makes the mixture stronger', but, taking the comparative adverbially, as 'makes the mixture faster'. Ussher suggests that the meaning 'faster' makes good sense in Theophrastus' sketch.[19] The rustic boor gulps down his wine. For Ussher, this is a sign of the boor's intemperate appetites, but it can also be read as more evidence that the *agroikos* will not take the time to enjoy eating or

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[16] Graindor reads with the better manuscripts (1899): καὶ τὴν σιτοποιὸν πειρῶν λαθεῖν, κᾆτ' ἀλέσαι μετ' αὐτῆς τοῖς ἔνδον πᾶσι καὶ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.

[17] For a different interpretation see Rusten 1993, 67: 'He is so smitten that he joins her in work the master shouldn't be doing'. However, there is no evidence in the text that the *agroikos* is particularly smitten with the maid.

[18] Konstantakos 2005, 10 shows that repression of appetites and hostility towards bodily pleasures are reasonably common traits in comic portrayals of the *agroikos*.

[19] Ussher 1960, 58.

drinking.[20] Theophrastus' portrayal of the *agroikos* thus, *pace* Ussher, does share some similarity with Aristotle's discussion of *agroikoi*,[21] although in Theophrastus insensibility to bodily pleasure must, of course, be extrapolated from the character's behavior. For whatever the purpose of the *Characters*, it is not a work of ethical philosophy which probes psychic states.[22]

A possible objection to the above interpretation is that it over-simplifies the doctrine of the mean. For although each virtuous state is a mean between two antithetical vices, when the virtuous agent deliberates what to do, he or she chooses the mean relative to his or her particular circumstances. Aristotle illustrates this with the fol-lowing example. A trainer will not prescribe a fixed weight of meat for everyone to eat. For the experienced wrestler Milo will need to eat more than someone just beginning his training (*EN* 1106b1–5). Similarly the virtuous mean is relative to us. The virtuous 'mean' for me will not be identical to the virtuous 'mean' for Socrates, for example. Moreover, even if we consider one agent alone, in certain circumstances, for example, it might be appropriate and virtuous for me to indulge in many bodily pleasures, while in others it might be appropriate for me to completely abstain. The doctrine of the mean is not an absolute doctrine of moderation.[23]

In that case it is doubtful that we can say simply that Theophrastus' *agroikos* does not take enough delight in food, drink and sex. For perhaps it is appropriate for farmers, who have to work hard on their own land, or who (like Theophrastus' *agroikos*) at least oversee others who work for them, to be somewhat insensible to bodily plea-sures. Insensible behavior is, relative to them, a mean rather than a vicious extreme. However, although the mean is relative to us, the relativity must be determined not only by particular circumstances

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[20] Konstantakos' discussion (2005, 13, 16 and 18) of comic fragments concern-ing immoderate drinking by *agroikoi* suggests that such drinking is not a manifesta-tion of immoderate appetites, but rather of rustics' ignorance both of wine's intoxicating effects and of proper sympotic etiquette.

[21] 1960, 55, 57.

[22] Fortenbaugh 1975, 64. For an excellent recent summary of some theories of the purpose of Theophrastus' *Characters*, see Rusten 1993, 18–23.

[23] See Broadie 1991, 99: 'the notion of the appropriate response as the median response does not entail that it is always appropriate to respond moderately. If, in a given case, it is right to be moderately angry, this is not because the moderate as such is right; in a different case that moderate anger might be beyond or below what is called for'.

but also by the demands of human nature. Given that the desires for the pleasures of touch and taste (sex, food and drink) are biologically dependent on the nutritive and generative functions of the soul which are essential to all living bodies, it seems unlikely that a dispositional insensibility to such things could be a virtue in any circumstance. In other words the relativity of the mean is circumscribed by the functions and needs of the human soul. While it may well be inappropriate for the farmer to desire bodily pleasure while working, it is equally inappropriate for the farmer, *qua* human, not to value and find time for those pleasures that are necessary.

Before leaving the virtues and vices associated with bodily pleasures, we should also note that *sôphrosunê* is a virtue that is not only important for the bodily health and psychic well-being of the individual, but is also a social virtue. This is perhaps clearest in the realm of sex, where the self-controlled individual is particularly concerned not only with having a healthy amount of sex, but more particularly with avoiding shameful relationships which will damage intra- and extra-familial relationships. If *akolasia*, 'intemperance', is an anti-social vice, in that the *akolastos* indulges his appetites with no concern for others, is insensibility also a vice which may be socially problematic? While Aristotle has little to say on the subject, his emphasis on the importance of friendship in the *Ethics* and the centrality of shared pleasure in friendships certainly suggests that insensibility is an anti-social vice.[24] The insensitive person, for example, is unlikely to be able to enjoy a meal with friends or family.[25] Although the social deficiencies of the *agroikos* are not highlighted by Aristotle, they may have been taken for granted by Aristotle's audience, who are invited in the *Eudemian Ethics* to recall comic plays. As Wilkins asserts: 'A number of comedies featured the solitary eater or *monophagos*, who is denounced as criminal at Ameipsias fr. 23, "go to hell you solitary eater and criminal", and Antiphanes fr. 291, "you are eating alone. Already you are doing me harm"'.[26] Menander's

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[24] Smith-Pangle 2003, 53 has recently highlighted the importance of shared pleasure in true friendship, according to Aristotle. 'Aristotle strongly suggests that even the most virtuous men tend to lose their capacity for friendship in old age because of the simple decline in their capacity to give and enjoy pleasure (1157b13–16, 58a1–6)'.

[25] Thanks to Rachel Sternberg for pointing out the social implications of the vice.

[26] Wilkins 2000, 67.

eponymous *Dyscolus*, Cnemon, is no fan of commensality, and as we shall see, Cnemon also exhibits Aristotle's second type of *agroikia*, an explicitly social deficiency discussed below.

3. Agroikia *and humor in the* Ethics

Agroikia names, in addition to insensitivity, a lack of a sense of humor (*EN* 1128a9 and *EE* 1234a5). The associated virtue is *eutrapelia* ('facility of wit'), and the vice antithetical to this sort of *agroikia* is buffoonery (*bômolokhia*). Facility of wit is a virtue important in leisure time (*EN* 1127b33–1128a3),[27] and its sphere is the pleasure of social interaction (*EN* 1128b7). The witty individual makes playful and appropriate jokes in the style of an educated and free person, and also appreciates the humor of others. His humor is said by Aristotle to be characteristic of the recent rather than the old comedy. It is tempting to draw out an implicit connection between this virtue and the 'urbane' (*asteion*) style of discourse in *Rhetoric* 1410b1–1413b1. This style can best be described in the words of Halliwell as 'witty and piquant',[28] and relies on metaphor, antithesis and 'actuality' (*energeia*) of language. The pleasure taken in the urbane joke is not only that of a clever put-down, or ingenious pun, but is also an intellectual pleasure of grasping an idea. As Stewart remarks, the witty man is a 'dialectician of a sort',[29] and as Aristotle himself says at *Rhetoric* 1410b10, 'those words are the most agreeable that enable us to get hold of new ideas' (ὅσα τῶν ὀνομάτων ποιεῖ ἡμῖν μάθησιν ἥδιστα).

Agroikoi, who are unable to make or appreciate any kind of joke, are deficient in the intellectual aspect of joking, but also incredibly socially deficient in that they derive little or no pleasure from shared laughter. The intellectual deficiency of *agroikoi* is a lack of education. Aristotle himself contrasts *agroikos* with *pepaideumenos* at *Rhet.* 1408a32. Of course, the paradigm of such a character is Menander's *Dyscolus*, the farmer Cnemon,[30] although we can find at least one example in

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[27] *EN* 1127b33–1128a3: οὔσης δὲ καὶ ἀναπαύσεως ἐν τῷ βίῳ, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ διαγωγῆς μετὰ παιδιᾶς, δοκεῖ καὶ ἐνταῦθα εἶναι ὁμιλία τις ἐμμελής, καὶ οἷα δεῖ λέγειν καὶ ὥς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀκούειν. Cf. Frontisi-Ducroux 1984, 39–40.

[28] Halliwell 1993, 65.

[29] Stewart 1892, 368.

[30] Ribbeck 1850, 12.

the fifth century. Demosthenes describes Demos in the *Knights* not
only as *agroikos* but also as *duskolon* (42). Geta calls Cnemon *agroikos*
(956) when at the end of the play he refuses to dance, and fails to
appreciate the practical joke that Geta and Sicon have played on
him by carrying him outside his house while still in bed. Though
Geta and Sicon's actions may be rather cruel, Cnemon's behavior
here is another symptom of his eponymous bad temper.[31] Cnemon
exhibits a comically extreme deficiency of wit, in Aristotelian terms,
while, as with insensibility, there will be more subtle forms of the
vice manifest in real life. We can hypothesize that one more realis-
tic form of this vice may be constituted by a frequent attempt to
make jokes that, in fact, no one finds pleasant or humorous.

The buffoon goes to an excess in his jokes, striving for comic effect
by any means possible both at his own expense and at the expense
of others. He is no better educated than the *agroikos*. His humor is
likely to be crude and visual. In fact shameful speech, *aiskhrologia*, is
characteristic of this type of humor (*EN* 1128a23). He does not pay
attention to whether he pains those who are the butt of his jokes,
and the emphasis on the painful nature of the buffoon's jokes shows
that Aristotle, like many other Greeks, is well aware of the disrup-
tive tendencies that stinging humor can have. In fact, we can iden-
tify the first 'buffoon' in Greek literature as Homer's Thersites, whom
Halliwell adroitly characterizes as 'habitual entertainer', but one
whose taunts against Agamemnon can 'be felt only as harsh and
shameful wrangling'.[32]

Although Aristotle does not, of course, share our divisions between
Old and Middle Comedy, his own mention of the comedy *tôn palaiôn*
(*EN* 1128a22) points us towards consideration of buffoonery in fifth-
century drama. Although there are many instances of buffoonery
and *aiskhrologia* in Aristophanes' comedy, the poet famously claims
that his comedy is free of such vulgar tactics. For example, in the
Peace, the chorus in the *parabasis* state that Aristophanes abandoned
vulgar jokes (*bômolokheumata*) and in its place employed 'high thoughts

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[31] Jones 2004, 221 reminds us that Cnemon is a type rather than an idiosyn-
cratic eccentric. 'From the audience's perspective—that is, from an urban perspec-
tive—residence in the countryside, however hermetic or gregarious the person in
question, of necessity entailed a certain amount of physical isolation whenever . . .
farmers lived on their land'.

[32] See Halliwell 1991, 281.

and words, and jokes not of the market place' (750).[33] The connec-
tion between buffoonery and the urban market place also appears
in the *Knights*. In this play buffoonery is associated particularly with
the sausage-seller (902, 1194).[34] Wilkins draws our attention to the
etymology of *bômolokhos*: one who hangs around the altar begging for
scraps of sacrificial meat. The original conception of the 'buffoon'
as the needy jester who desires to satisfy his appetite by snatching
food to which he is not entitled, is still apparent in the *Knights*.[35] As
Wilkins emphasizes, the sausage-seller wins a victory over Cleon by
stealing from him a hare during the contest in which each make
offers to Demos (*Knights* 1192–1200). The sausage-seller himself con-
siders this a piece of buffoonery, as line 1194 shows (see above n.
34). In this play, *bômolokhia* is the fault, although also in a sense the
virtue, of the low-class market traders of the city. Both the sausage-
seller and Cleon are contrasted with Demos, the bad-tempered and
rather stupid 'master', who is described by Demosthenes at the begin-
ning of the play as *agroikos* (41), which seems to imply a general rus-
tic ignorance of the ways of the town. We may see then implicitly
bômolokhia as the vice of the urban *dêmos*, while *eutrapelia* is the virtue
of the educated urban elite, both providing a contrast to *agroikia*.
The relationships of wit to its two correlated vices, based on the
above analysis, are schematized below:

Vice (deficiency)	Virtue (mean)	Vice (excess)
agroikia / to sklêron[36] failure to make or appreciate a joke	*eutrapelia* joking in a way that befits a decent and free person	*bômolokhia / to phortikon* striving to raise a laugh by any means possible
	newer comedy	older comedy
uneducated	educated	uneducated
(rustic)	(urban)	(urban)
Comparanda [Cnemon in Menander's *Dyscolus*]	[the *asteion* style of speaking, *Rhetoric* 1410b1–1411b23]	[Sausage seller in Aristophanes *Knights*]

[33] Aristophanes *Peace* 748–750: τοιαῦτ᾿ ἀφελὼν κακὰ καὶ φόρτον καὶ βωμολοχεύματ᾿
ἀγεννῆ/ ἐπόησε τέχνην μεγάλην ἡμῖν κἀπύργωσ᾿ οἰκοδομήσας/ ἔπεσιν μεγάλοις καὶ
διανοίαις καὶ σκώμμασιν οὐκ ἀγοραίοις.

[34] Aristophanes *Knights* 902: Κλ. οἵοισί μ᾿ ὦ πανοῦργε βωμολοχεύμασιν ταράττεις.
Ibid. 1194: Αλ. ὦ θυμὲ νυνὶ βωμολόχον ἔξευρέ τι. Cf. Frontisi-Ducroux 1984, 34–35.

[35] See Wilkins 2000, 88–90 (chapter 2.8), and 179–184. Frontisi-Ducroux 1984,
34–35.

[36] Aristotle uses the terms *agroikos* at *EE* 1234a5, 8, *EN* 1108a26, *EN* 1128a9 and

It could be objected to this that we can find examples of rustic char-
acters who are buffoons. Dicaeopolis and Trygaeus spring to mind
in Aristophanes' plays. However, this pair pose their own interpre-
tive problems. For they are both consummate 'rustics', but during
their sojourns within the city walls of Athens, they have developed
some decidedly urban tastes.[37] Three ancient texts, however, provide
us with some quite unambiguous evidence that 'rustic boorishness'
could manifest itself as a type of buffoonery. In Aristophanes *Wasps*
Xanthias describes the drunk old man insulting his fellow drinkers
and 'joking boorishly' (*skôptôn agroikôs*, 1320). In Plato's *Gorgias*, Socrates
says ironically to Polus, 'I'm afraid to speak the truth, lest I may
appear rather boorish (*agroikoteron*). I shrink from doing so for Gorgias'
sake, lest he think that I'm ridiculing (*diakômôidein*) his profession'
(462e). Most striking, however, is Plutarch's *Reply to Colotes*, in which
the author speaks of his anger at Colotes' *agroikian kai bômolokhian kai
hubris* (boorishness and buffoonery and insolence, 1108B), which is
revealed in his book ridiculing eminent philosophers. Since *agroikia*
connotes quite generally the coarse lack of 'civilized' manners exhib-
ited by rustics, it can be understood both as a tendency not to engage
in joking, and as a tendency to joke inappropriately.

Why, however, does Aristotle prefer to associate *agroikia* with a
lack of a sense of humor rather than with buffoonery, given that
both associations are possible? The answer is not, I believe, revealed
by the ethical treatises alone. We must turn to the *Politics* where we
find Aristotle engaging in a construction of rustic people as asocial
and non-disruptive. Their quiet, self-sufficient dignity renders them
a mostly virtuous group in the *polis,* and distinguishes them from
'slavish' buffoons. But the harshness of the farming lifestyle may turn

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1128b1; he employs *sklêroi* at *EN* 1128a9; *eutrapelia* and *bômolokhia* are Aristotle's
standard terms for those virtues and vices; *phortikon* is used at *EE* 1234a8. At *EN*
1128b1, the manuscripts read *agrioi* rather than *agroikoi*, but I accept the conjecture
of Coraes of *agroikoi*. For earlier in the same passage at *EN* 1128a9 we should note
that the reading *agroikoi* is supported by the best manuscript, the Laurentianus. The
uses of *agroikos* in the *EE* account of humor are undisputed. I suspect some scribe,
thinking that the *agroikos* is more likely to be a buffoon, tampered with the text of
the *EN* at this point. Both *agroikos* and *agrios*, however, suggest a lack of urbane,
civilized manners.

[37] Dicaeopolis, who longs to get away from the clamor of the urban agora
(*Acharnians* 34–36), eventually sets up his own market later in the play (719ff.).
Trygaeus longs for the country, but hopes for the time when the Athenian agora
will teem again with luxury goods (*Peace* 999–1015).

their asocial tendencies into a vicious deficiency, which excludes them from playing a meaningful role in political and social life, although, in effect, such characters are conceived of as excluding themselves.

However, just a little theorizing with regard to Aristotle's *Ethics* will reveal that in this text too the description of the humorless *agroikos* itself has political import. A sense of humor seems so natural to humans, that we might be inclined to think that the individual who does not have a sense of humor is a kind of anomaly. Once, however, those who lack a sense of humor are identified as a group exhibiting a recognizable vice, this group is immediately marked out as 'other', their deficiency excluding them from normal communal life. Firstly, this group are laughed at by others. For the tendencies to laugh too much or not at all themselves become targets of laughter. They are comic characters like Menander's Cnemon, and like those comic *agroikoi* who are insensitive to bodily pleasure. Both the witty and the buffoons may have fun at their expense. But more importantly, since they are themselves unable to make jokes and share humor with others, they are excluded from exercising the power that is inherent in the ability to blame or insult (albeit in comic fashion) others in a communal setting. This power is recognized by Freud when he speaks of 'tendentious jokes', where the joker makes the object of the joke seem ridiculous and small, and is witnessed and validated by the laughter of the audience.[38] Moreover, since this group does not appreciate humor, they are excluded from sharing laughter with others, an important way of reinforcing a sense of community and communal identity.[39] While witty men and buffoons

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[38] 'Generally speaking, a tendentious joke calls for three people: in addition to the one who makes the joke, there must be a second who is taken as the object of the hostile or sexual aggressiveness, and a third in whom the joke's aim of producing pleasure is fulfilled' (Freud 1960, 122). The theory of the tendentious joke is applied to Roman Republican humor by Corbeill 1996. Since Aristotle calls a joke a kind of insult (*loidorêma*, *EN* 1128a30) it seems reasonable to apply the theory here.

[39] The function of humor as a force to bind together communities is explored by Cohen 1999. See also Halliwell 2004, 139 who considers the ways in which Old Comedy 'manipulates the great polarity present in Greek attitudes to laughter—a polarity between the ideas of derisive, shame-directing antagonism, on the one hand, and reciprocal, ludic gratification on the other—and converts the strong "charge" associated in life with the former into an intensification of its audience's theatrical participation in the latter'. Aristotle seems particularly worried by the shamefulness of aischrologic speech and laughter at such speech, even within the context of playful joking, though he does not explicitly condemn aischrologic speech on the comic stage.

reciprocally trade comic insults (or in the case of the witty, innuen-
does) and laugh with and at each other, the *agroikos* is always the
butt of the joke and never the joker; never, even, the laughing
receiver of the humorous communication. It is this notion of social
exclusion, constructed as self-imposed on the part of the rustic boor,
that provides the link between *agroikia* connoting insensibility to cer-
tain bodily pleasures, and *agroikia* connoting a lack of a sense of
humor, if we remember that the former is also a social vice.

In Section 4, I turn to the *Politics* where Aristotle describes rus-
tics (farmers and herdsmen) as hard working, non-appetitive, and
content to play a limited role in the life of the *polis*, a characteri-
zation which illuminates the conceptions of *agroikia* that we find in
the *Ethics*, as I shall show.

4. *Farmers and herdsmen in the* Politics

My thesis in this section is not that Aristotle believes that all and
only rustics suffer from the vices of insensibility and a lack of humor,
but rather that Aristotle conceives of farmers and herdsmen as marked
by tendencies to be non-appetitive, non-competitive, and asocial.
These tendencies point in two contrasting directions, providing a
positive comparison of rustics relative to their dissolute urban cousins,
but suggesting that rustics may be so deficient in political and social
skills that they cannot participate meaningfully in the communal life
of the *polis*. Here I discuss the relevant passages in the *Politics*, then
return to *agroikia* in the *Ethics* in order to discuss the relationship
between the two texts. Finally we will see what bearing Aristotle's
construction of rusticity has on his exclusion of farmers from citi-
zenship in his ideal state.

In *Politics* Book 1 farming and herding along with raiding and
hunting are argued to be skills in acquiring goods that are 'in accor-
dance with nature' (1256a1ff.). Despite some suggestion that farmers
are closer to a natural state than others because they acquire suste-
nance like animals directly from the land, and despite some hints of
an anthropocentric teleology,[40] the naturalness of these rustic occupa-

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[40] According to this argument, farming and herding are 'natural' because plants
and animals exist by nature for the sake of humans (1256b20–21). However, there
are difficulties in attributing a fully worked out anthropocentric teleology to Aristotle.

tions is mainly a function of their *telos* (goal), which is to provide a supply of food and other goods 'essential for life and useful for the association of state or household' and 'for the purpose of the good life' (1256a26–39). These occupations are contrasted with an unnatural type of acquisition, trade, whose aim is to maximize profit without limit. To put Aristotle's distinction in more concrete terms, the distinction is between, for example, the mode of acquisition of an Attic farmer and that of a trader in the Piraeus. This may seem to be an oversimplification, since what are we to make of the farmer who goes to the market place to sell his goods? Aristotle in fact considers several distinct forms of acquiring wealth, which can be schematized in the following way:

Modes of wealth acquisition in *Politics* 1.8–9:		
Skill	End	Relation to Nature
A wealth-acquisition, a part of household management (farming, herding, raiding, hunting, fishing, some warfare, 1256a1ff.)	True wealth (i.e goods essential and useful for association of the state or household)	NATURAL (1256b7)
B *metablêtikê* (meaning barter)	To make up for gaps in natural self-sufficiency (1257a30)	NATURAL (1257a28)
C *kapêlikê* (trade), type 1 Using money	Acquisition of necessary goods (1257a30–40)	NATURAL / UNNATURAL (?)
D *kapêlikê* (trade), type 2 (1257b23)	Unlimited wealth	UNNATURAL

(Other modes of unnatural acquisition in 1.10: money lending and working for pay)

C should be 'in accordance with nature' as long as the parties in a transaction look to the true value of the goods (which is determined by their utility) rather than the mere monetary or exchange value. However, there is some difficulty in interpreting Aristotle's text here, for C is explicitly a stage in the diachronic development of full-scale trade (D). The most charitable reading of the text is that of Meikle 1991, who argues that there is ambivalence on Aristotle's part as to

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See Saunders 1995, 86. The sense of 'for the sake of' here may merely be factual. Animals do in fact serve human interests and are in that sense for our sake, without implying that their function, viewed from a cosmic perspective, is merely to serve humans.

the status of C. For C shares the natural aim of barter (B), and thus should be in itself natural. But in so far as it is introduced as a necessary stage in the development of D, it is also unnatural.[41] On this interpretation the farmer in the agora is at least not unambiguously condemned to a mode of acquisition which is unnatural.

The psychology of the individual engaged in D, who we can hypothesize is an urban merchant, is described by Aristotle as follows (*Politics* 1257b40–1258a8):

> The cause of this disposition is being eager to live but not to live well. So, since that desire is unlimited, (these people) desire also an unlimited amount of the things that produce it (i.e. life). All those who in addition aim at living well, seek what promotes bodily enjoyment with the result that since this also seems to lie in wealth, they are continually occupied with money making, and the other kind of wealth acquisition [i.e. the unnatural kind] comes about for this reason. For since their enjoyment is excessive, they seek (the skill) that is productive of an excess of enjoyment.

> αἴτιον δὲ ταύτης τῆς διαθέσεως τὸ σπουδάζειν περὶ τὸ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ εὖ ζῆν· εἰς ἄπειρον οὖν ἐκείνης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας οὔσης, καὶ τῶν ποιητικῶν ἀπείρων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. ὅσοι δὲ καὶ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν ἐπιβάλλονται τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις τὰς σωματικὰς ζητοῦσιν, ὥστ' ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τῇ κτήσει φαίνεται ὑπάρχειν, πᾶσα ἡ διατριβὴ περὶ τὸν χρηματισμόν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον εἶδος τῆς χρηματιστικῆς διὰ τοῦτ' ἐλήλυθεν. ἐν ὑπερβολῇ γὰρ οὔσης τῆς ἀπολαύσεως, τὴν τῆς ἀπολαυστικῆς ὑπερβολῆς ποιητικὴν ζητοῦσιν.

The urban trader is characterized by either (1) a devotion to the means of sustaining life without any sense that a certain amount of goods is necessary or sufficient, or (2) A plus a desire to maximize profit so that he will have unlimited wealth to indulge his bodily pleasures.[42] Ethically speaking, both A and B are characterized by a mode of life that has the wrong *telos*. For the objectively best end,

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[41] For a very different interpretation see Schütrumpf 1991, Teil 1, 323–324, who argues that there can simply be no form of natural trade for Aristotle. 'Er erkennt hier jedenfalls für die Gegenwart keine dritte Möglichkeit gesunder Handelstätigkeit mit dem Zahlungsmittel Geld an . . . sie war nur in der Vergangenheit ein Zwischenstadium der Entwicklung, die zur naturwidrigen Erwerbweise führt' (323).

[42] Philosophically speaking, we might object that there is too convenient a coincidence between the end of *tekhnê* D (the internal end), and the psychological end of those who engage in D. If one distinguished between the internal and psychological end, one might conclude, *contra* Aristotle, that the internal end of trade is to acquire goods sufficient for the good life, while the psychological end of most practitioners is actually to acquire unlimited wealth.

as shown in both ethical treatises, is the active life of ethical and intellectual virtue.[43] Given Aristotle's warnings in the *Ethics* that most people are excessively devoted to pleasure, the urban trader is thus likely to be intemperate. Moreover, the desire to acquire unlimited wealth may also suggest that the trader is prone to injustice, cheating or stealing from others in order to satisfy his own appetites.

The farmer, engaged in acquiring necessary and sufficient goods for himself and family is far less likely to be intemperate, having neither the means nor opportunity to over-indulge. For, as we shall see, Aristotle tends to portray the farmer as an *autourgos*, one who works his land himself, rather than a wealthy landowner who rents out land to a tenant-farmer, or who employs a bailiff.[44] Moreover, since Aristotle seems to correlate the exercise of certain skills in wealth acquisition with certain psychological tendencies, the farmer, in Aristotle's view, is likely to desire only a limited amount of wealth, and limited opportunities, which wealth can buy, to engage in bodily pleasure.[45]

Aristotle also argues that those involved in agriculture and animal husbandry are ethically superior to 'vulgar craftsmen' (*banausoi*) and hired laborers, many of whom will probably work in an urban environment, although of course there were also surely village-based artisans and agricultural laborers. The fact that most craftsmen are rich (*Politics* 1278a24–25) according to Aristotle, suggests that he conceives of them working mainly in an urban setting where they can easily sell and even export their wares.[46] Hired laborers, however, are more likely to be agricultural workers.[47]

An ethical contrast between farmers, herdsmen and these others becomes apparent in *Politics* 6. 1319a19–28:

> After the farming mass, the best citizen body is made up of herdsmen who live off livestock. For in many respects this is similar to farming,

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[43] See Schütrumpf 1991, Teil 1, 342–344, for a full discussion of this passage and its relation to the *Ethics*.

[44] For different types of land management in ancient Greece, see Burford 1993, chapter 4.

[45] I am thinking here mainly of the pleasures of food and drink, rather than sex, although of course the latter can be purchased too.

[46] What sense does urban have in the context of Greece? In the case of large cities like Athens, the urban environment may be recognizable to us as a city. But, as Bintliff shows in this volume, the normal city-state in Greece was the small, agriculturally driven *Dorfstaat*.

[47] For the extent of hired, free labor on farms see Burford 1993, 186–193.

and these people are very well trained in their dispositions for mili-
tary actions and are useful in their bodies and are able to live in the
open. Almost all the other masses, from which the remaining democ-
racies are composed, are much worse than these. For their life is bad,
and no work to which the mass of artisans and of traders and the
class of laborers put their hand has anything to do with virtue.

μετὰ δὲ τὸ γεωργικὸν πλῆθος βέλτιστος δῆμός ἐστιν ὅπου νομεῖς εἰσι καὶ
ζῶσιν ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων· πολλὰ γὰρ ἔχει τῇ γεωργίᾳ παραπλησίως, καὶ τὰ
πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς πράξεις μάλισθ᾽ οὗτοι γεγυμνασμένοι τὰς ἕξεις καὶ
χρήσιμοι τὰ σώματα καὶ δυνάμενοι θυραυλεῖν. τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα πλήθη πάντα
σχέδον, ἐξ ὧν αἱ λοιπαὶ δημοκρατίαι συνεστᾶσι, πολλῷ φαυλότερα τούτων.
ὁ γὰρ βίος φαῦλος, καὶ οὐθὲν ἔργον μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς ὧν μεταχειρίζεται τὸ πλῆθος
τό τε τῶν βαναύσων καὶ τῶν ἀγοραίων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ θητικόν . . .

I take it that Aristotle thinks that both farmers and herdsmen are
well trained in mind and body for the military, though herdsmen
may have an advantage in being more used to living in the open,
and it is the qualities of herdsmen that are emphasized in this pas-
sage.[48] The emphasis on the training of one's disposition for war,
suggests that farmers and herdsmen may have a type of courage,
Aristotle being clear in the *Ethics* that courage, properly speaking,
can only be exhibited in a military context.

One might wonder, why, if some hired laborers might be agri-
cultural laborers, they too cannot be 'well trained in their disposi-
tions' and have a type of *aretê*. The answer seems to be that these
laborers, who work for others for pay, are engaged in a slavish mode
of life. As Aristotle comments in Book 7, 'Whether actions differ in
terms of being noble or not noble depends not so much on what
they are in themselves but on their end and the person for the sake
of whom they are undertaken' (*Politics* 1333a9–11).[49] *Qua* farmers,

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[48] As Schütrumpf 1996, Teil 3, 636 notes, the bravery of farmers is emphasized
in Euripides *Orestes*, 918ff., and in Xenophon *Oec.* 5.7 and 6.6–9. The virtues of
herdsmen are emphasized in Plato *Laws* 695a.

[49] The Greek text reads: πρὸς γὰρ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ καλὸν οὐχ οὕτω διαφέρουσιν
αἱ πράξεις καθ᾽ αὑτὰς ὡς ἐν τῷ τέλει καὶ τῷ τίνος ἕνεκεν. I interpret the final two
phrases joined by *kai* at the end of the sentence not as being two ways of speak-
ing of the goal, but rather as a way of indicating the two different senses of 'for
the sake of': (1) for a certain end; (2) in the interest of a certain person. The dis-
tinction is drawn in *De Anima* 415b1–3, 20–21, *Phys.* 194a36 and *Met.* 1087b2. My
understanding of this passage is also supported by *Politics* 1337b19–20 where Aristotle
states that doing something for the sake of oneself, or one's friends, or for the sake
of virtue is not illiberal, whereas doing the same thing because of others is *thêtikon*
and *doulikon*.

hired laborers work for another rather than the self or their families. *Qua* wealth-acquirers, they exchange their labor (which has utility) for money, which is unnatural. We may challenge Aristotle, in that it is surely possible to earn money for the purpose of providing necessary sustenance for oneself and one's family, and for the purpose of leading a good life. In that case working for pay would fall into category C above. But for Aristotle, since the direct goal of working for pay is money, the worker becomes dedicated to viewing value as monetary value, and cannot appreciate the utility of goods or of his own labor.

This denigration of the life of *banausoi* and laborers is consistent with many other passages in the *Politics*. Their occupations deform the body and debase their intellect (*Pol.* 1337b8–11).[50] So far a contrast seems to be emerging between the self-sufficient and hardy farmer, and the mass of traders, laborers and craftsmen, whose mode of wealth-getting, bodies and psyches are 'unnatural' and slavish, and many of whom will live in the urban center.

However, Aristotle certainly does not idealize the rural life of the farmer. In fact, one of the reasons why the rural mass of people constitutes the best type of democracy is that such individuals simply do not have time to visit the citizen assembly, and are not particularly interested in politics. Aristotle comments in Book 6. 1318b9–17:

> For the agricultural people is best and so it is also possible to fashion
> a democracy where the mass lives by agriculture or grazing. For because
> it does not have much property it lacks leisure so it does not frequently
> attend the Assembly. And because they do[51] have the necessities of

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[50] *Politics* 1337b8–11: βάναυσον δ' ἔργον εἶναι δεῖ τοῦτο νομίζειν καὶ τέχνην ταύτην καὶ μάθησιν, ὅσαι πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις καὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄχρηστον ἀπεργάζονται τὸ σῶμα τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν.

[51] I do not retain here the dubious manuscript reading μὴ (contra Keyt 1999, Schütrumpf 1996 and Newman 1902). For surely people who do *not* have necessities will be more inclined to covet and steal the possessions of others. It is likely that a careless scribe inserted the negative by mistake, copying the negated articular infinitive from the parallel phrase beginning *dia men* at the start of the sentence. Schütrumpf cites Isocrates *Areopagiticus* 24 in support of retaining the negative. Isocrates argues that his Athenian ancestors were content to select the worthiest men as magistrates, rather than relying on sortition, and did not themselves fight over magistracies because 'they had been instructed to be industrious and frugal, and not to neglect their own possessions and conspire against the possessions of others'. But this provides very weak support for the idea that farmers do not have the necessities of life. Moreover, *Politics* 1292b27–28 and *Ath. Pol.* 16, both discussed below, provide support for excising the negative in this passage.

life, they are busy with their work and do not desire the possessions
of others. Indeed, working is more pleasant to them than engaging in
politics and holding office, where large gains are not to be got from
offices. For the many desire gain more than honor.

βέλτιστος γὰρ δῆμος ὁ γεωργικός ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ ποιεῖν ἐνδέχεται δημοκρατίαν
ὅπου ζῇ τὸ πλῆθος ἀπὸ γεωργίας ἢ νομῆς. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ πολλὴν οὐσίαν
ἔχειν ἄσχολος, ὥστε μὴ πολλάκις ἐκκλησιάζειν διὰ δὲ τὸ [μὴ][52] ἔχειν τἀναγκαῖα
πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις διατρίβουσι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἥδιον
αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν, ὅπου ἂν μὴ ᾖ λήμματα
μεγάλα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ μᾶλλον ὀρέγονται τοῦ κέρδους ἢ τῆς
τιμῆς.

Aristotle's criteria for judging the agricultural people the best are
those of political expediency and ethical virtue.[53] This *dêmos* will inter-
fere least with the running of the state, and, busy with work, they
are not prone to civil discord over property disputes. But the pas-
sage is also ethically revealing. While the farmers engage in a nat-
ural mode of wealth getting, and while they have the necessities of
life, they are engaged full-time in procuring these necessities. This
is consistent with 1292b27–28 where Aristotle states that the farm-
ing populace have enough to live on *if they work*, but are not able
to take time off.[54] This Aristotelian line of thought is also supported
by *Ath. Pol.* 16, where the author describes Pisistratus' moderate
tyranny. Pisistratus advanced money to poorer people so that they
would be able to make a living by farming. The real intent, how-
ever, lying behind the tyrant's policy was 'in order that they would
not spend time in the town but be scattered across the countryside,
and so that being moderately well-off and engaged in their own pri-
vate affairs, they would neither desire, nor have leisure to take part
in public business'.[55]

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[52] μὴ is excised by Bojesen, who is followed by Congreve, Zeller and Dreizehnter.
[53] For an excellent discussion of this passage see Newman 1902, vol. IV, 507–510.
[54] *Politics* 1292b27–28: ἔχουσι γὰρ ἐργαζόμενοι ζῆν, οὐ δύνανται δὲ σχολάζειν.
[55] *Ath. Pol.* 16.3: τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐποίει δυοῖν χάριν, ἵνα μήτε ἐν τῷ ἄστει διατρίβωσιν ἀλλὰ
διεσπαρμένοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὅπως εὐποροῦντες τῶν μετρίων καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἰδίοις
ὄντες μήτ᾽ ἐπιθυμῶσι μήτε σχολάζωσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κοινῶν. I make no specula-
tion here as to the authorship of the *Ath. Pol.* It is enough for my argument that
it is Aristotelian. It should be noted, however, that it is exactly these passages from
Ath. Pol. 16 and from the *Politics*, which I quote here, which Sandys 1912, lvi sug-
gests support the idea that Aristotle himself was the author of the *Constitution of
Athens*.

To return to our *Politics* passage above, the farmers' desire for 'gain' when they hold office is not to maximize profit like merchants, but rather the result of a pragmatic calculation. If they are to spend time away from their work, they must be compensated adequately. They are free from the *philotimia* of city *politikoi* and also from a desire to steal the possessions of others, suggesting that they are perhaps too deficient in ambition for Aristotle's taste, but likely to be just. They have little leisure time for politics, and thus will fail to develop political wisdom. We can infer from this that nor do they have time for the serious pursuits of music or philosophy.[56] Farmers in fact take more pleasure in their work than in politics. The suggestion that pleasure is taken in the hard work of agricultural production is not strange when we consider that for Aristotle many difficult and laborious things can be enjoyed, particularly when the goal is conceived of as pleasant and good. The virtuous agent undertakes many difficult acts, but nevertheless acts with pleasure. Moreover, in the *Rhetoric* Aristotle states that 'things familiar and habitual belong to the class of pleasant things; for there are many things not naturally pleasant which people perform with pleasure, once they have become used to them' (*Rhetoric* 1369b17–20).

The picture that we glean from the *Politics* is one of a hard-working, just, courageous and mostly content rural populace. Their exclusion from the pleasures and opportunities that city living affords does not particularly bother them. This construction of a content rural populace is made explicit, not to say hyberbolic in the *Constitution of Athens*. The author comments at 16.7 that many used to say that the tyranny of Pisistratus was the 'Golden Age' (ὁ ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίος). The reason for this appellation is the civil peace and quiet (εἰρήνην καὶ . . . ἡσυχίαν, 16.7) that Pisistratus ensured. However, this is surely nothing other than a clever piece of propaganda circulated by Pisistratus' supporters. The Golden or Kronian Age in Hesiod's *Works and Days* is marked by the absence of hard work on the part of the population (113). For the gods still love the human race, and the earth gives freely of its bounty. Far from attempting to alleviate toil, Pisistratus aimed to keep the populace reasonably content by making it possible for them to support themselves by farming, but ensured

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[56] The importance of leisure for both politics and philosophy is stressed in *Politics* 7 and 8.

that they would have to work so hard to do so that they would not interfere in politics. It is surely overly romantic to imagine and inauthentic to construct the farmers at this time as univocally content with their lot. We should note that in addition to advancing money to farmers, Pisistratus simultaneously levied a tax of ten percent on agricultural produce (*Ath. Pol.* 16.4–5), and although an anecdote tells of how the tyrant granted exemption from the tax to one poor farmer, there is no suggestion that this magnanimity was extended to many. In sum, the *Constitution of Athens* and the *Politics* reveal an Aristotelian conception of the farmer as content to keep his nose out of political business as long as he is able, by working long and hard, to provide enough for his family and to pay his taxes. This may, of course, conceal a reality in which farmers, far from being content with their lot, simply lacked the opportunity to object.

Let us now turn back to *agroikia* in the *Ethics*. Does the material in the *Politics* allow us to infer that farmers and herdsmen are paradigmatically deficient in their sense of humor and ability to appreciate bodily pleasures? We might argue quite generally that Aristotle constructs the farmer's life not as one of grinding poverty, but rather as one of constant work in order to provide what is necessary for himself and his family to lead the good life. This means that he himself will have little time to enjoy the fruits of his labors and indulge in bodily and social pleasures. However, we can be a little more specific than this.

First, let us consider *agroikia* as insensibility to the pleasures of touch and taste. In the *Politics*, the rustic type engages in a mode of wealth-getting which places a limit on the amount of goods acquired. Not only do the farmer and herdsman have limited resources with which to buy luxury food and drink, but also the implicit contrast between the psychology of the farmer and trader suggests that the farmer will not be overly appetitive. Moreover, the outdoor lifestyle of rustics surely also contributes to their habituation to a lack of bodily comforts, and they are not pleasure seekers that like to shun work. The absence of strong desires for bodily pleasures is, in terms of Aristotle's *Ethics*, a virtuous rather than a vicious tendency, and a lack of surplus wealth is certainly no impediment to leading the virtuous life (*EN* 1179a1–5). Appetite (*epithumia*) for bodily pleasure, is part of the nonrational part of the soul (*EN* 1119b7–16), and as Aristotle comments in the *Eudemian Ethics* (1249b21–31), within the discussion of philosophical contemplation which ends the treatise,

'this is the best limit [of goods] for the soul: to perceive the nonrational part of the soul as such as little as possible'.[57] The rustic thus shares at least one characteristic with the philosopher. However, by portraying the rustic as non-appetitive, Aristotle allows that the rustic may be either temperate or insensible, but certainly not intemperate. Moreover, since the fully developed virtue of temperance requires practical wisdom and appropriate habituation of when to avoid but also when to *indulge* in pleasures, the hard-working farmer may quite easily be thought of as deficiently insensible, rather than temperate, although there is certainly no argument that all rustics will suffer from the vice, rather than manifest the virtue. The philosopher, however, will indulge in bodily pleasures that are natural and necessary, although he is not ruled by his appetites.[58]

Let us turn now to *agroikia* in the sense of a lack of a sense of humor. Rather obviously, we might be tempted to argue that since farmers' lives lack leisure (*skholê*), they will simply lack the time to engage in joking, which is for Aristotle an activity exercised in times of relaxation (*anapausis; EN* 1127b33). This, however, would be a gross oversimplification, and as we shall see, *skholê* has a rather more complicated relationship to humor. We must be careful not to confuse rest or relaxation (*anapausis*) with leisure (*skholê*), which are for Aristotle conceptually distinct. The distinction is made both in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1176b28–1177a1 and 1177b1–6) and *Politics* (1337b38–40). Relaxation is for the sake of serious work. We relax by being playful in order to work, and thus *anapausis* is a means rather than end. Relaxation is not our *telos* and is therefore not a

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[57] I use Broadie's translation of this passage (1991, 384). She helpfully comments: 'Other noble activities have in common with *theôria* that they all satisfy Aristotle's closing dictum . . . He is referring, I think, both to the purely biological substratum of psychic activity and to the appetitive side when it makes itself felt in opposition to reason, so figures *as* nonrational. Thus he does not mean that the best person is a practical or theoretical intellect purified of all feelings fostered and shaped by prerational training, but that these feelings in the best soul are in tune with reason'.

[58] The philosopher will possess and exercise all the ethical excellences, as is clear from *EN* 1178b5–8. The exact relationship between the role of contemplation and ethical virtue in Aristotle's own work is, of course, highly disputed. My own view is that while philosophical contemplation ranks higher on the scale of goods than ethical virtue for Aristotle, the former activity is compatible with and in fact enhances ethical virtues. For an excellent argument for this type of view, see Richardson Lear 2004.

candidate for *eudaimonia* (*EN* 1177a1). Happiness does, however, appear to reside in leisure (*EN* 1177b4–5), since we are busy (ἀσχολούμεθα) in order that we may be at leisure (σχολάζωμεν), and we make war for the sake of peace. Aristotle does not mean by this that we desire inactivity as an end, but rather that the activities which constitute happiness can only be engaged in when we are at leisure. The categories of leisurely and non-leisurely activities are somewhat flexible. Sometimes politics is said to require leisure (e.g. at *Politics* 1329a1–2), while at other times politics appears to be a 'business' which aims to create the conditions of leisure in which activities like music and philosophical contemplation can be practiced (e.g. *EN* 1177b8).[59] However, despite these difficulties, it is clear that if farmers and herdsmen suffer a lack of *skholê* such that they cannot engage in philosophy and politics, it does not follow that they lack *anapausis*. We cannot therefore simply appeal to an external lack of relaxation time to which farmers become habituated, and argue from that assumption that farmers and herdsmen may be deficient in their enjoyment of jokes.

We must consider, however, leisure and its lack not only in the context of the adult farmer but also in the context of childhood. Aristotle states at *Politics* 1338a30–32 'it is clear then that there is a kind of education that parents should teach their sons not because it is useful (χρησίμην) or necessary (ἀναγκαίαν) but because it is befitting a freeman and fine (ἐλευθέριον καὶ καλήν)'. This is a conclusion of an argument that begins from a premise that children must be educated to use their leisure rightly (1337b30–32). Aristotle does not list all the 'fine' subjects he has in mind, but in the context music is the primary example, and drawing is also mentioned at 1338a41. Aristotle may also be thinking of natural philosophy, mathematics and even dialectic. Although math and dialectic seem to be supremely useful, they can also be 'fine' and 'befitting a freeman' in that they exercise the rational intellect in a way which is worthy in itself, irrespective of the utility which the disciplines may have.[60] All these disciplines provide a training in what is *kalon*, in

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[59] *Politics* 1329a1–2: Those who are to be citizens [in the ideal states] should not be farmers. For leisure is needed both for the development of virtue and for political actions; *EN* 1177b8: actions in these spheres (politics and war) seem to be unleisurely.

[60] In fact the same subject matter can be either useful, or fine and befitting a

the sense of the ethically and aesthetically appropriate in mimetic representation, conversation and argument. The witty man is surely 'educated' in exactly these arts of leisure, although in so far as he is witty he employs his education in times of *anapausis*. The *agroikos* who as a child is put to work on the farm and lacks education in how to use leisure rightly, may find that even if he has time for relaxation (*anapausis*), he may not have the requisite skills to use his relaxation time appropriately. For even in the sphere of relaxation and play, there is an educated and uneducated way to be playful, as Aristotle's discussion of the virtue of wit shows: 'The amusement of the gentleman (ἐλευθερίου) differs from that of the slavish person (ἀνδραποδώδους), and the amusement of the educated (πεπαιδευμένου) from that of the uneducated (ἀπαιδεύτου)' (*EN* 1128a20–22).

This, however, brings us back to an unanswered question that arose in section 3 (above, p. 194). Why does Aristotle use *agroikia* as the name of a lack of a sense of humor, when the rustic's coarse lack of educated manners could surely manifest itself as buffoonery? Recalling our discussion of buffoonery (*bômolokhia*), we will remember that the buffoon will do anything to raise a laugh. He is a disruptive influence, using his jokes to ingratiate himself with some by insulting others. He is slavish, in that he acts to please others, but unlike a slave who merely obeys others, the buffoon uses humor as a weapon against his enemies and a tool to forge alliances in an attempt to gain an informal kind of power, as is the case with Homer's Thersites and Aristophanes' sausage-seller.[61]

The farmer, however, according to his delineation in the *Politics*, busy with his own affairs, and unconcerned with gaining honor and prestige in the community has no need or desire to engage in disruptive buffoonery. He neither wants power for himself, nor to scupper the ambitions of others, nor to further his own popularity by

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freeman depending on how and for what end the subject is taught. Thus drawing is useful for judging the work of craftsmen, so that we do not get tricked into purchasing shoddy goods. But more importantly, learning to draw helps us to appreciate beauty (*Politics* 1338a37–1138b2).

[61] What makes these characters comic buffoons, rather than dangerous or hateful individuals is their propensity to make jokes at their own expense, described by Aristotle at *EN* 1128a34–35. Any malice and desire for superiority that they may have is ultimately over-ridden by their desire for popular laughter, which leads them to debase themselves in a way that makes them, ultimately, the object of derisive laughter. Their strategy of gaining popularity through humor is thus self-defeating.

means of humor. He is content and quiet, and may be thought of
as exhibiting a kind of dignity and self-sufficiency also exhibited by
the philosopher of the *Ethics*, who 'can contemplate by himself—the
wiser he is the more he is able to do so—and though it is perhaps
better for him to have fellow contemplators, he is still the most self-
sufficient of all men' (*EN* 1177a31–1177b1). The analogy works if
we substitute work for contemplation in the case of the rustic. The
rustic also resembles in this regard the great-souled man, who does
not live for another, which would be slavish, and who shuns popu-
lar praise and honor.[62] Using Aristotle's criteria, since rustics are
likely to be non-disruptive and self-sufficient,[63] they are not buffoons.
But since they are also uneducated, they are unlikely to be witty,
on Aristotle's understanding of the virtue. This leaves a lack of sense
of humor as the peculiar sphere of *agroikia*. Of course, we might
object that farmers might well engage in a non-educated, ludic and
non-tendentious kind of laughter amongst themselves, constituting a
kind of wit. But for Aristotle the phrases 'uneducated wit' and 'non-
tendentious laughter' seem to be verging on the oxymoronic.

The use of *agroikia* in the *Ethics* to describe an insensibility to bod-
ily pleasure and a lack of a sense of humor can thus be explained
when we consider the lifestyle and psychology of farmers and herds-
men in the *Politics*. For the rustic is constructed as one who is non-
appetitive and non-disruptive. It is not the case, according to Aristotle,
that all and only farmers and herdsmen will develop these deficiencies.
For many factors, including variations in individual intelligence and
disposition, the constitution of the city-state in which one grows up
and the nature of public education, if any, which is available and
enforced,[64] will contribute to one's ethical disposition, which is forged

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[62] ὁ δὲ σοφὸς καὶ καθ' αὑτὸν ὢν δύναται θεωρεῖν, καὶ ὅσῳ ἂν σοφώτερος ᾖ, μᾶλ-
λον· βέλτιον δ' ἴσως συνεργοὺς ἔχων, ἀλλ' ὅμως αὐταρκέστατος. See *EN* 1124b31–1125a1
for the relevant passage concerning the great-souled man.

[63] Aristotle uses self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*) within the *EN* in two very different
senses. Sometimes he states that it is εὐδαιμονία which is self-sufficient (1097b8–15)
in that it lacks nothing, and sometimes that the individual is self-sufficient, in that
he is not reliant on external goods or other people. It is the latter sense in which
I am interested here.

[64] A clear case of a state where public education deliberately forges ethical dis-
position is that of Sparta. However, where public education is lacking it may be
difficult to find a clear and general link between political constitution and the eth-
ical tendencies of citizens.

ultimately as the result of one's own deliberate choice.[65] While a particular disposition is hard to change swiftly once forged, dispositions will change with age and experience. Thus Aristotle states in the *Ethics* that older people find less pleasure in shared activity with friends than younger people.[66] This suggests perhaps that old people, whether rustic or urban will tend to lack wit. However, since every ethical disposition is created and maintained by exercise of the activities relevant to that disposition, those farmers and herdsmen, who from youth are denied the opportunity to engage in antagonistic joking, to be educated, and to indulge in bodily pleasures are likely to fail to develop certain virtues. Theophrastus' *agroikos* again serves here as an instructive example. He is clearly reasonably wealthy and has enough leisure time to visit the city rather frequently. But his boorish disposition is so well entrenched that urbane manners elude him.

Aristotle must conceive of the ethical habituation of a young person growing up on his father's modest farm in the following way. He is told that work on the farm is good, and noble and pleasant. He is trained to suppress bodily appetites, and to shun play, since both are a distraction from necessary labor.[67] Moreover, he is habituated to enjoy working on his farm, rather than to spend time ingratiating himself with some and antagonizing others in the market place, or listening to others do so. Thus the rustic exhibits a nobility of a sort, but one which is compromised by his lack of *skholê* and education. Surely this is oversimplistic and other psychological reactions to hard agricultural labor are equally plausible: perhaps the farmer indulges heartily in physical pleasure as a release after his day's toil, and perhaps he enlivens his work day by trading jokes with his fellow workers. Indeed perhaps many jokes will be directed

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[65] Aristotle's emphasis on individual choice and responsibility in *EN* 3 should not, however, mislead the reader into thinking that individual choice is free in some metaphysical sense. When it comes to practical decision making, practical thinking is shaped by the demands of human nature and by the training and education one has received. There is no faculty of will which is independent of these factors.

[66] See n. 24 above.

[67] Here I have tried to sketch a picture where ethical habituation involves practical intellect (see Burnyeat 1980) in a way which shapes one's emotions and desires (see Kosman 1980). The young farmer is not automatically and unconsciously inured to bodily and social pleasure. Rather, as a result of his experiences and teaching, he chooses and ranks work above activities of relaxation.

against those soft, over-educated landowners, who do not get their own hands dirty on the farm, preferring instead the endless debates in lawcourt and assembly.

Whatever, however, its philosophical shortcomings, Aristotle's delineation of the ethical capacities of herdsmen and farmers in the *Politics* is certainly significant, together with the discussion of *agroikia* in the *Ethics*. First, in less than ideal states it serves to create the illusion of a quiet and non-disruptive rural populace, who will work hard and not meddle in politics too much. A word should be said here about the term non-disruptive. Those rustics who are insensible to the pleasures of touch and taste, such that they do not wish to engage in communal eating may be considered anti-social rather than asocial, and therefore as socially disruptive (see p. 190, above). Moreover, the *agroikos* may emit foul odors and be improperly dressed, like Theophrastus' rustic who exposes himself at the assembly; behavior which may also be considered disruptive in the city.[68] However, in calling the rustic non-disruptive, I am drawing attention to the rustic's quiet acceptance of his lot in life.

The construction of rusticity also ultimately serves to justify Aristotle's exclusion of farmers, along with craftsmen and laborers, from citizenship in the ideal state of *Politics* 7 and 8 (1328b33, 1330a25). For farmers and herdsmen are not only characteristically uneducated in politics and philosophy, but many are also plausibly deficient in the social and bodily pleasures that bind the political community together as much as political participation.[69]

In the final books of the *Politics* separation of citizen and non-citizen is reinforced by the establishment of two market places: the free agora and the agora in which farmers and craftsmen will sell their wares (1331a30–b1). The citizens will, in a sense, be farmers, but they will be wealthy enough to employ others to work for them.

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[68] The tendency to hitch up one's clothes seems to be generally a charge brought against the lower classes by the elite: see Theophrastus *Characters* 4.7, *Ath. Pol.* 28.3, where this is a trait of Cleon, and Halliwell 2004, 133 for a discussion.

[69] It might appear strange to say that bodily pleasures bind the community together. However, Aristotle favors the institution of common meals (*sussitia*) in the ideal state. The pleasures of eating thus have an important relationship to the pleasures of social interaction. See Kraut 1997, 110: 'it is safe to assume he favors the *syssitia* not because it is an efficient method of feeding the population, but because it contributes in some way to virtue and good relations among the citizens'.

Each citizen will own two lots, one in the city and one near the borders of the territory (1330a14–15). Citizens will thus engage in the mode of wealth getting, farming, that is in accordance with nature, but will not themselves be exhausted by work. In fact, they will surely employ a bailiff to oversee the manual workers for them. Their lives will conform to an ideal stated earlier in the *Politics* by Aristotle, 'Those masters whose means are sufficient to exempt them from the trouble of directing slaves employ an *epitropos* to take on this duty, while they devote themselves to politics or philosophy' (1255b35–38).[70] Here the ethical distinctions drawn earlier in the *Politics* between farmers (hardy, virtuous to a certain degree but lacking leisure time) and *banausoi*, and laborers (whose life has nothing of virtue) are ignored. For Aristotle's conception of the good life which the citizens are to lead is constituted by participation in politics, philosophy, music, and the possibility to develop and exercise the full range of ethical virtues, for which leisure time and a developed intellect is needed. A simplistic dichotomy is drawn between the urbane, educated elite on the one hand, and rural and urban laborers and craftsmen on the other. Moreover, ideally those who cultivate the land should be slaves or serfs, and thus the class of the noble *autourgos* who works on his own land is effectively abolished.

However, the fact that citizens are in a sense farmers (i.e. non-working farmers) shows that Aristotle is incorporating into the ideal state some of the virtues of the rustic lifestyle. These citizens' understanding of farming may serve to validate their political activity, 'grounding it in the consistency of the natural world, in the authenticity and honest labor of the farmer', a phrase I take from Sheila Murnaghan's discussion of the role of farming knowledge in Greek literature from Hesiod to the fourth century.[71]

In less than ideal constitutions, we can detect a more complex hierarchy in Aristotle's conception of the ethical capacities of certain groups:

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[70] Ar. *Pol.* 1255b35–38: διὸ ὅσοις ἐξουσία μὴ αὑτοὺς κακοπαθεῖν, ἐπίτροπός ⟨τις⟩ λαμβάνει ταύτην τὴν τιμήν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιτεύονται ἢ φιλοσοφοῦσιν.
[71] See Sheila Murnaghan's chapter in this volume, p. 117.

	Farmers/herdsmen	Craftsmen/traders	Hired laborers
wealth	moderate	great	small
place of work	country	city (for the most part)	city or country
ethical tendencies	lack of sense of humor temperance/insensibility justice courage lack of ambition lack of political wisdom	buffoonery intemperance injustice	(vices tempered by slavish virtues of obeying)

Is Aristotle merely recapitulating here prejudices of our mainly urban authors of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE? Certainly we find echoes in the *Politics* of extant fragments of Middle and New Comedies, which describe the misanthropy and insensibility of the farmer, but also the corrupting influences—particularly when it comes to wealth and pleasure—of the city. However, Aristotle's evaluation of lifestyles of city and country workers, and their ethical capacities, while of course influenced by his cultural milieu, must be understood also as deeply embedded in his teleology. The good life for Aristotle is one of active political and philosophical virtue. The activities of working to provide sustenance for oneself, family and community are merely instrumental to these intrinsically good and 'leisurely' activities. The paradox of the farmer's or herdsman's life is that while his skills are oriented towards the good life, their *telos* being to provide himself and his family with the necessities without which the good life can- not be lived, psychologically he has difficulty looking beyond the *telos* of his skills and towards the full *telos* of life. He will be non- appetitive, but this tendency could manifest itself as temperance or insensibility. He is likely, however, to possess two cardinal virtues, courage and justice, in an imperfect form, and is thus superior to *banausoi* and surely to some greedy and arrogant landowners as well.

5. *The acknowledgment of 'rustic wisdom'?*

Before concluding, we need to consider whether Aristotle's text under- mines itself, and whether at points the devaluation of the farmers' ethical tendencies and capacity for practical wisdom is undermined by Aristotle's invocation of what we might term the 'rustic wisdom'

of Hesiod. Here I consider two passages where Aristotle invokes Hesiod as an authority on political knowledge, and one passage where quite remarkably Thales is revealed as an authority on astronomy, the olive harvest, and how to make money by creating a monopoly, suggesting a connection between natural philosophy, agriculture and trade.

Aristotle invokes the authority of Hesiod in Book 5, when he states that one of the constitutions opposite to tyranny is democracy 'according to Hesiod as potter is opposed to potter; for the ultimate democracy is tyranny' (1312b4–5). This very strange remark seems to have the following force. The opposition between tyranny and democracy is that of two things at opposite poles of one and the same scale of tyrannical rule. Although tyranny is government by one man and ultimate democracy government by the *dêmos*, the rule of the *dêmos* is in this case rule by a tyrannical assembly.[72]

In Book 1, when Aristotle is discussing the 'parts' of the city-state in 1.2 (as promised in 1252a20), the smallest unit of the state appears to be the household, which arises from two natural (according to Aristotle) relationships, those of marriage between a man and woman, and domination between master and slave. Aristotle writes 'Thus it was from these two associations that a household first arose, and Hesiod was right in his poetry when he said "first of all a house and a wife and an ox to draw the plough (for the ox is the poor man's slave"' (1252b9–11).[73] Once again it seems that Hesiod is being appealed to as an authority. However, despite the promise of 1.1 to investigate the parts of the city-state (suggesting a synchronic analysis of the city-state), 1.2 investigates the 'natural growth' of the political community from village to city-state, introducing a diachronic element. The quotation from Hesiod is introduced at an early stage in community development, before even the village comes into existence and thus Hesiod is invoked explicitly in 1.2 as an authority for an early and pre-political primitive stage of human development. However, we should note that Aristotle surely intends in addition

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[72] The phrase seems to be proverbial for Aristotle. For, as Schütrumpf 1996, Teil 3, 567 notes, he quotes it in several other places: *Rhet.* 1381b16, 1388b16, *EE* 1235a18, *EN* 1155a35. If Aristotle himself is responsible for making this line into a maxim, he may himself resemble an *agroikos*, who, he notes at *Rhet.* 1395a6, is fond of coining maxims.

[73] Aristotle here alludes to *Works and Days* 405.

for the family unit to be the smallest unit of the current city-state, and thus Hesiod's words continue to hold good in the fourth century.

Also in Book 1, we find a strange anecdote about Thales (1259a6–16). When reproached for his poverty, the philosopher, in order to prove that he could acquire large sums of money, used his astronomical expertise to predict the time of the olive harvest. He then hired all the olive presses in Chios and Miletus at a very cheap rate, and when the olives were harvested he hired out each press for whatever sum he wished, having created a monopoly. Although Aristotle often divides sharply theoretical from practical knowledge, here we see natural science informing a highly pragmatic strategy.[74] Moreover, the story shows that knowledge of trade, economics and agriculture may be both needed and exercised by a Greek citizen. Although Aristotle also distinguishes sharply between the skills of commerce and farming, and distinguishes between farmers and traders, in practice the two skills may be interdependent. Perhaps more importantly, the anecdote illustrates how knowledge of the details of farming, in this case knowledge of the harvest, can serve in Greece as an illustration of one's intellectual superiority. Thales was surely not an olive-grower himself, any more than Hesiod was actually a farmer. Thales' and Hesiod's knowledge of farming qualifies them to be 'not farmers, but speakers'.[75] Aristotle can thus use Hesiod, the wise 'rustic' as a reliable authority.

Aristotle then does have a consistent position in that knowledge of wealth acquisition and household management, though prerequisites for the higher pursuits of politics and philosophy, are beneath the *kalos kagathos*. While the politician or philosopher may know *how* to farm or manage his household, he will not waste his time by exercising this knowledge. As Thales says in 1259a16, philosophers are quite capable of making a lot of money, but they choose not to. The politician will turn his own estate over to an *epitropos*, as we have seen, while he turns his attention towards the government of the city-state. As landowner, however, he can exploit his knowledge of farming to prove his practical wisdom to others.

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[74] The classic distinctions are found in Book 6 of the *EN*.
[75] See Sheila Murnaghan's chapter in this volume, p. 116.

6. *Conclusion*

Aristotle's portrayal of farmers and herdsmen in the *Politics* and use of *agroikia* in the *Ethics* should be understood as forming part of a unified ideological construct of the *agroikos* as hard-working, asocial, uneducated and 'quiet'. Aristotle has thus constructed an entirely willing and passive worker. The rustic is, according to the Aristotelian construction, laughably coarse and uneducated (relative to the urbane elite), but non-disruptive and non-appetitive (relative to the urban *dêmos*). He is mostly harmless, nobly self-sufficient, and yet he lacks the full realization of human *aretê*, and thus can play no role in the ideal state. This construction of the rustic is rather different from, but as inauthentic as Aristophanes' portrayal of Dicaeopolis and Trygaeus, who revel playfully in the anticipation of all the food, wine and sex that peace may bring when their rural idyll returns.[76]

Despite the negative connotation of *agroikia* in the *Ethics*, what emerges in Aristotle's texts is not an ideological polarity between city and country, but a rather more complex set of evaluative relationships. For Aristotle's ethical distinctions between groups of people are based not on their place of residence (city vs. country), but rather on their respective means of sustaining themselves and their families, and the relationships of these 'occupations' to the good life. Many chapters in this volume seek to abandon a simplistic binary opposition between city and country, either by showing that in antiquity the distinctions between city and country were blurred, or by showing that the apparent opposition between the two is merely part of a complex network of social, political and topographical categories. In the case of Aristotle the genuine polarity is not city vs. countryside, but rather toil (*ponos*) vs. leisure (*skholê*), although even this polarity is complicated by the fact that the *ponos* of the *autourgos* who works his own land is considerably more noble than that of the hired farm laborer. The countryside for Aristotle is both the home of a natural and simple way of life, and an environment that

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demands from most people constant toil which affects one's capacity to develop and maintain political and social virtues. This tension mirrors the tendency in contemporary western society for the more affluent to move out of cities and suburbs and into exurbia, in order to enjoy the benefits of the country, while simultaneously the numbers of those employed in agricultural production are dropping.

Moreover, if we feel tempted to condemn Aristotle for his snobbish attitude towards country dwellers, we should be careful of hypocrisy. The prevalence of the terms 'redneck' and 'hick' in modern America shows that the concept of the rustic boor is still alive and well. And while we as academics, attuned to the political power of language, may avoid such terminology, and while we would not go so far as to claim that country dwellers are insensible to certain pleasures, I challenge every reader to ask if he or she has at the very least laughed at an anecdote that centers around the stupidity and rough manners of the stereotypical hick. However egalitarian we claim to be, as academics we often adopt the persona of urbanity, sophistication, refinement and superiority.

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COMIC AISCHROLOGY AND THE URBANIZATION OF *AGROIKIA*

Ralph M. Rosen

1. *Introduction*

In the preceding chapter, Helen Cullyer has lucidly shown just how complex, even contradictory, the concept of *agroikia* was in ancient Greek culture.[1] On the one hand, the harsh realities of a rural life in antiquity often gave rise to the notion that *agroikoi* were perennially dyspeptic and incapable of experiencing pleasure; on the other hand, lacking the kind of education and socialization of their urban counterparts, the *agroikos* was often conceptualized as lacking self-control and so prone to vices of an opposite kind, such as unrestrained indulgence in bodily pleasures or shameful speech. Cullyer is certainly correct, therefore, to see *agroikia* as a multivalent term that could connote quite different things depending on who was using it, and for what purpose. But one point is perfectly clear: whether the *agroikos* was conceptualized as a pleasure-seeking rustic boor, or a humorless misanthrope broken by the harshness of rural life, the term itself was rarely actively positive.[2] The word belongs predominantly to the vocabulary of opprobrium and mockery, especially, as Cullyer has shown, among ancient ethicists such as Aristotle and

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[1] This chapter was directly inspired by Helen Cullyer's stimulating paper on Aristotelian *agroikia* at the 2004 Penn-Leiden Colloquium, which she has since reworked as Chapter 9 of this volume. I thank Helen not only for her original paper, but also for the rich conversations on the topic that we have shared since then, and her acute comments on earlier drafts of this chapter.

[2] The noun/adjective *agroikos* was somewhat less pejorative than the abstraction *agroikia*, but both were typically laden with negative connotations. Aristophanes uses the noun on a number of occasions both pejoratively (e.g., *Eq.* 41, 808) and more neutrally (e.g., *Pax* 595, 1185; spoken by a chorus of rustics), but even in the less overtly charged examples, it is likely that Athenian audiences would have viewed these *agroikoi* as quite distinct from themselves as urban sophisticates. See Ribbeck 1888, Diggle 2004, 207, and Konstantakos 2005.

Theophrastus, who found little philosophically or aesthetically appealing about a rustic life.

This attitude is particularly evident in Aristotle's remarks about humor, where, again as Cullyer has shown, the country life seems to offer only feast or famine, with little opportunity for a mean: either, on the one hand, the life of the *agroikos* is too hard, or his education too deficient, to allow him to appreciate a joke, or, on the other, his rusticity will offer him no models of decorum and so he will joke excessively and out of season. Cullyer's analysis is concerned primarily with Aristotle's general assessment of the *agroikos* as basically humorless. For Aristotle, rustic humor, when one can find it, is, predictably, a negative phenomenon, and stands in stark contrast to urban wit, or *eutrapelia* (Cullyer 193). Aristotle contrasts *eutrapelia* with *aiskhrologia* ('shameful, obscene speech'),[3] the kind of speech he associates with low or unrefined forms of comedy. Aristotle, in fact, does not talk much, or very explicitly, about what 'rustic humor' might have entailed, but his remarks at *EN* 1128e23, may well imply, as Cullyer suggests, that he saw affinities between the comic buffoonery (*bômolokhia*) of Old Comedy and rustic boorishness (*agroikia*). Despite the fact that, as Cullyer notes, buffoonery seems to have been a vice associated with the urban market place rather than the countryside (Cullyer 193, with n. 55), one hallmark of *bômolokhoi* which Aristotle strongly repudiates is their propensity for *aiskhrologia*. I shall argue in this chapter that Aristotle's consistent repudiation of *aiskhrologia*—as contrasted to *eutrapelia*—derives from assumptions about the inherent rusticity of such forms of comic speech. In other words, although *bômolokhia* may in general have been conceptualized in antiquity as a negative *urban* value, the infamous personality traits of the *bômolokhos* (boorish, obscene, loud, uneducated, and so forth), turn out to be urbanized variations of behaviors traditionally associated with rusticity. Aristotle, however, seems to have been so focused in the *EN* on the idea that *agroikoi* were fundamentally humorless that he ignored the fact that *aiskhrologia*, one of the hallmarks of *bômolokhia*, had a long association in antiquity with rustic culture, well attested, as we shall presently see, not only through literature, but also through various social and ritual practices.

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[3] When applied to comedy, *aiskhrologia* tended to refer to sexual or scatological obscenity, although the term could also be used more broadly. See Halliwell 2004, 115–117, esp. nn. 3 and 6. Cf. also Frontisi-Ducroux 1984, 39.

This association between *agroikia* and *aiskhrologia* may not, in the end, have held much of Aristotle's interest, but it is well worth exploring here in so far as it throws considerable light on ancient comic practices, and in particular, on how poets throughout Greco-Roman antiquity conceptualized and deployed comic obscenity for audiences highly sensitive to the linguistic registers that differentiated the various types of comic speech. I will be fundamentally concerned with a paradox only hinted at in Aristotle, but quite glaring once one acknowledges the extent to which in antiquity *aiskhrologia* was routinely associated with 'rustic humor.' That is, if aischrology was, at root, felt to be rustic and boorish, why did it so often appear in poetry that had pretensions to being witty (*eutrapelos*) or urbane (*asteios*)? Was a poet with a predilection for aischrology somehow marked as more *agroikos* than poets working in other genres, or did this aischrology begin to lose its rusticity once turned into poetry? What we will find is that ancient poets of comedy and satire were, at once, self-conscious about the rustic provenance of aischrologic discourse, as well as about their desire to ironize this rusticity and so to assimilate it into their own decidedly urban poetic enterprise (section 2). This process of 'urbanizing' *agroikia*, as I shall argue in what follows, results in a specific sort of comic trope which derives its humor from the deliberate blurring of high and low discursive modes and a playful flirtation with scandal and indecorousness (section 3). I will then return to the problem of the relationship between *bômolokhia* and *agroikia* in Aristotle (section 4).

2. *On the rustic 'origins' of aischrology*

Whatever the actual origins of Greco-Roman aischrology might have been, in antiquity it was consistently felt to have derived from rustic ritual and festive occasions. Ancient writers evidently saw enough evidence from such contemporary practices to conclude that the obscene and indecent diction that found its way into their comic genres must have originally been associated with the countryside. Aristotle's famous claim that Attic comedy arose from 'phallic songs' (*ta phallika*, *Po.* 1449a12) established early on a city-country polarity for aischrology that became standard for virtually all subsequent treatments of comedy, Greek and Roman alike. For these are songs that arose ultimately from the rural celebrations of Dionysus and Demeter, and which featured performances involving not only

aischrology, but also indecent display, most notably of the fetishized phallus.[4] These rituals have been well documented and often discussed, so we need not rehearse the evidence for them, but a few points are worth making here. First, while many of these rituals became associated with the city by the time we have historical documentation, all of them had original connections with agricultural concerns. Iambe's comically aischrologic insulting of Demeter, for example, as recounted in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, relieves the agricultural barrenness and infertility that had afflicted Greece as a result of her sadness—an event commemorated, as the hymn notes, in the rituals for Demeter at her cult site in Eleusis. Among these rituals was the infamous *gephurismos*, where initiates on their way from Athens to Eleusis (note the movement *away* from the city) would be ritually abused and insulted by a designated person as they crossed the Cephisus river.[5]

Similar practices could be found in the Anthesteria, another festival associated with the city of Athens, but with clear roots in the countryside. This festival, with its strong connections with Dionysus, evidently featured plenty of outrageous behavior, temporarily sanctioned by festival protocols, including the practice known as 'abuse from the wagons.'[6] This seems to have occurred when festive revelers, possibly masked, traveled around the city in wagons, hurling insults at passersby. The ritual seems to have been fully urbanized (requiring as it does not only streets, but a population to abuse) by the fifth century, but its roots are in the celebration of viticulture and its patron god Dionysus. There were other Athenian rituals involving aischrology as well, which, as Reckford has noted (1987, 465), tended to belong 'to women's ceremonies involving strong fertility magic, mostly located within the sowing season of early October'. Aristotle's *phallika*, therefore, were clearly of a piece with such religious rituals, i.e., coarse, aischrologic, and licensed by the pretence of divine celebration. Although the phallic songs he had in mind here are explicitly productions of the polis (ἃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς

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[4] See Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 144–162 and Reckford 1987, 443–467. See Polinskaya in this volume on the subtle, sometimes conflicting, ideologies inherent in these agrarian deities, especially when they were celebrated in urban contexts.

[5] See Richardson 1974, 214; Reckford 1987, 463–465; O'Higgins 2003, 57.

[6] Fluck 1931, 34–51, collects the ancient evidence for this phenomenon; see also Richardson 1974, 214–215.

τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα), his wording indicates that he is himself a bit at a loss as to how to account for them and regards them as vestigial survivals (διαμένει) from a pre-urban, that is to say, agricultural, era.

Dicaeopolis' private celebration of a rural Dionysia at Aristophanes *Acharnians* 247–279 (ἀγαγεῖν . . . τὰ <u>κατ᾿ ἀγροὺς</u> Διονύσια) is commonly associated with Aristotle's *phallika* in so far as it includes a song in honor of the god Phales, which Dicaeopolis calls a *phallikon* (261). The song featured a huge phallus as a prop and plenty of mildly obscene discourse, leaving a clear impression that aischrology was felt to be a phenomenon of the simple, relaxed country life.[7]

> And, Xanthias, you two must hold the phallus upright
> behind the basket-bearer;
> and I'll follow and sing the phallic hymn . . .
>
> Phales, companion of Bacchus,
> fellow-reveller, night-rover, adulterer and pederast,
> after six years I address you,
> returning gladly to my deme,
> having made a peace for myself,
> released from broils and battles
> and Lamachus.
> For it's far more pleasant, Phales, Phales,
> to find a blooming young girl carrying stolen wood,
> Strymodorus' Thratta from the Rocklands,
> and take her by the waist, and lift her up,
> and throw her down, and stone her fruit!
> Phales, Phales.
>
> <div align="right">(tr. Sommerstein)</div>

> ὦ Ξανθία, σφῷν δ᾿ ἐστὶν ὀρθὸς ἑκτέος
> ὁ <u>φαλλὸς</u> ἐξόπισθε τῆς κανηφόρου·   260
> ἐγὼ δ᾿ ἀκολουθῶν ᾄσομαι τὸ <u>φαλλικόν</u>· . . .
>
> <u>Φαλῆς</u>, ἑταῖρε Βακχίου,
>   ξύγκωμε, νυκτοπεριπλάνη-
>   τε, <u>μοιχέ, παιδεραστά</u>,   265
>
> ἕκτῳ σ᾿ ἔτει προσεῖπον εἰς
>   τὸν δῆμον ἐλθὼν ἄσμενος,
>   σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος ἐμαυ-
>   τῷ, πραγμάτων τε καὶ μαχῶν
>   καὶ Λαμάχων ἀπαλλαγείς.   270

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[7] See Jones 2004, 196–201, for a nuanced discussion of the town-country polarities in *Acharnians*. See also Compton-Engle 1998–1999.

πολλῷ γάρ ἐσθ᾽ ἥδιον, ὦ <u>Φαλῆς</u> <u>Φαλῆς</u>,
κλέπτουσαν εὑρόνθ᾽ ὡρικὴν ὑληφόρον,
τὴν Στρυμοδώρου Θρᾷτταν ἐκ τοῦ φελλέως,
μέσην λαβόντ᾽, ἄραντα, κατα-
    βαλόντα καταγιγαρτίσαι
Φαλῆς, Φαλῆς.   275

Even the word κωμῳδία itself encouraged ancient commentators to maintain an original association with rusticity. Indeed, Aristotle may have been himself agnostic about the etymology of the word, but he notes (*Po.* 1448a35–39) that the Dorians derived it from their word for village, κώμη, and applied the term κωμῳδοί to people who wandered from village to village, engaged in what resembled comic performances. Most revealing is the Dorians' explanation for why these people were consigned to the villages in the first place: because, Aristotle notes, they were 'dishonored [and so debarred] from the city' (. . . ἀτιμαζομένους ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως). In other words, early comedy could find an audience only outside the cities, where moral standards were presumably looser and a crude, rustic sense of humor prevailed. Scholars have, of course, long repudiated an actual linguistic relationship between κῶμος and κώμη,[8] but it nevertheless remained an enormously popular etymology throughout antiquity, and so reinforced a persistent, if somewhat diffuse, sense that comedy was, at some fundamental level, a rustic phenomenon.

In Rome, as well, where the influence of Aristotle's pre-history of comedy in the *Poetics* was very strong, virtually all accounts situate its origins in the countryside amid festive revelry and free-spirited, aischrologic banter. A famous passage from Horace, *Epistles* 2.1.139–155, offers a particularly vivid aetiology of comedy that highlights its rustic associations:

> *The farmers of old*, strong and *content with little*, after the harvest was stored away, *at holiday-time* used to relieve body as well as soul, which endured the hardship in anticipation of its end. With co-workers and children and trusty wife, they offered a pig to Tellus, milk to Silvanus, and flowers and wine to each man's Genius, always mindful of how short life is. Through this custom, *Fescinnine freedom* evolved and poured out its *rustic mockery* in poetic exchanges; and as the year went on, freedom was sanctioned and *made for cheerful play*, until it happened that

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[8] See Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 132; Else 1967, 118 n. 92.

the wicked jesting began to turn into open madness, which went around the houses of innocent people threatening with impunity. They were hurt and torn by its bloody bite; those who were unscathed were also concerned for the common good; they even passed a law and a penalty, which protected anyone from being attacked with a hurtful song. So they changed the form, and in fear of violence, were compelled to say only nice and delightful things.

Agricolae prisci, fortes *parvoque beati*,
condita post frumenta levantes *tempore festo*   140
corpus et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
cum sociis operum et pueris et coniuge fida,
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis aevi.
Fescinnina per hunc inventa *licentia* morem   145
versibus alternis *opprobria rustica* fudit,
*libertas*que recurrentis accepta per annos
lusit amabiliter, donec iam saevus apertam
in rabiem coepit verti iocus et per honestas
ire domos impune minax. doluere cruento   150
dente lacessiti; fuit intactis quoque cura
condicione super communi; quin etiam lex
poenaque lata, malo quae nollet carmine quemquam
describi; vertere modum, formidine fustis
ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti.   155

Like Aristotle, Horace finds it plausible that comedy evolved from rustic religious celebrations—here the 'Fescennine' verses that became proverbial for crude, bawdy performances—presumably because so many of the elements he could see in the comedy of his own day seemed harder to explain as products of the city. The nexus of associations that Horace has in mind here is highly revealing, if also predictable: these farmers are hardy and frugal, carefree and playful, but his admiration for such qualities is ultimately rather patronizing. He finds them quaintly innocent and unsophisticated, but not without an edginess that eventually shows a dark side; that is, when what was once mere joking somehow became so cruel and threatening that people had to make laws against abusive verses (148–150). Horace never actually speculates about what might have caused such a transformation, but it seems likely that he would ascribe it to an unregenerate rusticity, with all the lack of sophistication and literary naïveté that this would imply. These were people, in other words, who did not seem able to understand the difference between literal, *ad hominem* verbal attack on the one hand, and, on the other, comic abuse, mitigated by occasion, context and aesthetic form. Horace,

of course, would have known that his account of early comedy was itself a playful invention, especially since it was hardly the case that everyone in ancient Italy came to avoid abusive song and only said nice things to one another (155). And the irony of the passage is further enhanced by the fact that Horace's own *Satires* and *Epodes* were masterful forays into genres themselves suffused with comic mockery and coarse humor.

Other Roman writers also mentioned Fescennine verses in connection with early forms of indigenous comedy,[9] and in each case a similar story is told: in its earliest forms comedy consisted largely of coarse and indecent mockery, performed with considerable *libertas* as part of a rural religious celebration. Indeed, while such comedy had elements that could be found in other types of comedy not especially associated with the country, it was the indecencies, Horace's *opprobria rustica*, that were deemed 'rustic' because they seemed untouched by any form of urban 'sophistication'. So what happened, then, when explicitly urban poets of Greece and Rome would incorporate precisely such diction into their own comedy? Was aischrology thought, at some fundamental level, to be evidence of rustic boorishness every time a poet engaged in it? And how self-conscious were these poets that aischrology (and other forms of indecency) was a marker of a city-country polarity?

3. *Priapus and the blurring of high and low/city and country*

To attempt to answer these questions, we may look to a body of poems, scattered throughout Greek and Latin literature, known collectively as *Priapea*. These were poems about, involving, or dedicated to, the phallus-god, Priapus. As the son of Dionysus/Bacchus, Priapus was a god naturally associated with the countryside and agricultural fertility. In such contexts, he seems to have been taken seriously enough,[10] but it takes little imagination for anyone to realize the comic potential of a god who embodied, quite literally, the male sexual organ. Dicaeopolis' hymn to Phales, mentioned above, shows early hints of what would become a veritable genre unto itself, espe-

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[9] See, e.g., Livy 7.2.7. Further references and discussion of the ancient sources in Brink 1963, esp. 183–191, and Rudd 1989, 97–99.
[10] See Herter 1932, esp. 201–239.

cially popular, as it seems, in Latin literature. Indeed, the tradition is remarkably stable and continuous across Greco-Roman antiquity, and affords us a number of synchronic insights into a ubiquitous form of obscene humor.

By the imperial period, a distinct collection of some eighty Priapic poems emerged, which has come to be known as the *Carmina Priapea* or *Carmina Priapeorum* (= *CP*).[11] These poems were most often written in the voice of the god himself or directly addressed to him as if he were in front of the reader. The Priapus of the *CP*, in effect, was a veritable emblem of the connection between aischrology and rusticity: he often functions to promote and protect agricultural interests, he takes the form of an object commonly considered to be indecent and shameful (*aiskhro-*), and he speaks (*-logia*). The poems certainly bear this out, since they are replete with predictably obscene jokes and puns capitalizing on the fact that their speaker is figured as a huge penis. The crudity and coarseness of Priapus' humor, therefore, are readily sanctioned by his status as a god far removed from contexts of urban sophistication and refinement.

At the same time, however, the Priapic poems imply a fundamental paradox: if they are in reality as crude and rustic as their content urges us to think they are, how do we account for their highly stylized poetic form? In addition to the anonymous practitioners of the genre, well known poets of Greek epigram and Roman poetry played with the tradition, and in doing so clearly adopted an ironic pose of rusticity in the service of a distinctly *non*-rustic form of wit.[12] One especially revealing example of this irony can be seen in *CP* 68:

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[11] A perennial question about the *CP* is whether it was the work of one hand, or a collection of poems by different hands from different historical periods. The issue has been well treated elsewhere (see esp. Buchheit 1962, esp. 14−28 [arguing for a single author writing soon after Martial], with summaries of subsequent scholarship in Parker 1988, 32−37; and Richlin 1992, 141−143), the more recent consensus favoring the view that the poems were probably not written by a single author. Although the poems of the *CP* collectively share a number of idiosyncratically Roman predilections, especially a near-obsession with *irrumatio* as a punitive act, they are in other respects intimately affiliated with priapic poetry extending well back into Greek literary history (on which, see Buchheit 1962, 55–107; and O'Connor 1989, 26−29). Certainly the connection between Priapus and the countryside remains constant across the entire Greco-Roman tradition of priapic poetry.

[12] Examples of both Greek and Latin priapic poetry ascribed to known authors (but outside of the *CP*) are collected and discussed in Buchheit 1962, 55−107; well

If I seem to say anything ignorantly like a rustic, forgive me: It's fruit
I pick over, not books. But, though rough myself, I'm forced to listen
to my master reading here time and again, and so I've learned my
Homeric letters. What we call 'prick', that one calls 'smoking thun-
derbolt', and what we call 'arse', he calls a 'scabbard'. To be sure, if
'shitty' [*merdaleon* punning on Homeric *smerdaleon* = 'terrifying'] is the
term to use if something is not clean, then the butt-fucker's cock is
also 'shitty'. What's it amount to? If Trojan cock had not been pleas-
ing to Spartan cunt, he'd never have had the work to sing . . .

rusticus indocte si quid dixisse videbor,
    da veniam: libros non lego, poma lego.
sed rudis hic dominum totiens audire legentem
    cogor Homereas edidicique notas.
ille vocat, quod nos psolen, '*psoloenta keraunon*'   5
    et quod nos culum, 'culeon' ille vocat.
merdaleon certe si res non munda vocatur,
    et pediconum mentula merdalea est.
quid? Nisi Taenario placuisset Troica cunno
    mentula, quod caneret, non habuisset opus . . .   10

Priapus opens by apologizing that his rusticity may lead him to say
something that would reveal his boorishness,[13] and it quickly becomes
apparent that this is a preemptive *apologia* for the thoroughly obscene
verses soon to follow. Priapus is *rusticus* (1) and *rudis* (3) and speaks
indocte (1), so, as the poem implies, it would be natural to expect the
kind of aischrology he then offers us.[14] The second line, punning on
the verb *lego* (to 'read' or 'pick'), establishes an implicit polarity
between the city and the country: the god merely picks fruit (*poma
lego*), as any lowly rustic might, he does not read books (*libros non
lego*), which would be a largely urban, elite pursuit, emblematic of
leisure and resources. The narrative, however, cleverly blends and
blurs the polarities—city/country, high-brow/low-brow, learned/ un-
educated—by having Priapus claim to be relating what he has heard
from his educated 'master' (presumably the person who set him up

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known examples include Theocritus *Epigr.* 4, Horace *Sat.* 1.8, Tibullus 1.4, and
some dozen epigrams of Martial (see Buchheit 1962, 67–68 and 117–120; and
O'Connor 1989, 36–37).
   [13] For 'rustic boorishness' as a character trait that arises from a basic lack of
education (*amathia*), see above Cullyer (pp. 182, 191, 207 and 209) and Diggle 2004,
207–208; Konstantakos 2005, 5–7.
   [14] See discussion in Richlin 1992, 125.

in his garden), who often recites Homer in his presence. What pretends to be a lesson in comparative Greek (i.e., Homeric) and Latin etymology quickly emerges as a raunchy comic travesty of the entire *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Lines 5–6, in fact, play out the high–low polarities at the level of diction, pairing two obscenities with innocuous Homeric words, *psolen* = 'prick' / *psoloenta* = 'smoky'; *culum* = 'arse'/ *kouleon* = 'scabbard',[15] and set up the conceit of the rest of the poem, namely that what really drove the Homeric narratives was the size of heroes' members and the lust of Helen, Circe, Calypso and Penelope. Priapus has a double function here, for on the one hand, he maintains his boorish, rustic persona by offering an irreverent reading of the very emblem of Greco-Roman high literary culture; on the other, even a silly parodic reading of Homer implies some measure of urban, literate cultivation and refinement. Priapus' coarse jokes at the expense of Homer, in other words, may have begun as rustic boorishness, but when mediated by literate culture were transformed into urbanized wit. The fact, moreover, that Priapus maintains throughout the poem his status as an unpretentious rustic, who merely offers his own ingenuous perspective on what he hears from his master, assures that we are meant to associate his aischrology with rusticity, even as we witness this rusticity becoming urbanized in the course of the poem.

   This is a process played out time and again in various ways in the *CP*, as well as among the Roman poets who tried their hand at the genre.[16] Priapus turns out to be, in fact, overdetermined as a god of aischrology: if his very shape as scandalously unclothed body part were not enough to ensure that he would say obscene things, then his rustic habitation and provincial world-view, according to the conceit, certainly would. Poets could playfully deploy Priapus, in short, as a kind of 'licensing' figure for language that ordinarily would be considered indecorous, if not taboo, and, I might even suggest, as an aetiological figure of aischrologic discourse itself. In literature that had pretensions to urbanity, in other words, aischrologic language can be excused because its origins were innocent and naïve,

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[15] Richlin 1992, 125: 'The puns work both in sound and sense: phallus = thunderbolt, buttocks = sheath'. The first one ignores the quantity of the vowels though.
[16] See above, n. 12.

even somehow vaguely religious.[17] Once integrated and aestheticized
into urban genres and performance contexts, the aischrology becomes
ironized (as if these poets were to say, 'we know real rustics are just
plain boorish and crude; but because we know that we ourselves are
nothing like such bumpkins, we can *act* like them and come off as
witty') and so turned into a kind of comedy better suited, in fact,
to the city than the country, especially since so much of this irony
depends on an implicit stance of urban superiority.

  The corpus of Priapic poems offers explicit and consistent evi-
dence that comic aischrology was conceptualized as rustic, and indeed,
that these putatively rustic origins could be invoked as an excuse for
verbal indecency.[18] Sexual and scatological obscenity can be forgiven
because Priapus is an agricultural god, and as such, he must talk
like the people who set up his statue and honor him with their
quaint rituals. Such people would be regarded as uneducated, as the
Priapus of poem 68 claims to be (*indoctus*), and so their speech would
be particularly prone to indecency.

4. *Aristotle on* aiskhrologia *and* agroikia *in comedy*

Aischrologic humor, however, was hardly limited in ancient litera-
ture to poems explicitly about Priapus, and it is worth considering
whether we may generalize from the *CP* to other literary genres.
This is, of course, a huge question and our space is limited, but we
may perhaps make a small foray into it, by asking whether the ram-
pant aischrology of Aristophanes was similarly conceptualized as fun-
damentally 'rustic'? Aristophanes' comedies are infamously full of
sexual and scatological indecency, but despite a general tolerance for
such speech within the context of comic drama in fifth-century Athens
such diction was not entirely unproblematic even in its own day.[19]

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  [17] This is more or less Martial's strategy in his prose preface to his epigrams,
where he claimed that 'epigrams are written for people who are used to watching
the Floralia . . .' (*epigrammata illis scribuntur qui solent spectare Florales*). The spring festi-
val that honored the Italian goddess of flowers, Flora, evidently included some scan-
dalous theatrical performances. See Howell 1980, 100; Richlin 1992, 6–7.
  [18] Cf., e.g., *CP* 1, 2, 3, and 8; Priapus' rusticity is alluded to in one way or
another in the majority of the poems.
  [19] See Halliwell 2004, 138 on the notion of what he refers to as 'institutional-
ized shamelessness'. Halliwell quotes, aptly, Heraclitus fr. 15 D–K, who seems to
begrudge the sanction that Dionysian religious ritual gave to obscene language.

Aristophanes himself never addresses the issue of his aischrology directly, but in his occasional, ironic, attempts to distance himself from charges of *bômolokhia*, or 'buffoonery', it seems reasonably clear that he is imagining some resistance to his aischrologic tendencies. In the parabasis of *Clouds* 537–544, for example, he has the chorus leader claim that the play itself is superior to other comedies because it does not resort to the usual 'low-brow' devices, which include, among other things, exaggerated costume-phalloi designed for quick laughs ('she [= the play] hasn't come out dangling a piece of sewn leather, red at the tip and fat, so as to make the children laugh'). Once again, we see that phallic humor is construed as low-brow and unrefined, certainly far removed from the *sôphrosunê* that Aristophanes wants to claim for his play (536), and it is easy enough to extend this talk of visual indecency to the realm of diction. Other Aristophanic scenes featuring overtly visual phallic humor, certainly, are seldom unaccompanied by off-color verbal humor to match them.[20]

There are, of course, other moments in Aristophanes where the poet claims to eschew what would amount to *bômolokhia* in his plays in favor of a more refined, sophisticated form of comedy. These are largely ironically disingenuous gestures, as Cullyer notes in the preceding chapter (Cullyer 192), since Aristophanes routinely violates such claims in practically every one of his plays. But the pose is nevertheless illuminating in that it constructs a dichotomy between 'high' and 'low' forms of comedy which presumably reflects to some degree popular ways of thinking about such genres. Aristophanes wants to imagine, in other words, that some members of his audience might find the 'lower' comic forms—the κακὰ καὶ φόρτον καὶ βωμολοχεύματ' ἀγεννῆ he mentions at *Peace* 748, for example—objectionable, so he preemptively repudiates them and aligns himself with an audience of higher-brow sophisticates, whose tastes would demand more refined humor. Our earlier discussion suggests, in fact, that this high-low dichotomy also implies a polarity between city (high) and country (low), where rustic humor becomes particularly associated with aischrology. But where does all this leave *bômolokhia*? If *bômolokhia* can entail some measure of *aiskhrologia*, and if *aiskhrologia* had, as we have

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[20] One glaring example: the extended scene in *Lysistrata* between Cinesias and Myrrhine (835–1012), which features one prolonged sight-gag involving Cinesias' erect and unrelieved phallus, and many jokes about it.

seen, very consistent rustic associations across Greco-Roman antiq-
uity, then we might expect that *bômolokhia* would also have at least
some perceived connection with *agroikia*. Cullyer, however, has described
bômolokhia as a distinctly *urban* vice, associated with low figures of the
market place, such as the sausage-seller and Cleon in *Knights*, in con-
trast to Demos, to whom they refer at the opening of the play as
an *agroikos* precisely because of his cluelessness and, as Cullyer's dis-
cussion makes clear, because of his inability to appreciate humor of
any sort (Cullyer 217). The question before us, then, is whether there
was any meaningful connection between conceptions of the *bômolokhos*
and the *agroikos* in ancient comic genres (and in the minds of their
audiences), or whether they are more accurately considered anti-
thetical figures, distinguished from each other by the degree to which
they displayed a sense of humor (the *bômolokhos*, excessive; the *agroikos*,
none whatsoever).

   To approach this question, we may revisit Aristotle's well-known
discussion of joking and humor at *NE* 1128a–b, which Cullyer has
analyzed so clearly in the preceding chapter. As she has shown,
Aristotle here definitely regards the *bômolokhos* and the *agroikos* as
opposites (*NE* 1128a4–9):

> So those who *engage in laughter excessively are considered bômolokhoi* ['buffoons']
> and vulgar, striving as much as they can for a laugh, and aiming for
> a laugh more than to say anything decorous or to avoid offending the
> target of their jokes. *On the other hand, those who themselves never say any-*
> *thing funny* and who get annoyed when others do, are regarded as
> *agroikoi* ['rustic boors'] and harsh.

> οἱ μὲν οὖν τῷ γελοίῳ ὑπερβάλλοντες βωμολόχοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ φορτικοί,
> γλιχόμενοι πάντως τοῦ γελοίου, καὶ μᾶλλον στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ γέλωτα ποιῆσαι
> ἢ τοῦ λέγειν εὐσχήμονα καὶ μὴ λυπεῖν τὸν σκωπτόμενον· οἱ δὲ μήτ' αὐτοὶ ἂν
> εἰπόντες μηδὲν γελοῖον τοῖς τε λέγουσι δυσχεραίνοντες ἄγροικοι καὶ σκληροὶ
> δοκοῦσιν εἶναι.

Neither the *bômolokhos* nor the *agroikos*, according to Aristotle, is an
appealing person in so far as they each represent extremes. Somewhere
in the middle of the spectrum, at a point even Aristotle concedes is
difficult to pinpoint ('or is [proper joking] something undefinable?'
ἢ καὶ τό γε τοιοῦτον ἀόριστον; [1128a27]), lies the person he would
call 'witty' and 'clever' (*eutrapelos, epidexios*) (Cullyer 191), who will
only make jokes befitting a moral and 'free' man (τοῦ δ' ἐπιδεξίου
ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα λέγειν καὶ ἀκούειν οἷα τῷ ἐπιεικεῖ καὶ ἐλευθερίῳ ἁρμόττει,
1128a17–19). Aristotle then elaborates with further distinctions, not-

ing that the witty man is free and educated, while the *bômolokhos* is slavish and uneducated (1128a21):[21]

> The joking of a free man differs from that of a slavish person, as does that of an educated and uneducated man.

> ἡ τοῦ ἐλευθερίου παιδιὰ διαφέρει τῆς τοῦ ἀνδραποδώδους, καὶ πεπαιδευμένου καὶ ἀπαιδεύτου.

With this contrast the lines between the *bômolokhos* and the *agroikos* begin to blur somewhat, for the *agroikos* is also neither *eleutheros* nor educated, and, as such, conceptually aligned with the *bômolokhos* over against the *eleutherios*. Clearly, if Aristotle were to imagine in this passage that an *agroikos* could, in fact, have a sense of humor, it would be colored by the *agroikos*' lack of education and slavishness, and prone to the same excesses that characterize the humor of the *bômolokhos*. The *agroikos* and the *bômolokhos*, in other words, intersect with one another, in some important respects, on the question of moral character, even as they diverge when the criterion is a sense of humor. This may, in fact, be on Aristotle's mind at 1128a33–b3, where his concluding description of the *bômolokhos* leads directly to a final comment on the *agroikos* (*NE* 1128a33–b3):

> The buffoon finds a joke irresistible, and spares neither himself nor others if he can make a joke, saying such things as no cultivated man would say, nor even want said about him. But the *rustic boor is not useful* for social gatherings of this sort. For he has nothing to add and is annoyed at everything.

> ὁ δὲ βωμολόχος ἥττων ἐστὶ τοῦ γελοίου, καὶ οὔτε ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενος εἰ γέλωτα ποιήσει, καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγων ὧν οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποι ὁ χαρίεις, ἔνια δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἀκούσαι. <u>ὁ δ᾽ ἄγροικος</u> εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ὁμιλίας <u>ἀχρεῖος·</u> οὐθὲν γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος πᾶσι δυσχεραίνει.

Aristotle, in other words, seems to link *bômolokhoi* and *agroikoi* here as people of deficient or unformed moral character, and so prone to say and do things that are indecorous or unbefitting a virtuous and refined man. The main difference between them is that the buffoon's mode is humor, the rustic's dyspepsia.

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[21] While Aristotle does not specify a *bômolokhos* here, it is clear he has him in mind, since the passage as a whole is concerned to contrast wittiness and buffoonery; cf. 1128a4–5.

It is clear, of course, that Aristotle's main concern in this passage is not really *agroikia*, so we should perhaps not fault him for failing to clarify his use of the term as explicitly as we would like. Still, as I would like to argue here, this passage yields considerably more insight into Aristotle's conception of *agroikia* than he himself cared to articulate at the time. His remarks about the development of comedy at 1128a22–25 are especially revealing, for here he maps the contrast between *bômolokhia* and *eutrapelia* on to what he refers to as 'old' and 'new' comedy (*NE* 1128a22–25):

> Someone might see [the difference between buffoonery and wittiness] in the difference between old and new comedies. For in the old, its form of humor was *aiskhrologia*, whereas in the new, it was more subtly indirect. When it comes to decency, this difference is hardly small.

> ἴδοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ ἐκ τῶν κωμῳδιῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν καινῶν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἦν γελοῖον ἡ αἰσχρολογία, τοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ ὑπόνοια· διαφέρει δ' οὐ μικρὸν ταῦτα πρὸς εὐσχημοσύνην.

Let us analyze the connections: *bômolokhia* is like 'old' comedy (by which, presumably, he means fifth-century Attic comedy such as Aristophanes); *eutrapelia* is like 'new' (or, more accurately, what we have come to call 'middle' comedy), i.e., the comedy of Aristotle's day, and the old is less 'decent' than the new.[22] This is fairly crude literary criticism, especially since Old Comedy offered plenty that was not aischrologic, but the point he wants to make is simply that Old Comedy was infamous for its aischrology, and that this amounted to a form of *bômolokhia*. Whatever Aristophanes' own claims about avoiding *bômolokhia*, at some fundamental level all his plays, in Aristotle's eyes, were, on balance, more buffoonish than witty, and it was the verbal indecencies that made them so.

How does this square, however, with Aristotle's remarks about the rustic origins of comedy in *Poetics*, where aischrology is isolated as one of its most defining elements? If *bômolokhia* is equated in Aristotle's mind to aischrology, and aischrology also implies rusticity to him, does *bômolokhia* imply some degree of rusticity after all? And, if so, what would it really mean to say that the *bômolokhos* turns out to be an *agroikos*? Would Aristotle characterize Old Comedy as, in some

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[22] On Aristotle's division of comedy, see Nesselrath 1990, 102–149, and, more generally, on the concept of 'middle comedy' in antiquity, 1–29; also Rosen 1995.

sense, *agroikos* because of its predilection for obscenity and buffoonery? A collocation of *agroikia* and comedy might, after all, seem somewhat absurd, given that one of Aristotle's defining features of *agroikia* was, as we have learned from Cullyer in the preceding chapter, an inability to appreciate humor. This apparent contradiction can be explained, I think, if we realize that the term *agroikia* is not really synonymous with our word 'rusticity;' that is, when Aristotle was envisioning rustic celebrations that included festive aischrology, it seems unlikely that he would ever refer to them as *agroikoi* in that particular context. They would be 'rustics', to be sure, but not 'rustic boors'—a more accurate translation of *agroikoi*. Here it will be useful to recall that *agroik-* words are nearly always pejorative and tend to refer not so much to country people in their own element, but to country people conceptualized from a supercilious, urban perspective. From that perspective, even the rustic self-sufficient and comfortable in his daily routines is easily imagined to be ignorant and humorless. This seems implicit in Aristotle, at any rate, when he mentions at *NE* 1128b2 that the *agroikos* is 'useless' (*akhreios*) at social gatherings; for he is here clearly imagining gatherings of a free, educated, urban elite, where an actual rustic would be utterly out of place to begin with. One suspects, however, that Aristotle would not have had much trouble imagining the same man participating in the raucous festive celebrations of Dionysus or Phales that he linked so closely to the countryside. If asked what kind of humor he might expect to find on such occasions, he would presumably predict that it would be full of *bômolokhia* because of its excesses and indecencies. Thus, retaining an Aristotelian framework, we can conceive of a *rustic* with a sense of humor, even if we cannot conceive of an *agroikos* with one; and rusticity, then, remains aligned with comic aischrology, even if *agroikia* does not.

Things fall more clearly into place, I believe, if we think of Aristotle's *bômolokhos* as essentially an *agroikos* transferred to the city. As Cullyer has clearly shown, the main reason *agroikia* has such negative connotations to begin with is because the hard rustic life affords little time for leisure, and this translates into lack of education, sociability and aesthetic refinement. From an urban vantage point such as Aristotle's, it is easy to see how this might seem like a particularly joyless kind of life. But worse still, all the disadvantages of the rural life indicate, in his mind, moral deficiency. In the context of the country, an urban onlooker might find this innocuous enough, since

it will have no particular effect on the 'serious' activities that take place in a city. Rustic practices such as religious aischrology, therefore, while morally suspect, may be quaint enough in their own context; but as soon as one takes the rustic jokester out of the country and places him in the city, one also transfers to the city his unrestrained sense of humor, his unrefined personality, and his compromised moral sensibility. All these deficiencies conspire to turn what was once a man of the country into a man of the city, and the result is what Aristotle would call *bômolokhia*. Whereas the term *agroikos* can be applied to the rustic transplanted to the city but still holding on—inappropriately and cluelessly—to aspects of his country life, the *bômolokhos*, by contrast, is essentially the erstwhile *agroikos* who has now embraced the city, demonstrating that what might have been quaint in the country is now boorish in the city. As Cullyer has put it (Cullyer 191), '*agroikoi*, who are unable to make or appreciate any kind of joke, are deficient in the intellectual aspect of joking, but also incredibly socially deficient' for lack of shared laughter. The *bômolokhos* may no longer be humorless, as urbanized authors imagined *agroikoi* to be, but he retains their deficient rustic moral character, and this, in turn, is reflected in his style of humor: intemperate, unrefined, and often obscene.

5. *Conclusion: On 'rustic buffoons'*

We are now in a better position to explain how Aristotle might hold, on the one hand, that *agroikoi* were humorless, and yet, on the other, that comedy itself had distinct origins in rustic celebrations. Rather than assuming that Aristotle was contradicting himself or using terminology carelessly, I would suggest that he simply understood the term *agroikia* in a very specific sense that had little to say about how country people actually did laugh and play when left to their own devices. As an ideologically fraught term, as we learned from the preceding chapter,[23] *agroikia* highlighted moral and socio-political issues from an urban point of view, and as such, would imply little about how rustics would interact with each other in their own context, on their own terms. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine that Aristotle

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[23] See also, most recently, Jones 2004, esp. 159–225, with a useful overview of the scholarship on ancient Greek ideologies of city and country at pp. 9–14.

ever thought, even in the passages in *NE* where he mentions dyspeptic *agroikoi*, that country people were entirely devoid of a sense of humor, no matter how hard the rustic life could be. But it does seem clear enough that he would not himself find 'country humor' very appealing, since (at least as he imagined it) it would bear all the negative hallmarks of *bômolokhia* and would remind him of the earliest phases of Greek comedy that he found so crude and devoid of true *eutrapelia*.

Old Comedy, in fact, provides models for a type of *bômolokhia* associated with the country that would have been readily available to Aristotle. Cullyer has alluded to such figures as Dicaeopolis in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* and Trygaeus in *Peace*, both of whom are depicted essentially as rustics operating within an urban context; to these we may add Strepsiades in *Clouds*, who describes the 'sweetest rustic life' (*agroikos hêdistos bios*, 43)[24] he had before his marriage to his high-society wife led to his current troubles. What would Aristotle have done with such characters? If they were *agroikoi* in his mind, he obviously could not maintain that they were like the humorless, practically catatonic, *agroikoi* he describes in *NE* 1128a–b. This conundrum is best explained, as I have argued above, by supposing that, although *bômolokhia* was for Aristotle a specifically urban vice, it had a rustic counterpart with which it shared a number of elements. Aristotle would trace all of these elements (many of them subsumable under the term *aiskhrologia*) to the deficiencies that Cullyer has well described, notably a lack of education and social refinement, but his particular terminology was really only meaningful when he was talking about the city. If *all* rustics, after all, were uneducated and unrefined, then when it came to making jokes, they would all naturally be buffoons; hence there would be no need within that context to come up with a term that distinguished between rustic buffoons and non-buffoons. Within an urban context, however, where the buffoon would be contrasted to a sophisticated jester, more precise terminology is called for; hence the *bômolokhos* contrasted to the

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[24] Discussed by Konstantakos 2005, 6–7. It is certainly true that the play mocks Strepsiades for his *agroikia*, as Konstantakos notes, but the humor he would have generated with his buffoonery was presumably not only directed *against* himself. That is, at least in part, Strepsiades functioned as a 'rustic buffoon' along the lines of a Trygaeus, whose buffoonery would have had the audience laughing along 'with' him as much as 'against' him.

eutrapelos. The *bômolokhos* and the *agroikos* may be two sides of the same coin when it comes to the nature of their humor, but when imagined within the context of specifically urban humor, Aristotle's *agroikos* is out-classed socially and out-done in wit and repartée. The urban *bômolokhos* might attempt to be funny and come up short when measured by the calculus of *eutrapelia*, but the *agroikos*, even more alien to this setting than the *bômolokhos*, comes off worse still, incapable of either generating humor himself or appreciating it in others.

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HORACE'S GARDEN THOUGHTS: RURAL RETREATS AND THE URBAN IMAGINATION*

Diana Spencer

> The most beautiful regions of the world are the furthest
> αἱ δ᾽ ἐσχατιαί κως τῆς οἰκεομένης τὰ κάλλιστα ἔλαχον
> (Herodotus 3.106)
>
> . . . the gem that encapsulates existence. Enter the gate, and find
> paradise: leave again, and re-enter reality.
> (Henderson 2002, 125)

1. *Introduction*

Pastoral (in its broadest sense) has long been synonymous with a rhetoric of contrast between city and country.[1] Interrogating this contrast, pushing it as hard as possible, is deeply embedded in late Republican and early Augustan discourse. On its most basic level, this chapter explores how Horace *Odes* 1–3 test the possibility of articulating *rus* without an intimate understanding of the presence of *urbs* within its scenography. Its particular focus, however, is Horace's fascination, in *Odes* 1–3, with the artifice of nature. Traditionally, Horace's 'nature' poetry has been read 'autobiographically'—particularly given the ever-looming presence of the Sabine farm, gifted by Maecenas—or at least as offering some degree of descriptive

  [1] Skoie (this volume) sets this up excellently. As she comments, even Leach 1974, 72 does not quite dissolve the oppositional dialectic.

transparency.[2] Instead, I suggest that we locate Horace's interest in the countryside and landscaped nature at the heart of a unique poetic undertaking which tackles political identity head on, and which makes it impossible to divorce what I term 'Gardening' (imposition of design, order and aesthetics of landscape) from the most urgent Augustan issues.[3] Indeed, this chapter works eventually towards a reading of *Odes* 3.29 as a conclusive statement of the intimate, disorientating, and inescapable connections between the poetics of *rus* and Augustan Rome, a nexus which Horace shows himself trying but inevitably failing to disentangle. Phebe Bowditch figures Horace's Sabine farm as a 'suppressed term or "absent center"' for exploring Horace's relationship with Maecenas.[4] This works extremely well, particularly if we take the estate more generally as an 'Augustan' gift; but the gift is double-edged. It is both a product of the *clementia* and prospective gaze which characterize the Augustan settlement, and also an enduring reminder of the vicissitudes of civil war and the complex ambiguities of Roman identity.[5]

Some texts to whet the appetite:

> the merchant, fearing Africus—strong-arming
> the Icarian waves—extols leisure and his home-town
> countryside, . . .

> luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum
> mercator metuens otium et oppidi
> laudat rura sui, . . .
>
> > > *Odes* 1.1.15–17

> In a Sabine forest I was rambling, when a wolf
> (whilst I was singing about my Lalage, and out well-beyond
> my boundary stone—footloose and fancy free)
>   ran from defenseless me;

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[2] For perhaps the funniest recent treatment of this tendency (one that we all, however gracefully, topple into on occasion), see Henderson 1999, 117–118.

[3] We can see this first in Vergil, whose context is set out by Gowers 2000, 142–143 n. 5. Cf. Henderson 1999, 145–146.

[4] Bowditch 2001, 117.

[5] Receiving a country estate keys into the issue of land appropriations after Philippi (which form an important theme, of course, in the *Eclogues*; but cf. *Satires* 2.2, 2.6.55–56). Bowditch 2001 is a particularly valuable foil for my reading of Horace; developing Leach 1988, her analyses of the complex relationship between Horace, Maecenas and Augustus in Horace's poetry underlie my own approach (which is also influenced by Henderson's speculative summation, 1999, 115). Bowditch's discussion of how this pans out in the *Epistles* also offers an important context for reading the *Odes*.

namque me silva lupus in Sabina,
dum meam canto Lalagen et ultra
terminum curis vagor expeditis,
    fugit inermem;
                                    Odes 1.22.9–12

Where are you dragging me off to, Bacchus—
    me who's saturated with you? Into what woods or caverns
                                        am I driven,
swiftly and in a strange state of mind? In what
    caves shall I be heard practicing to set

the never-ending praise of glorious Caesar
    amidst the stars and in the council of Jupiter?

Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui
    plenum? quae nemora aut quos agor in specus
velox mente nova? quibus
    antris egregii Caesaris audiar

aeternum meditans decus
    stellis inserere et consilio Iovis?
      Odes 3.25.1–6

But these were manly sons of rustic
soldiers, educated only with Sabine mattocks
    to turn the sods, and on the order of a strict
        mother to carry

the chopped logs, whilst the sun
shifted the shadows of the mountains and loosed from the yoke
    the weary oxen, hastening the friendly
        hour with its fleeing chariot.

sed rusticorum mascula militum
proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
    versare glaebas et severae
        matris ad arbitrium recisos

portare fustis, sol ubi montium
mutaret umbras et iuga demeret
    bobus fatigatis, amicum
        tempus agens abeunte curru.
                    Odes 3.6.37–44

Although the *Carmen Saeculare* and *Epistles* are more straightforwardly interested in nature, horticulture, villas and gardens, *Odes* 1–3 occupy a particularly intriguing place in the Horatian corpus. Highly self-conscious as documents of cultural translation, as the above extracts suggest, they mimic and allude to the faux alterity of *ur*-Greek

(occasional) lyric composition. They plug into a mode which is (notionally) embedded deeply in a combined compositional/performance space—a space which Horace has to drag from Greece (and Greek aesthetics) to Rome (and Latin)—whilst at the same time they draw on a matrix that demands continuity and *rusticitas*, conquest and isolation (*Odes* 3.6).[6] This is a space which is notionally Other (as in *Odes* 1.22), but also wholly urbane territory (as Caesar's intrusion into *Odes* 3.25 makes clear). Moreover, by the time Horace was composing the *Odes*, Greece had become a site for picking up off-the-peg culture—the most concrete manifestation of which, at Rome, was (in effect) as high-class garden and atrium ornament.[7] Finally, *Odes* 1–3 as a collection is Horace's first foray into poetic composition within a wholly *Augustan* context. Refining my parameters further, then, this essay is about the role of landscaped space in Horace's exploration of Rome's Augustan identity. This, I argue, is a unique coming together of cultural imperialism and fascinated speculative investigation into whether difference (even 'escape') is possible within an Augustan Roman consciousness.

This chapter moves through three main sections. Section 2 explores the utopian qualities of the Garden, what *hortus* and *horti* can mean, and how we might start relating this to the *Odes*. Section 3 (briefly) dips into Horace's *Satires*—and their search for dialectic space—in order to set up my reading of the *Odes*. Section 4 gets to grips with a selection from the *Odes* (1.17; 2.3, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16, 18; 3.18 and 29) in a series of readings which map out, I argue, a unique and programmatic proposition: that Horace self-consciously destabilizes his own autonomy (as author and citizen) by imbricating the vistas, perspectives, ethics and political ambiguities of (Augustan) *urbs* onto *rus*.

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[6] Cf. Henderson 1999, 116 on *Odes* 3.22: 'Its sacrificial moment is wired into the energy of the Augustan investment in the sacred, but downsizes the spectacle . . . [leaving us] aeons away from cosmopolis, under the direction of an unholy coalition of nostalgia—the mist of the pre-classical Greek villager and the fog of homely Italian peasantry'.

[7] See Bartman 1991, 73–76; 78–79, citing Cicero *Ad Att.* 1.6.2, 1.9.2 and 1.10.3 in support.

2. *Gardens and utopias*

2.1   *Utopian discourse . . . nostalgia, lost innocence and the countryside*

Augustus' transformation of Rome constantly looks back over its shoulder to see what comes next.[8] In many ways, this is inextricable from one of the defining features of the Augustan *Zeitgeist*: control over chronology, calendrical cycles, and the stories they tell. The annual passage of the seasons evolves into a highly nuanced paranarrative for mapping the position of 'Augustus' in 'Rome', and the narratives imposed on the seasons have enormous significance for imperial identity writ large.[9] In Horace's own *Carmen Saeculare*, the narratives are invariably (and, given the preexisting iconography, inevitably) predicated on cycles of production. As with representation of *Natura* on the Ara Pacis, we can see how these stories bleed into an overarching and imperializing cultural taxonomy.[10] My reading of 'nature' discourse, therefore, is intrinsically about control (epistemological, rhetorical, philosophical, and of course practical) on every level, and also about an increasing difficulty in articulating 'escape' to some exurban *ur*-landscape.

Searching for an escape, an ideal Other, is not new to Augustan Rome. Indeed utopias and paradises—places that are complete and perfect in themselves—offer an attractive model for exploring how and why the Garden takes on such significance in the late first century BCE. Since the 1990s, there has been a range of studies of 'edges' and 'centers', of which James Romm's has been particularly influential. Rhiannon Evans' recent article stands out, however, for the clarity of its focus on containment and cessation of imperializing activity—

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[8] This is most famously invoked in Vergil's retroactive 'prophecies' (*A.* 1.261–296; 6.756–885; 8.314–358, 626–731), but also underlies Livy's historiographical program (*AUC Praef.* 7–12). More obliquely, concerns about permanence, difference and the process of historical change also underlie late Republican poetics in e.g. Catullus 64 and Vergil *Eclogues* 6.

[9] See Evans 2003, 294–299. Augustus' prioritization of an interconnected Roman (and Augustan) order for space and time is by now part of our scholarly wallpaper; see e.g. Zanker 1988, 144; Wallace-Hadrill 1987. If we factor in Horace, politicizing the poetics of Horace's Sabine year can implode—as in Henderson's version, 1999, 140–143—into speculative chaos. But it can also remind us how innately political marking Sabine time can be.

[10] See Putnam 2000, 60–70 (*Carmen Saeculare*), and on the Ara Pacis, Castriota 1995, 124–167.

clearly articulated boundaries—as signifiers *par excellence* for under-
standing Empire.[11] Evans' analysis of the epistemological effects of
utopian alterity on the semiotics of Empire (and the dangers atten-
dant upon Augustus' program) does not draw on Horace, but her
model is still highly suggestive.

Taking Evans' conceptualization of utopian poetics as a starting-
point, we can see that by circumscribing Rome and focusing on pro-
ducing boundaries that could parallel a notional *imperium sine fine*,
Augustus was engaged in a delicate attempt to reconstitute Rome-
as-Utopia. But Augustus' utopian city had to be accessible, both tem-
porally and spatially, for it to work: therein lies the dilemma. This
version of 'Rome' denies citizens the possibility of reading utopian
space (the Other) and time (long ago) as the *loci* where a society's
unfulfilled desires cluster.[12] The fundamental and defining inaccessi-
bility of 'utopias'—whether temporal or spatial—focuses us on their
insularity and remoteness as landscapes of desire, and, indeed, on
their potentially problematic (even comic) subversion of seasonal and
natural chronologies.[13] In the *Odes*, Horace uses a 'Greek' frame to
mark up the landscapes that surround Rome, in particular his Sabine
farm, as potentially inaccessible alternatives to the city.[14] He then
destabilizes this defamiliarization by bridging the void, allowing the
res publica into his paradise (just by writing about it). In doing so,
he also taps into the potentially destructive consequences of Augustus'
reinvention of the city as the world.[15] If Rome is everywhere, then

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[11] Romm 1992; Evans 2003. Benjamin's modeling of the metapoetics of space
(and in particular what he terms 'landscape'—space that has to be read from the
perspective of its edges, and requires an uncrossable 'frame') offers an important
and suggestive pattern for interrogating the culturally generative qualities of disin-
tegrating boundaries and liminality (1985, 78).

[12] See e.g. Levitas 1990, 8; Wallace-Hadrill 1982, 19–36; Evans 2003, 300 n. 50
(for further references), and 301.

[13] A particularly intriguing way of developing this reads in potential performance
contexts. As Kondoleon 1999, 323–327 discusses, luxury *triclinia* offer similarly trans-
gressive scenes, imbricating *rus* and *urbs* (and even temporal distortion) within *trompe
l'oeil* outdoor limitlessness (cf. Kellum 1994 and Leach 1988, 261–306). As Gideon
Nisbet pointed out to me, Aristophanic 'utopianism' also often configures the 'happy'
ending as an all-you-can-eat buffet.

[14] The implications of this framing device for the 'landscapes' of the *Odes* make
particular sense in Benjamin's terms (discussed above, n. 11).

[15] Using genre in a self-conscious and artificial manner to produce a sense of
dislocation is later deployed in Russian Formalist criticism as *ostranenie*—'estrange-
ment' or 'defamiliarization'. See e.g. Shklovsky 1965, 3–24.

even Horace's retreat to the Garden space that he fashions in the *Odes* has to be less perfect than it might seem, and he writes Rome into it just as he self-consciously attempts to shore up its textual integrity.[16]

   One can of course still *be* somewhere other than Rome, but the lack of successful transit *between* city and country in the *Odes* means that it remains unclear how one achieves this.[17] Hence, one of the conclusions towards which this chapter works is that despite the various discursive maneuvers that Horace makes to prop up alterity and city limits, the idea of 'Rome' has actually infected his (and therefore his audience's) whole world. And it is this self-fashioned failure which finally undermines any prospect of wholly exurban retreat in the collection's penultimate poem: *Odes* 3.29.

2.2   Hortus/Horti *and Horace*

Although the Latin terms *hortus* and *horti* (which we tend to translate as 'garden(s)' or 'estate') are reasonably common, there is no clear consensus as to how a Roman audience might have responded to either, or indeed how authors deployed them.[18] For the purposes of this essay, I use 'Garden' as shorthand for the human(e) and highly artificial, mimetic and fantastic landscapes that saturate Horace's conceptual topographies.[19] I suggest that the kinds of literary (and

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[16] Braund 1989, 43–44 implicitly notices this when she characterizes Horace's position in *Epistles* 1.11 and 1.14 as a realization that city and country are almost interchangeable, it is only the people who inhabit them that exhibit difference. These are in contrast to *Epistles* 1.7 and 1.10, where Horace still seems to be trying to locate alterity (cf. *Satires* 2.6.1–4, 16–17 and 60). Braund 1989 is the agenda-setting exposition of how satire more generally models 'city' and 'countryside' at Rome.

[17] In particular, once Vergil's Jupiter has promised *imperium sine fine* (*A.* 1.278–279). For Rome as 'Cosmopolis', see Edwards and Woolf 2003.

[18] Useful ways into this debate can be found in Cima and La Rocca 1998; Conan 1986; Grimal 1983; Leach 1988; Purcell 1987 and 2001. Struggling to find a symbolic, philosophical meaning for 'garden' becomes a productive process in its own right in Johnson 1993 (in particular 149 n. 5).

[19] A comparable approach (on the symbolic possibilities of Columella's post-Vergilian kitchen-garden-in-verse) can be found in Gowers 2000. Gowers' reading of the semiotic instability of *horti* (pleasure garden, estate and vegetable patch) draws (as does my own) on Beard's pithy statement (1998, 24): 'In the literary imagination too the cabbage patch was always visible through the luxury estate . . . the peasant plot itself could open vistas of jewel-dripping opulence'. Similarly, as Grimal (1984, 383–386, 396–400) implicitly notices, slippage between signifier and signified (Garden, 'Nature', ritual, *numen*, genre and politics) means that sacral echoes are always present, at least in the interstices.

highly intellectualized) scenes that Horace maps out are very much a function of his interest in relationships between *labor* and *otium*, two central and inseparable concepts for identity and ideology in Augustan Rome. These two foci are ideally united in the Garden—a space which combines pleasure in 'nature' (and its beneficence) with strategies for investigating human mastery of its unknowability.[20] This Garden space also occupies an increasingly politicized faultline: Augustan appropriation of Nature as a propagandist function of the new regime.[21] This potentially makes even Horace's most apparently straightforward accounts of life on the farm into politically explosive engagements with the politics of art and artifice.

Discourses of aesthetics and pleasure in landscape—the rhetoric of control and domination as a means for man to stake out supremacy over nature for reasons other than subsistence—look back to a range of managed 'garden' spaces, sites of human (and even divine) authority. These notionally real *and* simultaneously imaginary, mythic, models offer room, whether real or figurative, with(in) which one can think.[22] Furthermore, perceptions of 'gardens' as both sacred and regal spaces in the Greek world place them on a cultural faultline that took on a high degree of urgency as Rome expanded into the Mediterranean (and Hellenized) world.[23] As literary foils for these explicitly 'stage-managed' gardens—spaces where man's control over nature is central to zoning them as pleasurable and satisfying spaces—we have pastoral (quasi-natural) and agricultural (man-dominated) landscapes; Horace deploys both when modeling the Garden world of the *Odes*.

In Horace, I suggest, we find an ambitious and complex attempt to find out whether it is philosophically possible to conceptualize and formulate a difference between 'raw' nature and a humane land-

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[20] As Gowers 2000, 141 observes: 'In gardening there is always a tension between control and runaway fertility'.

[21] Castriota 1995 discusses the (cultural and stylistic) implications of nature and abundance as depicted on the Ara Pacis. See also Kellum 1994 and Bartman 1991 on the more ostensibly 'private' version.

[22] See e.g. Alcinous' garden (Homer *Odyssey* 7.112–132); Plato's *Phaedrus* (and, of course, the Academy, the Lyceum, and Garden of Epicurus) and even the Garden of the Hesperides and Persian royal 'Paradises'. For a clear introduction to the wider picture in the ancient world, see Carroll 2003. For a sideways take on Gardens as sites of immortality (even resurrection), Cicero's *De Finibus* (5.1.1–2) is excellent: walking in the Academy's Garden brings Plato himself to life.

[23] Grimal 1983, 65–89 provides a wide range of examples.

scape, or whether the process of description transforms nature into artifice. In other words, Horace may be examining the possibility for productive difference by using (amongst other things) a poetic genre that is itself culturally transgressive.[24] By collapsing these cultural boundaries, Horace allows us space within which we can question the very nature of Roman *imperium* and civic identity.[25] Moreover (as the extracts quoted earlier show), he does so by locating his critical focus in the possible interstices between 'natural' and 'artificial' landscapes, using artfully staged Garden scenes, landscapes that mimic savage and tamed nature, and parade such stereotypical villains as the luxurious, cannibalistic estate and heroic, stalwart, sons of the soil. Horace deploys the exurban landscapes and the leisure spaces they provide in a mode that highlights the artifice of the 'reality effect' that their supposed naturalism generates, and in doing so, he cuts to the heart of a symbiotic association of citizen identity with the geopolitics of the space occupied by 'Rome'.[26] In fact, I suspect that excavating and deconstructing the dialectical role of the *locus amoenus* and its urbanity is also an important part of what Horace's project is about.[27]

3. *Setting the scene: Maecenas and the Esquiline in the* Satires

> . . . nothing is more washed of taste than a thoroughly watered garden.
> . . . irriguo nihil est elutius horto.
>
> (*Satires* 2.4.16)

A significant focus for Horace's problems with category and definition in his first poetic project, the *Satires*, is the cultural faultline occupied

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[24] Horace explicitly side-steps Hellenistic poetry when he sets out his models (*Odes* 1.1), but his project is not *just* about silences and absences—it is also very much about mutation, mimesis and cultural translation.

[25] Reading Horace against a Hegelian grid offers one way of understanding how (Augustan) continuity through change might falter if and when change and difference become politically threatening concepts. Hegel's version of dialectic suggests that categories and concepts contain within themselves their opposites (*The Encyclopaedia Logic* § 81; at Houlgate 1998, 170–171), a scheme which has intriguing implications for what happens to dialectic in Augustan Rome.

[26] On land and Roman identity see e.g. Livy's Camillus (*AUC* 5.51–54); Varro (*De Re Rustica* 1.2.5–8: Italy as a 'farm'; 2.1.9: Romans as shepherds; 3.1.4: the vital importance of farmers for Rome's existence); Vergil (*Georgics* 2.136–225, 532–540).

[27] Putnam's characterization of *Odes* 1–3 as 'about' the semiotic relationship between writing a landscape and composing poetry sets up my reading in this chapter (Putnam 2000, 14–15).

squarely by Maecenas' Esquiline estate. This is at the heart of Tara
Welch's reading of *Satires* 1.8 and 1.9 (2001, 189). It is in the *Satires*
that we see Horace starting to think through many of the Garden
issues that take center stage in *Odes* 1–3, a reading supported by
Welch's analysis. Welch sees Maecenas' (sub)urban estate as inimi-
cal to satiric speech because its *salubritas* (*Satires* 1.8.14) makes criti-
cism impossible, but I think we can push her suggestion that 'Horace's
satiric poetry cannot focus its criticizing attention on the gardens or
their inhabitants' (Welch 2001, 189) further, particularly in the light
of *Satires* 2.4.16. This inability to maintain critical focus is itself a
function of Horace's recognition that the boundaries that separate
inside from outside, city from country, and living from dead, are
under attack. In effect, Rome's potential to understand and respond
to oppositional but complementary and mutually dependent spaces
is collapsing. And any inability to distinguish self from other, artifice
from nature, even public from private, will have far-reaching impli-
cations for the politics of imperial identity. To be sure, Maecenas'
gardens in the *Satires* really do occupy an ambiguous space—almost,
but not quite, urban; recently renovated and cleansed, but still haunted
by disturbing specters (*Satires* 1.8.6–16).[28] But by purging their dialec-
tical potential there is also a sense whereby the philosophical space
that the Garden can offer is also being closed down. And this really
matters in terms of the kinds of philosophical and intellectual alter-
natives to urban space (both public and private) that the city offers.
    Although *Satires* 1.2 is most obviously a playful 'dialogue' on sex-
ual extremism, couched in Epicurean jargon and segueing from
physics to ethics in its use of terms such as *inanis* and *soldus*, its inter-
est in interrogating the mean, in defining boundaries and identity
makes it a useful backstory for Horace's achievement in the *Odes*.

> Surely it's the limit that Nature sets to desires—
> what she will tolerate and what she will grieve for if denied to her—

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[28] On graves as gardens (and graves in gardens), see e.g. Purcell 1987, 188;
Grimal 1984, 59–60, 172–173, 322. Dunbabin 2003, 116–119, 120–122 discusses
two funerary monuments and a sarcophagus (her figures 65, 66, 68, 69) where the
dead are probably being represented in *plein air* dining scenes. She goes on to dis-
cuss the funerary triclinium (with the tomb as *aeterna domus*) at 2003, 127–129, not-
ing the popularity of the outdoor banquet as a motif (2003, 130–131) and the
slippage between fertility and death in convivial scenes (visual and literary; 2003,
132–135).

that it would be more profitable to investigate; and how to sunder
void from solid?

nonne cupidinibus statuat Natura modum quem,
quid latura, sibi quid sit dolitura negatum,
quaerere plus prodest et inane abscindere soldo?

Satires 1.2.111–113

Horace suggests, here, that in order to satisfy desires one must be
able to recognize and separate absence from presence. Furthermore,
to devise a scheme for recognizing the difference between different
kinds of absence—both the productive kind that allows one to expe-
rience fulfillment, and the kind that produces paralysis—Horace draws
on a distinct split between city and country as locations of desire
and possession (1.2.127–128). I suggest that Horace's attempt to adapt
landscape discourse as a poetic model for interrogating identity in
Augustan Rome dips into the idea of absence and distinction as pro-
ductive, whilst his focus on his rural estate (rather than on the more
explicitly artificial poetics of the landscaped—sub-urban—Garden)
tries to escape the kinds of paralysis that Maecenas' Garden has
come to represent.

At no point, of course, does Horace close down the meaning of
his poetry in an authoritative fashion; nevertheless, the *Satires* make
it clear that the mythopoetics of the Garden are an urgent concern.
One way of understanding Horace's strategy is to examine his philo-
sophical psycho-geographies against Hegel's concept of Difference,
and this has proved particularly productive for my reading.[29] Hegelian
dialectic proposes that everything in itself (the *Ding an sich*) contains
Self and Opposite.[30] In this way, Hegel approaches a position that
has important implications for Horace's liminal anxieties—viz, that
oppositional categories are in effect vital to all attempts to posit or
configure a holistic understanding of existence.[31]

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[29] On Difference (which underpins much of his philosophical thinking), see Hegel's
Science of Logic (Houlgate 1998, 226–229). Hegel's Negative, a complementary topos,
is most fully realized in the *Phenomenology of Spirit*, but also importantly formulated
in the *Science of Logic* (Houlgate 1998, 232–237); Žižek 1993, 130–132 teases out
Hegel's Difference, Opposition and Contradiction in terms of their impact on mul-
tiply referential matrices of meaning (semantic and psycho-social).

[30] Hegel, *The Encyclopaedia Logic* § 81 (Houlgate 1998, 170–171).

[31] Hegel uses Difference to progress towards an essentially optimistic model of a
regenerative 'end' of History. This is outlined in Hegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of
World History. Introduction: Reason in History* (Houlgate 1998, 404–409). For a recent

In the *Satires*, we find that Maecenas' suburban Gardens finally cease to offer space for dialectic; in the *Odes* (and eventually in the *Epistles*) Horace's gambit is to locate productive difference in the increasingly symbolic landscapes of exurban estates (and culturally neologistic modes—Latin 'lyric' and Latin verse epistle), notionally unconnected to Maecenas. But of course Maecenas is ever-present as Horace's patron as soon as he commences poetic production, making all Horace's 'landscapes' (on some level) belong to and spell out 'Maecenas'. Maecenas' looming absent presence, therefore, always compromises Horace's autonomous narratorial, cartographic and inductive voice—tenure does not equal autarky.

4. *Garden aesthetics in Horace's* Odes

In the *Eclogues*, Pastoral inhabits the city just as *otium* itself is taking on an increasingly political dimension. Horace's *Odes* in particular, I suggest, offer a last (and perhaps self-consciously unsuccessful) riposte to the cross-infection and generic meltdown that the world of the *Eclogues* prefigures. In Horace, we might suggest, rather than titillating the city with in-built bucolic, we find a version of nature so compromised by urban(e) semiotics (and even reception) that it has entirely lost its distancing power. His concerted attempts to divorce his own rural *locus amoenus* from Rome (even to configure it as a quasi-utopian absent locus of desire) result in a failure that undermines the discursive poses that the *Odes* collection also tries out.[32] Horace ends up with a cumulatively powerful (if tacit) acknowledgment that the productive and uniquely 'Italian' dialectic space that he is trying to map out is no longer possible within the ideological confines of 'Augustanism'.[33]

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reformulation of this position (draining the dialectical imperative from 'difference'), see e.g. Deleuze 1994. Putnam 2000, 12 sets up a framework for reading 'alterity' and distance as key Horatian concerns, but I suspect that Putnam is more convinced of the straightforward 'success' of Horace's pose than I am. I discuss two of the poems he focuses on (*Odes* 1.17 and 3.29) in detail, below.

[32] On the enclosed 'separateness' and proprietorial implications of Columella's Roman (kitchen-)garden see Gowers 2000, 129–130. Cf. Henderson 2002, 110 on Columella: 'the garden begins with enclosure'.

[33] *Odes* 3.30.13. Of course reading with hindsight, as the *Odes* 1–3 collection encourages, makes the dialectical skirmishes between philosophical systems in *Odes* 2 particularly telling. Rereading *Odes* 1.1 in these terms (a strategy which Barchiesi

4.1   *Some outdoor vistas (*Odes *2.6, 7 and 11)*

If we take *Odes* 2.6, 7 and 11 as preliminary examples of scene-setting, we begin to find tentative expressions of how Horatian landscapes might question the availability of alternative perspectives, and also explore the possibility of experiencing non-Roman space.[34] It transpires that like Maecenas' Garden in the *Satires*, the Italian countryside *and* Horace's Garden (his personalized landscape, from which escape is impossible) lack coherent dialectic and argument, and tend towards monologue and solipsism. The outdoor scenes in which the poet and his companions are situated (avoiding the world outside the Garden's confines, dozily, drunkenly slumbering or lost in an alcoholic frenzy) suggest that the kinds of problems that have robbed Maecenas' Gardens of their ability to provide critical space, are also at issue in Horatian space.

> Would that Tibur, founded by an Argive colonist,
> might be the resting place of my senescence; that it
> might mark the end to my weariness of sea and roads
>   and soldiering.
>
> Whence, if the cruel Parcae forbid it to me,
> the sweet river of the Galaesus—with its skin-
> clad sheep—I shall seek out, and the country lands once ruled by
>   Laconian Phalanthus.
>
> . . .
> [this is] where Jupiter bestows a long spring and mild
> winters and the Aulon valley, a friend
> to fertile Bacchus, to the least degree envies
>   the grapes of Falernum;
>
> that is the place which urges you and me on,
> the fortunate citadels; there you will sprinkle
> a dutiful tear on the warm ashes
>   of your friend the poet.

2000, 180 tries out) makes Horace's claim to have transformed Greek lyric into Italian stanzas a disturbing programmatic proposition.

   [34] 2.6 deals with Tibur (Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 98 differentiate this from the Sabine estate, looking back to *Odes* 1.17.13), Baiae, and Tarentum. 2.7 implies Horace's garden; Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 118 suggest in town, because of the single laurel, but it seems more plausible to take the various *al fresco* elements as signifiers for Garden. 2.11 may be set in Quinctius' *Horti*—see Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 168, who also suggest 1978, 167 that the Garden theme makes *this* Quinctius identical with that of *Epistles* 1.16.

Tibur Argeo positum colono
sit meae sedes utinam senectae,
sit modus lasso maris et viarum
    militiaeque.

unde si Parcae prohibent iniquae,
dulce pellitis ovibus Galaesi
flumen et regnata petam Laconi
    rura Phalantho.

. . .
ver ubi longum tepidasque praebet
Iuppiter brumas et amicus Aulon
fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
    invidet uvis;

ille te mecum locus et beatae
postulant arces; ibi tu calentem
debita sparges lacrima favillam
vatis amici.

Odes 2.6.5–12; 17–24

In 2.6, Horace's Tarentine circumlocutions offer a prospective trip
into an idealized landscape suffused first with *muthos* and then death;
moreover, his progress into Italy's mythic and cultural landscape
drives him into the country's Hellenic heartland, right after his refusal
of a 'real' journey in the opening stanza. We may even be seeing
a nod to Vergil (*Georgics* 4.125), whose *beatae arces* also carry with
them overtones of the *beatae insulae* (another quasi-utopian zone), and
it is interesting that this poem, similarly, displays a distortion of the
seasons (2.6.13–20).[35] In 2.6, then, a proposed 'real' journey around
the western Mediterranean is overwritten by an imaginary Italian
landscape which kaleidoscopes history, myth and a dangerously per-
manent retirement. Traveling down through Italy, this poem under-
mines the weirdly prosperous zones it conjures up by making them
simultaneously utopian *and* characteristic of the evils of the *realia* of
(imperializing) expeditions. In turn, Horace's saturation of 'his' Utopia
with the grind of contemporary life (as well as the kinds of mythic
motif that invoke conquest and conflict) foreshadows, I suggest, the
complex mnemonics of 2.7. The strong wine, perfume and garlands

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[35] On Vergil's Tarentum as a site that signifies closure (literal and metaphori-
cal), see Gowers 2000, 131–132, who also highlights the significance of *umbra*, which
runs through this chapter.

of 2.7.6–8 introduce panic, chaos and bathetic escape from Philippi (and further partying). Nevertheless, the alfresco intimations of *longaque fessum militia latus/depone sub lauru mea* ('and your weary flank, worn out by long military service/lay it beneath my laurel', 2.7.18–19) usher in the aftermath of Philippi (Actium), which persists in the drunken, Egyptian oblivion and Thracian madness that ensue (2.7.21–22; 26–28).[36]

The sense of the poet-speaker's inability to control a tensely 'Caesarian' series of Mediterranean vistas in 2.7 is tackled from an alternative perspective in 2.11. Its *carpe diem* theme explicitly banishes foreign conflict (east and west—*bellicosus* Cantabria and Scythia are name-checked in line 1): instead of attempting to 'outrun' political concerns (as in 2.7), this poem's rhetoric bars the way, excluding them (2.11.2–3) in favor of a languid bucolic ease in a cultivated shade (2.11.13–14). Here, trees and flowers, fire (of the wine) and stream provide a sensory overload that simultaneously invokes Platonic philosophical scenography (*Phaedrus* 229a) and precludes serious discussion (2.11.15–24).[37]

> Why are we not, beneath a tall plane tree, or here
> beneath a pine, lying thus, serendipitously . . .?
>
> cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
> pinu iacentes sic temere . . .?
>
> *Odes* 2.11.13–14

As the polyvalence of this philosophy-garden *manqué*, complete with appropriate trees, flowers, scents and flowing water (but with the twist that alcohol and girls rather than serious discussion are on the menu) suggests, Horace's bucolic landscapes keep being drawn back into the language and intellectual tropes of urbane, politically engaged, poetics. The poem's momentum through a series of unanswered (or unanswerable) questions suggests that Augustus' eastern and western

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[36] The appearance of *funde* (2.7.22) in conjunction with (perfume) oil-filled 'shells' and edible garlands (2.7.22–25) might even play tantalizingly with echoes of *fundus, -i* 'base'; 'foundation'; 'farm'; *fundo, -ere* 'to pour out' or 'to produce in abundance' (liquids, missiles and words); and *fundo, -are* 'to establish' or 'to lay foundations' (*OLD, s.vv.*).

[37] Horace's interest in the quiescent properties of shade is particularly interesting *vis-à-vis* his modelling of *sol* as *almus* at *Carmen Saeculare* 9–12 (see Putnam 2000, 58–60 on the Augustan implications). Cf. his rather different use of *frigidus* (3.4.22) and *frigus* (3.13.10), despite their potentially sepulchral overtones.

campaigns are in no way banished, and as *curae edaces* re-emerge to
be soused with wine (2.11.18) we can see how the market-place
topography inscribes Rome's imperial politics onto Italy. The Platonic
scene, cultural *mélange* and Hellenophile fade-out, then, lay out one
way of understanding the allusive landscapes of *Odes* 1–3 in micro-
cosm; the pine tree offers another angle.

The pine's associations are complex. Notionally associated with
Faunus, Cybele, Diana and Pan, it simultaneously conjures up man-
ufactured goods (as raw material), guardianship and continuity (trees
as shade, as wind-breaks, as immemorial and prospective) and wilder-
ness heights (recalling the savagery and unknowability of its deities,
and the darkness of the unmanaged pine forest). Moreover, the scene
which this poem sets is one that looks forward to the death-by-tree
katabasis of *Odes* 2.13. There, rather than stretching him out otiosely,
the looming pine sends Horace on a trip right down into the under-
world lurking beneath his landscape.[38] These elegantly characterized
rural idylls roll out some of the ambiguities and allusiveness of *rus*
in the *Odes*. Through these poems we also start to see how Gardening,
in the *Odes*, might make politics and empire immanent. To return
to issues of liminality, the next section takes four more poems as a
starting point for thinking through the implications of Horace's waver-
ing critical distance and ambivalent representation of fertile produc-
tivity in his lyric topography.

4.2   Rus, urbs *and retreat (*Odes *2.3, 15, 16 and 18)*

Taking four key poems from *Odes* 2 as paradigms for how Horace
tries to distinguish between *rus* and *urbs*, we can see how his dialec-
tical ambitions move inevitably towards failure. But this only becomes
fully apparent, I suggest, with the hindsight gained at the end of
Odes 3. Indeed *Odes* 2 makes ostensibly robust attempts to reach an
optimistic, oppositional unity. Horace's inbuilt problem is that by
excluding the prospect of successful and optimistic travel from *rus* to
urbs and vice versa in the *Odes* he gradually undermines the prospect
of a clear epistemological difference between the two. Instead of ban-
ishing the city, his poetic voice turns his Garden(s) into a function
of the city that he hastens to abandon. The four poems discussed

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[38] For more on Horace's pine (in *Odes* 3.22), see Henderson 1999, 119–130.

in this section require, in various ways, an idealized rural landscape to function as an oppositional signifier for *urbs*. The complexity of this intersection between staking out a separate dialectical existence for *rus* whilst at the same time configuring it in an urbane poetic collection embeds an intriguing tension, and it is one that gives the *Odes* an underlying edginess.

These poems represent a development of Horace's attempts (in the *Satires* in particular) to tackle an increasingly tenuous relationship between produce, fertility and even *virtus* in a world in which the delicate balance between *labor* and *otium* that the garden ought to symbolize is increasingly out of kilter.[39] Johnson's 1993 riffs—thought-provoking and illuminating—on Horatian *virtus* weave in and out of his study of *Epistles* 1. His connection of *virtus* with *labor* and *otium* becomes particularly important for the Faunus *Odes*, but turning first to *Odes* 2.15 and 2.18, we can see how infertility, isolation and watery dissolution (indeed, the collapse of socio-cultural boundaries) combine to depict a world in chaos.

> Soon, it will be few acres for the plough, that massive
> palaces will leave. On all sides and spreading wider
>   than the Lucrine lake, ponds
>   will be on show, and the bachelor plane tree
>
> will muscle out the elm; . . .
> . . .
> [Romulus and Cato] approved a modest individual capital—
> but a great common wealth: no private portico, laid out by one man's
>   ten-foot rule, trapped
>   the cool north shade,
>
> Iam pauca aratro iugera regiae
> moles relinquent, undique latius
>   extenta visentur Lucrino
>   stagna lacu, platanusque caelebs
>
> evincet ulmos; . . .
> . . .
> probatus illis census erat brevis,
> commune magnum: nulla decempedis
>   metata privatis opacam
>   porticus excipiebat Arcton,
>
>   *Odes* 2.15.1–5, 13–16

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[39] See in particular, Johnson 1993, 50–52, where he considers the idea (after Cato) that to praise a good man, one praises him as a good farmer.

. . . I trouble the gods for nothing more
  and do not entreat a powerful friend

for greater gifts;
  my one and only Sabine land is blessing enough.
. . .
you place contracts for cutting marble
  whilst death hangs over you, and heedless of
your tomb you build houses
  and you struggle to push back the sea,

raging against Baiae's beach.
  You think yourself scarcely wealthy, since you're hemmed in by
                                                the shore.
Why do you always test the boundary markers of
  your neighbors' fields, and bound over

your clients' outer walls
  in your greed? . . .
. . .
but no mansion, more surely
  than the inevitable end laid on by rapacious Orcus,
awaits the wealthy proprietor.
  Why struggle further? . . .

. . . nihil supra
  deos lacesso, nec potentem amicum

largiora flagito,
  satis beatus unicis Sabinis.
. . .
tu secanda marmora
  locas sub ipsum funus et sepulcri
immemor struis domos
  marisque Bais obstrepentis urges

summovere litora
  parum locuples continente ripa.
quid quod usque proximos
  revellis agri terminos et ultra

limites clientium
  salis avarus? . . .
. . .
nulla certior tamen
  rapacis Orci fine destinata
aula divitem manet.
  erum quid ultra tendis? . . .

                    Odes 2.18.11–14, 17–26, 29–32

In 2.15, 'Garden' (luxury space) overwrites itself onto the productive countryside, provoking a crisis in foundational identities: it is no longer possible for ordinary Romans to experience the pristine landscapes of the *maiores*.[40] The luxury landscapes that offer a distorted mimesis of productive gardens and estates overwrite the communal *labor* and order of the exurban past. They emphasize the depopulation of the landscape, transforming it into a space to be observed rather than populated. This almost apocalyptic vision (whereby warped versions of 'country' life jostle with Horace's memory-landscapes, his Gardens of Roman identity) emphasizes passive display, and even human impotence.[41] This is picked up in *Odes* 2.18 where the land opens itself up to swallow rich and poor: *aequa tellus/pauperi recluditur/ regumque pueris* ('the same earth is thrown open for the poor man and for the sons of kings').[42]

Just as in the *Odes* as a whole, containment and even integrity are flagged as qualities of the ideal landscape, but here it is a scene that allows no positive dynamism or productive *labor*. Moreover, the only way of crossing out of the picture, through the landscape's frame, is by a trip deeper within—to the underworld. The importance of 2.18 for understanding Horace's difficulty in marking up a non-Roman space for free speech is made explicit in his nod to the *realia* of cultural politics embedded in his Sabine estate. Even its positive integrity is compromised by the looming specter of his 'powerful friend' (2.18.12) and wealthy petitioners (2.18.10–11), acknowledging the inevitable presence of Rome's contaminating influence (2.18.9–14).[43] These two poems prioritize the semiotic dilemmas facing Horace in his attempt to use rural and civilized tropes to write opposition and dialectic into 'Rome', and to model the Garden as a serious signifier for retreat and even critical space. Their concern with cultural, physical and intellectual boundaries is particularly important when read

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[40] Cf. the *beatae arces* of 2.6.20, and the *beatus* of 2.18.14. On Praises of Italy, see Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 95.

[41] I discuss the mnemonics of 'Rome' as memory-theater in Lucan in Spencer 2005. Cf. Leach 1988, 73–143, Kellum 1994 and Alcock 2002, 86–98. Most discussions build on Yates 1966 (e.g. 1966, 32–41), and see more recently Small 1997. If we open up *domus* to signify land and house, then Bergmann's 1994 mapping of 'internal' mnemonic space at Pompeii is also extremely useful.

[42] 2.18.32–34. Using the passive *recluditur* (2.18.33) for the actions of *tellus* (2.18.32) is particularly vivid. *Recludo* can also mean 'till', 'draw a sword', 'open' (a door)', 'disclose' or 'let loose' (*OLD*, *s.v.*).

[43] This moves a stage further when in the next poem, 2.19, Horace conjures up remote crags and inaccessible nature which only exist to generate urbane poetics.

against the semiotic playfulness of 2.16, a poem that addresses the impact of lyric context.

Odes 2.16 offers one of the most significant agenda-setting moments in Book 2. This poem specifically concerns itself with *otium*, and engages with one of the problems that are central to my reading of the *Odes*' Italian landscapes.

> . . . An exile from his homeland, who,
>   really, can escape himself?
> . . .
> A hundred herds of lowing Sicilian cattle
> surround you; for you the whinnying of
> a mare fit for a four-horse chariot. It is *you* that
>   wool twice dyed by African shellfish
>
> clothes. To me, a small estate and
> the slender breath of the Greek Camena
> Fate—who is not treacherous—has given, and the ability
>   to despise the spiteful mob.
>
> . . . patriae quis exsul
>   se quoque fugit?
> . . .
> te greges centum Siculaeque circum
> mugiunt vaccae, tibi tollit hinnitum
> apta quadrigis equa, te bis Afro
>   murice tinctae
>
> vestiunt lanae: mihi parva rura et
> spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae
> Parca non mendax dedit et malignum
>   spernere vulgus.
>
> *Odes* 2.16.19–20, 33–40

The contrast between the two farms (2.16.33–40) emphasizes the public, political and even (just about) military overtones of Grosphus' wide estates, in comparison to Horace's *parva rura*. We can see that Grosphus' potential for retreat is minimal because his country estate is so closely modeled on the civic concerns of Rome (2.16.33–37).[44] Here, Horace struggles to set the rural landscape apart from the city and is scathing about monster estates that swallow up their neighbors, but rather than focusing straightforwardly on perversions of

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[44] His cattle represent prosperity and excess production (commerce), his horse and implicit chariot draw in political and military triumph, whilst his purple stripe denotes his civic status. Grosphus returns to Horace's world-view in *Epistles* 1.12, which deals with the relationship between freedom and prosperity.

nature and transgressions of limits he catalogues what eventually crystallize as luxurious vanity products. In this way, Horace ends up with a perverted, even contaminated set of descriptors for an ostensibly solid and productive estate (sheep, horses and cattle), and thereby transforms it into a narcissistic project that prioritizes Grosphus' ambitions. Moreover, he does this whilst at the same time setting up the problem expressed more explicitly at 2.18.11–14, viz. the draining of agronomic imperatives and *labor* from the Garden space that defines and nourishes urban identity.

Horace's emphasis on his own narrow boundaries—poetic and actual (2.16.37–39; *parvus* and *tenuis*)—seems to suggest that he still has some hope of being able to model an explicitly non-civic and even depoliticized intellectual space with clear demarcations. Nevertheless, the conjunction of *Graia* and *Camena* (separated by a Callimachean *tenuis*) gives pause for thought. Starkly and even disturbingly, it is Fate (*Parca*, not *Fatum*), rather than his father that he gets his estate from, and this makes 2.16.19–20 interesting in retrospect.[45] Is Horace's estate the home from which someone else has previously been exiled? What associations is Horace overwriting when he demarcates it as his own *now*? Here, Horace claims that his 'Greek' voice is what allows him his poetic truth and distance, but as *Odes* 1.1 sets out (and 3.30 reiterates) Horace's lyric absolutely *needs* to be Roman lyric to give him a reason to speak.[46] Might it even be the case that the taint of exile, proscriptions and evictions (*pace* Vergil's *Eclogues*) is what makes the countryside seem to offer a likely place to work up a critical voice?

If this is what Horace's project becomes in the wake of his dissatisfaction in the *Satires*, then as I have argued, he sets himself up to fail in his quest to define a real locus of retreat from 'Rome', and in this I differ from Johnson.[47] He proposes that Horace finds,

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[45] Putnam 2000, 66 ties Horace's choice of *Parca* into the rhetorical strategies of the *Carmen Saeculare*, suggesting that his usage keys into a close connection between the *Parcae* and parturition/fertility (citing Gellius *NA* 3.16.10 on Varro). If he is right, and this operates for Horace, then Fate here is also his progenitor; moreover, his receipt of the estate from Fate writes the gift into the specific processes of Augustan History.

[46] 2.16.39–40 sets up, of course, 3.1.1–2. Although coming at it from a different angle, Barchiesi's three characteristic features of 'doing' genre at Rome (2000, 167) support my reading: in his terms these three are the 'folding' of genre, consciousness of genre as a locus for expressing loss, and genre as a (politicized) focus for oppositionality.

[47] Johnson 1993, 148–150.

in the Garden, a productive 'mean between extremes (wasteland/cosmopolis)' (1993, 149). This optimistic reading is central to his formulation of balance between city and country as a signpost for Horace's attainment of 'freedom', but as I suggest that *Odes* 2.3 makes clear, Horace's idyllic estate Gardens are always and perforce contaminated by Hellenic aesthetics and the *mores* of Roman cultural poetics. This means that the act of writing *rus* and composing a Garden scene inevitably superimposes urban(e) vistas, and compromises 'freedom' rather than making successful compromise a route to 'freedom'.

   If we take the culturally contaminated *recusatio* of 'Rome' articulated in 2.16 in conjunction with 2.3—an apparently whimsical Epicurean riff on the contrast between a rural idyll and death-as-exile—it takes on an even less optimistic tone. Indeed I suggest that 2.3 sets up *Odes* 2 as an exploration of Horace's obsession with *rus* as a place that foreshadows death—what ought to be the ultimate retreat.

> . . . you will die, Dellius,
>
> whether, brooding, you live out your time,
> or in secluded meadows through festal
>   days you recline, at your ease,
>   with a vintage Falernian from the store.
>
> To what end do the massive pine and the white poplar
> love to make common cause with their branches in giving hospitable
>   shade? Why does the fleeting water exert itself to tumble
>   through the zigzagging course of the stream?
>
> . . .
> you will give up the woodland pastures that you have bought, and the
>   town house
> and the country villa which golden Tiber laps—
>   these you will also give up; and the riches which you've piled high—
>   your heir will be master of them.
>
> . . .
> we are all gathered to the same end, everything
> is turned in the urn and sooner or later
>   our lots fall out, and load us, for eternal
>   exile, on the skiff.
>
>   . . . moriture Delli,
>
> seu maestus omni tempore vixeris,
> seu te in remoto gramine per dies

festos reclinatum bearis
    interiore nota Falerni.

quo pinus ingens albaque populus
umbram hospitalem consociare amant
    ramis? quid obliquo laborat
        lympha fugax trepidare rivo.[48]

. . .

cedes coemptis saltibus et domo
villaque flavus quam Tiberis lavit,
    cedes, et exstructis in altum
        divitiis potietur heres.

. . .

omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
versatur urna serius ocius
    sors exitura et nos in aeternum
        exsilium impositura cumbae.

                              Odes 2.3.4–12, 17–20, 25–28

The picnic scene that Horace describes seems to echo Lucretius
(*DRN* 2.14–33), and reappears in *Odes* 2.11, yet in this version the
landscape itself is conspiring to sedate the figures that populate it
and to collapse any lingering potential for difference. Furthermore,
the somewhat sinister personification developed at 2.3.9–12 suggests
that the human figures are trapped in the scene without any under-
standing of their subordinate, passive role. The hospitable shade
offered by the trees (2.3.10) leads to quiescence and retreat, and the
ultimate retreat is death; *umbra* is double-edged. This becomes par-
ticularly biting in the context of Vergilian pastoral if we open up
the full implications of its concern with sheltering space (*umbra*—
shade and ghost) from the searing sunshine (the most obvious exam-
ple being Virgil *Eclogues* 1.1). As *Odes* 2.3 intimates, escape from the
heat, in Horace, often takes on overtones of death.[49]

Not surprisingly, given the Epicurean tone, Horace's scene nods
to the transience of man in this landscape, but what also shimmers
in the background is the sense that as 'Rome' bleeds into the coun-
tryside (and experiencing the countryside is increasingly a function

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[48] Reading a full stop at the end of 2.3.8, and (as proposed by Nisbet and
Hubbard 1978) *quo* and *quid* at 2.3.9 and 11.
[49] If we compare the *Odes*' shadows with *Epistles* 1.16.5–6, 15, we can see how
Horace eventually clarifies this, developing shade as a limiting, differential quality.

of Roman status) there is only one journey left that marks a *real* moment of boundary-crossing—death, the final exile.[50] But here (2.3.27–28), even death is drawn into Horace's process of dissolution, and expressed as an exile (recalled at 2.16.19–20) in which its role as universal closural device dissipates.[51] This poem sets up many of the key themes for the increasing sense of delimitation that courses through *Odes* 2 (itself the most consistently philosophically speculative of the collection) and read alongside 2.1–2 and 2.4 (time as a limit to sexual desire), we can see a programmatic intent. Having dealt with breaches of national and political boundaries (2.1) and the transgressive ethics of luxury (2.2), Horace is launching into a more wide-ranging exposé of the frightening lack of semiotic certainty that a culturally and conceptually boundless world lays bare.

4.3   *Faunus, Maecenas and Silvanus (*Odes *1.17, 3.18, 3.29)*

Three final poems that further demonstrate the far-reaching implications of horti-culturation in the *Odes* are 1.17, 3.18 and 3.29. Mapped out here, we see Horace's concern not just with retreat from Rome, but the urgency of Rome's status as cultural vacuum which conditions all epistemological models. If we look first at 1.17 and 3.18, the contrast is striking.

> Swift Faunus often pleasant Lucretilis
> exchanges for Lycaeus, and the fiery
>   heat, constantly he wards off from my kid goats,
>   along with the rainy winds.
>
> . . .
> . . . here for you [Tyndaris] a rich supply
>   will pour forth in abundance
>   the honors of the countryside, from a bounteous horn;
>
> . . . here in a sequestered valley you will escape
> the heat of the dog-days, and like the Teian,

---

[50] Unlike Leach 1988, 285 I do not read 2.3.17–20 as modeling the *hortus* as 'private', separate from the 'public' villa. On the complexity of what a 'villa' is, see e.g. Varro *De Re Rustica* 3.2.3–10, and Henderson's 2004 nice translation of *villa* as 'Manor' (home, farm, estate and gardens) in Seneca's *Epistles*.

[51] The repetitive embrace of *omnis* (2.3.25) emphasizes universality (and indistinction) whilst the mythography, just as at 2.13.21–40, emphasizes the cultural baggage that familiarizes death and makes it extraordinary for its ordinariness.

you'll sing of those wearing themselves out for one single man:
    Penelope and glimmering Circe.

Here, draughts of harmless Lesbian
you will consume in the shade, nor will Semeleian
    Thyoneus join with Mars
        in battle, . . .

Velox amoenum saepe Lucretilem
mutat Lycaeo Faunus et igneam
    defendit aestatem capellis
        usque meis pluviosque ventos.

. . .
. . . hic tibi copia
    manabit ad plenum benigno
        ruris honorum opulenta cornu.

hic in reducta valle Caniculae
vitabis aestus et fide Teia
    dices laborantis in uno
        Penelopen vitreamque Circen.

hic innocentis pocula Lesbii
duces sub umbra, nec Semeleius
    cum Marte confundet Thyoneus
        proelia, . . .

<div align="right">Odes 1.17.1–4, 14–24</div>

Faunus, of the nymphs who flee you, the lover,
through my land and the sun-warmed countryside
may you march gently, and pass by,
    benevolent to my little nurselings,

if a tender kid is sacrificed at the full of the year,
and overflowing wine, companion of Venus, does not
fail the mixing bowl, whilst the ancient altar with heavy
    scent smokes.

Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator,
per meos finis et aprica rura
lenis incedas abeasque parvis
    aequus alumnis,

si tener pleno cadit haedus anno,
larga nec desunt Veneris sodali
vina creterrae, vetus ara multo
    fumat odore.

<div align="right">Odes 3.18.1–8</div>

1.17.1–12 sets us in a post-*Eclogues* pastoral scene, but importantly,
one in which 'pastoral' (Faunus' world) is transmuted into 'Rome'

(1–4) as Faunus makes the trip from Arcadia to the new pastoral 'center'.[52] Faunus' presence in the *Odes*, though intermittent, signals vital moments. In *Odes* 1.4, Horace uses spring sacrifices to Faunus (an absent presence) to begin an exploration of the process of marking the seasons, trying out ways of inscribing difference into the passage of time. He ends, however, with the homogenizing triumph of death (expressed neatly in a series of contrasts between heat and shade). In 2.17, Horace returns to his near-death experience with the falling tree. Here, he links his fate to Maecenas', suggesting that only together are they whole, and noting that it was Faunus' Mercurial intervention that saved him.

Despite (or even because of) the implications of *velox*, using *muto* makes this 'journey' a metamorphic process in which we find limits and difference disappearing. Faunus' trip to *Lucretilis amoenus* could seem (in conjunction with the topographical rhyme of *Luc* and *Lyc*) to undermine its Roman-ness, and this is played up by the seclusion that Horace highlights (1.17.17). But the apparently artless sophistication of Horace's lyric, in conjunction with Faunus' compromised, heterogeneous nature, should give us pause for thought. Faunus' liminal qualities (hinted at in *Odes* 2.17 via his connection with Mercury) and combination of bounty and chaos make him an intriguing choice. He can symbolize unity through difference (a kind of Hegelian monster) whilst also signifying the merging and even dissolution of identities and difference.[53] The emphatic repetition of *hic* (1.17.14, 17, 21) suggests that Horace plans to offer a serious means of differentiating

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[52] Putnam 2000, 153 n. 12 suggests (rightly, I think) that Horace may be hinting that swapping Arcadia for 'Rome' translates 'Pan' into 'Faunus' (cf. Leach 1988, 232). His reading of 1.17 (2000, 14–33) has greatly influenced my own (sometimes divergent) understanding. On the slippage between Faunus, Pan et al., see Dorcey 1992, 33–48.

[53] As, indeed, we might expect, Horace's 'Faunus' does not explicitly encourage dialectic; he requires worship. Within Horace's scheme his benevolent presence ushers in temperate weather rather than extremes (on Faunus as boundary between order and Bacchic frenzy, see Leach 1988, 234–235). Nevertheless, Faunus is a highly loaded choice for a 'patron'. Faunus is name-checked at *Aeneid* 10.551, and Servius (on *Aeneid* 6.775 and 7.81) identifies him as a 'speaker'. Faunus also figures as Latinus' father (*Aeneid* 7.47), and his son Tarquitus' gibbering head is hacked off by Aeneas. This Vergilian genealogy emphasizes Faunus' ostensibly native qualities, and his role in *Aeneid* 7 connects Latinus back, through him, to his father Picus, son of Saturn (7.48–49). So, despite Faunus' apparently wild and woodland associations (via Pan), via Vergil's Latinus he generates synthesis and order (*Aeneid* 7.46). For Faunus' oracular qualities, see Dorcey 1992, 35–36.

between *rus* and *urbs*, but he stops well short of actually defining the contrast. Indeed Tyndaris (disclosed as the 'real' addressee in line 10) at no point within the text makes the trip: just as with Faunus and so many others, no evidence of traveling to arrive is offered, and the whole fantasy is exactly that, an excursion into the future tense.[54]

Faunus' role gains additional ambiguity when read against his entrance in *Odes* 3.18. On one level, he offers protection, but as 3.18 makes clear, there are strings attached. His benevolent (and even *Augustan*) presence permits the estate's prosperity and existence, maps out the year, and controls Horace's responses to his environment. Horace may be in a position to invite Faunus—as *euergetês*—to make the trip (3.18.2–3), but this does not put him in a position to refuse Faunus access. Furthermore, the god's almost instant arrival in 1.17 (conceptually, and in a flurry on the 'page') emphasizes how close the estate is to the highly politicized Golden Age rhetorics that the presence of this grandson of Saturn can invoke. Instant access to the gods suggests that the teleological processes of history itself have broken down, whilst it also reaffirms the loss of clear identity that Horace's estate is threatened with. *Labor* is entirely absent, but sex is also postponed.[55] Horace contemplates a future tryst (unfulfilled) whilst Faunus' authority and presence have an almost soporific effect.[56]

This pleasant valley is certainly distanced from 'Rome', but Faunus' advent raises questions that are highlighted at 3.18.1–4, where we are confronted again with his superior authority. Horace may theoretically 'own' the land (3.18.2), but in fact he only has use of it, as 3.18.3 makes clear.[57] Also significant is the difference in style. The pastoral artifice and song within a song of 1.17 is replaced in 3.18 with a similarly artificial but ostensibly rustic and agricultural mood. Here, Faunus' role as persistent and unsuccessful *amator* nods to the speed and threat of 1.17 (*velox*/*fugientum*), but his apparent equanimity

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[54] Using the name Tyndaris, of course, allows conflict to seep implicitly into the poem (despite lines 22–24); but more prosaically, Tyndaris is also the name of a west Sicilian coastal town.

[55] Horace plays with the poetic deliquescence of *mano* (*Odes* 1.17.15) again in the *Epistles* (1.17.59, 1.19.43).

[56] Cf. the altered states of *Odes* 2.6, 7 and 11.

[57] See also the implicit transference of evaluative authority to Faunus at 3.18.5 (*tener*) and 7–8 (*multo . . . odore*).

(3.18.3–4) is belied by the conditional implications of 3.18.5. Nevertheless, the poem makes no moves to suggest that Faunus' evaluative role will write dialogue into the scene. In fact his almost detached benevolence has entirely drained the estate of meaningful contrast and dialectic. Even Horace is no longer singing, but sacrificing; passively awaiting judgment rather than expecting a *tête-à-tête* exchange of views. Faunus is no longer a signifier of 'difference' (as 1.17 attempts to make possible) but of the city's urbane assimilation of both *rus* and Horace's Garden.

By idealizing the farm in 1.17, Horace makes a courtly bow to its 'patron'—ostensibly, here, Faunus.[58] The cornucopia at its heart (1.17.14–16) makes Golden Age overtones explicit—in specifically 'Augustan' terms—whilst the pastoral motifs are self evident. Finding the two so ostentatiously combined in this poem, one which contains pastoral, epic, lyric and erotic voices, we also gain a sense of literary abundance and excess that might allude to connections between Faunus, Maecenas and Augustus (a nexus that we can compare with Mercury/Maecenas in *Satire* 2.6).[59] Horace's use of *muto* for Faunus' transformation of the farm (and *mano* 1.17.15) shows the fluidity of the plenty that the farm can represent, but the transformation of the farm into a function of Hellenistic and *Augustan* plenty is also disturbing. There are clear similarities between the strings-attached retreat that Horace offers to Tyndaris, and Maecenas to Horace. Penelope (who we might say inspires normative 'travel') and Circe (who stymies it) are vying for one man who struggles to get home, and in foretelling Tyndaris' anacreontic song Horace performs yet another cultural translation. Here, in the shade (1.17.22), Greek lyric yet again overwhelms Roman locus. We ought to feel that Horace is at home, yet neither here nor in his other *Odes* do we gain a concrete or developed sense of the *realia* of what Horace calls *domus*. His hypotheses on the theme of return (and the quasi-imperative force of *vitabis*, 1.17.18) suggest another kind of homecoming, but with topographic identity vested in genre, symbolism and myth, and allowing little coherent sense of experiential location beyond the stock images.[60]

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[58] For Faunus as Maecenas cf. *Satires* 2.6 and Bowditch 2001, 154.

[59] Bowditch 2001, 156–157.

[60] The problem of self-exile and how to locate 'home' recurs at 2.16.19–20, quoted above.

So despite Horace's structuring of difference and separation into his Garden's identity in 1.17, interstices and cross-infection are still urgent concerns. Horace's modeling of 'Cyrus' as a threatening invader (or straw man) whose disruptive potential can conveniently be written out is almost comical given his readmission to the *Odes* at 3.29.[61] As the generic instability in 1.17 suggests, even writing about the land poses difficult and complex semiotic questions. Similarly, Cyrus' exclusion (1.17.25–28) suggests anxieties about how to draw and defend the boundaries between the farm's fantasy status as Golden Age idyll, and the constant threat from ideological border skirmishing. In 3.18, wolves and woods continue to emphasize Faunus' liminal characteristics whilst, in conjunction with his calendrical and festal role (3.18.5, 10), implicitly reinscribing his teleological and urbane qualities—qualities which are pointedly an Augustan preserve.[62]

The clear connections between the figures of Faunus in these two poems focus our attention on an underlying conflict of identity in the cultural poetics of Horace's proposed exurban venue for dialectic and difference. The same semiotic issues continue to plague his 'rural' Garden as those which closed down the potential of Maecenas' Garden to act as a space for critical thinking in the *Satires*. What Horace achieves, over the course of (and in the poetic space between) these two poems is an identification of the contested and uncertain areas that blur the conceptual and rhetorical boundaries that he is attempting to map. The polyvalence of the Sabine farm—philosophy Garden, generic playground, geographical metaphor and locus of (dislocations of) power—allows Horace to think about who he is when not at Rome, but also to explore the disturbing possibility that Rome is everywhere, even in Arcadia.

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[61] That a connection is there to be drawn (co-locating 'historical' and Horatian figures in *both* poems) is also noticed by Putnam 2000, 21, and further to his argument we can also compare the similar representation of intense heat in the two poems (1.17.17–18; 3.29.17–20).

[62] In 1.17, Lycaeus invokes Pan whilst *lupos* (1.17.9) drags in Romulus, Remus, civilization and (by the back door) Saturn's (and thereby Faunus') place in Rome's mythic history. The return of the wolves at 3.18.13 reminds us of the embedded threats of the Romulan city, or at least of its mythopoetics. Horace's concluding emphasis on the artificial nature of everything we have 'heard' is made clear in the final two lines of 3.18 Here, the *fossor* ('digger', 'delver', 'ditcher', 'bumpkin', 'sapper') employs a metrically neat but violent (picking up on the aggressive overtones of *pepulisse*, 3.18.15) attack to undermine the land's stability.

Drawing in one final—and almost closural—poem (3.29), the net-
work of connections tightens even further. Its theme, an invitation
to Maecenas to abandon the stresses of the city and visit Horace on
'his' (Horace's, and *inevitably*, Maecenas') estate picks up on 3.8.15–17
(escape from the city) and 3.8.18–24 (foreign affairs).[63] In its skirt-
ing around patronal issues and Maecenas' antique regal identity (we
must be struck by his transformation from the *privatus* of 3.8.25–28),
Horace introduces an element of discord which is emphasized by
the *plein air* sympotic scene he quickly sketches in as his own seat
of identity. But using *apud me* (3.29.5) is ambiguous enough to remind
us of the compromised nature of all of Horace's poetic landscapes.

> Offspring of Tyrrhenian kings, for you
> long since, an undisturbed jar of mellow wine,
>   with roses, Maecenas, in bloom, and
>   balsam pressed for your hair,
>
> awaits at my place: tear yourself away without delay,
> lest forever it's watery Tibur and the sloping
>   fields of Aefula that you gaze upon, and
>   the hill-top acres of Telegonus the parricide.
>
> Give up your disdainful luxury and
> your massive pile, neighbor only to the soaring clouds.
>   Cease to wonder at the magnificence,
>   the smoke and wealth and clamor of Rome . . .
>
> already the shepherd seeks the shade with his drowsy flock,
> and, weary, he seeks the brook and the thickets
>   of bristly Silvanus; the riverbank,
>   silent, lacks even a stray breath of wind;
>
> Tyrrhena regum progenies, tibi
> non ante verso lene merum cado
>   cum flore, Maecenas, rosarum et
>   pressa tuis balanus capillis
>
> iamdudum apud me est. eripe te morae,
> ne semper udum Tibur et Aefulae
>   declive contempleris arvum et
>   Telegoni iuga parricidae.
>
> fastidiosam desere copiam et
> molem propinquam nubibus arduis;

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[63] This intratextual nod also pulls in Horace's escape from death-by-tree which
3.8 notionally commemorates, and thereby directs us back, once again, to 2.13.

> omitte mirari beatae
>   fumum et opes strepitumque Romae.
>
> . . .
> iam pastor umbras cum grege languido
> rivumque fessus quaerit et horridi
>   dumeta Silvani, caretque
>   ripa vagis taciturna ventis;
>
> *Odes* 3.29.1–12, 21–24

Here, the estate and Horace are waiting for Maecenas' arrival
(3.29.1–5), but as we have come to expect in the *Odes*, his advent
is prospective (even speculative) and always imminent. As I have
argued, 'Maecenas' is ever-present in Horace's Garden, just as
Maecenas is carefully excluded, but here, rather than using Faunus,
Horace deploys Silvanus as this poem's compromising and compro-
mised authority figure. In Silvanus—a far less feral god than Faunus—
Horace finds a way of metaphorically spiking Maecenas' guns. Silvanus'
lethargic role may nod to his ambiguous place in the contemporary
Zeitgeist: he represents defanged *rus*, and despite his twiggy prickles,
he holds little sway over the poem.[64]

Maecenas' anxieties are focused on the city and the *res publica*
(3.29.25–26), but these *curae* are undermined by Horace's fanciful
suggestion that the furthest reaches of Rome's *imperium sine fine*—the
bugbears represented by China, Bactria (Parthia) and Scythia—are
what cause Maecenas' fretfulness (3.29.27–28). This suggests that
Horace is making a hyperbolically bold assertion of autonomy for
his estate, marking it out as a place where city and empire-writ-large
are unwelcome. And this strand continues when Horace establishes
some intellectual autonomy for his Sabine Garden by refusing, tac-
itly, to return the poem to Maecenas and his calls on Horace's time
and presence/absence. Instead, Horace ends the poem with an almost
solipsistic meditation on an ethically charged personal universe.
Ultimately, of course, the cumulative effect of *Odes* 1–3 makes this
bravura ending into a damp squib. Michael Putnam has commented
that this *Ode* models 'Maecenas' as all-too-aware of the polysemy of

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[64] Silvanus seems to have become popular in the Augustan period, but never
received a public cult. Like Faunus, he has a Vergilian pedigree (e.g. *Eclogues* 10.24;
Georgics 1.20, 2.494; *Aeneid* 8.600). See Dorcey 1992, 33–42 on Silvanus (whom he
lumps together with Pan and Faunus).

the Sabine estate (2000, 39); I take this further—the invitation is itself (to some extent at least) null or at least compromised, since the estate *already* contains 'Maecenas', and thereby has no independent identity.

As Bowditch has also observed, the opening movement of this poem effects a kind of intellectual series of transitional forays: Maecenas, Rome and corruption, versus Horace, estate and virtue.[65] But I read the upshot of this complex of segues rather differently. Instead of finding in it a demonstration of the distance between author and addressee(s), I think it suggests how incredibly tightly linked they are, and this is evident in the verbal and conceptual intertwining between Maecenas and the estate (3.29.1–5), Rome and Maecenas' suburban gardens (3.29.6–10), Rome (3.29.10–12), and luxury and sufficiency (3.29.13–16). The farm is not quite visible from Maecenas' gardens (unlike the hill towns name-checked at 3.29.6–8), and this reestab- lishes a sense of difference and integrity separate from Rome, but of course its existence as 'Horace's' Garden is wholly dependent upon Maecenas. This tension is also made evident when we find out that, surprisingly, it is parched in the midsummer heat, just like Rome (3.29.17–24). Unlike Rome, of course, it offers 'pastoral' shade, but as we have seen elsewhere in the *Odes*, the kind of shade on offer (though perhaps preferable to 'Rome') is not hugely comfort- able or productive. Maecenas may be worrying about constitutional reform in the correct place to do so (Rome), but the far-reaching nature of his/Augustus'/Rome's appropriative gaze means that this time of year (Julian months) is unpleasant and dangerous all over.[66] 3.29 is not simply the penultimate poem of the collection: it offers a thematic and conceptual conclusion to the internal concerns of the *Odes*' philosophical and ethical concerns. 3.30 stands, then, as a *sphragis*, both in its sepulchral implications and its conclusive sentiments.

5. *Conclusion*

Clearly, Horace is grateful for his estate (his 'Augustan' gift) on a multiplicity of levels, but as I have been suggesting, the freedom and

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[65] Bowditch 2001, 162. Cf. Leach 1988, 292–297.
[66] Horace's use of Procyon (Canis Minor) at 3.29.18 must allude to Canicula (Canis Maior) at 1.17.17 and 3.13.9.

status that it confers is also, subtly, and often in a highly submerged way, being questioned. Garden and estate provide space outside Rome that Horace can withdraw to, and reward his service. But because of the wider socio-cultural context (and the donor's identity—Maecenas/Augustus), Horace's retreat is thoroughly compromised. From the late Republic on, parks and leisure space were increasingly on offer to the urban Roman public, and we might wonder whether this triggers a conceptual shift.[67] Perhaps a traditional identification of citizenship with indigenous, unspectacular, (notionally) self-sufficient farming is being replaced by an urbane and highly polished simulacrum of rusticity? In the wake of Varro's *De Re Rustica*, it may be that the cultural politics of the *Georgics*, the *Carmen Saeculare* and Augustan imagery in general, are squeezing out widespread identification of Roman identity with the laborious and grimy *realia* of working the land. If we take Horace at face value, then, many (non-elite) people are going to lose a sense of direct personal connection with the landscapes outside the city limits, and with ownership of land as a signifier for solid citizen autarky. Meanwhile, 'elite' estates simultaneously take on more and more of the otiose, urban(e) and ever more intellectually repressive qualities of Maecenas' Garden, whilst also 'producing' disturbing critical fodder. Paraphrasing Mary Beard's comments (quoted above, n. 19), opulence and luxury are increasingly, in Horace's *Odes*, threatening the autonomous and fertile persistence of the cabbage-patch in his horticultural imagination.

The qualities of the *locus amoenus* which Horace evokes are, of course, part of a highly artificial literary discourse; together with the political and patronal intrusions, they make his Garden-estate into an important space for testing qualities of authority and identity. Yet paradoxically, as Horace suggests in relation to Maecenas' Garden, it is only at points of intersection with death, danger, chaos, fear and the unknown that Horace can use his poetry in this way. The

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[67] See e.g. Pompey's 'portico' gardens (Plutarch, *Pompey* 42.4; Propertius 2.32.11–16; Ovid, *AA* 1.67–68); Caesar's Transtiberine gardens, opened to the public in his will (Suetonius, *Caesar* 83; Dio 44.35.3); Augustus' *Nemus Caesarum* and the gardens around his Mausoleum (Tacitus, *Annals* 14.15; Suetonius, *Augustus* 100); the landscaped grounds of Agrippa's baths (eventually, the *Campus Agrippae*), made fully public in his will (Dio 54.29.4; Ovid, *Ep. ex Ponto* 1.8.37–38; Strabo 13.1.19); the *Porticus Liviae* (e.g. Ovid, *AA* 1.72; Strabo 5.3.8; Pliny, *NH* 14.3.11). We can compare these 'public' spaces with the parallel growth in privately owned (sub)urban garden-estates, e.g. the *Horti Luculliani*, *Maecenatiani* (as we have seen), and *Sallustiani*.

instability of Horace's title to his land, and the fact that a gift of land is no guarantee of its tenure, are what allow Horace to use the Garden as a space for trying out the viability of critical distance. Johnson 1993, 76 suggests that the paradise regained of *Odes* 1.22 is a hyperbolic parody of 'pastoral', whereas I suspect that Horace is (wryly) using the artifice of highly wrought pastoral aesthetics (throughout the *Odes*) to flag up the impossibility of alterity. What at times looks like over-exuberant pastiche is in part, I suggest, tied up in Horace's determination to test his own poetic autarky; in the city, this proves difficult, but in the exurban landscapes of the *Odes* he develops and tries out an alternative.[68] Horace's vision of Rome is saturated with Augustus, but in the Gardens that *Odes* 1–3 (and increasingly, the *Epistles*) create, we can see an optimistic attempt to assert some lingering possibility for difference, individuality and personal autonomy.

We could, effectively, go along with Horace's characterization of 'his' Sabine estate as a landscape of desire, as a successful strategy for countering (and even, thereby, shoring up) Golden Age Rome. Its inaccessibility in the *Odes*—and his ambivalence about populating it with anyone other than himself in the text's here-and-now—does allow for a certain strained sense of oppositional distance. What gives *Odes* 1–3 its critical bite, however, is that the separation never quite works. The bravura of 3.29 notwithstanding, Horace constantly undermines his own iterative autonomy and authority. His genres, tropes and philosophies are all, quite obviously, second-hand—appropriations and hand-me-downs, just like his Garden. In every case (as Horace makes sure that we recognize), urban poetics and Augustan politics intrude to bring the city to the country, just as Augustus' Golden Age has finally (even terminally) embedded the country in the city.

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[68] It is in the tension between genre as comfort-blanket and as (self-conscious) signal for difference, I think, that Barchiesi's characterization of Horace as a poet who incorporates 'similarity and distance' (2000, 169) resides.

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DIDO IN HER SETTINGS: CARTHAGE AND ENVIRONS*

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1. *Introduction*

Amid the multiplicity of social, cultural, and moral meanings ascribed to the city in classical antiquity, there is yet another: the city was sometimes imagined as a female. Rome, for example, was personified as Roma. Hellenistic and Roman images of Tyche or Fortuna are closely tied to their respective cities and often show the goddess crowned by city battlements; numerous statuettes in bronze or glass or precious stone, along with the coins of more than fifty cities, imitate the most famous example, the Tyche of Antioch sculpted by Eutychides in ca. 300 BCE. Vergil was obviously familiar with these female figures wearing mural crowns: he depicts Magna Mater at *Aeneid* 6.785 as turreted.[1] Given this notion of the city as female or under the protection of a goddess, who is sometimes a deified queen, it is understandable that the poet of the *Aeneid* should identify the city of Carthage very closely with Dido, its legendary foundress and ruler.

In terms of politics and history, critics have often regarded Dido as a metaphor for Carthage, since she threatens the mission of Aeneas as her city will later threaten Rome.[2] But something like the inverse is also true: the city of Carthage and environs represent vital facets of the queen. The poet deepens our sense of Dido's sufferings by setting her story against the backdrop of a poetic Carthage whose

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[1] See essays by J.J. Pollitt, Susan B. Matheson, Pieter B.F.J. Broucke, Mark D. Stansbury-O'Donnell, Dieter Metzler, and Amy C. Smith in Matheson 1994.

[2] See for example Horsfall 1990, 131 who tracks the combination of hostile Juno and *furor* throughout the poem, pointing to 'Dido's function as a dark and terrible threat to Rome's future greatness'.

fortifications, buildings, and surrounding landscape are imbued with figurative values. This associative symbolism is not all-embracing: it does not explain every last feature of architecture or topography. Nevertheless, I hope to demonstrate that Vergil typically uses the queen's external setting—from temple to cave to palace courtyard—to express her internal state, and it is up to us, as readers, to visualize Dido's actions within those settings.

Nowadays, at least, most readers sympathize with Dido—as does Aeneas himself when he encounters her shade in the Underworld—and it would appear that Vergil took prodigious care to create a compelling heroine even at the risk of detracting from his hero.[3] Dido was already a figure of legend when Vergil got hold of her: traditional stories about the queen of Carthage are known to us through brief accounts by the Hellenistic historian Timaeus (third century BCE) and the Roman epitomist Justin (second or third century CE), who was quoting the Augustan historian Trogus.[4] Vergil appears to have developed a new twist to the plot by entwining her story with that of Aeneas after he fled burning Troy. At the same time, the poet drew upon scenes and devices from Homer and Apollonius, and Greek tragedy as well. But he transcended all these literary antecedents in creating his own unique vision of Dido. Otis has urged that Vergil was bent upon achieving, in any given passage, a single subjective point of view: his style caused the reader's 'empathy and sympathy to run on the single track that he . . . carefully laid out'.[5] With or without an old-fashioned intentionalist reading, one may observe that many of the settings in Books One and Four elicit strong emotional effects centered on Dido.

This chapter will argue that Vergil uses city and countryside to reflect the mind of Dido as she is drawn into and destroyed by her love affair with Aeneas. Its focus is neither style, nor descriptive *enargeia*, but rather the use of settings. Only twice does Vergil describe Carthage at any length—from a nearby summit (1.421–429) and inside Dido's palace (1.637–642). Otherwise he relies on isolated elements scattered through the text, and this chapter will bring most of these together in considering four aspects of Dido's settings: first,

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[3] The curiously strong sympathy toward Dido is addressed in Drake 2000.
[4] Pease 1935, 14–17.
[5] Otis 1964, 70.

the fortifications of Carthage (section 2); second, the streets and build-
ings within the city (section 3); third, the countryside that lies beyond
the walls (section 4); and fourth, the courtyard where Dido dies and
her resemblance to a doomed city (section 5). At the outset of the
episode, the city represents safety for Dido and the countryside dan-
ger, but this opposition becomes destabilized as the narrative unfolds.

2. *The fortifications of Carthage*

At the most literal level, the city of Carthage marks off civilization
from untamed territory. The physical structure of the city, in com-
bination with the law, keeps barbarism at bay.[6] The natives of Libya
are a people unconquerable in war (1.339; cf. 4.35–38). Anna calls
the Numidians 'unbridled' (4.41), as if they as well as their horses
were unrestrained. As the shipwrecked Aeneas gazes at Carthage
from a short distance, he sees walls, a citadel, gates and streets, the-
aters, huge columns—massive construction (*moles*) where once huts
had been (1.421–429). There are magistrates and a senate. Ilioneus,
in his address to Dido, praises the city's power to govern (1.522–523):
he observes that Jupiter has granted Dido this new city and the abil-
ity 'to curb—with justice—proud peoples'.[7]

But for Dido, who has fled the cruelty of her brother Pygmalion,
the city also shuts out threats from the dangerous past. Venus explains
to Aeneas that ruthless Pygmalion had hurt Dido emotionally: in
killing Sychaeus, the husband whom she greatly loved (1.344; cf.
4.28–29, 4.552), he was heedless of her feelings (1.350–351). The
victim of extensive wrongs (1.341), Dido builds new walls to defend
herself against physical threats and a possible attack from Pygmalion
(4.43–44). She maintains tight defenses for reasons of state (1.563–564).
Her Carthage is—and historically will be—'fierce in the pursuits of
war' (1.14). But the queen also seeks to ward off physically and per-
haps also emotionally the Libyan suitors who press upon her in
courtship (4.325–326):

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[6] Monti 1981, 33 writes: 'The idea is established early and reinforced through-
out that Dido is a queen encircled by barbarism'.

[7] Jupiter uses a similar formulation when he explains to Venus what fate has in
store for Aeneas (1.263–264): 'He will crush fierce tribes and set down laws and
ramparts for his people' (*populosque ferocis/contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet*).

> Why live on? Either my brother Pygmalion
> Wrecks my walls, or Iarbas, the African, makes me a captive.[8]

> quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater
> destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?

> Out of loyalty to the dead Sychaeus, and consonant with the
> traditional Roman ideal of the woman who marries only once,[9]
> she fights off marriage. Anna asks Dido whether she will 'con-
> tend against' even a pleasing love (4.38): *placitone etiam pugnabis*
> *amori?*

On the whole, the founding of Carthage has opened up a pre-
sent that seems shielded and secure. Dido has a home of her own
and is no longer buffeted (1.627–629). Her optimism is reflected in
the verb *consistere*: 'to settle finally' or 'to stay for good'.[10] Yet the
most persistent of the Libyan suitors, Iarbas, will actually precipitate
the series of events that ends in Dido's death. Iarbas in a jealous
rage prays to Jupiter, who dispatches Mercury, who tells Aeneas that
he must leave Carthage, which drives Dido to suicide. The protec-
tion that Dido seeks in building her walls does not prove efficacious.

So the fortifications of Carthage, I suggest, symbolize the queen's
inadequate defenses. The watchtowers are part of those defenses:
they are a concrete expression of her anguished watchfulness. Dido
twice rushes up a tower to view in the manner of Helen or
Andromache in the *Iliad*[11] the activities of men beyond the walls
(4.408–411):[12]

> What did you feel then, Dido, watching that bustle?
> How did you sigh, observing the whole feverish coastline
> high in your tower, seeing the breadth of that water
> aswirl before your eyes with all-out hurry and uproar?

> quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,
> quosve dabas gemitus, cum litora fervere late
> prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque videres
> misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!

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[8] Edward McCrorie's 1995 translation is used for this and other extended pas-
sages.

[9] Rudd 1990, 154–159 argues convincingly that a widow's remarriage was not
considered a disgrace in Vergil's day; but he also notes (159) that 'Dido does prize
the ideal of *univiratus*'.

[10] Conway 1935 *ad loc.*

[11] Helen does so at *Iliad* 3.154, Andromache at *Iliad* 4.386.

[12] Cf. the tower in Troy from which the Greek ships and camps are seen in
Book 2, and the towers of Latinus' city to which the mothers run in Book 11.

From this vantage point, *arce ex summa* (4.410), Dido witnesses her lover's fleet being rebuilt. As Aeneas sets sail, she sees his departing ships (4.586–587):

> The queen, soon as she saw whitening daylight
> high in her tower, then sail and ship in formation . . .
>
> regina e speculis ut primam albescere lucem
> vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis . . .

She then utters the famous curse that anticipates the Punic Wars. Aeneas has become the enemy against whom Dido must defend herself: twice she calls him *hostis* (4.424, 549). Her hostility outlives them both, for Dido's walls will someday threaten Rome.[13]

The walls Dido has built—both in her heart and around Carthage—fail to protect her, for she is vulnerable from within. Like Troy, she is taken not by storm but by stealth.[14] In Book Two, Aeneas recalls the moment when the Trojans were tricked into breaching their own walls (2.234). Those who guided the Trojan horse into the city were 'unmindful', *immemores* (2.245), much as Dido is 'unaware', *inscia* (1.718), when Cupid gains entrance to her city and her heart disguised as Ascanius. He 'turns upon her', *petit*, with hostile intentions (1.715–719):

> And he, after he'd hung on the neck of Aeneas
> and satisfied the deep love of his make-believe father,
> sought out the queen. Her eyes and bosom completely
> cherished him now on her lap, Dido sadly unknowing
> how great a God sat there.
>
> ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit
> et magnum falsi implevit genitoris amorem,
> reginam petit. haec oculis, haec pectore toto
> haeret et interdum gremio fovet inscia Dido
> insidat quantus miserae deus.

The manuscripts of Book One line 719 offer two alternative verbs to describe how the god should settle on her lap—*insīdat* or *insīdeat*. Servius recognized both readings, and both are metrically possible.[15]

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[13] Farron 1980, 39 documents how Dido and Aeneas, 'in addition to being carefully depicted human characters, are also symbols for Carthage and Rome'.

[14] See Bono 1987, 124 who calls Dido's fall 'the psychological correlative of the fall of Troy, indeed of ancient civilization in general.

[15] Servius: *in sinu sedeat; legitur tamen insideat, id est ut quidam volunt insidias faciat.* The

The former, which modern editors prefer, comes from *insīdo, insīdĕre*, meaning 'to occupy, rest upon'. The latter, from *insĭdeo, insidēre*, can mean 'to settle'. Either verb, but especially the latter, can serve as a military term to denote how an army takes possession of a place. Either one would be consistent with the military metaphors that Venus used in setting forth her plan against Dido: she planned to capture the queen by stratagem beforehand and then surround her with the flames of love (1.673–674):

> Therefore I plan to capture Dido beforehand,
> to trick her, ring her with fire . . .
>
> quocirca capere ante dolis et cingere flamma
> reginam meditor . . .

This is as when, in ancient warfare, fires were set around the walls of a besieged city to keep the inhabitants from escaping.[16] For Dido, there will be no escape but death. The military metaphors for the assault by love would have been familiar to readers of Augustan elegy (e.g. Prop. 2.14.23–24), but the genre tends toward irony and playful exaggeration. None of that here. Rather, the outcome of this assault is actual death. The moment when Cupid wins his way into Dido's heart by stratagem, *dolis*, leads to the loss of her chastity, her sovereignty, and her life.

The connection between chastity and city walls has, of course, a Homeric precedent.[17] In Greek, the word *krêdemnon* means both 'veil' and 'battlement'. Nagler has argued that the apparently disparate definitions of *krêdemnon* converge in the concept of chastity.[18] The veils of Homer's aristocratic women mark their sexual chastity; the battlements of Troy mark the city's inviolability. In antiquity, city-sackers would both breach the walls and take women as concubines. When Hector's death in the *Iliad* makes the sack of Troy certain, the despairing Hecuba and Andromache cast off their veils.[19] Vergil

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reading *insideat* was favored by some nineteenth-century commentators, e.g. Cooper 1841, Gossrau 1846. Austin 1971 finds the military metaphor 'hardly relevant' but notes its correspondence with the preceding *petit*.

[16] Cooper 1841. See also Newton 1957, 33: 'The image is that of a city, to be taken by guile (here the substitution of Cupid for Ascanius) and then fired (by the torches of Cupid)'.

[17] The *polis* of Homer is sacred, a notion that implies inviolability. See also Scully 1990, 26.

[18] Nagler 1974, 44–50.

[19] At *Iliad* 22.405–407, Hecuba rips off her veil at the sight of Hector's body being dragged around Troy; at *Iliad* 22.460–472, Andromache does the same.

cannot have been unaware of the Homeric usage. In Book Two, he juxtaposes the taking of the Trojan citadel with the violation of a sacred effigy crowned in garlands that he describes as chaste (2.168). Significantly, one of Aeneas's gifts to Dido is Helen's *velamen* (1.649–650, 711). Bordered with an acanthus pattern stitched in crocus-yellow, a color with bridal associations,[20] this covering or veil of the adulterous Helen is the very emblem of lost chastity. The gift does not bode well for Dido:[21] her fortifications will not keep her safe.

3. *Public and private architectural spaces*

Within the circumference of the city Vergil creates streets and structures that allow him to stage Dido's passage from power and independence to seclusion, isolation, and finally death. Each location evokes an important aspect of Dido's character and pursuits, while the manner in which she moves from place to place reflects her state of mind. An important contrast between interior and exterior spaces also emerges within the broader context of the city setting.

In Book One, Dido commands the city as she sweeps through it with her retinue like Diana (1.503–504):

> Dido carried herself as proudly and gladly
> surrounded; she urged forward the work of her kingdom.

> talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat
> per medios instans operi regnisque futuris.

Though female, she is a *dux*, as Venus says (1.364), and she acts precisely as a male leader or a king would act.[22] She enjoys full range of movement through public streets and buildings, and the presence of a retinue contributes to the sense that she is at the center of public affairs—regal, poised, and in control. In wooing Aeneas, Dido freely takes him around to enjoy the view (4.74–75):

> Dido soon conducted Aeneas through Carthage,
> displaying Sidonian wealth, a ready-made city.

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[20] Gossrau *ad* 11.775.

[21] Servius: *et vide iam omen infelicitatis futurae, cum adulterae suscipit munera.*

[22] For Dido as a political leader, see Monti 1981, 22. She moves through the city like a man; and unlike the typical heroine of Greek tragedy, she will also die like a man—by the sword rather than by the noose (Loraux 1987, 7–17).

nunc media Aenean secum per moenia ducit
Sidoniasque ostentat opes urbemque paratam.

Of the public buildings, the most magnificent is the Temple of Juno
(1.446–449). In keeping with the Roman use of temples for politi-
cal as well as religious functions,[23] this setting is able to represent
Dido in her civic *persona*, in her ability to govern and, especially, to
build. This is where Vergil has the queen conduct her civic busi-
ness, making laws and assigning tasks, and this is where she is going
when we first glimpse her (1.496–497):

[T]he queen entered the temple. Most beautiful, Dido
was thronged by circling young groups of her people

regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,
incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva.

Another setting is the splendid banquet hall which, with its silver
plate and expensive tapestries of Tyrian purple, makes a public show
of Dido's wealth and lineage (1.637–642):

The palace built up soon to a queenly resplendence.
Inside the central hall a banquet was readied
in proud purple, tapestries' intricate patterns,
silver massed on tables, and golden engravings
of strong ancestors' work: a long sequence of actions
traced through men from the ancient birth of their people.

at domus interior regali splendida luxu
instruitur, mediisque parant convivia tectis:
arte laboratae vestes ostroque superbo,
ingens argentum mensis, caelataque in auro
fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum
per tot ducta viros antiqua ab origine gentis.

The gold itself is engraved with the deeds of her ancestors (1.640–642);
the libation bowl belonged to the remote Belus (1.729–730). The
lamp-lit place with its gold ceiling is thronged with hundreds of ser-
vants and apparently countless guests, including the Trojans. In the
midst of it all, Dido reclines on her golden couch (1.698). She dom-
inates the scene. If the temple displays the queen at work, the ban-
quet hall shows her at leisure, clothed in the magnificence of her
surroundings. Both are city-aspects of the queen.

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[23] Stambaugh 1978, 580–583.

Certain architectural features of the city take on an even more pointed significance in Book Four. When Dido first burns with passion for Aeneas, she rages though the city (4.68–69):

> Feverish, cursed, Dido restlessly wandered
> the whole town . . .
>
> uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
> urbe furens . . .

Her movement through the streets resembles the movement of Cupid's poison as it rages through her body, for this is what it does: the wound is in her veins (4.2) and heart (4.67), and the flame has entered the marrow of her bones (4.66).[24] The sense of motion is clear in a later passage, 'love rages and swells with a great surge of angers' (*saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu*) (4.532), and Vergil uses the same verb, *saevit*, to describe Dido's state after she realizes that Aeneas is leaving (4.300–301): 'she rages helpless in her soul and inflamed runs wild through the whole city' (*saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem/bacchatur*).

In Book Four, the queen is often shown in her private quarters, where she is not a ruler but a woman, occupying a domestic rather than a political sphere. Here she suffers a sleepless night when first poisoned by love (4.5), and another once she grasps that Aeneas is really leaving (4.529–531). She has nightmares here (4.9, 4.465–468). We are to imagine that by day she weaves. Although Vergil never shows Dido at the loom, he does clothe Aeneas in a cloak that Dido made him (4.263–264): the spurious marriage has turned the queen away from construction projects and toward the loom—from the generally masculine outdoors to the feminine indoors, like a Penelope or a Lucretia. Vergil also refers in a later book to her woven gifts. In Book Eleven, Aeneas brings to Pallas' funeral two robes that Dido wove for him; the poet says Dido loved the toil of weaving them (11.72–75):

> Now Aeneas brought out two garments of purple,
> stiffened with gold stitching: Dido of Sidon

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[24] Both times she rages through the city, Dido burns, *uritur* (4.68), *incensa* (4.300), just as the wound, a *flamma* (4.66), burns with hidden fire, *caeco . . . igni* (4.2). She even tells Aeneas: 'Ah me, aflame I am borne by furies!' (*heu furiis incensa feror!*) (4.376).

had made them once by hand, happy to do it,
weaving the fine gold herself in the fabric.

tum geminas vestis auroque ostroque rigentis
extulit Aeneas, quas illi laeta laborum
ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido
fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro.

The weapons that Aeneas has left behind in the bedroom, *arma viri thalamo quae fixa reliquit/impius exuviasque omnis* (4.495–496), suggest the hours spent there by the lovers.[25] In a sexual sense, the *arma* may also signify his conquest of her. Iarbas jealously complains that Aeneas now grasps the spoils (4.215–217): *et nunc ille Paris . . . rapto potitur.*

After Dido faints in her confrontation with the departing Aeneas, servants carry her into a room that is marble (4.391–392):

. . . Servants helped her, supporting her slumping
body back to her marble room. She lay on her bed there.

. . . suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra
marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt.

Their action is not consciously sinister, yet Dido is being consigned to a chamber that is reminiscent of both prison and tomb.[26] In this she resembles the daughters of Greek tragedy[27] who are imprisoned because their sexual alliances pose a threat to their natal families. Seaford analyzes myths in which the underground prison of a young woman is like a bridal chamber—and sometimes becomes a tomb.[28] A striking example is the underground cell of Sophocles' Antigone, who laments as she approaches it: 'oh tomb, oh bridal chamber, oh deep-dug ever-watchful dwelling' (ὦ τύμβος, ὦ νυμφεῖον, ὦ κατασκαφῆς/ οἴκησις ἀείφρουρος) (*Antigone* 891–892). Dido's *thalamus* is not underground, and she elaborately avoids dying inside it. Yet the chamber of marble resembles her shrine to the dead Sychaeus, described as *de marmore templum* (4.457) in that these are the only two marble struc-

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[25] The evil Fama makes much of their time closeted together, claiming that they spent the winter luxuriating together, unmindful of their kingdoms and caught up in disgraceful passion (4.193–194): *nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere/regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.*

[26] Dido's sense of entrapment in her false marriage, which is symbolized by the *thalamus*, is discussed below p. 290.

[27] For Dido's resemblance to Greek tragic heroines, see Clausen 1987, 51–60, and Jacobson 1987, 167–168.

[28] Seaford 1990, 76–90.

tures that Vergil places in Carthage. Perhaps this is a coincidence
that should pass unnoticed. But Clausen argues that the marble room
where Dido's *conlapsa membra* are taken does have a funereal con-
notation because Vergil elsewhere uses the form *conlapsus* to denote
the collapse of bodies in death.[29] Also, as Austin notes, Dido never
again leaves the palace; from now on she is enclosed by architec-
ture.[30] It is as if she retreats into herself, deep inside the city.

When Dido prospers, the city does too, but only so long as she
remains untouched by passion. As the queen succumbs to love, she
loses her capacity to govern; the training of soldiers and the con-
struction of fortifications stop (4.86–89):

> A tower she'd started stopped rising. Her young men
> worked no weapons. Port and fortifications
> were unprepared for war. Work was unfinished.
> Projecting walls and sky-tall cranes were inactive.
>
> non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuventus
> exercet portusve aut propugnacula bello
> tuta parant: pendent opera interrupta minaeque
> murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.

The halt, as many critics have noted, symbolizes her surrender. It
is as if she is letting down her emotional defenses.[31] After her dubi-
ous marriage, Dido turns over the task of city-building to Aeneas.
Mercury finds him hard at it, establishing defenses and building new
houses (4.260): *fundantem arces ac tecta novantem.* Indeed, Iarbas says
that Dido has made Aeneas master of Carthage (4.214): *dominum
Aenean in regna recepit.*

After Anna's appeal to Aeneas has failed, the queen resumes build-
ing—a lofty pyre, *pyra . . . erecta* (4.504–505), not for the common
good but for her own immolation. As Dido once directed the men
of Carthage, so she now directs her sister in this project (4.494–495):
'You quietly erect a pyre in the inner house beneath the breezes'

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[29] Clausen 1987, 50. Lyne 1989, 40–43 discusses in detail the collapse of the
enormous warrior Bitias (9.708) when he is killed and the limp neck of dead Euryalus
(9.434), as well as the dying Dido (4.664; see below p. 291). The form is used of
fainting one other time, when Evander (8.584) collapses and is carried inside: *con-
lapsum in tecta ferebant.*

[30] Austin 1955, 121.

[31] Farron 1980, 39 writes: '[Dido's] fate is explicitly linked with that of Carthage.
When she becomes ineffectual, work on the city stops (4.86–89)'.

(*tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras / erige . . .*). Its height is empha-
sized at the moment Dido ascends it, *altos / conscendit . . . rogos* (4.645–646),
and Anna after her: *gradus evaserat altos* (4.685). The site of the pro-
ject is not in public spaces, as Timaeus and Justin would have it,
but in Dido's private quarters.[32] The pyre is built secretly, in con-
trast to earlier undertakings that lay open to the view of all. Dido's
sphere of influence, and indeed of interest, has sharply narrowed,
from the ramparts overlooking the countryside to the palace court-
yard hidden deep within the city.

At two critical junctures, her 'marriage' and her death, Vergil
gives Dido thresholds to cross. The importance of the *limen* can
hardly be over-emphasized.[33] 'Because it marks the passage between
known and unknown', Segal writes, 'the crossing of the threshold
is . . . a significant, danger-fraught act'.[34] At the end of Book Four,
when she rushes to mount the pyre and kill herself, Dido bursts
across a threshold: *interiora domus inrumpit limina* (4.645). This critical
moment of decision is expressed in architectural terms as the *limen*
she must cross on her irreversible course toward love-stricken death.
But this is not the first instance of a threshold. On her way to the
fateful hunt, Dido hesitates as her hunting retinue awaits her at the
threshold (4.133–134):

> The queen stayed in her room. Below at the threshold
> Carthaginian chiefs waited . . .
>
> reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi
> Poenorum exspectant . . .

Pease (*ad loc.*) explains this as 'the proverbial slowness of ladies in
making their toilet'. Segal, however, explores the ominous import of
Dido's hesitation:[35] 'Dido is at a point of no return, and there are
heavy consequences to taking that step outside'. He sees her danger
chiefly in terms of her departure from the *thalamus*. Yet more significant

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[32] Keith 2000, 114, emphasizing the privacy of the spot, says that Vergil 'sets
the scene of Dido's death in the innermost part of her palace . . ., thereby opening
up her dwelling for the viewer's inspection in a way that mirrors on the spatial
level the autopsy of her psychological state' accomplished through her speeches.

[33] The threshold of Troy at which the Trojan horse halts four times is especially
conspicuous in its symbolism (2.242–243): *quater ipso in limine portae / substitit.*

[34] Segal 1994, 79.

[35] Segal 1990–1991, 6.

and more ominous, I believe, is Dido's movement out of the city and into the countryside.

4. *The countryside*

The open countryside is an unprotected setting for pursuit, wounding, and death. Its figurative value is expressed in the hunting imagery that weaves in and out of the Dido episode.[36] At the queen's Book One entrance, Vergil compares Dido to the immortal Diana, goddess of the hunt (1.498–499).[37] In Book Four, before the hunting expedition, the poet compares Aeneas to Apollo striding along the Delian mountain ridge of Cynthus with arrows ringing on his shoulders (4.143–150). Dido and Aeneas have quite a lot in common: both are widowed, both exiled, and both are city-founders. The paired similes, then, contribute to the reader's sense that Dido and Aeneas are doublets.[38] Like Diana and Apollo, both are splendid, in command. But the second simile in some ways supplants the first. Dido has lost control of her fate: Aeneas is in command now. Subsequent events prove that when Aeneas becomes the hunter, Dido is his quarry.[39] Indeed, in yet another simile, the raging queen, newly struck and poisoned by love, is compared to a wounded hind (4.69–73):

> . . . like a doe struck by an arrow
> in Crete's forest, hit off-guard by a distant
> herdsman trying a shot and unknowingly leaving
> metal lodged: the deer dodges through undergrowth, wanders
> Dicta's ravine, but the point clings to the ribcage and kills her.
>
> . . . qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,
> quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit

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[36] In Book 1 at 498–502 and 740–746, and in Book 4 at 69–73, 143–149, 151–159, 441–446, and 522–527.

[37] Pigoń 1991, following Pöschl 1966, connects this simile with the depiction, in the Temple of Juno, of the Amazon queen Penthesilea (1.490–493), whose fate foreshadows Dido's own.

[38] Otis 1963, 73 sets forth Vergil's debt to Apollonius, and to a lesser extent Homer, in both similes. But Jason and Medea in the *Argonautica* do not mirror one another as Aeneas and Dido do in the *Aeneid*. Pointing to similarities of the last two in their missions, their *pietas*, and their loneliness, Otis comments: 'Dido is obviously an *alter Aeneas*' (265).

[39] He will hunt her in her dreams: *agit ipse furentem/in somnis ferus Aeneas* (4.465–466). This dreamed hunt reduces them both to wildness, for he is *ferus*, she *furentem*.

> pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum
> nescius: illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat
> Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.

The portentous effect of all three similes is fully realized in the actual hunt, when the countryside is a hunting ground and Dido the figurative prey.

It is highly significant that Juno lays her trap for Dido outside the walls, in the untamed setting of the countryside that permits her sexual abandon in a way the sheltering city at that point does not. Here she resembles Ennius' Ilia, who dreamed that she was raped in a willow grove along a riverbank.[40] The *Argonautica* affords an even closer parallel since, like Jason and Medea, Dido and Aeneas are united in a cave. Apollonius describes elaborate wedding preparations in the sacred cave of Makris, where the golden fleece was laid out for Jason and Medea on a great couch (4.1128–1155). No such preparations here. Indeed, Vergil says very little about the cave where Dido and Aeneas seek shelter from the storm (4.124–125 and 4.165–166). Yet its bare existence invites the contrast between unhewn rock and quarried building stones, between nature and culture. In this primitive spot, Dido is heedless of custom. Stripped of her defenses, she enters into a false marriage that takes place beyond the bounds of civic propriety and, more importantly, beyond the bounds of her conscience. In giving way to passion, Dido must set aside shame or *pudor* (4.27, 322) and the commitment to her dead husband that has kept her from remarrying. She must abandon her 'immovable resolve' (4.15). This she prepares to do at Anna's urging while still inside the city (4.54–55), but in fact she gives herself to Aeneas only after she steps outside the city and, metaphorically, outside herself.

Quite apart from the hunting motif, Vergil adds touches of nature imagery that contrast the restrictions of life in the city, bounded by architecture, with the freedom of life in the wild. But heavy weather, a manifestation of divine purpose, threatens human beings at sea or in the wild countryside. In this instance, a prodigious storm sweeps across the landscape. Just as the storm that Juno caused in Book One breaks up Aeneas' fleet, so Juno's storm in Book Four breaks Dido's will.

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[40] Frag. xxix in Skutsch 1985, 73–74.

Later, Dido laments that she cannot live *more ferae*, 'in the man-
ner of a wild creature' and hence without cares (4.551). But aside
from the crucial hunt, there is only one other passage that places
Dido outside the walls, and once again the open countryside is the
setting that dramatizes her vulnerability, her loss of control, her
despair. That passage is Dido's dream of being abandoned and alone.
To appreciate it fully, one must note the increasing isolation that
Dido experiences after she gives in to love. Once infected with
Cupid's poison, she attends the banquet to hear Aeneas tell his story
but stays there after the guests are gone to lie alone on the hero's
couch (4.82–83): *sola domo maeret vacua stratisque relictis/incubat.* After
her 'marriage', the throng that accompanied her to the temple and
on the hunting expedition is no longer seen. Aeneas, Anna, the priest-
ess, and Sychaeus' old nurse are the only people with whom she is
depicted. Dido's isolation is nearly complete. She pretends to Anna
that nothing is wrong (4.477), but at night she dreams that she is
lost and alone on a long road in a deserted land (4.465–468).

> . . . always abandoned,
> left to herself, always friendless, she seemed to be walking
> a long road through bare country looking for Trojans.

> . . . agit ipse furentem
> in somnis ferus Aeneas, semperque relinqui
> sola sibi, semper longam incomitata videtur
> ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra

As with the hunt, so too with the dream. In both instances, Vergil
shows that outside the protective circuit of the walls, and without
her city-self, Dido is lost.

5. *Death in the courtyard*

Vergil states that Dido's false marriage will lead directly to her death
(4.169–170), and Moorton has explicated the imagery that makes
her love and her death resemble one another.[41] To his analysis I

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[41] Moorton 1989–1990, 157–164 thoroughly explores this connection. He shows
how Vergil's imagery makes Dido's love resemble death up to the passage where
the queen tells Anna to build the pyre, after which her death is made to resemble
love.

would like to add one point. In these two crucial scenes, of sex and suicide, Vergil exploits the tension between interior and exterior spaces by neatly inverting them. Dido 'marries' in a cave, an enclosed space in the open countryside; and she dies in a courtyard, an open space deep within the palace but open to the breezes, mentioned twice (4.494 and 504).

On the one hand, the cave is a trap into which Dido is forced by Juno's rain and hail (4.120–127). When Juno and the primal elements provide lightning for wedding torches, the upper air as witness, and the wailing of nymphs for weddings songs (4.166–168), their parody turns the cave into a makeshift wedding chamber, a *thalamus*.[42]

The courtyard, on the other hand, provides a path of escape from her entrapment in a love affair that centers on the bedroom.[43] The queen even orders her conjugal bed placed atop the pyre (4.496–497): *lectum . . . iugalem, / quo perii, super imponas*. This bed, on which Dido lies when she stabs herself, is referred to repeatedly (4.507, 4.648, 4.650, 4.659). Her feeling of entrapment emerges clearly in her soliloquy (4.534–552), in which she weighs her alternatives and chooses death (4.547). Vergil juxtaposes Dido's suffocating anguish with a landscape that evokes the serenity and freedom she has lost (4.522–529):

> Then it was night. Weary bodies were reaching
> for sleep or rest on the earth. Forest and savage
> sea had quieted; stars rolled halfway through heaven
> and every field lay still. Cattle and painted
> birds, roosting in rough woodland or brambles
> near large lakes, were settled in sleep in the silent
> dark, less anxious now, their hearts unconscious of labor.
> But not that sad Phoenician heart . . .
>
> nox erat et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
> corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant

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[42] Cairns 1989, 47 notes that the poet 'throughout . . . plays off the details of the coupling of Dido and Aeneas in the cave against the expectations of a formal Roman marriage ceremony, as well as against the literary antecedent of the event in the *Argonautica*'. Pöschl 1966, 82 relates the signs of Tellus and Juno to 'the epiphanies of the gods of the nether world', emphasizing their ominous nature.

[43] Segal 1990–1991, 11 also notes what he calls a 'spatial analogue for the destruction of Dido's emotional world. Betrayed in her most cherished values, she has, in effect, no place on this earth. . . . True freedom, release from the funereal *thalamus* to the winds of the upper air, will come only when Iris mercifully severs the thread of life and sends her shade to the Underworld'.

> aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu,
> cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres,
> quaeque lacus late liquidos quaeque aspera dumis
> rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti.
> at non infelix animi Phoenissa . . .

Since the courtyard is open to the sky, Dido on her pyre can gaze at the light in high heaven (4.691–692):

> . . . but rolled back on the bed three times. Her wandering vision searched the deep sky for sun: she sighed when she found it.

> ter revoluta toro est oculisque errantibus alto
> quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta.

When Iris flits down through the sky (4.700) to halt above her head and snip her lock of hair, Dido's life passes into the winds (4.705): *in ventos vita recessit.*

  Vergil often makes Dido resemble a doomed city, which Carthage is. In her confrontation with Aeneas, Dido says she feels captured and forsaken, *omnino capta ac deserta viderer* (4.330), as if she were, like Troy (2.507), a city taken in war.[44] The putative safety of the city, then, has proved illusory. When Dido faints, she does so with *conlapsa . . . membra* (4.391).[45] Lyne argues that Vergil's deployment of *conlabor* to denote the collapse of human bodies is novel: earlier Roman writers used the verb as a more or less technical term to describe the collapse of architectural structures.[46] Vergil uses the same verb again when he describes her death (4.663–664):

> Words broke off—a servant noticed her falling,
> the froth of blood at the sword . . .

> dixerat, atque illam media inter talia ferro
> conlapsam aspiciunt comites . . .

Lyne observes: 'Dido's collapse may be compared implicitly to the collapse of an edifice because her death and fall has the *significance* of the fall and destruction of her city'.[47]

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[44] See Newton 1957, 32–37 and Lyne 1989, 26. Furthermore, Di Cesare 1974, 28–29 notes that the words *deserta* and *capta* are recurrent in Dido's plea. See *deseris* at 4.323 and *captam* at line 4.326.

[45] Discussed above, p. 285.

[46] Lyne 1989, 40.

[47] Lyne 1989, 42.

The flames of the pyre also make her suicide resemble the fall of a city. Fire imagery recurs throughout the Dido episode,[48] so that the lightning flashes that solemnify her 'marriage' (4.167) become the funeral flames that Aeneas and his men watch from shipboard: the walls shine with them (5.4–5). The reader has shared the hero's first and last glimpses of Carthage. Those two views parallel one another and frame the story of Dido. The first glimpse, from a nearby hill, shows the enviable city under construction, rising. The last glimpse, from shipboard, hints at that same city's destruction. From the Trojans' vantage point, the burning pyre is strangely exaggerated, as if the whole city had gone up in flames. These fiery lights are the outward manifestation of the destructive flames that are consuming Dido. When she dies, Anna feels that she takes the city with her, although in fact it remains safe (4.682–683):[49]

> You've killed yourself and me, sister, your people,
> the city, Sidonian fathers.

> extinxti te meque, soror, populumque patresque
> Sidonios urbemque tuam.

Moreover, Vergil implicitly compares Dido to a city when he describes how the Carthaginians mourn her,[50] much as if Carthage or Tyre had fallen to the enemy (4.669–671):

> as though all of Carthage had suddenly fallen
> to hostile attack, or ancient Tyre in a frenzy
> of rolling flames from Gods' and citizens' rooftops.

> non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis
> Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes
> culmina perque hominum volvantur perque deorum.

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[48] Many critics have noted the pervasive imagery of flame and fire: see Newton 1957, 39–43; Moorton 1989–1990, 156–157, 163–164; and Feeney 1983, 209–210, who studies the inflammatory speech in Book 4 and what he calls the mutual conflagration of Dido and Aeneas.

[49] Heinze 1915, 144 notes: 'wir empfinden, was der Tod einer Dido bedeutet, Annas Worte sprechen es aus'.

[50] Pöschl 1962, 74 points to this simile and its larger context: 'Dido's fate has become transparent; it coincides with the fate of the city'. See also Morwood 1991 on the destruction of cities. For a discussion of what may be considered historically realistic features in Carthage such as the hill from which Aeneas views the city, see Reeker 1971, 31–38. Yet even for Reeker, realism and symbolism are not mutually exclusive. Analyzing the representations of landscapes in Book One, he distinguishes five attributes, including 'spezifische Stimmung des einzelnen Landschaftsbildes und deren symbolhafte Bedeutsamkeit für den inneren Handlungsablauf' (39).

6. *Conclusion*

The settings for the Dido episode are as dramatic as stage settings, but an epic poet has greater liberty than even the most evocative playwright: he can freely invent without having to consider the physical constraints of stage building, orchestra, *parodos*. His characters can move within their settings in abrupt and fantastical ways. Venus tells Aeneas to follow the path to Carthage (1.401) and this he does (1.418). But once Aeneas has paused to gaze at Carthage from a nearby hill, he suddenly finds himself inside the city (1.437–440):

> 'How lucky you are—your walls are rising already',
> Aeneas remarked. He gazed at the skyline of Carthage
> and entered the city. Enclosed in the mist—a wonder to speak of—
> he mixed right in, surrounded by men, and no one took notice.

> 'o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!'
> Aeneas ait et fastigia suspicit urbis.
> infert se saeptus nebula (mirabile dictu)
> per medios, miscetque viris neque cernitur ulli.

This narrative of his arrival is far less concrete than the oft-cited parallel in the *Odyssey*, where Homer has the castaway Odysseus reach the city of the Phaeacians.[51] Nausicaa describes the city and gives him detailed instructions (*Od.* 6.262–314); his arrival is, aside from the divine help from Athena, veristic (*Od.* 7.14–45). Homer's settings are of course fictive, but their spatial organization tends to be bounded by considerations of physical reality: Odysseus moves realistically within the splendid palace of Alcinous and Arete, and one can sketch the floor-plan of Odysseus' home on Ithaca. Apollonius, in the *Argonautica*, provides a strikingly systematic description of the palace of Aietes (*Arg.* 3.213–248).[52] In contrast, Vergil's settings are artificial and illusory, characterized by the blurring described by Johnson.[53] In the end, one cannot map Carthage in the *Aeneid* because

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[51] For parallels between the Dido episode in the *Aeneid* and the Phaeacian episode in the *Odyssey*, see Gordon 1998, 198–200.

[52] Williams 1991, 153 points to the horizontal coherence of the architecture. Apollonius presents the palace through the eyes of the Argonauts as they approach, pause at the entrance, cross the threshold, and stand first in the garden and then in the inner court.

[53] Johnson 1976, 88–99.

its spaces have been elided. The threshold Dido must cross as she passes from her *thalamus* to the countryside, for example, seems impossibly to lie at the edge of the city; mounted horsemen await her just outside (4.133–137). The watchtowers (4.410, 4.586) could be anywhere, and all speculation as to the precise location of the second one (in the palace? along the outer wall?) is fruitless and unnecessary. It does not matter where these imaginary features are: they exist merely to illuminate the inner life of Dido and heighten the poignancy and drama of her fate.

In her dying speech, Dido sums up her life in terms of her city (4.655): 'I have founded a famous city, I have seen my walls' (*urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi . . .*). Vergil, however, goes further: he uses Carthage and environs to express Dido's inner state. A commanding figure until *furor* strikes, Dido loses first her emotional independence, then her power to govern, and finally her life. As readers, we must watch where Dido goes, as well as what she does, because her physical movements within the poetic topography of Carthage and its surrounding countryside reflect her state of mind. From possessing great freedom of movement and command of spaces, Dido becomes confined, restricted; her world narrows, until the only escape possible is through death in the courtyard. In a certain sense, the city and her body are one and the same: ultimately she is Carthage, just as Hector was Troy.[54] Yet she resembles Priam too, for like him, Dido perishes in the inner sanctum of her palace, at the heart of the city with which she is so closely identified.

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CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE IN VERGIL'S *ECLOGUES**

Mathilde Skoie

1. *Introduction*

As a set of texts set in the Roman countryside Vergil's *Eclogues* should play an important part in any discussion of the Romans and their concepts of city and country. As a model for pastoral writers and as the prime example of the characteristics and possibilities of the pastoral mode, Vergil's *Eclogues* are also probably the most important work in establishing a definition of pastoral. It is therefore often hard to read the *Eclogues* without the prejudices of the later pastoral tradition and theory in mind—not least their rhetoric of contrast between city and country.[1] In the following I would for a moment like to look at the *Eclogues* outside their generic boundaries and question this received dichotomy by placing the poems back within a specific contemporary Roman context—that of late Republican and early Augustan wall-painting. My primary aim is to look at the ways city and country work as semiotic markers within the *Eclogues*, but through the investigation I hope to shed useful light on these concepts both in relation to our understanding of contemporary Rome and pastoral theory.

In his seminal work on pastoral, *Pastoral Drama and Pastoral Poetry*, Walter Greg promoted a model for the understanding of the pastoral genre based on pastoral as an expression of 'the recognition of

[1] For consequences of this reading backwards, see Kennedy 1987, 47: 'Pastoralist criticism, which approaches the *Eclogues* deterministically through the developments they inspired, has produced valuable insights, but also false emphases, for these developments arose in isolation from the specific historical and literary circumstances

a contrast implicit or expressed between pastoral life and some more complex type of civilization'—most clearly expressed through the contrast between city and countryside.[2] Much scholarship since has focused on some variation of this dichotomy: Frank Kermode (1952) argues that the philosophical basis of pastoral lies in the contrast between nature and art, Laurence Lerner (1972) argues for the contrast between court and country, and Harold E. Toliver (1971) comes up with about twenty dichotomies in his first chapter simply called pastoral contrasts.[3] Although the focus has moved away from these dichotomies in some of the latest research on pastoral, no one has seriously attempted to challenge the city/country-contrast and, as we shall see, it still plays a major part in commentaries on Vergil's *Eclogues*.[4]

When discussing ancient pastoral Thomas Rosenmeyer and Eleanore W. Leach are probably the two scholars who give most thought and space to the landscape and the city/country issue.[5] Rosenmeyer argues that while Theocritean pastoral is simply placed in the idyllic countryside against no foil of civilization or city, Vergil's poems are written 'in the comparative mode'.[6] However, he does add that Vergil plays the country against the city 'with a degree of sophistication which suggests that he is amusing himself at the expense of the shortcomings of the simpler approach, namely the soap-box oratory according to which the city is all bad and the country all good'.[7] In another place he calls the way the two are compared and dovetailed 'a series of sophisticated and, I fear, obscure manipulations'.[8] Thus there is no simple contrasting here.

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which moulded Vergil's poems, and to some degree in ignorance or through misapprehension of them'. Halperin 1983 took issue with this in the case of Theocritus in his monograph simply called *Before Pastoral*. However, rather than abandoning some kind of generic reading what is needed is an escape from the deterministic evolutionist model and rather think in terms of pastoral as a process of reception cf. Iser 1993, 25–27, and Martindale 1997, 107–109. For a study of the pastoral genre as a process of reception, see Skoie 2006.

    [2] Quoted from Loughrey 1984, 79.
    [3] Kermode 1952, 37ff., Lerner 1984, 135–154, Toliver 1971, 1–5.
    [4] E.g. Alpers 1997 and Hubbard 1998. The contrast is still present, e.g., in the most recent edition on pastoral in the New Critical Idiom series, Gifford 1999, 1–2, reformulated as the discourse of retreat/the cultural context of return.
    [5] Rosenmeyer 1969 (2004) and Leach 1974.
    [6] Rosenmeyer 1969 (2004), 214.
    [7] Ibid. 208.
    [8] Ibid. 214.

Leach argues that for the Roman of the late Republic the city and country 'vitally interrelate' and points out an interdependence between city and country in the *Eclogues*.[9] According to Leach, this contrast is clearest in the political interdependence and the paradox that 'pastoral freedom cannot exist in isolation from the great world, still the great world threatens the well-being of the country'.[10] However, even in this analysis city and country are somewhat played out against each other. My question is whether it is at all possible to talk about the one without a notion of the other within the realm of the *Eclogues* (as Rosenmeyer argues that the shepherds in Theocritus can).[11] I shall continue the path paved by Rosenmeyer and Leach by looking deeper into the obscurities and interdependencies between city and countryside. This is a path not followed by the two most recent Anglo-American commentaries on the *Eclogues*—Wendell Clausen and Robert Coleman—who both take this contrast for granted in a much less problematic way.[12] I shall first pursue this through a closer look at the location of pastoral (section 2) followed by a close reading of some key passages concerning the presentation of the city as well as issues of politics and poetics (sections 3 and 4). I shall then carry forward Leach's comparison with contemporary Roman wall-painting by adding a discussion of their socio-political dimension (sections 5 and 6), before I finally return to the *Eclogues* themselves and the question of how they might have been perceived by contemporary readers exposed to this physical environment (section 7).

2. *The pastoral place: literal and literary*

The *Eclogues* are of course placed in some kind of countryside, but in order to investigate issues of city and countryside it is important to be more precise about what kind of countryside we are dealing with. A first observation regarding the countryside in the *Eclogues* is

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[9] Leach 1974, 72.

[10] Ibid.

[11] More recently, Tim Saunders, in a very interesting dissertation from 2001, takes an eco-critical approach to the *Eclogues* where the poems simply become a landscape in which the reader can dwell. And in this bucolic ecology the landscape is allowed to be alive to different readers in a way which—as I understand it— makes oppositions appear as part of an organic whole.

[12] Coleman 1977 (2001) and Clausen 1994.

that it never seems very far from the city. In *Eclogue* 1 Tityrus has
at least once visited Rome and he has had financial ties with it for
a while (1.34). In *Eclogue* 8 Daphnis returns from town (8.109). In
Eclogue 9 Moeris is on his way to the city (9.1 and 61) and by line
59 Moeris and Lycidas are half way to the city. On a concrete level,
the presence of the road and the emphasis on the journey represent
a physical continuity with the city. The town is therefore not really
out of sight and it is possible to move between the two realms, as
often perceived in illustrations to the *Eclogues* [Figure 1]. We are
operating within a world where the city exists and forms part of a
topographical continuum. As Nicholas Purcell remarks in the case
of Roman gardens, '[t]he natural landscape for the Romans included
the works of man and above all the city'.[13]

Fig. 1. The illustration to *Eclogue* 7 in Sebastian Brant (ed.), *Opera* by Publius
Vergilius Maro, Strasbourg 1502. With the permission of the Special Collections,
The Bergen University Library, Norway.

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[13] Purcell 1987, 200.

On a more general level it is possible to divide the Roman countryside into three zones: the civilized countryside involving agricultural farmed land, the pastures, and the complete wilderness. These categories are in turn often represented in different literary genres: Typically, the civilized countryside is represented in the *Georgics*, the pastures in the *Eclogues*, and the wilderness is the scene for hunting represented in elegy (e.g. Prop. 1.1, *Corp. Tib.* 3.9) and Roman tragedy (e.g. Seneca *Phaedra* 1–84). As can be deduced from this, the landscape of the *Eclogues* is somewhat betwixt and between the civilized and the wild, culture and nature. On this general level we are between the civilized country and the wild country. However, this can be somewhat nuanced: if one agrees with Eleanor Leach's analysis of the different kinds of landscape represented within the *Eclogues* themselves, from the more ordered like Tityrus' farm (*Ecl.* 1) to Mount Menelaus in Arcadia (*Ecl.* 10.13–15), one recognizes how the pastoral landscape can cover a range between the two other kinds of countryside.[14] Likewise transhumance involves moving from a more civilized countryside to a wilder one.[15] Furthermore, the appearance of civilized elements, such as vines (3.11), roads (9 and 3.26), farms (*Ecl.* 1 and 2), a tomb (*Ecl.* 9.59–60), and shrines (3.9)—the latter so popular in Roman art [Figure 2]—make sure that the reader never forgets civilization. Thus this juxtaposition of natural and civilized elements contributes to place the pasture on the threshold between the city and the country.[16] On a general level therefore, there is no pastoral world of the *Eclogues* separated from another 'real' or urban world. The city is reachable from the pastures, the pastures themselves are located between the civilized and wild, the landscape includes elements from the civilized world, and there is no distinct boundary between them.[17]

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[14] Leach 1974, 83–109. She divides the different landscapes into four general categories: the farmlandscape (*Ecl.* 1, 2, 7), rustic landscapes (*Ecl.* 3, 5, 9), wilderness (6, 8, 10), *locus amoenus* (glimpses of this within several *Eclogues*, e.g. in the songs of *Eclogues* 3, 7, 8, 9, in Corydon's unrealistic description of his own realm in 2.46–55 and the pleasant descriptions in Gallus' song (10. 35–44).

[15] Cf. the Homeric hymn to Pan (19).

[16] Often, but not always, the pastures are also physically or geographically placed between the cities/farms and the wilderness.

[17] On the physical transition from city to countryside and the non-existence of a clearcut boundary, see Purcell 1987, 187–189.

Fig. 2. An extreme case of architectural structures in the pastoral landscape.
Sacro-idyllic landscape from Pompeii (ca. 63–79 CE). Now in the Museo
Nazionale, Naples. With the kind permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni
Archeologici delle province di Napoli e Caserta.

When moving on to the content of the *Eclogue*s, we notice a sim-
ilar absence of secluded country living. There is much within the
pastoral song contests or laments that is far from rustic or exclusive
to the pastoral environment. After having set the scene with a cou-
ple of references to the animals and perhaps—as in *Eclogue* 3—some
thieving of flocks, the singers mostly move on to issues of erotics,
politics and poetics.[18] These are topics that could have been dis-
cussed in many settings and the latter two, politics and poetics, I
shall argue, in particular tie the pastoral to the city. The poetics
almost seems taken out of urban neoteric culture, and the politics

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[18] There is surprisingly little in these poems regarding the animals, see Skoie
2004. See also Iser 1993, 32–33 where the animals are equaled with songs within
the poetic project rather than related to real pastoral life.

highlight the urban strings that are attached to the pastoral world and make it a part of this urbanity rather than an opposition or alternative.

3. *The city in pastoral I: politics*

Introducing politics into the pastoral landscape is itself an urban invasion. In particular, direct references to the confiscations in *Eclogues* 1 and 9 indicate the presence of urban politics in pastoral life.[19] The confiscations explicitly show how the politics of the city have bad consequences for the pastoral conditions. Yet, there is a paradox here as it is also the city that can be the giver of pastoral freedom, cf. Tityrus' *libertas* (1.27). And through dedications, e.g., *Eclogue* 4 to Pollio, the Roman elite is directly drawn into the pastoral topography in a positive way. Thus pastoral is both in opposition to and dependent upon the city.[20] Already on this superficial level there is therefore a complication of any neat opposition. However, let us look at some of the more conspicuous passages where the city actually occurs in the poems.

According to the commentary by Coleman 'the city represents a constant threat to Arcadian values: in *Eclogue* 2 the urban Alexis despises Corydon's humble passion and simple rustic life, in *Eclogue* 8 it is the city that threatens to deprive the girl of her lover, in *Eclogue* 9 the city is the goal of Moeris' distasteful journey, in *Eclogue* 1 the *ingrata urbs* preys on farmers in peace and has them in mercy at times of war. The antithesis of rural and urban life provides a further link to the Golden Age myth, and the walled cities are *priscae vestigia fraudis* in 4.31–3'.[21] First, it is worth noticing that this is not a vast amount of places and lines (Coleman mentions five passages), nor is the assumed antithesis present in all of the *Eclogues* (only 1, 2, 4, 8 and 9). Secondly, I would argue that a closer reading of these passages and their contexts might make one actually doubt any absolute antithesis.

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[19] There is a huge literature on the politics of *Ecl.* 1 and 9, the briefest overview is perhaps Winterbottom 1990.
[20] Slightly reformulated version of a statement by Batstone 1990, 14.
[21] Coleman 1977 (2001), 32.

In *Eclogue* 1 a contrast is clearly set up between the laid-back Tityrus safely piping under his beech-tree and Meliboeus who is fleeing his homeland. But here we also see the paradox in motion as the city is not only responsible for Meliboeus' flight, but also Tityrus' situation: Tityrus exclaims that a god has given him his *otium*. On closer questioning as to who this god is Tityrus, seemingly ignoring the question, goes on to tell his own story about the city (1.18–25):[22]

> Mel.: But give us that god of yours, who is he, Tityrus?
> Tit.: The city men call Rome I reckoned, Meliboeus,
> Fool that I was, like this of ours, to which we shepherds
> Are often wont to drive the weanlings of the ewes.
> So puppies are like dogs, I knew, so kids are like
> Their mother goats, so I'd compare big things to small.
> But she has raised her head among the other cities
> High as a cypress-tree above the guilder-rose.
>
> Mel.: sed tamen iste deus qui sit, da, Tityre, nobis.
> Tit.: Urbem quam dicunt Romam, Meliboee, putavi
> stultus ego huic nostrae similem, quo saepe solemus
> pastores ovium teneros depellere fetus.
> sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus haedos
> noram, sic parvis componere magna solebam.
> verum haec tantum alias inter caput extulit urbes
> quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi.[23]

This passage is traditionally read as setting out the city as a contrast to all things rustic. Rome is not just a bigger little village as 'puppies are like dogs' (*canibus catulos similes*). But what then is Rome like? A reader now looking for a striking contrast would expect imagery gathered from a completely different sphere. The poet, however, does not go that far. The difference is like that between a cypress and some kind of shrub-bush (*viburna*), emphasized by the *lenta* showing how the latter is slow and supple compared to the

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[22] However, if one agrees with Roland Mayer that the 'benefactor's identity is kept indefinite because he is meant to be symbolic of Rome's power for good, despite "discordia civilis"', the transition to the city makes perfect sense. Mayer 1983, 20.

[23] The text of the *Eclogues* is that of Mynors OCT 1969. All translations from Lee 1980.

straight and energetic tallness of the cypress.[24] Thus he moves from differences within the same family (puppies/dogs, kids/mother goats) to a difference between different biological families (a very tall tree and a little bush), but we are still within the same world of flora and fauna as well as safely within the rustic sphere. Although there is admittedly an effective contrast, the contrast and the city are measurable on a pastoral scale. Catharine Edwards sums this up when she points out how this passage is an 'explicit evocation of a rustic perspective on the big city'.[25] Notice also the variations of *soleo* employed throughout this passage. Coleman writes that they emphasize by contrast the 'uniqueness of Rome'—yet, I would see it the other way round: that they emphasize the likeness and continuity of thought and images.[26] Again the difference between the verbs is one of form (person and tempus), not type or realm. Thus although there is an apparent contrast, this is played down by the two elements both being measurable on a rustic scale and the usage of the same verb.

Meliboeus, however, continues to ask why Tityrus went to Rome (*Et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?* 1.26). Tityrus emphatically answers that he went to town for *libertas* (1.27). This positive term clearly represents an intrusion of politics into the pastoral sphere as this was an Augustan slogan.[27] Yet, Tityrus here confuses the public and private, according to Clausen deliberately so,[28] when he juxtaposes and compares his official dependency (his status as former slave) to his relation to the spendthrift Galatea. Being released from the grip of Galatea is given as a premise for being manumitted (*namque (fatebor enim) dum me Galatea tenebat, / nec spes libertatis erat nec cura peculi*, 1.31–32). Thus again we have a political and urban issue blended with a private and country-issue. The *ingrata urbs* in Coleman's list is specifically tied in with this period under the reign of Galatea (32–33), who, the implication is, was also rather *ingrata*. An alternative to Coleman's reading of this passage is therefore that the city is far from a negative antithesis to the countryside: first, this is where

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[24] Clausen 1994 *ad loc.* points out that an Italian cypress can 'attend a height of 150 feet'.
[25] Edwards 1996, 16.
[26] Coleman 1977 (2001), *ad loc.*
[27] Cf. e.g. Syme 1939, 154–155.
[28] Clausen 1994, 31.

libertas is found. Secondly, when it is mentioned negatively this is balanced by a correspondingly negative situation in the country (Galatea's regime). Rather than a negative city and positive country, we might have a positive city (for Tityrus), a positive pastoral country and a negative georgic country (*agris*) described by Meliboeus, 'the countryside's all in such turmoil' (*undique totis usque adeo turbatur agris* 11–12), as suggested by John van Sickle.[29] This is, however, not to suggest that the relationship between city and country is all idyllic once the simple contrast has disappeared. As there is no single authorial voice in the eclogue itself, neither is there a single view of the city as an obvious good. The problem of Meliboeus' expulsion is still hovering unresolved over the poem.

The next instance on Coleman's list is *Eclogue* 2 where allegedly 'the urban Alexis despises Corydon's humble passion and simple rustic life'. However, apart from the introduction from a third-person perspective (2.1–5), the eclogue is a monologue in the mouth of Corydon in which the countryside is praised. The monologue is remarkably free of complaining about the city and/or country. The imagined listener, the urban Alexis, and his perspective are a projection of Corydon's own rustic mind. There is only a single reference to the city in the entire poem. In lines 60–61 Corydon points out that gods also live in the woods: Athena can have her cities, while Corydon *cum suis* enjoy the woods where both gods and princes (Paris) have dwelt. Again we see both a contrast and a similarity, we are dealing with different gods, but they are all gods.

According to Clausen, 'Virgil insinuates a contrast between city and country' in the first line with the juxtaposition of *formosum* and *pastor*.[30] However, even more than the potential contrast, I would emphasize how they are intertwined by the neat chiasm: *formosum pastor Corydon Alexis.* This notable neoteric word-order furthermore provides a most urbane introduction to the apparently rustic monologue which is itself written within the framework of a most elegiac sensibility.[31] Accordingly, Michael Putnam sees this poem as raising

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[29] Van Sickle 1978, 52. A narrower translation of *ager* as 'fields', rather than Lee's 'countryside' would support this.

[30] Clausen 1994 *ad loc.*

[31] Kenney 1983, 44, imagines that it should be generally agreed that 'any respectable anthology of Latin love poetry should include Vergil's second and eighth Eclogues—and probably the tenth.'

the 'superficial struggle between city and country into an intellectual struggle between *rusticitas* and *urbanitas*'[32]—an issue of style or poetics.

In *Eclogue* 4 walled cities are enumerated among other traces of ancient deceit (*priscae vestigia fraudis*, 4.31–33):

> Traces, though few, will linger yet of the old deceit,
> Commanding men to tempt Thetis with ships, to encircle
> Towns with walls, to inflict deep furrows on the Earth.

> pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis,
> quae temptare Thetim ratibus, quae cingere muris
> oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos.

However, one might argue that what is wrong with these *oppida* is not that they are *oppida*, but that they are fortified (*cingere muris*).[33] I would argue that the three elements at stake here are civilized and bad activities; seafaring, warfare and agriculture, not the city, the sea and earth.[34] A parallel might be Tibullus 1.10, where *arces* and *vallus* are surely read in relation to the activity of war, or *Eclogue* 9 where poetry has no power among the tools of war (9.11–17, see discussion below).

In *Eclogue* 8, the song contest between Damon and Alphesiboeus, the second song involves the voice of a woman trying to drive her beloved Daphnis back from town. According to Coleman 'it is the city that threatens to deprive the girl of her lover'. Yet in this Eclogue, as in Corydon's monologue, there are no direct attacks on the city. The focus is on the much more exciting magic tricks to get him home. Furthermore, the magic works. The country girl actually has some power over the dangers in the city: Daphnis does return. Thus it is possible to go to town and return. The city is part of the world-view in the poem. And, again, the introductory lines have already set this eclogue within an urban domain: this time with a reference to a city-dwelling patron in the second person, the *tu* in line 6.

Following Coleman's list we finally reach *Eclogue* 9 and what he calls 'the distasteful journey' to the city. This is of course the other eclogue with a direct political reference to the confiscations and it

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[32] Putnam 1970, 84.
[33] Cf. chapters by Bowie and Kosak in this volume.
[34] It has been pointed out to me that fortification might be seen as a sign of the passage from a rural to an urban stage. Yet, I stick to my emphasis on the activities.

is often read in conjunction with the first. This is truly not a very
happy journey. Poetry has not worked against Mars' weapons (9.11–17)
and Menalcas has not managed to save Moeris' land (9.2–3). Menalcas
and Moeris even have problems recalling their songs (53–54). But,
as argued in relation to the *oppida* in *Eclogue* 4, it is against war that
poetry has had no effect, not against the city. In the entire poem
the city is mentioned twice (lines 1 and 62), but not in a particu-
larly 'distasteful' way: in line 62 the city is mentioned as still reach-
able even after having taken a break: 'set down the kids here. We
shall reach town all the same', *hic haedos depone, tamen veniemus in urbem*.
In line 1 it is mentioned as the place to which the road leads: 'where
the road leads, to town?', *an quo via ducit, in urbem*?. The latter, rather
than setting up an antithesis, emphasizes a direct connection between
country and city. Furthermore, the sepulchre of Bion (60) is an archi-
tectural structure which can be read as anticipating the city already
at the half-way point.

   Having gone through Coleman's list of antithetic passages there
does not seem to be such a clear case for seeing an unproblematic
antithesis between city and country. The contrast is much clearer in
non-pastoral poetry e.g. in Horace (*Epode* 2, *Epistle* 1.10, and *Sat.*
2.6), but even here scholars have recently warned against polarized
readings.[35]

4. *The city in pastoral II: poetics*

There seems to be scholarly consensus today that the *Eclogues* con-
tain poetic reflection and metapoetic comments which tie in with
Callimachus and the neoterics.[36] The classic example is the opening
of *Eclogue* 6, the Callimachean *recusatio* (1–5):

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[35] E.g. Fowler 2000, 16–20 on *Ep.* 1.2; Oliensis 1998, 50f. on *Sat.* 2.6, and 84
on *Ep.* 2; and Spencer on Horace in this volume. The same might be said about
Juvenal *Sat.* 3 where the praises of country life are given a city setting, see Braund
1989, 46–47 and where the city/countryside antithesis is used more as a vehicle
for moral comment than a description of the two places.

[36] In particular in view of the recent emphasis on allusion, intertextuality and
metapoetics. Perkell 1990, 47–49 gives an overview of most of this work before
1990, but this trend continues, see e.g. Farrell 1992, Hubbard 1998, Cairns 1999,
Van Sickle 2000, and Breed 2000. For the particularly Callimachean/Hellenistic
emphasis, see Clausen 1994, and Thomas 1999 on Vergil and Callimachus in gen-
eral, but also particularly in the *Eclogues*, cf. chs. 3 and 11).

With Syracusan verses our Thalea first
Thought fit to play, nor blushed to live among the woods.
When I was singing kings and battles, Cynthius pulled
My ear in admonition: 'A shepherd, Tityrus,
Should feed his flock fat, but recite a thin-spun song'.

Prima Syracosio dignata est ludere uersu
nostra, neque erubuit siluas habitare, Thalea.
Cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem
uellit et admonuit: 'Pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
pascere oportet ouis, deductum dicere carmen'.

In addition to placing himself within the tradition going back to Theocritus by referring to Syracuse, Vergil pronounces the Callimachean credo: a defense of the little format and the slender muse (*Aetia* Fr. 1.21–24).[37] After this follows an epyllion like the longer poems of Catullus with references to literary figures such as Hesiod and Gallus.[38]

A recognition of a certain urbanity in these poems might also be seen in contemporary comments on the style of the *Eclogues*. According to Horace, the *Eclogues* are delicate and witty: 'to Vergil the Muses rejoicing in rural life have granted delicacy and elegance', *molle atque facetum / Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae*, *Sat.*1.10.44–45. The translation of contemporary literary criticism is never straightforward, and there is a discussion about the extent to which *facetus* is related to humor.[39] What seems clearer, however, is the way this terminology is otherwise related to the urban domain and a civilized style. *Mollis* had special connotations in the vocabulary of Augustan poetry—in particular, the most urbane elegiac program.[40] The *TLL* lists a separate signification related to elegy (II.e.2 *de poesi elegiaca*) and *mollem componere versum* (Prop. 1.7.19) is equivalent with writing elegy.[41] In his discussion of the Horace passage Quintilian associates *facetus* with

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[37] See e.g. Clausen 1994, 174–175.

[38] Other typical examples: The opening of *Ecl.* 1, *Ecl.* 2 (mentioned above), *Ecl.* 9 and *Ecl.* 10—even the perhaps unlikely candidate, *Ecl.* 3., has been read in the light of poetics and literary allusion, e.g. Segal 1967, Farrell 1992, Henderson 1998 and Schultz 2003.

[39] *Facetus* in Cicero on Bion, *Tusc.* 3.26 clearly refers to humor or wit, while Quint. 6.3.20 (given in note 42 below) modifies this. For a discussion of this, see Lee 1984, 12–13 and Wilkinson 1969, 21–22.

[40] See Edwards 1993, 63–97.

[41] Likewise Ov. *Trist.* 2.307.

grace and cultivated elegance (*Decoris . . . et excultae cuiusdam elegantiae appellationem*), 6.3.20.[42] And in *De Oratore* 1.159 Cicero links it to *urbanus*: 'One should also extract from the many genres of urbanity a certain pleasantness of wit with which, like with salt, every speech is sprinkled' *(libandus est etiam ex omni genere <u>urbanitatis facetiarum</u> quidam lepos, quo tamquam sale perspergatur omnis oratio).*

Modern scholars reach the same conclusions: Coleman states that '*molle atque facetum* would serve as a description of the personal poetry of Catullus or the Hellenistic epigrammatists'.[43] Richard Jenkyns calls his chapter on the *Eclogues* in the big volume on Vergil: 'The neo-teric experience'.[44] And Brooks Otis' study of Vergil's entire oeuvre has the subtitle 'a study in civilised poetry'.[45] Many scholars have, however, pointed to a contrast between style and content, e.g., Clausen sees the essence of pastoral in the 'disparity between the meanness of his subject and the refinement of the poets' art'.[46] On the evidence pointed out in the previous section, I would like to challenge this disparity. As the urbane is present in the content of the *Eclogues*—the presence of the city, the political discussions, the explicit notes on poetics—urbanity of style is yet another element which emphasizes the urban presence in the *Eclogues*. It is therefore arguable that this urbanity of style is simply in tune with the blurring going on in the poetry rather than an opposition to it.[47]

To sum up so far one might argue that a survey of the politics and poetics in and of the *Eclogues* shows that there is a case for saying that the city (a) is inscribed in the *Eclogues*, and (b) that it is inscribed not as a unified antithesis to the countryside, but as an integral part of the pastoral world-view with shifting values attached as one goes along.

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[42] *Facetum non tantum circa ridicula opinor consistere; neque enim diceret Horatius facetum carminis genus natura concessum esse Vergilio. Decoris hanc magis et excultae cuiusdam elegantiae appellationem puto.*

[43] Coleman 1977 (2001), 26.

[44] Jenkyns 1998, 131–208.

[45] Otis 1963.

[46] Clausen 1994, xv.

[47] In particular if one balances the neoteric style with what some see as deliberately unpoetic words and colloquialisms, e.g. the much discussed 3.1 *Dic mihi Damoetas, cuium pecus*, which according to Donatus *Vit.* (Hardie 176) was satirized by Nemesianus in his *Antibucolica* as rustic speech, but might rather be seen as comic, see Currie 1976.

5. *Pastoral in the city I: pastoral presences in Augustan and pre-Augustan wall-painting*

So far the focus has been on finding the urban in the pastoral land-scape. Now I want to move on to looking at pastoral presences in the city in order to see the *Eclogues* and their blurring between the city and country within a wider contemporary context, that of the painted landscapes in the urban architecture. In her work on the landscape of the *Eclogues*, Leach observes certain parallels between the *Eclogues* and contemporary wall-painting.[48] In her later work she finds more similarities with elegiac and lyric poetry than with the *Eclogues*, and the fact that we do not find any singing shepherds seems to undermine any theory of visual allusion.[49] However, within the scope of this survey, this does not have much impact, as the aim is simply to establish a context, not a direct line of influence. The popularity of these landscapes at the time of the composition and reception of the *Eclogues* make them an important backdrop against which to understand these poems.[50] Furthermore, the pastoral landscapes are not only vast, but placed in the surroundings of the political and cultural elite whose inhabitants were likely readers of/listeners to Vergil's poems: e.g. the houses of Augustus [Figure 3] and Livia [Figure 4].

Although landscapes were already part of the thematic repertoire of earlier wall-painting, the pastoral landscape becomes a principal subject in the decorative programs from the late republic onwards.[51] As Zanker points out, the rapid transmission of these motifs depended

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[48] Leach 1974. The two main coincidences are: the varied landscapes (83ff.) and the framing/non-framing (263–276), though in none of these cases does she argue for any direct literary influence in the paintings.

[49] Leach 1988, 198. Here she claims that she 'overemphasized the pastoral element of these paintings' in Leach 1974. Also remarked by Freedman 1989, 31. Freedman 1989, 31–35 argues for funeral *stêlai*, and Hellenistic paintings as sources.

[50] The exact dates are not important to the following argument. Most scholars agree on a dating of the writing of the *Eclogues* after 42 BCE, while the *terminus ante quem* is more disputed, Bowersock 1971 and many following him (e.g. Clausen 1994) argue for a date of *Ecl.* 8 as late as 35 BCE, while other scholars would place it to 39 or 37 BCE.

[51] Landscapes are found in Greek painting already in the fourth century BCE. In Italy the earliest evidence is found ca. 200 BCE. Yet it became particularly popular in the pre-Augustan and Augustan age, see the list of sources for the Boscotrecase landscapes in Blanckenhagen 1990, 15–17.

Fig. 3. Framed landscape: The room of the masks from the house of Augustus on the Palatine. Landscape to the right. With the permission of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma.

Fig. 4. The triclinium from Livia's villa at Prima Porta. Now in the Museo Nazionale, Palazzo Massimo, Rome. With the permission of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma.

on an aesthetic receptivity anchored in a new way of thinking which involved a complicated interaction of politics, literature and visual arts.[52] In the following, the idea is therefore to investigate the relationship between city and country in some of the visual imagery available to contemporary readers. The thesis is thus similar to that of Jaś Elsner's simple credo that '[p]eople relate to works of art in different ways, depending upon different contexts and at different times', but rather than establish a context for the viewer of Roman art as he does, I want to establish a context and situation for the reader of the *Eclogues*.[53] The idea is that their understanding is governed by the context in which they hear and read the poems—and one important aspect of this context is architectural surroundings. My aim is to take a step towards establishing a framework within which we may understand how notions of city and countryside might be interpreted in the *Eclogues* at the point of reception.

Through their sheer presence, being an integral part of the urban architecture, these wall-paintings might seriously question any clear-cut distinction between city and countryside in the ancient imagination. However, this blurring is perhaps also mirrored within the paintings themselves and their own inclusion of architectural structures. By far the most popular pastoral landscapes in this period are the so-called sacro-idyllic paintings. These place a shrine (or several, as seen in Fig. 2) surrounded by animals, shepherds and worshippers in the rustic landscape.[54] By introducing these architectural structures into the pastoral landscape, they place the painted landscapes, like those of the *Eclogues*, somewhere between civilization and wilderness. Rosenmeyer notes how these architectural structures signify how the painters are 'averse to separating country from city entirely'.[55] We seem to have a neat parallelism here: the architecture is present in the landscapes like the landscapes are present in the architecture.

Yet, the landscapes are not only present within the urban sphere. One might also argue that through different stylistic features they blur the distinctions between the represented landscapes and the architectural space of which they are a part. Like Vergil's poems,

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[52] Zanker 1990, 291.
[53] Elsner 1995, 1.
[54] On sacro-idyllic painting, see Leach 1988, ch. 4, and Silberberg-Peirce 1980.
[55] Rosenmeyer 1969 (2004), 127.

the pastoral landscape paintings are sometimes framed and sometimes unframed.[56] The paintings framed by some kind of *aedicula*, as the one in the room of the masks in the house of Augustus [Figure 3] and in the auditorium of Maecenas [Figures 5 and 6], give the viewer an impression of a recessed window. Through this the pastoral landscape is brought within reach as if it were just outside. Thus the pastoral is placed within the city walls. The unframed images, such as Livia's *triclinium* [Figure 4],[57] may be seen as bringing the landscape even closer. Covering the entire wall, they give the viewer an impression of simply entering the landscape. Zanker interprets them as giving a sense of epiphany.[58] Others have variously described them as 'a breaking down of spatial boundaries, as an extension of the room into nature, and as a bringing of the outside world into a confined space'.[59] To this I would add that they bring the countryside into the city.

6. *Pastoral in the city II: politics*, otium, negotium

Scholars have pointed out how the different representations of pastoral landscapes in this period may be linked to the Augustan program of a return to old values and a new prosperity rather than to any reality. Thus we may not simply have an architectural intrusion in the countryside, but also a political one. Zanker points out how

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[56] See Leach 1974, 263–276.

[57] Although the latter is often called the garden room, I follow Leach 1974 and Kellum 1994 in considering it relevant for our treatment of the pastoral. The images feature an interplay between two types of landscape, the garden between the two fences and the wilderness outside (which given the fruit trees and the impossible combination of flowers and fruit might be seen more as a *locus amoenus*, cf. Corydon's description *Ecl.* 2.46–55). That makes the *triclinium* highly relevant to our discussion of the space between the city and the country. Furthermore, as shown by Spencer in this volume, gardens themselves may be regarded as places of blurring of city and country: this may function as a parallel. When discussing framing/non-framing, the *triclinium* with its garden walls and vault may be seen as a more complicated case, as it does involve architectural structures which may be considered framing devices. Yet, the first fence is perforated on the north and south side, and clearly forms part of the landscape we see—even though it may also function as a frame. However, it opens up both on the south and north side which ruins the framing effect.

[58] Zanker 1990, 287.

[59] Leach 1974, 264.

Fig. 5. Auditorium of Maecenas. Courtesy of Margaret M. Curran and
Leo C. Curran.

pietas is a prime value of these paintings, the bucolic world is bur-
dened with political symbolism, and the imagery of a grazing flock
is turned into a deliberate metaphor for the ideal society (e.g. on
the Pax relief on the *Ara Pacis*).[60] Susan Silberberg-Peirce goes further
along the political path, arguing that the sacro-idyllic paintings may
simply be seen as subtle expressions of Augustan ideology. She notices
how the shrines and prosperous nature might be seen as a union of
pietas and a return to simple rustic values.[61] Likewise Barbara Kellum
shows how the juxtaposition of the wild and the cultivated in Livia's
triclinium may be interpreted as harmonizing the beneficent world of
nature and that of the state under a common rule and order.[62]

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[60] Zanker 1990, 285–287. However, he does not see this as a simple assimila-
tion or internalization of political values in an unproblematic way: 'Political ideol-
ogy and longing for personal fulfilment play upon each other, but the gap between
both of these and daily life becomes ever greater' (1990, 287).

[61] Silberberg-Peirce 1980.

[62] Kellum 1994, 217.
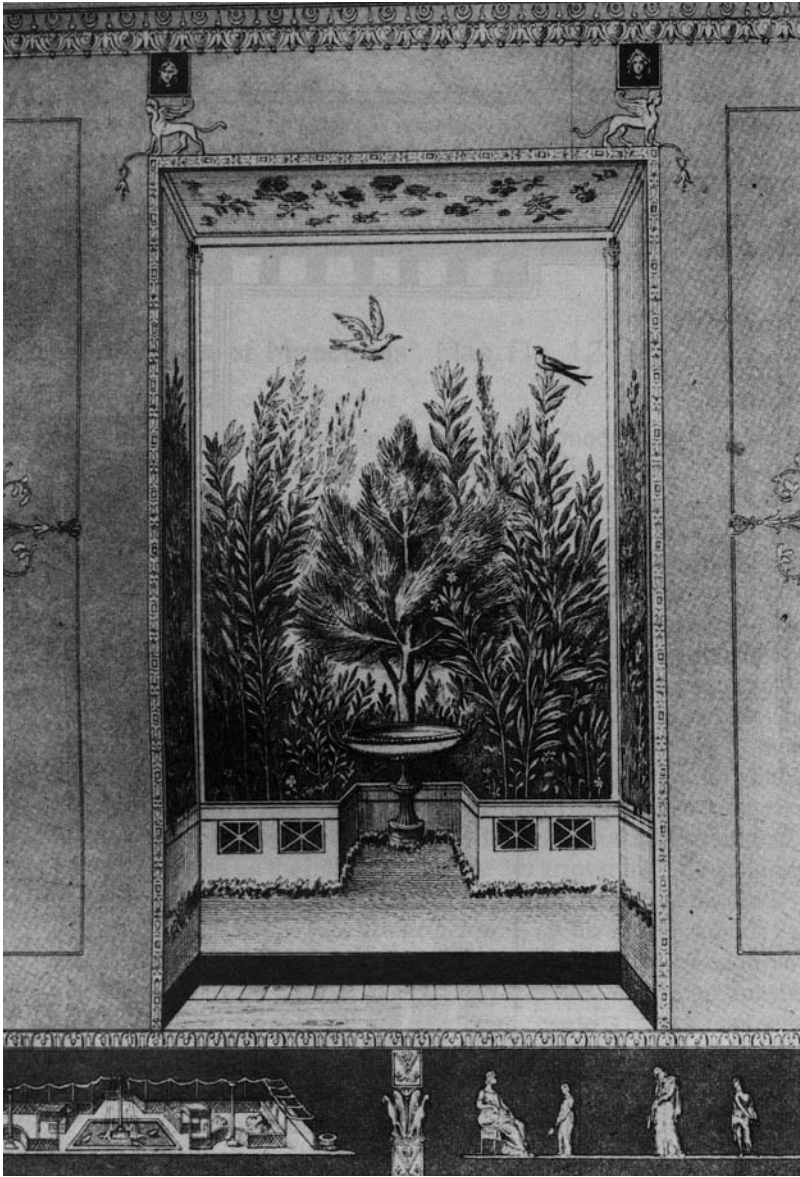
Fig. 6. Detail from the auditorium of Maecenas. From *Bullettino della commissione archeologica di Roma* 1874, plate 16.

All these scholars point out that these paintings are far from straightforward public propaganda. According to Silberberg-Peirce, the paintings show 'how political contrivances can subtly take hold of the private side of people's experiences' at the same time as they conform 'to the reality of the ruling-class ideology'.[63] Kellum points out how Augustan visual imagery is both protean and multivalent.[64] Zanker complicates the matter further, pointing out how these paintings make clear the gap between daily life and this ideal.[65] Following such an idea of a gap, others have interpreted these paintings as romantic cravings for withdrawal from a contemporary urban and political milieu.[66] This is perhaps particularly present in the paintings in the red room at Boscotrecase [Figure 7]. These are a kind of framed paintings, yet the 'view from a window' impression is counterbalanced by suspending the landscape in thin air (the white all-encompassing background), thus emphasizing the utopian element; how these landscapes are far from easily attainable, natural but unreal.[67] Even these paintings from Boscotrecase are thus a response to politics. The main point I want to make here is how this is an urban fashion and how the politics apparent in the imagery contributes to the blurring of the city-country antithesis.

One of the main difficulties when discussing this kind of imagery and their politics is their domestic status.[68] Yet, within the context of using the paintings to establish a kind of physical context for reading the *Eclogues* this might be an important point to dwell on. Recent studies of the Roman house divide it into different spheres based on a distinction between public and private. The house was divided into one zone in which to receive clients and one in which only invited visitors could enter.[69] This 'language of private and public' is also essential to the Roman approach to wall decoration—not least the choice of motif and style.[70] If we take the examples of wall-paintings used so far, one can see how almost all these paintings are not

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[63] Silberberg-Peirce 1980, 248–249.
[64] Kellum 1994, 211.
[65] Zanker 1990, 287.
[66] Blanckenhagen 1990, 25–26.
[67] Description of these in Blanckenhagen 1990, 22, analysis ibid. 25–26.
[68] Zanker 1990, 265 and repeated in e.g. Galinsky 1996, 179.
[69] Wallace-Hadrill 1994, Zanker 1998 and Leach 2004.
[70] Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 23, 29.
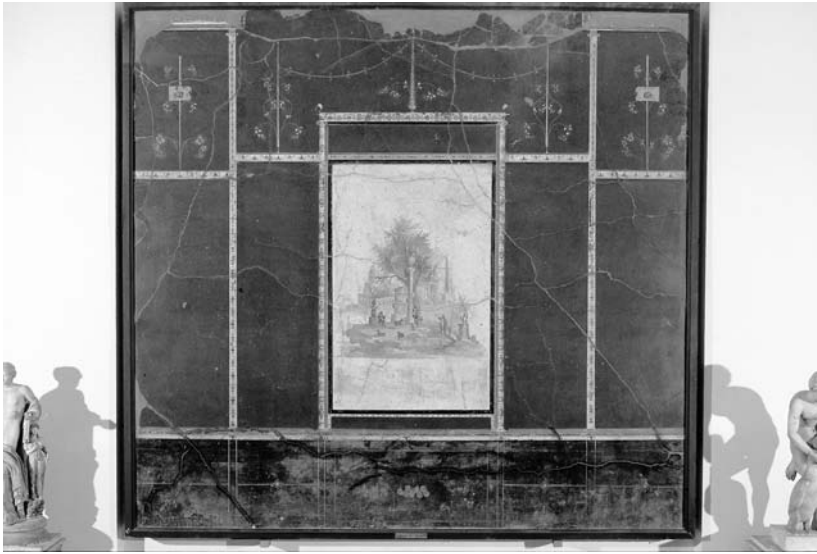
Fig. 7. Perspective from Boscotrecase (ca. 10 BCE). With the kind permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle province di Napoli e Caserta.

only in private houses, but belong to what might be called the private sphere; e.g. the *triclinium* of Livia [Figure 4] and the cubiculum of Boscotrecase [Figure 7].[71] While the public sphere in general might be seen as linked to the sphere of *negotium* (reception of clients), the private is linked to one of *otium* (dining, entertainment etc.). It is therefore no wonder that we find the landscapes, which may be regarded as attempts to create an ideal world, in the private parts of the house. This would give a reading of these paintings that finds Tityrus' *otium* (*Ecl.* 1.6) mirrored in the middle of the city.

One might argue that instead of the city/country distinction we have now ended up with a new distinction, *otium/negotium*, where the pastoral landscape is neatly placed on the side of *otium*. Yet, as the evidence of Vergil's Tityrus and the other Roman poets show, e.g.

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[71] Yet, according to Wallace-Hadrill interpreting Vitruvius, there is not only a division along the antithesis public/private, but also one of grandness—and these do not necessarily correspond; an area might be both 'private and grand' and 'public and grand'. Cf. the graphic representation in Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 11 based on Vitruvius 6.5.

Horace *Epode* 2, there is no *otium* without *negotium*.[72] Tityrus is dependent on the goodwill and economy of the city to raise the right amount of money (*peculium*) to achieve his *libertas* (1.32). Furthermore, given that the third style is primarily concerned with private spaces, Wallace-Hadrill argues that this represents an expression of a shift in the locus of political power: 'The dominant image of the aristocrat is no longer the republican *patronus*, surrounded by a crush of clients, but rather the imperial courtier or *amicus principis*, adept in his social contacts and mediating a web of imperial contacts'.[73] Politics is intervening quite explicitly also in this private architectural place of *otium*.

7. *Conclusion: the* Eclogues *in the city*

So far I have argued that there is no marked opposition between city and country in the *Eclogues*: The city is tied in with the pastoral landscape physically through the road, politically through its dependence on Rome's power, and poetically through the style. Likewise I have argued that a similar blurring between the city and country is mediated by the pastoral frescos present in the city: physically, by their sheer presence at the heart of the city and the architectural landscapes in the paintings, politically, by the intrusion of Augustan imagery, and stylistically, by the use of sophisticated illusions blurring the spatial distinctions. Finally, I have pointed out how the urban parallel to the pastoral *otium* is invaded by Augustan politics. On the basis of this, I would like to conclude that sweeping statements claiming, e.g., that 'a constant element in pastoral as known to literature is the recognition of a contrast implicit or expressed between pastoral life and some more complex type of civilization',[74] need to be much nuanced if one wants to include the *Eclogues* in this description. Nor can the *Eclogues* be used as evidence for such a claim.[75]

This is not to argue that a notion of contrast between city and country did not exist in Roman discourse at all. On the contrary,

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[72] Spencer's article in this volume shows how the Horatian garden unites the two *foci* of *labor* and *otium*.
[73] Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 29–30.
[74] Greg 1906, quoted from Loughrey 1984, 79.
[75] Or the similar theories of return and retreat, cf. Gifford 1999, 1.

the blurring I am arguing for presupposes a more stereotypical contrasting notion of city and country. Such views can be seen in particular in cases where city and country are seen in complete isolation, e.g. as played with in Horace *Epode* 2, *Epistle* 1.10, and *Sat.* 2.6.[76] However, this stereotypical semiotic backdrop, one could argue, may be exactly what heightens the very pleasure of the complexity and blurring taking place in both the *Eclogues* and Augustan wall-painting—thus in fact contributing to their very success.

As an epilogue, I would like to add a last and playful twist to the tale. This is a twist that ties the two realms of painting and poetry even further together: the idea of performing or reciting the *Eclogues* within the kind of spatial framework investigated above. As John Van Sickle points out, we are moving within a society where 'the elites had long shared texts among themselves, both orally and in writing, in private and public contexts'.[77] According to the famous passage in *The Life of Vergil* by Donatus, the *Eclogues* were performed.[78] No definite place for public recitations existed in the Augustan period.[79] However, traditionally and most frequently, recitations were informal performances for guests at one's home. For this there is even more general evidence, which is highlighted by modern scholarship with an emphasis on the entire literary institution.[80]

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[76] Leach 1974, 72 emphasizes the difference between city and countryside in isolation and interaction.

[77] Van Sickle 2003, 3. Much of what is to follow is taken from him. On the performance aspect of the *Eclogues*, see also Horsfall 1981, Kohn 2000, Van Sickle 1978, 9–10.

[78] *Bucolica eo successu edidit ut in scaena quoque per cantores crebro pronuntiaretur*, *Life of Vergil* 90.

[79] Fantham 1999, 70–71, and Dalzell 1955, 27–28, argue that Pollio might have given his recitations in the Atrium Libertatis in Rome's first public library. Furthermore, both argue that the Apollo-temple on the Palatine seems to have been a favorite resort for poets, Fantham 1999, 88–89, Dalzell 1955, 27. Joseph Farrell in a paper given in Leeds played with the idea of the *Eclogues* having been performed in Pompey's theater—based on evidence from Vitruvius' description of the satirical *scaena* (5.6.9), and on archaeological evidence for an actual grove in the theater of Pompey (among other things). This is of course an urban structure which in its satirical guise (cf. Vitr. 5.6.9: *satyricae vero ornantur arboribus, speluncis, montibus reliquis agrestibus rebus*) and with the grove may be seen as a bit of country in the middle of the city. Imagine *Ecl.* 5 on the apotheosis of Daphnis performed in the very place where Caesar was murdered! Farrell, 'Pastoral and Landscape Architecture', *Leeds International Classics Seminar*, January 25, 2002.

[80] E.g. Fantham 1999 and Morgan 2001.

The designation 'Maecenas' auditorium' for the building on the Esquiline is an 1874 invention based on the concentric steps in the rounded apsidal end and what might look like the seats of a minia-ture theater.[81] An alternative explanation for this 'theatrical' con-struction, however, is that it may have formed a cascade. 'Either way', Amanda Claridge concludes, 'the room was essentially a set-ting for dinner parties: couches would be arranged in front of the apse, facing the transept at the other end, where entertainments would be staged'.[82] We know that recitations often took place at din-ner parties.[83] This particular space may therefore be a likely candi-date for staging recitations of the *Eclogues*, and what is interesting is that it was decorated with vistas of landscapes [Figures 5 and 6]. Given the emphasis on dinner-parties, normal *triclinia* are obvious places for recitations, and Pliny at least once recited his poetry in his *cubiculum* (*Ep.* 5.3).[84] It is therefore perhaps not too far-fetched to imagine some kind of recitation in one of the spaces treated in this article, e.g. Livia's *triclinium* or the *cubiculum* at the villa in Boscotrecase [Figure 7].

We have evidence of recitations and listeners closely associated to Vergil: his patron Asinius Pollio is known to have made a point of reciting his own works in front of an audience (Seneca, *Controv.* 4, praef. 2),[85] and Suetonius notes how Augustus himself listened to recitations (*Aug.* 89). Furthermore, the *Eclogues* were obviously extremely popular (cf. the *Vita* by Donatus). Considering for a final time the opposition between city and country, this city-staging in front of the cultural and political elite surrounded by rustic yet civilized imagery, might make an even stronger case for a pastoral convention in the city where the concepts of city and country are hard to separate.

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[81] Claridge 1998, 294. The word *auditorium* first appears in a letter by Seneca (*Ep.* 52.11). On this kind of building, see Fantham 1999, 211–221.

[82] Claridge 1998, 295–297.

[83] E.g. Fantham 1999, 9.

[84] On the use of *cubicula* for receptions etc., see Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17, 58, 219.

[85] On the nature of this recitation, see Dalzell 1955.

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MARTIAL BETWEEN ROME AND BILBILIS*

Elena Merli

1. *Introduction*

Latin poetry between the end of the first and the beginning of the second century CE formulates the thematic complex of city-countryside in a new way. Whereas in Augustan poetry a differentiation prevailed—primarily moralizing in nature—between two incompatible realities,[1] now in many cases a link is established between two complementary worlds, with elements moving from one to the other.

From the *Silvae* of Statius and the *Epigrams* of Martial a picture emerges where city and countryside are both components of the life of the leading class: a picture substantially coherent with the one sketched in the letters of Pliny the Younger.[2] However, to associate Martial with the ideology of the leading class as represented by Pliny and celebrated by Statius might not seem obvious for a number of reasons: especially, the close connection of his poetry to the satiric tradition has led to projecting on Martial's epigrams the picture of city and countryside as seen in satire—that is chiefly in the third *Satire* of Juvenal; and the great gesture of the poet's return to his Celtiberian homeland, presented in Books 10 and 12, has over-shadowed our perception of the different forms which the motif assumes in the preceding books.

My aim is to trace and synthesize the complex representation of the motif city-countryside in Martial's epigrams, taking into account its different, sometimes contradictory, aspects. These aspects, so far

[1] The *loci classici* are V. *Georg.* 2.493–540; Hor. *Epod.* 2; Tib. 1.1. On the image of a simple and virtuous country life in Augustan poetry see e.g. Kier 1933; Vischer 1965, 140–152; Leach 1988; Eigler 2002. For a more complicating reading, see the chapters by Skoie and Spencer in this volume.

[2] See Myers 2000, esp. on Statius' *Silvae*.

looked at either out of context or only within the framework of sin-
gle books, will now be brought together and, above all, will be seen
in their different functions (especially the self-fashioning of the author)
and diachronic development.

In section 2, I will start from *Epigram* 1.49 to demonstrate the
fluctuating evaluation of the appropriateness or otherwise of a life
in the city or countryside, depending on one's age, the alternation
of one's activities or perspective (patron or poet). Section 3 explores
the tension between fond ideas of leaving the city behind and the
'reality' of being in provincial surroundings, unconducive to poetry,
where positive evaluations of the countryside are lacking. In section
4, I explore Books 4–9 where *otium* is sometimes situated in an urban
context, while the opposition to life in the countryside recedes into
the background. In so far as the relationship between city and coun-
tryside plays a role, they are harmonious. By contrast, Book 10
returns to the motifs encountered in Books 1–2, but here they become
more complex and problematic as they are linked to Martial's move
from Rome to Celtiberia (section 5). In Book 12, as earlier in Book
3, the dominant opposition is that between Rome and not-Rome
(section 6). I conclude that the picture of a Martial constantly and
consistently dreaming of a countryside existence must be adjusted:
the depiction of city and countryside is not constant over the course
of Books 1–12 but changes in accordance with the construction of
the poet's identity and his history within the text.

2. *Martial 1.49 and the ideology of the leading class*

A recurrent critical judgment is that Martial's ideal would be 'de
vivre simplement, à la campagne; le poète s'abandonne sans cesse à
ce rêve', whereas in contrast 'pour Martial, la vie du citadin est
essentiellement négative'.[3] It is significant that, of all epigrams, 1.49,
to which this quotation refers, at a second glance does not express
an absolute rejection of city life and its values. In this epigram,
Licinianus, a lawyer of Spanish origin like Martial himself, is about
to return to his native land: the text develops an ample praise of
the Celtiberic countryside. The main intertext is a classic of the *laudes*

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[3] Duret 1977, 175.

ruris, Horace's *Epode* 2: the epigram echoes the meter (iambic trimeter + dimeter), the structure of the praise of the countryside that follows the succession of the seasons, and many individual connections and segments.[4] Common elements have often been emphasized: but this very close relationship is offset by a series of significant differences. Of course, these depend on the Spanish particularity of Martial's epigram to which various minor variations from Horace's more generic text may be attributed. But this is not the only factor. At the beginning of the epode the peasant's life is being briefly contrasted with other spheres according to the priamelic model of a choice of life: lines 5–6 are dedicated to the merchant and to the soldier (far away from Rome), the following ones to legal and political activities and to the life of the client (in Rome) (Hor. *Epod.* 2.5–8):

> he is not wakened, like a soldier, by the harsh bray of the bugle,
>   and has not fear of angry sea;
> he avoids both the city centre and the lofty
>   doorways of powerful citizens. (tr. Rudd)

> neque excitatur classico miles truci,
>   neque horret iratum mare,
> forumque vitat et superba civium
>   potentiorum limina.

Martial's text on the other hand establishes especially through lines 31–36 a contrast which refers exclusively to city and countryside, i.e. the simple and natural life in Celtiberia is opposed to the preeminent civic dress and activities: the *toga* and the various duties (*officia*) of the life of a client, which prevented one from sleeping when one wanted to. The Horatian composition—while ironically presenting an entire series of clichés—opposes country life to every other way of life, whereas the epigram dedicated to the specific celebration of Licinianus, a politician and lawyer, focuses on the civic *officia* and in doing so suggests a more detailed and specific city-countryside antithesis.

Towards the end of the text a little surprise awaits us (the surprise is relative if we keep in mind both the structure of the second epode and Martial's taste for sensational conclusions) (1.49.37ff.):

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[4] See Donini 1964; Citroni 1975 *ad loc.*; Duret 1977.

Let another win the loud, crazy 'bravo';
   do you pity the successful
and unassumingly enjoy true happiness,
   while your friend Sura gets applause.
When fame is satisfied,
   life may without shame look for what remains.[5]
               (tr. Shackleton Bailey, adapted)

Mereatur alius grande et insanum sophos:
   miserere tu felicium
veroque fruere non superbus gaudio,
   dum Sura laudatur tuus.
Non inpudenter vita quod relicum est petit,
   cum fama quod satis est habet.

City life, struggle for glory, the performance of the *officia*, are in fact justified: it is really the choice of retiring to the countryside to private life which stands in need of an advocate. Indeed the city, however much it may be tiring and wearisome, is not rejected entirely: Sura (Trajan's future grand elector) is still young and quite justified in nurturing great hopes for a career. On the other hand, Licinianus is being presented as someone who—once his proper ambitions are satisfied, or rather: after doing his proper duty—may retire with dignity. The city-countryside contrast, though quite present in this text, does not lead to a dramatic choice, a rejection of city life, but in placing itself on the axis of time it finds the possibility of a reconciliation: after dedicating his best years to his career as a politician and an orator in Rome, it is now legitimate for Licinianus to retire to Celtiberia, and the protreptic epigram justifies his choice (a choice made *non inpudenter*). Here Martial's recurrent exhortations to live a true life (*vera vita*)[6] find an expression that can be reconciled with the mentality of the upper class. The Horatian intertext is being bent in order to give voice to this mentality and to celebrate and justify the way of life of the leading class: the city is bound to *negotium* (business) and *officia* and is seen as the center of the life of the *civis*

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[5] Here and below, I use Shackleton Bailey's translation. In this case, I prefer to translate *non inpudenter* as literally as possible. Shackleton Bailey's 'fairly' overlooks the connection between *inpudenter* and *pudor*, a main value in the mentality of traditional Romans. *Pudor* means the shame the citizen feels in front of the community; it incites him to adhere to consolidated patterns and controls in this way individual behavior (see Hellegouarc'h 1963, 283).

[6] 1.15; 55; 103; 2.90; 4.54; 5.20; 58; 64; 6.70; 7.47.11–12; 8.44.

Romanus, the countryside is a place for *otium*, conceded as a pause (a break where relaxation and reflection can be combined) or for the years of retirement.[7]

   This mentality is widespread in the Republican era and still exists in the first Imperial period, when it finds corroboration especially in some letters of Pliny the Younger.[8] We remember the declaration of *Epistle* 4.23, which expresses both the desire and the legitimacy of retirement to private life in old age after dedicating one's best years to one's country: it is indeed old age which makes the dedication to *otium* really honorable (*honestum*), so that it will not be condemned as lazy inactivity (*desidia*) but accepted as well-deserved *tranquillitas*.[9] In contrast, those still young are obliged to divide their time between city and countryside: see *Epistle* 7.3, which entreats the friend Praesens in a humorous tone of voice to cut short his extended holiday in southern Italy, to stop sleeping as much as he likes and doing as he pleases all day long: it is time to return to the boring routine of city life. The conclusion of the letter proposes a reversal of the function of *otium* understood as pause, which allows facing the *negotia* of politics or law with new energy: in fact, Pliny asks his friend not to renounce (*abrumpere*) but rather to intermit (*intermittere*) the *otium*. Here therefore, the *negotium* is seen as a pause in the *otium*, a pause that will allow appreciating the *voluptates* of the vacation even more. In the end, Pliny considers the *vicinitas urbis* of his villa in Laurentum and the easiness with which it may be reached from Rome as a precious advantage in *Epistle* 2.17.2:

   > It is seventeen miles from Rome, so that it is possible to spend the
   > night there after necessary business is done, without having cut short
   > or hurried the day's work. (tr. Radice)

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   [7] See also *Epigr.* 7.63 on the retirement and the *otium litteratum* of Silius Italicus (with Pliny, *Epist.* 3.7).

   [8] I can name here only some of the many scholars who have dealt with the concept of *otium*: André 1966 (Republican era), 1965 (Velleius Paterculus and Valerius Maximus) and 1983 (Quintilian); Corti 1991 (Statius); Nauta 2005, 221–229 (Martial); Bütler 1970, 41–57 and Pani 1992 (Pliny the Younger).

   [9] *Epist.* 4.23.3–4: 'It is our duty to give our youth and manhood to our country, but our last years are our own . . . I wonder when this will be permitted me—when shall I reach the honourable age which will allow me to follow your example of a graceful retirement (*pulcherrimae quietis exemplum*), when my withdrawal will not be termed laziness but rather a desire for peace?' (tr. Radice). See also *Epist.* 2.14.14; 3.1.11–12; on retirement in Roman society: Balsdon 1969, 169–192.

> Decem septem milibus passuum ab urbe secessit, ut peractis quae
> agenda fuerint salvo iam et composito die possis ibi manere.

The alternation during the course of life between a first stage occu-
pied by *officia* and which is situated prevailingly in town, and a sec-
ond stage dedicated to *otium* and situated prevailingly in the countryside
is therefore also reflected in the course of the year, between periods
of activity in Rome and those of holidays in the villa, even within
a single day. Only after fulfilling his duties as a citizen does Pliny
feel justified in withdrawing to the countryside for some time. Even
if the commitments are often presented as a burden (see e.g. *Epist.*
1.9; 2.8), the superiority of *negotium*—therefore of the city—over
otium—and the countryside—is never doubted, see *Epistle* 8.9.2: 'For
no such work (*studia*, that is the *otium litteratum* in the villa) is impor-
tant enough to justify neglect of the claims of friendship (*amicitiae
officium*)' (tr. Radice).[10]

In Martial's Book 1 we nonetheless also find declarations which
go in the opposite direction: specifically, *Epigram* 1.55 expresses the
longing for a simple and calm life in a country seat far from Rome,
from the *officia* and from career ambitions. It refers to a desire of
the figure of the author[11] (and not, as 1.49, to the project of a patron)
and addresses a certain Fronto, an eminent senator busy with the
negotia of the capital,[12] before whom Martial justifies a choice of sim-
ple retirement (*sordida otia*) on a little farm (*suum nec magnum rus*) sur-
rounded by generous nature. The same ideal of life will be outlined

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[10] In Flavian poetry this aspect emerges quite frequently: in Martial see esp.
10.12; 30; 51, which stress the burden of *negotia* the patrons have to shoulder; in
Statius see *Silv.* 4.4, to Vitorius Marcellus, and the final section of *Silv.* 4.5, to
Septimius, who alternates trials in town and *otium litteratum* in the countryside, while
declaring a clear preference for the latter. Another central theme in Statius' poetry
is the alternative choice of an undisturbed and uninterrupted *otium*, e.g. in *Silv.* 1.3
and 2.2 (cf. Corti 1991; Myers 2000, 120–125; Nauta 2002a, 308–323).
[11] With 'figure of the author' I mean the literary portrayal and textual constitu-
tion of Martial's figure and identity: it is of course a construct, but is less rigid than
the idea of mask (that is: of *persona*) and re-establishes a link between the author
within the text and the author *of* the text. I am not at all calling into question the
importance of the satirical *persona* in Roman literature as demonstrated by Anderson
1982 (cf. esp. 293–361, 396–486) and Braund 1988 in particular: but to my mind
in its 'pure form' the function of this element has been exhausted (Merli 2006,
264–265 n. 18). For a lucid discussion of reality and fictionality in Martial's poetry
see Nauta 2002a, 39–58; cf. also Nauta 2002b.
[12] No identification is possible (Howell 1980 *ad loc.*), but v. 2 calls him *clarum
militiae togaeque decus* ('shining glory of sword and gown').

at the end of the following book (2.90), again addressing an emi-
nent personality, the rhetor Quintilian: Martial, even though he is
a poor man and not crippled with years (*pauper nec inutilis annis*), and
therefore a long way from being pensionable, distances himself from
the desire to become rich and have a glorious career, as traditional
morality would have expected of him.[13] This stance is mitigated by
the fact that the countryside of these texts has no name: the place
cannot be identified as Celtiberia nor as the farm Martial owned in
Nomentum,[14] but is a quite generic landscape made up from stan-
dard elements owing much to Horace's *hoc erat in votis* (*Sermones* 2.6)
and to Ovid's episode about Philemon and Baucis (*Metamorphoses*
8.626–688).[15]

   In the epigrams of Books 1 and 2 considered here, the country-
side represents healthy and positive values, even though it takes on
a partially different function depending on whether it is related to
a patron or to the figure of the author. It would be a mistake though
to extend these conclusions to the entire corpus of the epigrams: in
fact it is rather significant that the nostalgia for simple bucolic *otium*
does not appear again until Book 10, while the distance between
the author and the world of patrons becomes noticeably reduced
beginning with Book 4.

3. *Book 3: a poet in the province*

The situation of Book 3 is quite particular and merits detailed and
distinct examination: this third book of epigrams is being sent to
Rome from *Forum Cornelii* (our modern Imola) in *Gallia Cisalpina* where
Martial was staying with some friends for the holidays;[16] but the poet
explains his stay there as a polemic reaction to an edict by Domitian
that made the lives of the poorest people among the clients even

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[13] In Tacitus' *Dialogus de oratoribus*, Aper justifies the *otium* only for those not gifted
as a lawyer: the secluded life in the countryside is therefore admitted but only as
an inferior choice, see *Dialogus* 5.3, and also *Dialogus* 9.6 and 12.1, where the coun-
tryside is specifically associated with the writing of poetry.
[14] Probably a gift from Seneca or his family, it is mentioned in the corpus of
the epigrams from the *Xenia* onwards, see Citroni 1975 on 1.105.
[15] See Citroni 1975 on 1.55. Cf. also 2.48, for a quiet life in a small town (with
Williams 2004 *ad loc.*).
[16] Sullivan 1991, 30–31.

harder.[17] Martial goes so far as to present his decision of taking that journey as dictated by a more general disillusionment with the Roman conditions of life. He can no longer stand the *vanae taedia togae* ('the weary futilities of the gown', 3.4.6) in a city where neither a poet nor—more generally—a talented man has any chance at all (thus 3.4 and 38 respectively): significantly here we encounter the question *quid Romae facis* ('what are you doing in Rome', 3.30.2), which will be echoed in Juvenal 3.41 and will become very popular in the European satiric tradition.[18]

It is a confrontation with Juvenal's famous text that makes profound differences in orientation apparent: in particular it is noticeable that the temporary forsaking of the capital and the critical position taken on life in Rome does not give way to the counter image of a healthy and virtuous province. Although the third book contains eight epigrams concerning the Cispadane territory,[19] nowhere does one find the landscape and peacefulness of Cispadana forming a contrast to the stress of Rome: in spite of the fact that the figure of the author is far away from Rome, in the entire course of the book while dealing with his stay in Gaul, not a single theme emerges like the claim to a life worthy of that name, or more specifically, the possibility of sleeping until late and the absence of the *toga*, which in Martial's work often symbolize a more general freedom from the obligations of a client.[20]

Not only is there a lack of direct, explicit comparison between the capital and the province: the epigrams set in Cispadana are in most cases scoptic in tone, for instance against an innkeeper in Ravenna

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[17] On Book 3: Citroni 1987; Sullivan 1991, 30–33, 155–157; Merli 1998, 144–148.

[18] See also 3.38.13; 4.5.1–2; 10.10.3. On the intertextuality between Martial and Juvenal 3: Adamietz 1971, 13–38; Colton 1991, 85–144. It is significant, as Braund 1989 reminds us, that in *Satire* 3 it is not Juvenal but an 'other voice', Umbricius, who leaves Rome. On the close relationship between Juvenal and the urban setting see Gold 1998.

[19] 3.16; 56; 57; 59; 67; 91; 93; 99; landscape elements only appear in epigrams 67 and 93.8. On the other hand, an appealing countryside appears in *Epigram* 3.58, a praise of Faustinus' villa at Baiae: this text does not present elements of self-fashioning (see n. 26 below) and for this reason I am not considering it in this chapter (apart from *Epigram* 3.58, I will also leave out of account epigrams about villas of friends and patrons, such as 4.64 and 10.30).

[20] Absence of the *toga*: 1.49.31; 10.47.5; 51.6; 96.11; 12.18.5. Possibility (or impossibility) of sleeping: 1.49.35; 2.90.10; 4.64.18–24; 9.68; 10.47.11; 74.12; 12.18.13–16; 57; 68. Both motifs recur in Juv. 3: 3.171–172 (*toga*), 3.56 and 3.232–235 (impossibility of sleeping in Rome).

and a cobbler in Bononia. The latter, a *nouveau riche* who puts on a gladiatorial show, even recurs in three compositions distributed over the initial, central and final parts of the book (16; 59; 99): in some way he becomes a symbol for life in a provincial town with its simple ambitions, the only distinct characteristic of which in the end is its not being Rome.

Rome is the setting for most of the texts of Book 3;[21] both the public in general and the individual friends and patrons to whom the prefatory compositions are addressed are Roman, and finally, the fact that the book comes from the area of the *Via Aemilia* is represented in the very first epigram as an element which diminishes its worth with regard to the preceding one: indeed, the epigram concludes, 'a home-bred book should best a Gaul' (*debet enim Gallum vincere verna liber*). The declaration, jocular but no less serious, brings back to memory the lamentations of Ovid in Tomis, according to whom being away from Rome is not good for his poetic capacities.[22] This detail is inserted into a tighter net of allusions, whose programmatic character appears guaranteed by the reference in the opening epigrams of Book 3 to the first elegy of both Ovidian works written in exile.[23] On the other hand here we find no reference to either Horace's second *Epode* or to the tradition of the *laudes ruris*: if a Horatian intertext contributes in giving shape to Cispadana, it is the satire of the trip, *Sermones* 1.5, which presents the province in an

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[21] See e.g. 3.14 and 20, with lists of the splendid places and structures for sport and leisure (esp. in the Campus Martius).

[22] Cf. e.g. Ov. *Trist.* 1.11.35–38; 3.1.17–18; 3.14.25–28; 4.1.1–2; 5.12. On 'Ovid's pose of poetic decline' see Williams 1994, 50–99.

[23] *Epigr.* 3.1.1–2 *hoc tibi . . . longinquis mittit ab oris/Gallia Romanae nomine dicta togae* ('this…Gaul called by the name of the Roman gown sends you from distant lands') = *Pont.* 1.1.2 *hoc tibi de Getico litore mittit opus* ('[Naso] sends to you this work from the Getic shore', tr. Wheeler/Goold). *Epigr.* 3.4.1–2 *Romam vade, liber: si, veneris unde, requiret,/ . . . dices . . .* ('go to Rome, my book. If she asks where you come from, say . . .') and 3.5.1–2 *. . . sine me cursurus in urbem,/parve liber* ('little book, who are about to hasten to the city without me') = *Trist.* 1.1.1, 15, 18–19 *parve . . . sine me liber ibis in urbem/ . . . vade liber . . ./siquis, qui, quid agam, forte requirat, erit/ . . . dices . . .* ('little book, you will go without me to the city . . . go, my book . . . if there shall be any there who may perchance ask how I fare, You are to say . . .', tr. Wheeler/ Goold). For the 'poetic memory' in the opening verses of literary works and its programmatic function see Conte 1986, 35 and 70–87. On Ovid in Martial cf. Zingerle 1877 (27 on exile elegy); Siedschlag 1972; Sullivan 1991, 105–107; Hinds 1998, 129–135 (on *Epigr.* 11.2); Pitcher 1998 (59–64 on exile elegy); Geyssen 1999 (on *Epigr.* 1.70); Fusi 2000 (on *Epigr.* 5.20). The importance for Martial of *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* as poetry-books is stressed by Holzberg 2002, 64 and 130.

ironic and removed manner: inhabited by vulgar and rude people, infested with mosquitoes and croaking frogs, which prevent sleep.[24]

Now, as the figure of the author finds itself precisely in that tranquil and peripheral reality at which it had fondly gazed—though only sporadically—it operates in a situation partially modeled on that of Ovid in Tomis and appears as a citizen who snobbishly mocks the pretensions of the provincials.[25] Cispadana becomes neither a seat of values nor a place of poetry.

4. *Self-fashioning in Books 4–9*

From Book 4 onwards, the figure of the author appears to be deeply renewed as the image of a poet (at least partially) integrated into the system, accepted at court and close to many distinguished patrons.[26] To my mind, it is possible to count among the modalities that construct this process of integration within the text also the changes in the city-countryside motif. All the elements and oppositions which in previous books had shaped this motif, i.e. the absence of the *toga* and the possibility of sleeping (see n. 20 above), the *quid Romae facis* and, more in general, the polemics concerning the patronage system, are becoming less frequent.[27] At the same time, in some texts the figure of the author accepts and embodies behaviors and values of the leading class.

This change of attitude reveals itself clearly in 4.25, where praise of the hills surrounding Padua culminates in an apostrophe directed at these localities: 'you shall be the repose and haven of my old age' (*vos eritis nostrae requies portusque senectae*). The underlying idea is not

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[24] See Citroni 1987, 147–148.

[25] An ironic image of the life in a little town (*vita municipalis*) is drawn in 4.66, too. See also the unappealing countryside of 6.64.2–3. Instead, Juvenal 3 judges this simple and quiet way of life positively: see vv. 168–179; 190–192; 223–231.

[26] 'After Book 3 there is a strong sense in the ensuing volumes of a greater political and historical awareness on Martial's part', Sullivan 1991, 33. One often-noticed and variously interpreted aspect of this tranformation is the increasing number of epigrams dedicated to Domitian: however, this is just the most striking element of an entire series waiting to be brought into focus as components of a consistent and manifold strategy. The concept of self-fashioning (Greenblatt 1980) is spreading within scholarly research on Latin poetry, see for example Hinds 1998, 123–144 and Oliensis 1998, 1–16 (on Greenblatt: 13–14).

[27] They will return in the last three books of the corpus (10–12). The most striking exception is the complaint in 5.22 (about the *salutatio*); for 5.20, see below.

that of getting away from the city now (as in 2.90) but that of a peaceful retirement once old age has arrived, in conformity with the model proposed by the upper classes.

In addition, in Book 4 Martial depicts himself as being on vacation: Epigram 57 announces that he is about to leave Baiae in order to join the patron Faustinus in his villa at Tibur. The situation of the holiday and of his temporary absence from Rome is now being presented precisely as such, and it supplies the cue for paying homage to the hospitable patron: we are far away from the attitude of Book 3 where the analogous situation of the sojourn in Cispadana had been transformed into some kind of exile and linked with bitter polemics against the patronage system.[28]

Epigram 6.43 is addressed to the patron Castricus, on holiday at Baiae, whereas Martial stays on his Nomentan estate: 'the relaxation of my Nomentan farm restores me' (*me Nomentani confirmant otia ruri*); when Martial was young he faced long journeys, but 'I now like places near the city, retreats within easy reach' (*nunc urbis vicina iuvant facilesque recessus*): the topic of modesty (the habitation annexed to the *rus* is called *casa*, 'humble cottage') does not undermine the pattern offered by the life of the rich patron which Martial applies on a minor scale: no holidays at Baiae but relaxation in the *Nomentanum*. This *otium* is not established in an idealized countryside far away from Rome; in fact, one of the *Nomentanum*'s advantages seems to be the *vicinitas urbis*:[29] the suburban holding grants *otium* within reach.

And finally, in Book 9 Martial remembers that he owns both the *Nomentanum* and a house in the city.[30] In 9.97.7–8, someone envies Martial 'because I have a pleasant country place near Rome and a small house in the city' (*quod rus mihi dulce sub urbe est/parvaque in urbe domus*): also in this case, the modest tone is grafted onto a model in which city and countryside coexist as complementary realities.[31]

In Books 4–9 there is no room left for dreaming of a simple lifestyle in the country, and there is no prospect of forsaking Rome.

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[28] Cf. *Epigram* 1.59 too: Martial portrays himself as an indigent client, who at Baiae cannot be satisfied with the 100 *quadrantes* of the *sportula*.

[29] For this motif see also 4.57.3 (Faustinus' villa at Tibur), 4.64.11–12 and 23 and 7.17.2 (Julius Martialis' villa on Janiculum Hill), 8.61.6 (*Nomentanum*).

[30] The epigrams mention an apartment (1.108.3 and 117.6–7), and from Book 9 onwards a *domus* (see Henriksén 1998 on 9.18).

[31] See also 6.27.1–2 (apartment and *rus suburbanum*) and 9.18.1–2 (*domus* and *rus suburbanum*); the Nomentan holding gives rise to envy in 8.61.6, too.

The wish for a life free of the usual *officia* of a client emerges again even though less insistently: but there the city-countryside polarity does not play an important part. *Epigram* 5.20 sketches out the picture of *otium* consisting in literature, conversations and walks in an urban context (v. 9): 'the Campus Martius, the colonnades, the shade, the Virgin [i.e. the aqueduct supplying the baths], the baths' (*campus, porticus, umbra, Virgo, thermae*). *Vera vita* means therefore being able to enjoy the splendid structures of the city: Rome proves to be a complex and contradictory entity, theater of the *officia* and of daily tribulations but also of amusements and culture.[32]

5. *Leaving Rome: Book 10*

Book 10, which has come down to us only in a revised second version, is the last book the poet wrote in Rome, and it announces his return to the homeland Celtiberia. The city-countryside contrast is in this book much more complex and less stereotypic than in the previous ones: in fact, as we shall see now, this contrast works within Book 10 in two opposite directions. The imminent return to Celtiberia allows the idyllic dream to become more concrete and detailed than in Books 1 and 2, but it also highlights the richness of Roman cultural life and especially the close relationship of Martial with the public of the capital.

The pattern of retiring at old age and moving from Rome to the countryside was—as we have seen—generally accepted: here, however, manifold strategies interact in order to present Martial's decision as being most problematic. In fact, Book 10 portrays the countryside as the antipode of the city without seeking a prospective compromise between the two scenarios and ways of life: epigrams praising the Spanish countryside as being rich in vegetation, game and tranquillity (10.37 and 96) stand in contrast to laments about the far too busy life in the city (e.g. 10.12.10–12; 58; 70).

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[32] Cf. Stat., *Silv.* 3.5.85–90: wishing to retire to Naples, Statius describes it as a place of untroubled peace (*pax secura*) and of *otia*, where, in contrast to Rome, it is possible to sleep in until late. It is a place furnished with every comfort and possible entertainment provided by a big city (temples, colonnades, theaters) but at the same time free of the duties imposed by the *forum* and its legal battles: in short, a smaller version of Rome without either *officia* or stress. For Naples in *Silv.* 3.5 as an 'alternative' or 'better' Rome cf. Newlands 2002, 37, 196 and 297.

Furthermore, various patrons are presented as tired because of *officia* and *negotia* (10.12; 30; 51) devoted to their duty and forgetful of claim to diversions (10.44); at the same time Martial constructs himself within the text as a poet who, because of his duties as a city-dweller is unable to find time for writing (10.58 and 70).[33] Thus, the harmonious relationship between city and countryside predominant in Books 4–9 cracks irreparably,[34] whereas the motifs encountered in Books 1–3 return with new urgency.[35]

Nevertheless, Book 10 does not depict an absolute and clear-cut antithesis between a negative city and a positive countryside (as was the case in Books 1 and 2). In particular, several scholars have emphasized the rather unenthusiastic tone of the last-but-one epigram of the book,[36] which addresses Martial's fellow-townsmen of Bilbilis as follows (10.103.11–12):

> if you receive me back in a kindly mood, I come;
>   if the hearts within you are ungentle, I can go back.

> excipitis placida reducem si mente, venimus;
>   aspera si geritis corda, redire licet.

To my mind, this epigram is but the peak of a series of signals which correct and relativize Spain's image.

The very first text which announces his return, 10.13, addressed to a friend whom Martial would like to see again once he is back in his native country, closes by expressing a compliment to the old friend but also by suggesting the strong tie between Martial and Rome: 'any place will be Rome for us two' (*in quocumque loco Roma duobus erit*). Other epigrams suggest the nostalgia for friends and places

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[33] Disillusionment had already surfaced in Book 11 (esp. 11.24; see also 11.1.15–16), where it was not, however, tied to praise of the countryside. See Merli 2006 for a more detailed analysis of the epigrams for patrons and of the figure of the author in Book 10. Further readings: Sullivan 1991, 44–50 and 182–184; Lorenz 2002, 219–231; Spisak 2002; Fearnley 2003.

[34] An example of this may be the mention of the home in Rome and the *Nomentanum* in 10.58.9–10: they are no longer the object of envy (see 9.97, with n. 31 above) but the cause of stress and a burden for their owner.

[35] We encounter elements of the *laus Hispaniae* (see 1.49); the competition between the time dedicated to poetry and that dedicated to *officia* (see 1.70 and 108); the question *quid Romae facis* (see 3.30), which returns with a slight modification in 10.10. For the motifs of the *toga* and of slumber cf. n. 20 above.

[36] Sullivan 1991, 50; Howell 1998, 181; Citroni 2003, 296–297, who singles out a destabilizing signal also in 10.13 (see below).

which Martial will feel once he has returned to Spain: this is the case in 10.78.9–10, addressed to the friend Macer, and in 10.92, the leave-taking from the *Nomentanum* which is described here in detail and with an otherwise unheard, affectionate tone (see e.g. l. 13, *agellus parvulus*).

However, it is especially the second epigram of the book (where the return to Spain is not mentioned) which turns out to be significant. This text develops a eulogy of the Roman reader, defined as 'my riches' (*opes nostrae*): the *lector* has been given to the poet by Rome as the most precious gift of all, for he permits Martial's epigrams to obtain glory and immortality (vv. 6–12). The picture becomes more complicated: *maxima Roma* described in many epigrams as chaotic and exhausting provides also the setting for a happy and fertile relationship between poet and readers.[37]

Thus, Book 10 contains a series of epigrams that express in various shapes the weariness and disillusionment with Roman life[38] and the ideal of a quiet and cheap existence in the countryside: but this positive description of Celtiberia is framed by texts hinting at the limits of that ideal and arranging its embedding within a more nuanced and complex context. Particularly striking, for its structural visibility, is the circularity between the second and the last-but-one epigram: Martial presents himself in both texts as a successful poet, as a second Catullus (103.5–6). Epigram 2 is set in Rome and addresses the urban *lector*; in epigram 103 the protagonist is about to return to Bilbilis and addresses his own *municipes*; the Roman public has granted to Martial glory and immortality, whereas the poet himself represents Bilbilis' *decus* and *fama* (10.103.4). The implicit but undeniable contrast between these two texts does not arise from the usual *officia-otium* polarity, but is based on the relationship of the figure of the author with the Roman or the Celtiberian context, and ultimately on the cultural distance between a Spanish *municipium* and the *domina Roma*.[39]

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[37] For the construction of Flavian Rome as a cultural capital in Martial's and Statius' poetry, see Woolf 2003.

[38] Weariness of the patrons: 12; 30; 44; 51. Patronage and poetry: 58; 70. Poetry is not lucrative: 9; 74; 76. Patronage in general: 10; 11; 15; 17; 19; 56; 82.

[39] In three cases out of five Martial defines Rome as *domina* with regard to cultural life and to the reception given to his poetry: 1.3.3; 3.1.5 (*domina in urbe*); 10.103.9; see also 12.21.9 (*dominae urbis*).

6. *Book 12: neither idyll nor exile*

In Book 12, written in Spain a few years later,[40] some epigrams celebrate the nature and country life of Celtiberia: the dedication to the patron Priscus, 12.1, the eulogy on the villa received as a gift from the patroness Marcella, 12.31, and, above all, 12.18, addressed to his friend Juvenal in Rome. In this poem, Martial presents himself as a country-dweller (*rusticus*) who lives an idle and informal life and recovers the sleep lost during the previous thirty years.[41]

But here, much more than in Book 10, destabilizing signals become apparent. It has been often observed that the prefatory letter contains explicit statements of disillusionment and lack of inspiration: the sought-for provincial tranquillity has been transformed into a desolate loneliness (*solitudo*), which is very far from the cultural life of Rome. In spite of the absence of *urbicae occupationes*, Martial had written almost nothing for three years. He misses the ears of the citizens (*civitatis aures*), the Roman audience and its subtle criticism (*iudiciorum subtilitas*), the libraries, theaters and meeting places. The letter also reminds us that Bilbilis is a little town, having all the negative implications of the provincial world: 'the tartar of municipal teeth' (*municipalium robigo dentium*) and 'envy in place of judgment' (*iudici loco livor*). Thus, the fears expressed in 10.103 come true. The conclusion gives utterance to Martial's apprehension of sending to Rome a book 'not Spanish-Roman, but native-born' (*non Hispaniensem, sed Hispanum*): again cultural isolation appears to be the main reason for disenchantment.[42]

After this rather disconsolate start, the references to the proemial elegy of Ovid's *Tristia* which are present especially in epigram 2 contribute to the construction of Bilbilis as a place of exile while emphasizing the distance from the capital and from the public of friends and affectionate readers.[43] And lastly, not even rural tranquillity lives

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[40] I leave aside the complicated question of whether the book in the form in which we have it was revised by an editor after Martial's death: see Sullivan 1991, 52–53; Howell 1998, 183; Lorenz 2002, 232–238. On the 'nostalgia di Roma' in Book 12, see Parroni 1984.

[41] The analogies with 1.49 and 10.37 and 96 are evident. See Howell 1998, 176–178; Watson and Watson 2003, 143–150.

[42] See Woolf 2003, 218–220; on the prefatory epistle see Borgo 2003, 30–33.

[43] The theme of the book's forwarding to Rome which we had already met in Book 3, see n. 23 above (12.2.1–2 = *Trist.* 1.1.1–2), is joined by other Ovidian

up to his expectations: early in the morning Martial receives the visit
of an annoying *matutinus cliens* (12.68): one negative aspect of city life
which he had in vain hoped to have left behind.

Concerning this situation, two different readings have so far been
proposed. The *communis opinio*[44] is that after a first period of happi-
ness (12.18) Martial reached the moment of disenchantment (12 *epist.*
and 12.68). Alternatively, Lindsay and Patricia Watson suggest that
his aversion to the provincial world dominates from the beginning:
according to them, epigram 18 to Juvenal is to be interpreted 'as a
variation of the rhetorical commonplace of the superiority of coun-
try to city living', that is, as a conventional formulation of the idyl-
lic dream alluding to the tradition of the *laudes ruris*. In contrast to
this, epigram 68 to the provincial *cliens* is 'closer to reality' and shows
'an eminently plausible scenario'.[45]

Both interpretations emphasize the antithesis between epigrams
presenting a positive Celtiberia and epigrams expressing a more crit-
ical position, that is, between 'after' and 'before' (disenchantment),
or between 'true' and 'false'. I wonder, however, if these texts are
to be considered as elements constructing, in a synchronous way, a
reality in which tensions already seen in Book 10 play out more
openly.

The picture will appear more nuanced when, instead of looking
at the opposing poles (12.18 and 68), we pay due attention to other
texts, as for example the two epigrams dedicated to Marcella. One
of them (12.31) praises the pleasant gardens of Martial's villa with-
out reserve,[46] whereas in the other (12.21) a compliment addressed
to the patroness is at the same time an admission of nostalgia for
Rome:

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motifs: the book will meet its 'brother'-books in the capital (12.2.6 = *Trist.* 1.1.106),
the Roman reader will immediately recognize the book (12.2.17–18 = *Trist.* 1.1.61–62)
and welcome it 'with wet cheeks' (12.2.16 = *Trist.* 1.1.28).

[44] Followed e.g. by Ramage 1973, 123. For the *status quaestionis* see Watson and
Watson 2003, 4.

[45] Watson and Watson 2003, respectively 143 and 173. *Epigr.* 12.68, addressed
to the *matutinus cliens*, may be compared with the frequent complaints Pliny makes
about problems with the peasants of his villae: see e.g. *Epist.* 5.14.8; 7.30.2; 9.15,
20.2, 36.6 and 37.1–3. To my mind this motif confers complexity on the picture
of country life and does not undermine it as a disturbing inconsistency.

[46] Watson and Watson 2003, 134–139 recognize the intertext of Hor. *Serm.* 2.6,
on the Sabine estate.

> You bid me assuage my yearning for the imperial city;
>   you by yourself make Rome for me.[47]

> tu desiderium dominae mihi mitius urbis
>   esse iubes: Romam tu mihi sola facis.

The essentially cultural nature of the *desiderium urbis* is confirmed: Marcella is described as a lady with good taste whom nobody would ever suspect of having been born in a Spanish *municipium* (vv. 1–2). A closer reading of the two epigrams leads us to an ambivalent result: the tranquillity of the villa and the generous countryside surrounding it are appreciated,[48] but they can only partially compensate for the alienation and cultural isolation felt by the figure of the author among his fellow-townsmen.

This complex picture cannot be reduced to a simple scheme: Rome is the setting both of client duties and of cultural life and poetic inspiration; Bilbilis for Martial stands for the place where he can live a life of idleness and in harmony with nature, but at the same time it is a small town peopled with men full of envy and with annoying *clientes*: and above all, it is devoid of cultural life worthy of that name. In Martial's Book 12 the contrast between Rome and 'not Rome' turns out to be more significant than the one between city and countryside.[49]

In order to give literary shape to that reality, many intertexts presenting antithetical images of the countryside or of 'places which are not Rome' are being activated, especially the tradition of the *laudes ruris* and Ovid's exile poetry. These references are not to be interpreted, regarding Horace and the *laudes ruris*, as an exercise in style, and in the case of Ovid, as a sincere nostalgia for Rome: on the contrary, they interact and create a many-sided picture. Concerning this point, the more general question arises whether this simultaneous presence of incompatible models is not connected with the problem of

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[47] The same concept in 10.13, quoted above.

[48] Book 12 never calls into question the richness of Spanish nature. The descriptions of the places of exile, like Ovid's Black Sea and Seneca's Corsica, depicted as bleak and sterile are quite different. On exile in Latin literature: Doblhofer 1987; Edwards 1996, 110–133.

[49] A reason for disillusionment might consist in the fact that Bilbilis is a *municipium* of medium size, surely more similar to *Forum Cornelii* than to Horace's Sabinum, whereas the Spain of Martial's dreams had been a fundamentally rural scenery. But this aspect should not be overrated: the main point is not that Bilbilis is a town instead of open countryside but that it is not and shall never be Rome.

shaping everything that is not Rome within the text and, above all, with the difficulty of finding an adequate way of representing the middle or mixed sceneries (everything that lies between Tomis and the Sabinum).

7. *Conclusion*

It is the *communis opinio* that Martial dreamed all his life of an existence in the countryside, free from the ambitions, duties and disadvantages of the city. In his poetry, however, the idyllic dream does not emerge as a constant factor nor is the city-countryside contrast presented in a simple and clear-cut way. A closer inspection of the epigrams inspired by this topic permits us in fact to discern relevant variations, many of which may be interpreted on the diachronic axis and connected to the dynamics constructing the figure of the author within the text.

Martial defines the city-countryside motif in relation to ideological patterns of the ruling class. In Books 1 and 2 (1.55; 2.90), the figure of the author dissociates itself from them in a somewhat vague and apologetic tone; beginning with Book 4 (4.25; 57) they are accepted and applied although on a minor scale. Between these two stages Book 3 draws a rather unattractive picture of the country: it is quite symptomatic that this picture has not yet received the attention it deserves, whereas the coincidences between this book and Juvenal's satire in their polemics against patronage system and city life have been pointed out quite often.

Martial's return to Spain has turned out to be more complex than a straight path from dream to disappointment. In Book 10 the country topic emerges with greater emphasis than before, but at the same time the picture of the city gains in complexity and contrast. The traditional antithesis of *officia—otium* is at least in part being counterbalanced by the one between the cultural life of Rome and the narrow-mindedness of the provincials (10.2; 103). Once in Spain, the feelings of alienation and cultural isolation prevail (12 *epist.*; 21), although they are mitigated by the possibility finally to enjoy (at least a certain amount of) *otium* and the generous Celtiberian nature (12.18; 31).

Martial's picture of city and countryside activates many relevant allusions to the tradition of *laudes ruris* and to Ovidian exile elegy.

However distant and even incompatible they may originally have been, the interaction between Augustan intertexts and Martial's epigrams produces neither parody nor simply literary homage to that dignified tradition: instead, it contributes to tracing out a complex and many sided picture both of the city-countryside relationship and of a poet who moves *inquietus* between these two worlds.

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THE BEARDED RUSTIC OF ROMAN ATTICA*

Celina L. Gray

1. *Introduction*

As Greece adapted to Roman control, social and economic conditions varied widely. Even in Attica itself, which witnessed both the violence and the generosity of Roman domination, dwellers in the urban demes and Piraeus may have held a very different view of life than those who lived in more rural areas. At times, the traditionally symbiotic relationship between Athens and its hinterland was strained; limited resources were directed towards urban areas or major sanctuaries, and rural land became increasingly controlled by fewer owners, a scenario documented throughout imperial Greece.

During the first and second centuries CE, more Athenians were adopting Roman names and gaining Roman citizenship.[1] At the same time, Hadrian's establishment of the Panhellenion reinforced the notion that Athens was the heart of the Hellenic world. The ancient city was able to fashion itself as a cultural and intellectual center for all Greek speakers, and literary sources begin to suggest that Athenian identity could be acquired through correct speech and education, thus providing a wider population with access to this sought-after affiliation. In the texts of the Second Sophistic, Athens' singular importance is grounded in her distant past rather than her present status. Although it is usually the city itself onto which these ideals are mapped, we can trace links between this vaunted past and the

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[1] Byrne 2003, XII, points out the adaptation by Athenians to the Roman naming system, and the gradual increase in grants of citizenship from the time of Claudius.

countryside. In Pausanias and Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*, for example, two rustic men are connected with the iconic battle of Marathon and with related hero cults; an additional text, Philostratus' *Heroicus*, characterizes a vinedresser as a pious attendant of a hero shrine in the Chersonesus.

Such passages become more significant when we turn to the funerary art of the second century CE. At this time, a bearded man dressed in outdoor work attire appears on Attic gravestones. The bearded rustic appears alone and with other figures; on some of the pieces, items like ploughs or beehives are added to traditional scenes showing figures in the chiton and himation. Four additional columnar markers (*kioniskoi*) use agricultural tools as a decorative motif. The preserved inscriptions show the use of the iconography by both Athenian citizens and foreign residents, a group whose right to own land remains uncertain.

The inclination to portray the deceased as a rugged outdoorsman or farmer does not originate in any established classical funerary tradition, although the youthful, beardless hunter appears on classical tombstones.[2] Perhaps the inclusion of the farming imagery is an indication that the commemorated dead were involved with the land as landowners, tenant farmers, or vinedressers. But the display of such information in the midst of a funerary tradition that discouraged specification is puzzling. Both texts and funerary art should be seen in the context of a larger trend that depicts the Attic countryside as the site where the purer, antique Athens was still preserved.

2. *The gravestones*

As in earlier times, the burial grounds of Roman Athens were not distinct zones wholly separated from other activities. Rather, the urban dead were laid to rest in areas permeated by major roads and visited by the bustling crowds of the living city. The *nekropoleis* lay outside the walls, but they were firmly situated within the city's daily life, as sites of religious activity, industry and commerce. Beyond the

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[2] Agricultural workers are occasionally depicted in classical Athenian vase-painting (Pipili 2000, 163–174), but not in the funerary art. The classical tradition of showing the deceased as a young hunter does continue on a few Roman-period gravestones. I have excluded them from this study because the hunting imagery is quite distinct from the pieces under consideration.

urban areas, burial grounds have been harder to find, although Roman-period cemeteries have been recently excavated at Eleusis and Rhamnus.[3] In areas of Attica with more dispersed populations, however, the picture is incomplete. Only scattered evidence for Roman-period settlement patterns has been uncovered and burials remain elusive.

Following several centuries of producing only small, undecorated grave markers, Athenian workshops revived the sculpted tombstone industry sometime after the mid-first century BCE, incorporating figural designs based on classical motifs and styles popular in the Hellenistic East.[4] Elements of Roman fashion, especially hairstyles, were quickly introduced into the repertoire. Depictions of individuals were frequently based on popular statuary types—women, for instance, are shown most often in the heavily draped Small or Large Herculaneum types [see Figure 1] or in the costume of the goddess Isis. Men wear the himation over a chiton, and stand with one or both hands held in front of the chest in a pose commonly found on honorific statuary.

Agricultural imagery can be found on fourteen gravestones and on four columnar *kioniskoi*. All of the gravestones that can be dated by style have been assigned to the second century CE, with the exception of a partially recarved classical *stêlê*.[5] In stark contrast to the

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[3] The finds from Rhamnus are especially important because they were excavated in a well-studied archaeological site, far removed from the urban core. Petrakos 1999 publishes the recent finds and provides an overview of the site's history. For Roman-period Attic cemeteries, von Moock 1998, 17–21.

[4] Sumptuary legislation imposed by Demetrius of Phaleron (317–307 BCE) restricted the manufacture of elaborate funerary monuments and limited funerary rituals.

[5] For the *kioniskoi*, see below, nn. 6, 7. The *stêlai: Bearded rustic: Alone*: 1. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire 1198; von Moock 1998, no. 414; 2. Athens, National Museum 2613; von Moock 1998, no. 305; 3. Verona, Museo Lapidario Maffeiano 105 [28702]; von Moock 1998, no. 525; *With another man*: 4. Marathon, Archaeological Museum BE 13; von Moock 1998, no. 454; 5. Athens, National Museum 1243; von Moock 1998, 238; *With a woman*: 6. Athens, National Museum 2014; von Moock 1998, no. 288; 7. Athens, National Museum 1210; von Moock 1998, no. 217; 8. Athens, National Museum 5435; von Moock, 1998, no. 346; *With a second rustic and woman*: 9. Athens, National Museum 1230; Conze 1922, no. 2120; *Figures in standard costumes with agricultural implements*: 10. Rhamnus, Storerooms 9; von Moock, 1998, no. 505; 11. Athens, National Museum, without inventory number; von Moock, 1998, no. 166 (a recarved classical tombstone); 12. Athens, National Museum 400; Conze 1922, no. 2117a (fragmentary); 13. Athens, National Museum 1195; von Moock 1998, no. 207; 14. Agora Excavations, S3367; I am publishing this in a separate study. A possible further example is a fragment carved with grapevines and part of a small servant figure: Athens, Acropolis Museum 4709; von Moock 1998, no. 69.

Fig. 1. Gravestone of couple. Marble, Antonine period (Attic). Athens, National Museum 1210. Photograph courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum.

Fig. 2. Kioniskos of Macedon. Marble, Roman period (Attic). Athens, Epigraphical Museum 11118. Drawing reprinted from Conze (1922) p. 20, no. 1801.

standard himation-clad male, the bearded rustic presents an unambiguous message of outdoor life; he wears a short tunic and cape, carries tools or is accompanied by animals. While not every marker includes the bearded man, recognizable attributes like the vintner's knife, cattle prod, beehive, plough, together with vines, grapes, and oxen vibrantly convey the physicality of agricultural work and the rewards of such labor. On some pieces, the outdoor imagery is incorporated into traditional 'family' scenes, showing couples or family members together, while on others, men stand alone, fully clothed in the costume of a herder or farmer. Often the scenes combine these distinct activities, including references to herding, ploughing and viticulture.

Only one of the grave markers carries an inscription which explains the chosen image [Figure 2]. This columnar marker (*kioniskos*) commemorating Macedon was discovered in the ancient deme of Acharnai, modern Menidi, north of central Athens and bears the short inscription Μακεδὼν ἀνπελουργὸς Μειλήσιος, which identifies the deceased as a vinedresser. Appropriately, a curved, sickle-like knife, used for

trimming and caring for vines, decorates the tombstone.[6] Three other published *kioniskoi* are adorned with agricultural tools; in addition to the vintner's knife, the plough and the double-axe are also depicted.[7] *Kioniskoi* dominated the Hellenistic and Roman-period cemeteries and were usually plain, carrying only the name of the deceased. The use of iconic tools on these pieces is conspicuous.

Macedon's memorial lends support to the idea that the agriculturally themed gravestones are proclamations of the occupation, investment or land-owning status of the deceased. This practice is clearly described in a Hellenistic epigram from Dyme, a site in the northern Peloponnese. The epigram, attributed to Perses of Thebes and preserved in the *Palatine Anthology* (*AP* 7.445), tells of two brothers, rustic wood-cutters, who place woodman's axes on their tomb to 'declare their craft' (μανυταὶ τέχνας). Yet, in Attica, identifying vocation through image or text is less common than in other regions.[8] While the occasional Roman-period piece will name the deceased as doctor or scribe, a broader trend is difficult to track. Moreover, in such an agriculturally based society, land-owning and farming were central activities for much of the population. If the imagery signaled only working of the land, a more widespread use of the iconography over a broader chronological period might be expected.[9] Furthermore, Macedon is identified as a Milesian, marking him as a non-citizen whose family originated in Miletus. This designation appears on other gravestones from this group, complicating any read-

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[6] Athens, Epigraphical Museum 11118; Conze 1922, no. 1801; *IG* II² 9753. The vintner's knife is a version of a *drepanê* or *harpê* (Gr.) or a *falx* (Lat.). See White 1967, 85–89 for use in the Latin sources, with illustrations.

[7] 1. Dionysius' *kioniskos* is decorated with plough and a double-axe: Conze 1922, no. 1804; Athens National Museum, no inventory number. 2. a *kioniskos* with an erased inscription is carved with a plough: Conze 1922, no. 1803; Athens National Museum; no inventory number. 3. Artemas' *kioniskos* was found at the site of the New Metropolis Church and is decorated with a plough: Conze 1922, no. 1802; Athens, Epigraphical Museum, no inventory no.

[8] Greek gravestones with vocational imagery are gathered in Panagiotatou-Charalambous 1987–1988. Some of the iconography is ambiguous—maritime scenes, for instance, may refer to a shipwreck death or more generally, to death itself.

[9] A unique example referring to agricultural occupations is a gravestone commemorating a Roman soldier. The bilingual Latin-Greek inscription indicates that the memorial was commissioned by Philetus, a freedman identified as a *vilicus*: Athens, Epigraphical Museum 436; von Moock 1998, 85; *IG* II² 11492.

Fig. 3. Gravestone of Eucarpus and Philoxenus. Marble, Antonine period (Attic). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1243. Photograph courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum.

ing of the imagery. It is uncertain whether earlier legislation deny-ing non-citizens the ability to own land, the right of *enktêsis*, contin-ued into the Roman period.[10] Foreign residents might have found land-based imagery particularly appealing if this was a newly granted right.

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[10] Whitehead 1977, 70 with n. 5.

The extent to which the agricultural implements and bearded rustic contrast with more common funerary imagery is illustrated by the gravestone of the brothers Eucarpus and Philoxenus [Figure 3].[11] The *stêlê* stood in one of the northern cemeteries outside the city gates, on modern Panepistimiou Street. City and country life are distinct but complementary components of Athenian identity as expressed through the characterization of these two brothers. At left, Eucarpus is the rustic country dweller, shown bearded and wearing a short, belted tunic. In his left hand, he carries a hunting stick, the λαγωβόλον, and in his right hand, the vine-cutter, the same tool shown on the *kioniskos* of Macedon. Tiny oxen stand next to Eucarpus and peer out from behind his legs. At right, his brother Philoxenus is the clean-shaven urbanite, whose haircut and serious demeanor are consistent with his civic clothing and constrained posture. Philoxenus could be any man in any Roman provincial town in the empire, but Eucarpus is distinct. The accompanying inscription labels Eucarpus and Philoxenus as Milesians.

In the midst of the urban cemetery, the contrast between the city and the country imagery must have been conspicuous, and the use of a plough as a gable device would have been eye-catching. Eucarpus' costume conveys his active, outdoor nature and advertises a direct involvement with the land; the oxen and plough signify high-intensity farming, and a relative degree of wealth.[12] By contrast, viticulture— referred to by the pruning knife—celebrated the farmer's individual skill and indicated his personal care in the production and prosperity of the farm.[13] Philoxenus, on the other hand, is distanced from the country life; he carries no related attributes and wears the himation, in a manner repeated on hundreds of Athenian tombstones and other works of art. Philoxenus' costume places the deceased firmly within a 'civic' context.

The contrast between urban and rural imagery becomes more apparent in scenes that include women, as two examples will demon-

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[11] Athens, National Museum, 1243; Kaltsas 2002, 354–55. Although Kaltsas identifies the men as father and son, they are both sons of Philoxenus and almost certainly brothers. Philoxenus' patronymic (*Philoxenou*) is indicated through a standard abbreviation, which Kaltsas does not record.

[12] On oxen, Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, 89.

[13] As Hanson 1992, 166 has noted about vineyards, 'time spent away from town out in the fields meant devotion to home and family, not necessarily disinterest in the life of the polis'.

strate. First, at Rhamnus, a town and garrison at the northern bor-
der of Attica, a woman named Hygine, born into a citizen family
of Marathonian descent, erected a tombstone for her non-citizen hus-
band, Hyginus, a Milesian.[14] The tall, narrow tombstone shows hus-
band and wife standing beneath an arched frame. The male figure,
on the left, is depicted in a pose known as the Lateran Sophocles
type, modeled on the late fourth-century honorific statue erected in
the Theater of Dionysus in Athens. On the right, the woman is
shown in profile as a veiled Pudicitia figure. She is demure and
devoted, gazing at her dead husband. The elegance of the couple is
juxtaposed with a large and carefully drafted plough decorating the
stêlê's pediment.

   The male figure type used for Hyginus is rarely employed in the
funerary art of Roman Athens, but the original was, in fact, still
standing when Pausanias (1.21.1) mentioned it in his description of
the theater.[15] In his study of the Smyrna gravestones, Paul Zanker
correctly points out that figure types based on famous statues did
not refer to the original work; instead, the types were replicated and
chosen for the ideals presented in the pose and costume.[16] The man
wearing a chiton and himation conveyed the idea of an elegant, yet
modest, civically minded individual. Nonetheless, even in the northern
reaches of Attica, it is likely that some residents would have visited
the theater and made an association with the original statue. Certainly,
the values implicit in the depiction of the couple are utterly com-
patible with the land-based imagery, even if the juxtaposed images
of city and countryside are initially inconsistent.

   Elsewhere, the urban/rural binary is played out along gender lines,
since the bearded rustic stands next to a traditionally clothed female.
On this second example, for instance, the woman is depicted in the
Large Herculaneum pose, with her wavy locks of hair gathered up
in a knot.[17] Her companion, probably her husband or brother, shares
the same physiognomy, but his shaggy hair, bare feet, short tunic
and mantle signal that he is an outdoorsman. He holds an upraised

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[14] Rhamnus, Storerooms 9; Petrakos 1999, 213, no. 368 dates the piece to the
second–third century CE.
[15] I am grateful to Andrew Stewart for this reference.
[16] Zanker 1993, 217.
[17] Athens, National Museum 1210; on her hairstyle, von Moock 1998, 37. The
man's name is not preserved; the woman comes from a citizen family.

vintner's knife in his right hand and a cluster of grapes in his left hand. The contrast between the figures underscores the gendered nature of the imagery. What might be appropriate for the commemoration of a man, either because of his profession or affiliations, was inappropriate for a female in this context. Women could appear with rustic men or on a gravestone decorated with agricultural implements, but unlike men, they never wear costumes that suggest labor or the outdoors. Just one gravestone depicts women and an agricultural attribute, without any men in the scene.[18] This reused classical tombstone originally depicted two women. In the first century CE a third woman was carved and a plough was added to the *stêlê*'s pediment.

The above examples contrast the rural images with the standard portrayals of men and women. Yet, several pieces are utterly consistent in their rustic imagery, as a gravestone from Marathon demonstrates.[19] The flat *stêlê*, crowned with a pediment, shows two men standing side by side; the inscription identifies them as Zosas on the left and a Milesian man named Nostimus on the right. Zosas is bearded, holds a vine-cutter in his right hand and places his left hand gently on the shoulder of the smaller, clean-shaven Nostimus. Nostimus is differentiated by size, physiognomy, and costume, since he wears only an unbelted tunic; he also carries a vintner's knife in his right hand. A small ox stands behind Zosas and peeks out between the two men. The sculptural field is dripping with ornate vegetal decoration, from the vine springing out of the right corner of the *stêlê* to the richly carved pediment above, covered with vines, grapes and tiny carved leaves. The men's precise relationship is unclear, although their joint commemoration and the intimate gesture indicate a close bond, familial or otherwise.

Likewise, a striking gravestone now in Brussels commemorates Aphthonetus, a Milesian.[20] Breaking free of the vertical rigidity that

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[18] The recarving is dated by von Moock 1998, no. 166 to the first century CE: Athens, National Museum, no inventory number.

[19] Marathon Museum, BE 13.

[20] Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire 1198. The *stêlê* was acquired in 1904 by an art dealer, who reported the findspot as Laurion. There is no compelling reason to trust this provenance, especially since little Roman-period funerary material has been excavated in this area.

typifies most Roman-period gravestones, the sculptor has invested the scene with an uncharacteristic liveliness. The main figure, a bearded man with a cropped, Roman hairstyle, seems to be walking; he wears a short tunic, lace-up boots, and a hooded cape, partly flung back. The man is flanked by two oxen, and holds a now lost painted lead for the animals in his right hand and a knobby club, used as a cattle prod, in his left arm. The ox at his right turns to look up at him inquisitively; the animal's pose recalls the stance employed for subsidiary figures, both the *pais* and the faithful dog, mourning their beloved young master on the classical tombstones.[21]

Despite the variety of types used to depict rusticity and the country life on these fourteen gravestones, patterns emerge. Cattle, ploughs, vintner's knives and grapes are the most commonly repeated elements, along with the bearded man in rustic clothing. This rustic type appears alone, with another rustic, or with a man or woman in urban clothing. It is possible that all of the gravestones commemorate men, who like Macedon, were occupied in the fields and vineyards of Attica, and were consequently identified as such for perpetuity. Even so, the possibility that the imagery carried additional meaning is raised through the recurrence of rustic characters in three textual sources from the second to third centuries CE.

3. *The rustic and the heroic past*

Others in this volume have demonstrated that earlier authors had attributed many positive, and sometimes negative, qualities to the *autourgos*, the small farmer of the Attic countryside. He appears in poetry and prose, in comedy and drama.[22] Within the visual framework of the cemetery, the rustic figure distinguished the male from the standard urban ideal, even when placed in an urban burial ground. Such a portrayal allowed the deceased to be associated with the home while embodying the rural life and its associated labor. The repetition of certain attributes—oxen, plough and vintner's knife—signaled prosperity, size of land-holding and personal attention to the farm. In the world of the Second Sophistic, these images had even greater force than before.

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[21] E.g. Clairmont 1993: the *pais*: 1.933, 1.935, 1.970; the dog: 1.201, 1.214.
[22] See Murnaghan, this volume.

As we will see in three texts from the second to third centuries CE, the image of the rustic or farmer embodied religious piety and a pure Athenian identity. Pausanias provides evidence of a little-known hero cult for a rustic at Marathon, while in Philostratus' *Heroicus*, the rustic costume is an overt sign of adherence to a hero cult in the Chersonesus. Finally, in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*, a bearded rustic appears in northern Attica, espousing the view that the city was a corrupt place, and that the pure Attic language could be found only in the countryside.

In his second-century CE travelogue, Pausanias visits the Painted Stoa in the Athenian Agora and writes a key passage about a heroic rustic at Marathon. While describing the painting of the Marathon battle hanging in the stoa (1.15.3), he mentions a certain Echetlus among the conspicuous heroes. Pausanias does not elaborate on this man's identity until he visits the actual battle site later in the text. At Marathon, he writes (1.32.5):

> They also say that a man happened to be present in the battle, in appearance and outfit a countryman. He killed many of the barbarians with a plough and, after the battle, disappeared. When the Athenians inquired of the [Delphic] god, he gave only this answer about him: he ordered them to honor Echetlaeus as a hero.[23]

> συνέβη δὲ ὡς λέγουσιν ἄνδρα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ παρεῖναι
> τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν σκευὴν ἄγροικον· οὗτος τῶν βαρβά-
> ρων πολλοὺς καταφονεύσας ἀρότρῳ μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἦν
> ἀφανής· ἐρομένοις δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἄλλο μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐς
> αὐτὸν ἔχρησεν οὐδέν, τιμᾶν δὲ Ἐχετλαῖον ἐκέλευσεν
> ἥρωα.

The name of the hero, Echetlus or Echetlaeus, is a variation of *ekhetlê*, the term for the plough handle.[24] In the battle narrative, he is the human manifestation of the farming tool, wielding it against the enemy, just as if the Attic land itself rose up to defeat the Persians. Since Pausanias returns to his discussion of Echetlus at Marathon and mentions the foundation of the cult at this point in his text, it seems likely that a cult to the hero was located here.[25] Pausanias'

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[23] Translation: Jameson 1951, 49.

[24] For a detailed discussion of the plough's construction and constituent parts, Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, 46–49.

[25] Jameson 1951 argues that the hero was a localized cult figure who began receiving cult at Marathon after the battle. On the importance of Marathon in the Roman period, Alcock 2002, 74–80.

description of the lost Marathon painting is our only source for Echetlus/Echetlaeus. This elusive character is similar to depictions of Bouzyges, the founder of agriculture. On one late fourth-century BCE krater, Bouzyges is shown making the first plough—he is bearded, but nude, holding the handles of the plough in one hand and a cattle prod in the other, both items familiar from the later gravestones.[26] Bouzyges was particularly associated with the Acropolis; the sacred ploughing that took place there was named after him and his descendants provided the priesthoods for the Acropolis.[27]

The existence of a hero cult dedicated to a rustic man who fought in the battle of Marathon provides alternative possibilities for interpreting the gravestone iconography, even if Echetlus is poorly attested. Cult references are common on Attic gravestones, most evident on over one hundred tombstones showing women in Isis costumes, a clear marker of their initiation in the goddess' cult.[28] Indeed, a connection between the rustic figure and cult activity is explicit on the gravestone of the Milesian Artemas.[29] On this simple tombstone, a bearded man wears a belted tunic, short cloak and high sandals. He holds a cattle prod in his left hand, and with his right hand, he pours libations onto a small altar. This act of piety by a bearded rustic suggests that a cultic reference may lie behind the use of the costume and agricultural implements on other gravestones.[30]

The connection between the rustic image and religious piety is even more apparent if one turns to Philostratus' *Heroicus*, an early third-century CE dialogue between a vinedresser and a Phoenician merchant concerning cult and hero-shrines. The vinedresser, an initiate in the cult of Protesilaus, a Homeric hero, tends to his shrine in the Chersonesus.[31] Wandering through a sanctuary filled with trees and vines, the Phoenician is impressed by its lushness. Curious about his cultured speech, he asks after the vinedresser's education (4.6).

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[26] In his publication of the Bouzyges vase, Robinson 1931, 152 notes the figure Echetlus and his connection to the plough.

[27] On the three sacred ploughings: Robinson 1931, 157; Jameson 1951, 60–61.

[28] These works are collected in Walters 1988.

[29] Verona, Museo Lapidario Maffeiano, 105 [28702].

[30] It is worth noting that representations of Silvanus show the deity as a rustic carrying a *falx*; but even in the Greek East, he seems almost exclusively worshiped by Roman citizens and there is no evidence of the cult in Attica. Dorcey 1992, 67; Map 5.

[31] On the setting and date of the dialogue, Jones 2001.

The vinedresser explains that he was educated in a city, but after some financial reversals, when slaves farmed his land and he lost his money, he came to the shrine (4.7–10):

> And, yes, on arriving, I tried to make Protesilaus my advisor, but he remained silent, since he was justifiably angry at me because, having left him, I lived in a city. But when I persisted and said that I would die if neglected, he said, 'Change your dress'. On that day I heard this advice, but did nothing; afterwards, examining it closely, I understood that he was commanding me to change my way of life. From that point on, after I was suitably dressed in a leather jacket, carrying a hoe, and no longer knew my way to town, Protesilaos made everything in the field grow luxuriously for me . . .'[32]

> καὶ δῆτ' ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθα ξύμβουλον ἐποιούμην τὸν Πρωτεσίλεων,
> ὁ δ' ὀργήν μοι δικαίαν ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸν ἐν ἄστει ἔζων,
> ἐσιώπα. λιπαροῦντος δέ μου καὶ ἀπολεῖσθαι φάσκοντος, εἰ ἀμεληθείην
> 'μεταμφίασαι' ἔφη. τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἐκείνης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀργῶς ἤκουσα,
> μετὰ ταῦτα μέντοι βασανίζων αὐτὸ ξυνῆκα, ὅτι μεταβαλεῖν κελεύει με
> τὸ τοῦ βίου σχῆμα. ὅθεν διφθέραν τε ἐναρμοσάμενος καὶ σμινύην
> φέρων καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ἐς ἄστυ ὁδὸν ἔτι γιγνώσκων βρύει μοι τὰ ἐν
> τῷ ἀγρῷ πάντα . . .

The merchant goes on to compliment the man for gathering not just crops but 'also harvesting divine and pure wisdom'. As he says, 'I equally do an injustice to your wisdom by calling you "vinedresser" (ἀμπελουργόν)' (4.11). But the vinedresser responds favorably to the moniker, telling him that terms like 'farmer' (γεωργόν) and 'gardener' (κηπουρόν) are pleasing to the hero (4.12).

Although the dialogue is set far from Attica, the vinedresser is characterized as a devotee of this Homeric hero. His adherence to the cult is manifest in his adoption of a rustic costume and in his departure from town. These changes result in more successful farming, and his fields start to yield greater harvests. His rustic appearance displays his piety.

The interweaving of rusticity, piety and purity is also articulated in the third textual example from Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*. In the relevant passage, which was apparently based on a letter written by Herodes Atticus, we find Herodes encountering a legendary rustic in the Attic countryside. While Lucian (*Demon.* 1) and Plutarch

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[32] Translation: Maclean and Aitken 2001.

(*Quaest. Conv.* IV 1, 660ε) also preserve tales of this rustic, Herodes' version is the most elaborate and certainly the most Athenocentric.[33] He says (*VS* 552–553):

> . . . His hair grew evenly on his head, his eyebrows were bushy and they met as though they were but one, and his eyes gave out a brilliant gleam which betrayed his impulsive temperament; he was hook-nosed, and had a thick neck, which was a result of work rather than diet…He wore wolf-skins stitched into a garment . . .[34]
>
> κομᾶν τε ξυμμέτρως καὶ τῶν ὀφρύων λασίως ἔχειν, ἃς καὶ ξυμβάλλειν ἀλλήλαις οἷον μίαν, χαροπήν τε ἀκτῖνα ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐκδίδοσθαι παρεχομένην τι ὁρμῆς ἦθος καὶ γρυπὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐτραφῶς ἔχοντα τοῦ αὐχένος, τουτὶ δὲ ἐκ πόνων ἥκειν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ σίτου . . . ἐνῆφθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ δορὰς λύκων, ῥαπτὸν ἔσθημα . . .

Like the men on the gravestones, this rustic has a rugged appearance, although even more so here, since he wears animal skins in place of a tunic.[35] As Philostratus points out, others say that this man was 'earth born' (γηγενῆ) and came from Boeotia, but Herodes himself heard the man say that 'his mother . . . tended cattle and that his father was that Marathon, the one who had a statue at Marathon, who is a rustic hero (ἥρως γεωργός)' (*VS* 553). Herodes quizzes the man about his lifespan (mortal, but long lived) and his diet (milk and barley meal). The hero is named Agathion by the local farmers, who provide his nourishment and believe he brings them good luck, and indeed Agathion sounds more like a living hero than a man.

Herodes questions Agathion about his education and manner of speaking, just as the Phoenician traveler questioned the vinedresser in the *Heroicus*.[36] In his response, Agathion contrasts the new and old populations of the region by drawing on long-standing polarities between city and countryside.

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[33] On the issue of sources, see Kindstrand 1979–1980, 71–75. Throughout his study, Kindstrand offers a detailed look at this character in the three texts, noting, in particular, the Cynic traits in the man's description.

[34] Translation adapted from Wright 1968.

[35] The connection between this passage of Philostratus and the rustic imagery was first developed in my doctoral dissertation, Gray 2002, 211–215; see also Galli 2002, 188–191.

[36] On further similarities between the two texts, Kindstrand 1979–80, 75–77.

'The *mesogeia* of Attica is a good teacher for one wishing to converse. For the Athenians in the city hire Thracian and Pontic youths and those youths who come in together like a flood from the other barbarian peoples and they destroy their own speech from the influence of these barbarians to a greater extent than they can contribute to the improvement of the speech of the newcomers. But the *mesogeia* is untainted by barbarians, and hence its language remains uncorrupted and its dialect rings out the purest Attic strains.'[37]

'ἡ μεσογεία . . . τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς ἀγαθὸν διδασκαλεῖον ἀνδρὶ βουλομένῳ διαλέγεσθαι, οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ᾿Αθηναῖοι μισθοῦ δεχόμενοι Θρᾴκια καὶ Ποντικὰ μειράκια καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βαρβάρων ξυνερρυηκότα παραφθείρονται παρ᾿ αὐτῶν τὴν φωνὴν μᾶλλον ἢ ξυμβάλλονταί τι αὐτοῖς ἐς εὐγλωττίαν, ἡ μεσογεία δὲ ἄμικτος βαρβάροις οὖσα ὑγιαίνει αὐτοῖς ἡ φωνὴ καὶ ἡ γλῶττα τὴν ἄκραν ᾿Ατθίδα ἀποψάλλει.'

The term *mesogeia* refers generally to the interior of Attica. More specifically, it designates a stretch of agricultural land, east of Mount Hymettus, which extends out to the coast. Today, as in antiquity, the road to eastern and northeastern Attica crosses through this area, in a pass between Mount Hymettus and Mount Pentele. Given Agathion's emphatic statements about the *mesogeia*, the setting for their encounter must be in these lands. Presumably, Herodes was en route from his Kephissia villa to his Marathon estate since he invites Agathion to dine there on the following day.[38]

Several relevant themes emerge from the encounter between Herodes and Agathion. First, Philostratus characterizes Agathion as a hero like Heracles: his strength and life-span are beyond the norm and he receives very specific offerings from the locals. Secondly, his Athenian pedigree is impeccable since he is descended from the eponymous hero Marathon. Consequently, the 'hero' can speak with authority about the purity of the Attic language, a critical issue for Herodes and other contemporary intellectuals.[39] For Agathion, the *mesogeia* that includes Marathon was not only a site for agriculture, but also a place where the classical Attic language could continue

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[37] Philostr. *VS* 553. Translation: Wright 1968, slightly adapted. Likewise, Aelius Aristides, *Panath.* 165, D 27 (Behr 1981) emphasizes that citizens are born from the land and are thus free of foreign contagion.

[38] Specifically, Herodes invites him to the Canopus, an area of the estate which is probably the Egyptianizing structure uncovered at Brexiza on the Bay of Marathon. On this complex, see Tobin 1997, 252–271.

[39] Cf. Aristid., *Panath.* 158 D 15; Favorinus, *Corinthian Oration*, 25–26 asserts his pure Atticism, but is criticized for his errors in Greek. See Swain 1996, 44–51.

untainted. Since urban Athens was the focus of Atticism, it is sur-
prising to see the hinterland identified as the site of Athenian purity.[40]

The interaction between Herodes and the rustic Agathion in the
northeastern area of Attica may be relevant to the geographical con-
centration of the gravestones under consideration. With the excep-
tion of Aphthonetus' gravestone and its dubious provenance of Laurion,
the rest of the works come either from Athens or areas to the north
of the city, including one piece from Salamis. The motif seems espe-
cially popular in urban areas or in areas closer to the *mesogeia*,
although the lack of material in the south may result from broader
shifts in settlement patterns.

The situation is further complicated because three examples of the
rustic image have been found on gravestones outside Attica, all in
close proximity to Herodes' Arcadian estate at Loukou. The first
piece, a fragment, was found in a nearby monastery where it has
been known since the early twentieth century.[41] The remaining sec-
tion, the upper left portion of the *stêlê*, preserves a bearded rustic
figure wearing a short tunic and a short cloak pinned on his right
shoulder. He holds a full cluster of grapes in his left hand, and the
curved vintner's knife in his right hand. The knife's sheath hangs
from his belt.[42]

Two of the three funerary *stêlai* are better preserved. They are
carved in Pentelic marble and have recently been attributed to an
Attic workshop.[43] They were discovered near Herodes' Loukou estate,
but they were probably transferred here from a nearby burial ground.[44]
The first piece shows a family: a woman in the Small Herculaneum
pose on the left, a bearded man wearing a short, belted tunic and
holding a small box on the right; between them stands a small boy,
who holds a bird in his hands and buries his head in the man's
side.[45] The inscription names only the woman. The second piece

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[40] E.g., Aristid., *Panath.* 159 D 16: 'Greece is in the center of the whole earth,
and Attica in the center of Greece, and the city in the center of its territory, and
again its namesake [the Acropolis] in the center of the city'. Translation: Behr 1981.

[41] Astros Museum, 12. Datsoulis-Stavridis 1999a, 51–52 dates the piece to the
Hadrianic period.

[42] In Walker 1936, 53 a study of the Loukou area, the author first notes the
similarity between this piece and the Brussels gravestone of Aphthonetus.

[43] Datsoulis-Stavridis 1999b, 228; published with photographs.

[44] On original location of the *stêlai*, Datsoulis-Stavridis 1999b, 225; contra, Galli
2002, 183–184.

[45] Tripolis Museum, 2729.

shows three figures: a younger male standing between a bearded man, at the left, and a veiled woman, at the right.[46] Both men wear short belted tunics and short cloaks, fastened with a fibula; the older man carries a vine-cutter, the younger carries a double axe. As on the gravestone of Zosas and Nostimus, the older, bearded man has placed his hand on the shoulder of the younger man. The *stêlê*'s inscription is unfortunately missing.

The attribution of both *stêlai* to an Attic workshop indicates that they, and probably the third fragment, were imported into Arcadia. The direct connection to Herodes' estate is certainly intriguing and it seems likely that these men worked for Herodes, perhaps even as tenant farmers. Yet this imagery may also suggest the dissemination of attitudes towards the past and the countryside at a much greater geographical scale than noted in the textual sources. An idea which originated in Attica's countryside seems to have spread to the distant territories of Arcadia.

4. *Conclusion*

There is no question that rustic or agricultural imagery on tombstones emphasizes the deceased's ties to the land. Tools, costume and physiognomy combine to create a composite picture of a ploughman, a herdsman or a vintner. One gravestone explicitly states that the deceased was a vinedresser, but the others provide no epigraphical aid. The repetition of a selected number of agricultural implements and the consistency of the bearded rustic type in a limited time period suggest that the imagery resonated beyond a straightforward declaration of vocation. Citizens and non-citizens are depicted as rustics in single or multi-figured compositions. There was something about the rustic image which made it highly desirable, albeit for a limited time and for a limited group of people.

Passages from Philostratus' *Life of the Sophists*, the *Heroicus* and Pausanias' description of the hero Echetlus at the battle of Marathon demonstrate a connection between the rustic figure and hero cults scattered through the countryside. Indeed, in the *Heroicus*, the vinedresser's costume is the outward sign of his devotion to Protesilaus.

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[46] Tripolis Museum, 2728.

This link is found on the gravestone of Artemas, on which a bearded rustic holding a cattle-prod pours libations onto a small altar. Since Athenian gravestones use costume to display cult affiliation more frequently than vocation, the rustic clothing and agricultural imagery might convey adherence to a specific cult.

A more likely explanation, however, lies in the interwoven ideas of hero cult, the countryside and the past. The connection between cult and the countryside in these later Greek texts hinges on the relationship between the classical (or Homeric, in the case of the *Heroicus*) past and the Roman present. Marathon itself is charged with symbolic meaning for Roman Athens, embodying a distant era of political power, independence and elevated intellectual activities. The texts and gravestones considered here signal a form of local resistance at a time when Roman citizenship was spreading. These documents project the glories of Greek history into the uncertain present through an agricultural association. By depicting the deceased as a rustic or including agricultural attributes on the gravestone, the dead are situated within a complex historicized landscape where past and present can co-exist.

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