47 The correction is made by a superscript loop from the *r* to the *b*. For the initial error see Catal. 15. 2.

The Exemplar of G

It was Gaar's opinion[24]) that the immediate predecessor of G was written in minuscule; he does not mention all his reasons for so believing and the two or three points he does draw attention to are not compelling. Clausen[25]), having examined Gaar's transcript, thought it more likely that G was transcribed from an ancient codex in capital script. I think the exemplar was in minuscule: I would add the following errors for consideration (the list could probably be enlarged): Ciris 353 *a[m]nes*, 373 *Despaet*, 408 *numantana*, 412 *p&ut*, Priap. 17 *betneo*, Moretum 44 *farinos*. It must be remembered, however, that with some of these there is doubt about their reading or what in fact the correct text should be.

[24]) 213.

[25]) 91.

Additional note: The technical limitations of printing (of which I was not aware until I received the proofs of this article) make it impossible at the indicated points in Ciris 347 and 354 to reproduce exactly what appears in the manuscript. In 347 the scribe initially wrote *maestam* but then corrected his mistake by drawing a diagonal line through the second *m*. At 354 the "daylight" text of G appears as *sedulabausas* with a diagonal line through *b* and a *c* written over it; the final *s* of both the "daylight" and the "ultra-violet" text has a diagonal line through it and a dot penned underneath.

G. KARL GALINSKY / AUSTIN, TEXAS

Hercules Ovidianus (Metamorphoses 9, 1—272)*

Few passages are as apt to instruct us about some of Ovid's intentions in the Metamorphoses as his treatment of Hercules in Book Nine. In contrast to many of the more ephemeral heroes and heroines of the poem, Hercules had an extensive literary tradition in both Greece and Rome[1]). This tradition ranged from the grossest, burlesque humor to the loftiest and most sublime idealization and therefore allows us to determine, to a very precise degree, where Ovid chose to place his accents in his characterization of the hero. This is of some importance as scholars from Heinze to Otis have viewed the Metamorphoses in terms of epic characteristics[2]), and Hercules figures significantly in Greek epic and in Vergil's Aeneid. But Hercules was more than a literary phenomenon. He was ardently worshiped as a god in Italy and Rome, where he satisfied true religious aspirations which the rather impersonal state religion could not fulfill. Since we will summarize later this aspect of Hercules in some more detail it may suffice to quote, for the time being, J. G. Winter's conclusion that "in passing from Greece to Rome, he (Hercules) seems to have taken on a new seriousness more in keeping with the character of the people that welcomed him"[3]). Furthermore, in Ovid's time Hercules had become an Augustan symbol as is clear from the poetry of Vergil and Horace, even though there is no evidence that Augustus promoted his connection with Hercules or showed any special favor to

* Walthario Kraus septuagenario.

[1]) A survey of this tradition is found in my book The Herakles Theme, Oxford 1972, chs. 1—8.

[2]) R. Heinze, Ovids elegische Erzählung, Sitzungsber., Leipzig 1919; B. Otis, Ovid as an Epic Poet, Cambridge 1966. But see the reservations, e. g., of H. Tränkle, Elegisches in Ovids Metamorphosen, Hermes 91 (1963) 459—476, and H. J. Bernbeck, Beobachtungen zur Darstellungsart in Ovids Metamorphosen, Munich 1967.

[3]) The Myth of Hercules at Rome, in H. A. Sanders, ed., Roman History and Mythology, New York 1910 (= Univ. of Michigan Studies, Human. Series 4) 173.

Hercules' cult. The Augustan associations of Hercules, however, add to the significance of Ovid's treatment of the hero because Ovid's attitude to Augustus and Augustan themes is an important, and much debated, aspect of the Metamorphoses. It is enhanced, in this particular case, by the fact that Ovid makes extensive use of the apotheosis motif for the first time. His use of the theme here sets the tone, even if not in all details, for the apotheoses of Romulus, Aeneas, and Julius Caesar in the later books.

A final, related aspect of the significance of the Hercules episode has been pointed out by Françoise Viarre. In her words, "c'est l'épisode d'Hercule qui constitue en quelque sorte le véritable passage de la Grèce à la Rome"[4]). The change from Greek to Roman mythology is one of the pivotal themes of the poem. It is epitomized in the Hercules episode and Ovid's treatment of the latter therefore can give us some insight into his attitude to myth in general.

The Hercules episode thus offers uncommonly many possibilities for comparison with literary models and with Ovid's contemporary realities. Such comparison is essential for interpreting the poet's aims in the Metamorphoses[5]). But before expanding on the literary, religious, and Augustan background of Hercules, let us begin from the beginning, i. e. with the Ovidian version and an analysis of its distinctive characteristics.

I

Book 9 begins with Achelous' account of his combat with Hercules over Deianeira. Sophocles had told the story of Achelous very briefly (Trachiniae 9—27) and devoted more than half of it to the events preparatory to the fight. The actual description of the latter is a mere summary (19—20) because to Sophocles Deianeira's feelings during the combat are more important (21—27). The length of Ovid's description of the battle squarely belongs in the epic tradition. At the same time, it has been well recognized that this whole account (Met. 9, 1—96) is "ein heiteres Vorspiel"[6]). Some peculiar elements of that

[4]) L'image et la pensée dans les Métam. d'Ovide, Paris 1964, 282.

[5]) So, e. g., K. Büchner in Humanitas Romana, Heidelberg 1957, 205ff.

[6]) So M. von Albrecht, Ovids Humor und die Einheit der Metamorphosen, in Ovid (= Wege der Forschung 92), Darmstadt 1968, 432. I do not share his view that the Hercules episode after this prelude continues in a serious vein. E. Doblhofer, Ovidius urbanus, Eine Studie zum Humor in Ovids Metamorphosen, Philologus 104 (1960) 73, discusses another element of humor than those mentioned by me, i. e. „das gesetzte Standesbewußtsein eines *semideus* untergeordneten Ranges."

[7]) F. Bömer, Ovid und die Sprache Vergils, in Ovid (= Wege der Forschung 92) 198: „Vergil ist auch dem Ovid allgegenwärtig." Cf. Rosa Lamacchia, Ovidio interprete di Virgilio, Maia 12 (1960) 310—330 and my remarks in TAPA 98 (1967) 189f. and Wien. Stud. 82 (1969) 94.

humor, however, have not yet been given proper attention. For what Ovid here has written is not epic, but a parody of it. At the time of Ovid, the most prominent example in literature of two suitors going to battle over a girl was, of course, furnished by Vergil's Aeneid. The final four books of the Metamorphoses are in many ways Ovid's commentary on the Aeneid, and the Hercules episode, which thematically is so closely connected with the final books, is permeated by echoes from the epic of Vergil "who was ever-present in Ovid's mind"[7]).

Achelous begins his story by saying that although he is grieved to retell his own defeat, at least the greatness of his conqueror is a great consolation (9, 7):

magnaque dat nobis tantus solacia victor.

This is, to be sure, a common epic notion which occurs as early as the Iliad (13, 414f.) and which is echoed elsewhere in the Metamorphoses (see Ehwald's commentary on 9, 6f.), but the theme was well known to the reader of the Aeneid from Vergil's prominent use of it in Aeneas' words on the death of Lausus (10, 829f.):

hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem:
Aeneae magni dextra cadis.

In the Ovidian account Hercules and Achelous then lay claim to the *pulcherrima virgo Deianeira* (9, 9), a phrase that is not incongruent with Vergil's references to the *virgo* Lavinia and her beauty (Aeneid 7, 72; 11, 479f.; 12, 64—70, 605f.). But it is the respective claims of Hercules and Achelous which provide a far more obvious indication of Ovid's imitatio. Achelous goes to some length to emphasize that he will not be a son-in-law sent from foreign shores, but a native (9, 19—20):

nec gener externis hospes tibi missus ab oris,
sed popularis ero et rerum pars una tuarum.

This is precisely the reason for Turnus' opposition to Aeneas. Aeneas is the *externus vir* (Aeneid 7,68f.), one of the *externi generi* (7,98); Amata seeks to sway Latinus with the argument that *si gener externa petitur de gente Latinis ... terram ... externam ... reor* (7, 369f.), and Allecto tries to goad Turnus by pointing out to him that *externusque in regnum quaeritur heres* (7,424). Most clearly, Metamorphoses 9,19 is inspired by Aeneid 7,270:

generos externos adfore ab oris

and Ovid's phrase *rerum pars una tuarum* (9,20) may be a reminiscence of *partis ... partibus* in the context of the *vir externus* in Aeneid 7,69f. When Achelous continues by arguing that it should not be held against him that Juno does not hate him, he merely echoes one of the central themes of the Aeneid which Vergil thought so significant that he programmatically developed it in the proem to his epic.

What are Hercules' arguments? He stresses his descent from Jupiter (9,14), as does Ilioneus for Aeneas in Aeneid 7,219f., and he refers to his *fama laborum* and his persecution by Juno. These latter arguments, which of course are connected, again are leitmotifs in the Aeneid. We may compare, in a fitting context, Latinus' awareness of the Trojans' *fama laborum* and of their suffering in Aeneid 7,195–201, and Ilioneus' argument that the Latins' *fama* will increase if they join the Trojans (7,231f.). The Vergilian reminiscences continue in Metamorphoses 9,27, which has rightly been compared to Aeneid 4,362[8]), and in Met. 9,28, where Ovid returns to the context of the battle between Aeneas and Turnus. Hercules bursts into anger — *accensae non fortiter imperat irae* — as Aeneas did before killing Turnus (Aeneid 12,946): *furiis accensus et ira*. Proceeding with his narrative, Achelous tries to put off the moment of his defeat as long as possible and boasts that he held his ground (9,40f.):

haud secus ac moles, magno quam murmure fluctus
oppugnant: manet illa suoque est pondere tuta.

In the Aeneid, this kind of simile is applied to Aeneas' opponent Mezentius (10,693–696) and this increases the likelihood that Ovid

[8]) By Ehwald ad loc., following A. Zingerle, Ovidius und sein Verhältnis zu den Vorgängern und gleichzeitigen römischen Dichtern, vol. 2, Innsbruck 1871,69. For other Vergilian reminiscences not discussed here see Ehwald ad 9,40 and 242ff.

had the Lausus episode in mind when he had Achelous find solace in the greatness of his conqueror. Vergil used almost the same simile for Latinus (7,586–590), which is additional testimony to the importance of the context of Aeneid 7 for Ovid's imitatio.

After a passing echo of the struggle between the Trojans and the Latins in Met. 9,43f. (*erat cum pede pes iunctus*; cf. Aeneid 10,361: *haeret pede pes densusque viro vir*) Ovid goes on to liken Hercules and Achelous once more most explicitly to Aeneas and Turnus. Lines 46–49, as has been recognized by most commentators, are the Ovidian adaptation of Aeneid 12,716–724, where Aeneas and Turnus are compared to two contending bulls. Ovid's adaptation of the simile is a good example of how purposeful his imitatio of Vergil can often be. He does not re-use the entire simile, but leaves intact only its first part which deals with the prize and the attitude of the herd. Where Vergil raises the simile to its height of seriousness by speaking of the prize in terms of imperium (*imperitet* 12,719), Ovid's realities are of a different kind: the prize is the girl, the *coniunx*. In adapting Vergil Ovid interprets him. Similarly, he deflates Vergil's serious description of the struggle in the second part of the simile by using the simile to anticipate Achelous' metamorphosis into a bull. Specifically, whereas Vergil says that the bulls *cornuaque obnixi infigunt* (12,721), Ovid's Hercules pins Achelous' horns to the ground (*cornua figit humo* 7,84) and finally breaks one off. The transformation of this horn into a cornucopia merely completes the trivialization of the event.

Ovid's use of the bull simile gives yet another indication of his understanding of Vergil's intentions. Vergil anticipates this simile in the episode of Hercules and Cacus in Book 8, where Cacus and Hercules who are prototypes of Turnus and Aeneas, in fact fight over the possession of some cattle which rightfully belong to Hercules[9]). In that episode, Hercules does not overcome his opponent until the fourth time around and then is praised for slaying the Lernaean hydra (Aeneid 8,299f.). Similarly, Ovid's Hercules does not get the better of Achelous until his fourth try when the river god metamorphoses himself into a snake whose size, as Hercules does not fail to tell him, does not compare to the size of the Lernaean hydra (Met. 9, 69). Reinforcing Ovid's allusion to Turnus and Aeneas are Achelous' expression *harenas ore momordi* (9,61), which echoes Turnus' *humum*

[9]) See my remarks in AJP 87 (1966) 35f.

...*ore momordit* (Aeneid 9,418), and the reference to Hercules' superior *virtus* (9,62), which also is one of Aeneas' outstanding qualities (cf. esp. Aen. 12,435 and see below). Hercules' whole speech on his prowess as a snake killer is, in Otis' words, permeated by "truly Ovidian humor, but it is surely fatal to the epic pretensions of the episode[10])". Thereafter Hercules throttles the snake Achelous by his throat (*angebar ... guttura* 9,78) just as Hercules had choked Cacus as if Cacus was a snake (*angit ... guttur* Aen. 8,260f.).

The unique nature of Ovid's imitatio in the entire episode indicates how intent he was to parody in it the struggle between Aeneas and Turnus. Ovid's usual procedure, as Bömer has demonstrated[11]), was to take pains to use the linguistically strongest reminiscences from Vergil's poetry in an entirely different context of his own. In this case, however, the contexts are remarkably similar, and few of Ovid's borrowings come from passages other than those directly related to the strife between Aeneas and Turnus and, as regards Aeneid 10, to the fight of Aeneas with another of his opponents. What accounts for the comic incongruity, then, is not the use of Vergil's noble lines in a factually unsuitable context, but their degradation to a trivial, low level and their use in the mouth of a shaggy, dull-witted river deity. The ludicrous effect is carried into the description of Aeneas' apotheosis (Met. 14,596—608), which is brought about by a *corniger* river god — Ehwald in his note on the word rightly refers to 9, 3 — after another Vergilian reminiscence (Met. 14,598f. ≙ Georgics 3,14f.) has subtly pointed to Ovid's intent. We may conclude our discussion of the Hercules-Achelous episode by confidently surmising that its most essential characteristics, such as Achelous' insistence on not being *gener externis missus ab oris* and the comparison of the two combatants to bulls, are original with Ovid because they suited his purpose best[12]).

The following interlude, i. e. the story of Nessus, reinforces this lighthearted treatment of Hercules. In the previous episode, nothing tends to ridicule Hercules himself, and although Ovid portrays Hercules only as a brawny, if persistent, fighter, Hercules' apodictic

[10]) Otis 200.

[11]) Bömer 201.

[12]) For a detailed comparison of Ovid's version with Sophocles' see F. Stoessl, Der Tod des Herakles, Zürich 1945, 77—79, who concludes (79): „Man kann getrost den ganzen Achelooskampf als ovidische Originalleistung betrachten." The passage is not discussed by L. Castiglioni, Studi intorno alle fonti e alla composizione delle Metamorfosi di Ovidio, Pisa 1906.

terseness, for instance, initially (9,29f.) contrasts favorably with Achelous' boastful rhetoric, even if Hercules later becomes guilty of some rhetorical excesses himself (67ff.). But now he appears as a dumb-witted strongman and Ovid's characterization of the hero follows similar lines as Apollonius' and Lucretius'. Apollonius used Hercules primarily as a foil for the "modern" heroism of Jason, and even if this did not always turn out to be to Hercules' detriment, Hercules' physical strength and feats, which often are not matched by his mental ability, dominate his characterization[13]). Lucretius was far more direct and, in a depreciating invective, dismissed Hercules as a primitive strongman, whose exploits were as meaningless as they were useless (5,22—54). Whereas Deianeira in Ovid's account is justly afraid of Nessus, "who behaves like a Venetian gondolier"[14]), Hercules is totally insensitive because he is too preoccupied with playing the role of the undaunted hero. The floods have challenged him and they must be overcome. Hercules does not prudently choose the way of least resistance but straightway dives into the stream (Met. 9,155—117). This is all very heroic, but it also greatly facilitates Nessus' wicked attempt. Nor do Hercules' threats (120—126) raise the episode to a serious level. We may note in passing that Ovid's technique of borrowing from Vergil here reverts to its customary course as the Vergilian echoes in lines 123 (≙ Aeneid 4,272) and 131 (≙ Aeneid 4,659) come from totally different contexts in the Aeneid.

The next portion of the Hercules story, the description of his suffering (134—239), is characterized not by outright or devious humor — except at the very end — but by Ovid's deliberate failure to present it in a dignified manner befitting the subject. The very beginning sets the tone. There is a zeugma, which always has a ludicrous effect, in lines 135f. Ovid eschews the elaborate psychological motivation of Deianeira, which we find in Sophocles' Trachiniae. Instead, Fama, Dame Gossip, drives Deianeira to action as she did, in a somewhat different way, in Ovid's elegiac adaptation of the story in Heroides 9. *Fama ... sese attollit in auras* (Aen. 4,174,176) is the Vergilian model which Ovid, ever the *lusor*, playfully transforms

[13]) This is evident especially in the rowing contest (1,1162ff.), the Hylas episode, and some of the Argonauts' comparisons of themselves to Herakles (e. g., 2,146—150). For recent discussions see G. Lawall in Yale Class. Stud. 19 (1966) 124—131, and the work cited in note 1, above, ch. 5.

[14]) So Stoessl 80.

into *Fama ... praecessit ad aures* (9,137). Nor is Ovid intent to give Deianeira's speech full force. Her outburst (143—151) transcends neither the trivial, nor the usual clichés. Comparison here is instructive not only with Sophocles, but with the splendid dramatic monologue of Medea in the Metamorphoses (7,11—71), which shows that Ovid was eminently capable to treat with dignity and stirring insight the subject of human guilt and female motivation. And whereas Sophocles develops the scene with Lichas and Deianeira in full, Ovid introduces Lichas into the story with utmost brevity as the sole function of Lichas is to be the carrier of the poison. Even more remarkably, Ovid breaks with the entire tradition as to the source of that poison: it is the poison from the Lernaean hydra, and not from Nessus. Hercules' earlier bragging about his conquest of the hydra (69—74) now turns out to be quite unfounded. The way Ovid presents the story it is the hydra, and not Nessus, that takes revenge on Hercules. This destroys the whole point of the traditional Nessus story and deliberately banalizes it.

The subsequent description of Hercules' agony fails to be as stirring as it could be. Whatever one's opinion may be on Sophocles' portrait of Hercules in the Trachiniae, he makes us feel for the hero's agony especially through the comments of the onlookers (991f., 1045) and Hercules' straightforward description of his pain. By contrast, Ovid's description is baroque[15]): he gives us an overdone technical description of the externals of the man's pain without even hinting at the spiritual dimension of the hero and of his suffering. These two aspects are well integrated in the Hercules Oetaeus, and Seneca's profound and almost existentialist treatment of human suffering is a world apart from this Ovidian account. But Ovid cannot resist the temptation to let Hercules play Aeneas even now: *tollens ad sidera palmas* like Aeneas in Aeneid 1,93, Hercules evokes, as Aeneas does at that point, memories of the past. It may be that Ovid intended to call attention to what from a realistic point of view is somewhat ludicrous, i. e. Aeneas' raising up his hands in prayer when he surely needed them to keep himself from drowning, but Vergil is not concerned with such Realien. We can further contrast Ovid's phrase with that used by the author of the Hercules Oetaeus, who has often been criticized for being rhetorical, but contents himself with speaking

[15]) On Ovid's "baroqueness" in a more general sense cf. R. Crahay in Atti del Convegno Internazionale Ovidiano, vol. 1, Rome 1959, 91—110.

of Hercules' *manus tendens* (H. O. 1695). On the other hand, the long speech of Hercules in the Metamorphoses (9, 176—204) is "altogether too rhetorical for its agonized setting"[16]). Where Sophocles' Hercules recalled his most important labors, his Ovidian counterpart pads his account with several parerga and references to the least glorious of his labors — the stables of Augias and the Stymphalian Birds[17]). A further difference is that the Hercules of Sophocles and later, of Seneca, addresses his limbs and, at least once, thinks in terms of his benefactions to others (Trachiniae 1092), whereas Hercules in the Metamorphoses continues in the braggart, egocentric vein for which his speech in 67ff. had set the tone. He programmatically begins his enumeration with *ego* (182), repeats *nec mihi* with *nec mi* at the beginning and end of the same line (191), and finishes the account of his exploits by boasting: *hac caelum cervice tuli* (198). In this important speech, which precedes his deification, Hercules is not presented as a benefactor of mankind, who therefore deserves heaven, but Hercules himself concludes by denying that there are gods: *et sunt qui credere possint / esse deos?* (203f.). The sentiment can be traced back to the Herakles of Euripides (1340—1346), where it admirably fits into the context of the play, but here it merely serves to undercut Hercules' deification. The hero who is about to be a god denies the existence of the gods.

Ovid's rhetorical question, put in the hero's own mouth, warns us not to take Hercules' apotheosis seriously. Other elements in Hercules' speech serve the same purpose of undercutting, even if not to the same drastic degree. Hercules repeats his boast of having conquered the hydra (192f.) while the hydra's poison is pulsing in his veins. The oxymoron *defessa iubendo ... indefessus agendo* (198f.), which already is an unsuitable rhetorical device in this context, is even more hackneyed because it recalls Hercules' use of a similar trope earlier (*loquendo ... agendo* 30). Finally, with its

[16]) Otis 200; cf., on Ovid's expanded enumeration of the labors, the opposite remark of G. Lafaye, Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs, Paris 1904,156: "La mémoire du héro est vraiment trop fidèle en un pareil moment."

[17]) On the reticence of the Greek artistic and literary tradition on Hercules' cleaning of the Augian stables see F. Brommer, Herakles. Die zwölf Taten des Helden in antiker Kunst und Literatur, Münster/Cologne 1953, 28f.; cf. Ps.-Theocritus 25 as discussed by I. M. Linforth, TAPA 78 (1947) 77—87.

pile-up of jingling participles (207—210), Ovid's summary description of the hero's agonized behavior is hardly apt to lend a stirring note to Hercules' death struggle. Whereas Sophocles and Seneca develop each of the various manifestations of the hero's suffering, Ovid, by enumerating them, transforms them into mere gestures and he concludes with that gesture which he had mocked before: *patrio tendentem bracchia caelo* (210).

The story of Lichas, which follows next, does not elevate the tone of the narrative either. Ovid could have omitted Lichas as easily as he omitted Hyllus and many other details of the myth, but the inclusion of this story provides another excellent example of the deliberate change of emphasis which results from telling a story in the context of metamorphosis. The outburst of Hercules' rage matters little to Ovid; it is dismissed in a few lines and the phrase *ter quaterque rotatum* (217) recalls the ludicrous struggle with Achelous (*ter . . . quarto* 50f.). The true raison d'être of the Lichas story is the transformation of Lichas into a rock. Ovid seems to have invented it for the occasion[18]), tells it in much detail, and cleverly presents it as conforming to Epicurean doctrine[19]). It is another trivial story and by reiterating such trivializations Ovid keeps detracting from the inherent epic grandeur of the entire Hercules episode.

The description of Hercules' burning on his pyre continues in the same vein except that, if anything, the parodic element is more obvious. The hero's equanimity in this situation was traditional and comparison with Seneca again is instructive. The end of Hercules inspired Seneca to write "a locus classicus of Stoic fortitude"[20]); Hercules is *sui securus* (H. O. 1693), yet he remains *durus* (1732), *intrepidus* (1737), *immotus*, *inconcussus* (1741), imparts *fortem animum* to all bystanders (1743f.), and the majesty and dignity of the entire description are summed up in the verse *tam placida frons est, tanta maiestas viro* (1746). Throughout his version, Seneca stresses the distance between Hercules and the mortals, the *volgus* (1745), who are watching him. By contrast, Ovid adresses Hercules in the second person and likens the hero's serenity to the pose struck by a banqueter in his cups (Met. 9, 237f.):

[18]) See W. Kroll, RE s. v. "Lichas", col. 211, 30ff.

[19]) See Ehwald on 9,220 (with reference to Lucretius 6,495ff., 527ff.).

[20]) So Eugene M. Waith, The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden, New York/London 1962, 37.

haud alio vultu, quam si conviva iaceres
inter plena meri redimitus pocula serti.

This is the gluttonous Hercules as we know him from the comic tradition. Even in death he keeps on drinking and eating and his awe-inspiring symbols, the lion's skin and the club, serve merely as accessories to the banquet — as a quilt and a pillow! Ovid's total lack of seriousness here makes Jupiter's light-hearted view of Hercules' death entirely understandable.

Nothing in this final scene, Hercules' apotheosis, supports Wilkinson's view of it as "a scene of Wagnerian magnificence in heaven"[21]) or H. Fränkel's brave attempt to see in this Hercules a forerunner of Christ[22]). Even as dedicated an advocate of the "epic" tone of the Metamorphoses as Otis had to come to the sobering conclusion that "Ovid's failure to make sense of the apotheosis is terribly evident"[23]). But is it really a question of Ovid's failure? Is it not sounder to argue that Ovid was deliberately not trying to make sense of the apotheosis?[24]) It is not Ovid's inability or lack of talent — we may again recall the Medea episode — which accounts for the lack of seriousness in this climactic scene, but his disinclination to treat the theme seriously. Ovid's account of Julius Caesar's apotheosis is another evident example of this attitude[25]) and so, arguably, is Propertius' deliberately ludicrous presentation of the Battle of Actium[26]). The details of Ovid's humor in this account of Hercules' apotheosis have been sufficiently noted by various other scholars and we need to enumerate them only briefly. With the indifference to human suffering that is quite typical of

[21]) Ovid Recalled, Cambridge 1955, 193. Later in his discussion, Wilkinson speaks correctly of Ovid's irreverent treatment of Jupiter and remarks on some other humorous touches in the scene.

[22]) Ovid: A Poet between Two Worlds, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1945, 81f., 211—213. It seems sounder, however, Ovidium ex Ovidio interpretari, and for this reason W. C. Stephens' view of the Ovidian Hercules as a Stoic sage (in N. I. Herescu, ed., Ovidiana, Paris 1958, 274ff.) seems to me to miss the point. The Stoic tradition, as reflected especially in Epictetus and Cicero, from which Stephens quotes at length in fact is a foil for Ovid's portrait of the hero.

[23]) Otis 335.

[24]) Cf. W. S. Anderson's review of Otis in AJP 89 (1968) 101.

[25]) Otis 303—305.

[26]) Propertius 4,6 as contrasted, e. g., with Propertius 3,11. See my remarks in Wien. Stud. 82 (1969) 84—88 and the bibliography cited there.

Ovid in the Metamorphoses[27]), Jupiter asserts *laeto ore* that the gods' *timor* is his *voluptas*. The scene recalls a similar one in the First Book (163ff.), with Jupiter acting like the Emperor seeking senatorial approval for something he intends to do anyway, and it is the metamorphosis motif which dominates the apotheosis: Hercules sloughs off his mortal body as a snake does its old skin[28]). The result is that Hercules becomes *augusta . . . gravitate verendus* (270). As for the choice of *augusta*, even Fränkel has seen that "doubtless Ovid had in mind not only Hercules alone, but the Emperor Augustus who was often thought of an another Hercules"[29]). The *gravitas* of Hercules is immediately undercut by the reference to the *gravitas* of Alcmena (287), which figures so prominently in the comic tradition. In fact, the mere juxtaposition of the story of Hercules' apotheosis with that of his birth deheroizes and undercuts any remaining epic and serious aspirations inherent in the former. After we have witnessed Hercules' *labores* and *dolores*, these terms are now appropriated by Alcmena for describing her less sublime woes (289, 291)[30]).

One piece of external evidence may indicate that the comic tone of Hercules' apotheosis was recognized as such in antiquity. In Seneca's Apocolocyntosis, at a meeting of the Olympic Senate which has its precedent in Metamorphoses 9, Hercules moves that Claudius be deified and his apotheosis be included in Ovid's poem: *censeo uti divus Claudius ex hac die deus sit, ita uti ante eum qui optimo iure factus sit, eamque rem ad metamorphosis Ovidi adiciendam* (9,6). Since the Apocolocyntosis parodies many serious passages from literary works, the mocking reference to Hercules' apotheosis in the Metamorphoses could of course be construed in that manner.

[27]) On this aspect see now C. P. Segal, Landscape in Ovid's Metamorphoses. A Study in the Transformations of a Literary Symbol, Hermes Einzelschriften 23 (1969) 82–85.

[28]) Fränkel 212 n. 28 considers this a reminiscence of Aeneid 2,471ff., but the associations of Hercules with a snake were rooted in cult and mythology; see J. E. Harrison, Themis. A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion, Cambridge 1927, 381, 429–436. Vergil alludes to this in the Hercules-Cacus episode (see AJP 87 [1966] 43ff.), and this shows once more how purposeful Ovid's imitatio can be.

[29]) 212 n. 24.

[30]) Anderson 102. Similarly, the *pondus* which Atlas feels as a result of Hercules' acceptance into heaven (273) seems related to the *pondus* of the baby Hercules (289). Cf. the use of *gravitas* as applied to Achelous (9,39).

Still, it may be more plausible to assume that Seneca chose Ovid's version as a precedent because he recognized that Ovid also had refused to treat the subject seriously.

II

Hercules' role in Roman religion and cult makes Ovid's flippant treatment of him all the more remarkable. The light-hearted attitude of the poet to the traditional gods of mythology may seem understandable to both the ancient and modern reader, although Augustus could not be expected to have much sympathy for Ovid's outlook as he was trying to revive the old state religion to new dignity. No such effort was needed for the cult of Hercules. It was one of the oldest cults in Rome, but it never fell into desuetude[31]). Even after the state priests became its custodians and the feast of Hercules was given a place in the official Roman calendar (August 13), the worship of the god remained private and individual. Hercules was honored on many individual occasions during the year, the people – rather than the priests alone – shared in the sacrificial banquet, and so far from being localized at one, state-supported sanctuary, the god's cult was practiced in a multitude of smaller shrines and temples, which had been built as tokens of private gratitude. All these characteristics set the cult of Hercules apart from other Roman state cults. For Hercules satisfied the personal cult needs that were left unfulfilled by the state religion and he thus came to share in the same religious intensity which was accorded to the oriental cults for exactly the same reason. The functions in which the Romans invoked him ranged from provider of a good birth to silent partner in business deals, and the latter was one reason for the many tithes that were vowed to him at the Ara Maxima. In sum, he was a meaningful, personal god and worshiped as such by many, including Roman generals from Scipio to Antony.

The Herculean aura of Augustus does not seem to have had its basis in any preference of the princeps for the cult of Hercules. The Hercules cult at Tibur was linked to Augustus from the beginning of the imperial cult, but there is no evidence that the princeps brought about this connection nor that he favored the *fanum Herculis* at Tibur. Augustus' neutrality to the cult of Hercules has

[31]) For details see J. Bayet, Les origines de l'Hercule romain, Paris 1925, and K. Latte, Römische Religionsgeschichte, Munich 1960, 213–221.

been misinterpreted by R. Schilling[32]) as a willful slight of that cult in preference to the cult of Mars. In fact, Augustus' lack of anxious concern for this particular cult may be explained by the lack of any need for its revival.

Still, Vergil and Horace in particular viewed Augustus as a second Hercules, and Hercules definitely was a prototype for Augustus. The relevant passages in the poetry of Vergil and Horace are well known and, without exception, hint at the deification of Augustus[33]). Because of his service to mankind, Augustus will be deified as Hercules and Romulus had been. And whereas these became gods only *post ingentia facta*, Augustus is already *praesens divus*. Not Augustus himself but the divine power within him, his *numen* or *genius*, was worshipped side by side with the Lares in their shrines at the crossroads. Horace was honest enough to equate this with the worship of Hercules and Castor in Greece (Odes 4,5, 35—36).

Because it connoted apotheosis the association of Augustus with Hercules, which can be traced back to the similar relation between Romulus and Hercules, became a topos in imperial poetry and panegyric and was certainly not discouraged by the emperor. The significance of the topos was recognized by Ovid who chimed in somewhat too late and wrote from exile that like Hercules, Augustus had been raised to the stars because of his *virtus* (Pont. 4,8,63). This traditional theme could not be lacking from Ovid's poem on the deification of Augustus.

III

The Herculean aura of Augustus in Augustan poetry is not enough to explain Ovid's extensive modelling of Hercules on Aeneas. In Book 9, as elsewhere in the Metamorphoses, Ovid purposely inverted a motif which he found in the Aeneid. That motif is Vergil's extensive modelling of Aeneas on Hercules. Some of Vergil's efforts in this direction have been noted by various scholars, but we now must present a more complete picture.

[32]) Le culte d'Hercule en face de la reforme religieuse d'Auguste, Rev. Phil. 68 (1942) 31—57.

[33]) Horace, C. 1,12,25; 3,3,9—10; 3,14; 4,8,30; Ep. 2,1,10—14; Vergil, Aen. 6,801—803, as discussed below.

Vergil assimilates Aeneas to Hercules virtually from the outset. In the proem, which is a programmatic synopsis of the Aeneid, Aeneas is introduced as *fato profugus* and driven *saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram*. This is a deliberate echo of what Achilles, another model of the Vergilian Aeneas, said about Hercules (Iliad 18,119): ἀλλά ἑ μοῖρα δάμασσε καὶ ἀργαλέος χόλος Ἥρης. Of all the themes sketched in the proem, the theme of Juno's wrath is the only one to be repeated in Vergil's invocation to the Muse. Besides impressing on the reader that this is the most significant of the epic's basic themes, Vergil gives added emphasis to the terminology that was traditionally used for Hercules and for Juno's persecution of him: *labores* and *irae* are placed emphatically at the end of lines 10 and 11. As Henry already saw, Aeneas here is linked to Hercules[34]).

What is more, the desire to portray Aeneas as a second Hercules may well have been Vergil's reason to give Juno such a prominent role in the Aeneid. Having been slighted by Paris, Hera was apt to be the traditional enemy of the Trojans even after the destruction of Troy. This concept was combined by Ennius with that of Juno as the patron goddess of Carthage[35]), and Juno's anti-Trojan bias is further illustrated by Horace's Third Roman Ode. So long as she was confined to this semi-historical role, the disparity between the mythical Juno and Juno, one of the most respected deities in Roman religion, was negligible. Vergil, however, went much further. Instead of being the myth-historical opponent of Rome, Juno now appears as the personal enemy of Aeneas who is responsible for all his ordeals. Vergil leaves no doubt that she acts from personal, petty motives; she is capricious, unjust, vengeful, unscrupulous and, lacking the support of the other Olympians, does not hesitate to fight with the weapons of hell: *flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo*. Her instrument, which elicits Turnus' madness, is the hell-fury Allecto and on other occasions, Juno uses Iris. It has long been recognized that Allecto is modelled on Euripides' Lyssa. More importantly, Vergil deliberately so characterized his Juno that she recalls the Hera-Tyche of Euripides' Herakles[36]). This

[34]) J. Henry, Aeneidea I (London 1873) 187.

[35]) See Servius ad Aen. 1,281 and 12,841, and J. Vahlen, Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1928, CLIX—CLX. On Juno's role in the Aeneid see V. Buchheit, Vergil über die Sendung Roms, Heidelberg 1963.

[36]) See the work cited in note 1, above (ch. III).

portrait of Juno is totally at odds with her role in Roman religion and the ensuing clash between literary and mythical inspiration on the one hand, and actual Roman custom on the other, is without parallel in Vergil's work. Vergil's usual circumspection in such matters yielded to his overriding wish to make Aeneas emerge as a second Hercules.

The persistent use of *labor* to denote Aeneas' task is the strongest verbal reminder of his Herculean role. Aeneas himself uses this term many times to characterize himself and his adventures. A typical example is the beginning of his programmatic introduction of himself to Venus (1,372—374):

> *O dea, si prima repetens ab origine pergam,*
> *et vacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum,*
> *ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo.*

Only after he has stressed his *labores* does he mention his *pietas* (1,378).

The various oracular and divine agencies, which are guiding Aeneas through his trials, confirm this view of Aeneas of himself. For instance, Venus pleads with Jupiter to set an end to Aeneas' *labores* (1,241) and she uses the term again when she asks Vulcan to provide Aeneas' arms (8,380). After all the oracles in Book 3 apply the term *labor* to each new trial of Aeneas, Jupiter himself sanctions it in Book 4 when he asks Mercury to tell Aeneas to shoulder his burden (*molitur . . . laborem* 4,233). The expression recalls the exertion of Atlas, and Hercules' shouldering of Atlas' starry burden was well remembered in Augustan Rome. Ovid (Fasti 1,565—568) linked it explicitly to Hercules' fight against Cacus, to which Vergil gave great prominence in the Aeneid. Aeneas' greatest labor, foreshadowed by the Hercules-Cacus episode in Book 8, is his fight against Turnus and the Latins. The is precisely the note on which Anchises ends his prophecy in Book 6 (890—892):

> *exin bella viro memorat quae deinde gerenda,*
> *Laurentisque docet populos urbemque Latini,*
> *et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.*

P. MacGushin, who has analyzed the various relevant passages in more detail, has rightly concluded that "the practice of these warning agencies of applying the term labor to each fresh trial of Aeneas implies a perception of the similarity of the experience of

Aeneas with the labors of Hercules on the part of those who presumably would have a clearer insight into the workings of destiny — Venus and the ghost of Anchises, for example"[37]). Aeneas himself, however, expresses even more strikingly that he considers himself the heir of Hercules. When he leaves Troy, he lifts his father on his shoulders and assures him *nec me labor iste gravabit* (2,708). For around his shoulders he wears the lion's skin (2,722). Besides Aeneas' being a savior, σωτήρ like Hercules, his immediate task — the pious rescue of his father — and the task for which he is setting out — his trials and *Romanam condere gentem*[38]) — have both the physical and the spiritual dimension which had characterized Hercules' labors since Pindar.

It is not surprising that Aeneas' Herculean self-awareness reaches its full development in Book 6 where he gains an almost complete awareness of his mission. His descent to the underworld alone duplicates a feat of Hercules. Aeneas therefore tries to dispel the Sibyl's doubts by referring to Hercules, and Aeneas' justification begins on the note of his *labores* (6,103—105):

> *non ulla laborum,*
> *o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit:*
> *omnia praecepi atque animo meo ante peregi.*

The analogy is quite precise because there was no new and unexpected kind of labor for Hercules after his conquest of Cerberus, which traditionally was his last and crowning conquest. Tracing his *labores* from the beginning, Aeneas goes on to speak of his first Herculean task, the rescue of his father (6,110f.). The indirect references to Hercules build up to a direct analogy in the powerful conclusion of Aeneas' speech (6,122f.):

> *quid Thesea magnum,*
> *quid memorem Alciden? et mi genus ab Iove summo.*

The Herculean reminiscences, as I have demonstrated elsewhere[39]), continue and are an integral part of Aeneas' journey in Book 6. They reach their culmination in Anchises' ecstatic prophecy of Augustus' coming greatness (6,801—803):

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[37]) P. MacGushin, Vergil and the Spirit of Endurance, AJP 85 (1964) 236.

[38]) Cf. E. Kraggerud, Aeneisstudien, Oslo 1968, 16.

[39]) For a detailed discussion see Galinsky (note 1, above), ch. VI; the material contained in the next two paragraphs is discussed there in more detail.

nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,
fixerit aeripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi
pacarit nemora et Lernam tremefecerit arcu.

The passage is not merely imperial panegyric, but Vergil integrated it carefully into both the immediate and the larger context. From the very beginning of the epic and in Book 6 in particular Vergil has presented Aeneas as a second Hercules, and it is only natural that Augustus, who would bring to fruition the labors begun by Aeneas, should surpass both Aeneas and his model, Hercules. Hercules pacifies (*pacarit*) Arcadia[40]), an achievement for which Vergil had praised Octavian in the First Eclogue and which Hercules will repeat in his conquest of Cacus in the bucolic setting of proto-Rome, which is ruled by Evander, king of the Arcadians.

Similarly, Anchises' moral exhortation, which follows, extends beyond itself. It is a call to *virtus*, which was the distinctive attribute of both Hercules and the Romans[41]), and to accomplish yet more (6,806):

et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis?

Jupiter echoes this admonition when he consoles Hercules (10,468f.), and it is in the spirit of Herculean endurance and *virtus* that another father, Aeneas, addresses his son (12,435f.):

disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
fortunam ex aliis.

Besides echoing the earlier father-son scenes, both of which involved Hercules, Aeneas' admonition recalls two other, earlier exhortations (3,342f. and 9,640f.), which are appeals to martial *virtus* pure and simple. But when Aeneas himself, who has just been wounded in battle, finally exhorts Ascanius, he reinterprets the martial *virtus*, to which Andromache and Apollo had appealed, as the Herculean *virtus* of endurance and labor. For a better Fortuna or Tyche Ascanius will have to look elsewhere. It is no coincidence that Fortuna in the Aeneid is as closely associated with Juno[42]) as Tyche was with Hera in the Herakles of Euripides.

[40]) On the function of the labors alluded to see E. Norden, RhM 54 (1899) 472–473.

[41]) Hercules' affinity with the Roman character has been stressed most recently by R. Schottlaender, Röm. Gesellschaftsdenken, Weimar 1969, 13–14.

[42]) See A. Wlosok, Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis, Heidelberg 1967, 55 with note 3.

The most extensive analogy between Aeneas and Hercules is developed by Vergil in Book 8 on occasion of the official, annual festival of Hercules at the Ara Maxima on August 13. Aeneas comes to ask Evander for help (8,126ff.). His own *virtus*, he says, and ancestral kinship are the basis for this proposed alliance. No longer is he the unwilling colonizer of Italy — *Italiam non sponte sequor* — but he willingly accepts the call of fate: *fatis egere volentem* (8,133). The notion of Aeneas' endurance is continued by reference to the genealogies of both Aeneas and Evander. Both are ultimately descended from Atlas, and Atlas is therefore singled out twice — *maximus Atlas... aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis* (136f.) and *Atlas... caeli qui sidera tollit* (141). In this capacity Vergil had mentioned Atlas in the Augustus panegyric in Book 6, where he was linked to Hercules, while Horace in his letter to Augustus hails the princeps for sustaining (*sustineas*) his lonely burden like Hercules (line 1).

In his reply, Evander keeps up the Herculean allusions. He saw Anchises in Arcadia, he says, when Anchises and Priam were on the way to seeing Hesione (8,157). This recalls the story of Hercules' rescue of Hesione from the sea monster just as Hercules was to save primitive, Arcadian Rome from the monster Cacus. Evander bids Aeneas to participate with him in the ritual and banquet at the Ara Maxima and places Aeneas on the seat of honor, which is cushioned with a lion's skin (8, 177f.). After the completion of the meal, Evander tells Aeneas the story of Hercules and Cacus. The manner in which this story has been prepared for and its length suggest that it is meant to be an integral part of the epic rather than an aetiological appendage.

More importantly, the unique characteristics of Vergil's version suggest that he intended the Hercules-Cacus episode to be a parable of Aeneas' struggle against Turnus. The changes made by Vergil to liken Cacus to Turnus, verbal parallels, the poet's central concern with the struggle — in contrast to Dionysius, Livy, Propertius, and Ovid — and the hymn of the Salians all point in this direction. These aspects of Vergil's adaptation have already been discussed elsewhere[43]) and need not be repeated here. The result is that Aeneas is the measure of Hercules not only spiritually, but even physically. Once more he is *ingens* (8,367) when he enters into Evander's house as Hercules had before him. The parallelism

[43]) See my article in AJP 87 (1966) 18–51, and Buchheit, 116–133.

between Hercules and Aeneas is intensified by Evander's description of them as virtual contemporaries. On the next day, Aeneas turns out to be Hercules' follower indeed. After a sign from Venus confirms to him, beyond all doubt, that his task will be a bloody struggle against Turnus and the Latins, he immediately rises from the throne which, as we saw earlier, was covered with the lion's skin, kindles the fire on Hercules' altar, and joyously brings another sacrifice to Hercules, the household god of Evander (8, 541—544). Anticipating the practice of many good Romans, Aeneas himself now sacrifices to Hercules instead of being a mere spectator. Finally, Aeneas leaves Rome on a horse caparisoned in a lion's skin (8, 552f.) just as he had left Troy clad in this Herculean emblem.

Vergil's reasons for casting Aeneas in the image of Hercules exemplify the varied and complex nature of his thought and inspiration. From a purely literary point of view, Aeneas' Herculean role in the Aeneid is Vergil's answer to Apollonius and Lucretius (Rer. Nat. 5, 22—54) who had pointedly denied Hercules any spiritual qualities and contrasted the useless, external achievements of Hercules with Epicurus' liberating the minds of men from the real troubles of *cupido*, *sollicitum*, *cura*, *timores*, and others. Lucretius' critique of Hercules was not an isolated phenomenon. It was echoed, for instance, by the Epicurean Cotta in Cicero's De Natura Deorum (3, 15, 16 and 19), by Varro, Tiberius, and even Seneca[44]). So far from being a spiritual paragon of virtue, Herakles appears in the late Republic and the early empire in a primitive, archaic role and Vergil seems to have reacted against this portrait of the hero.

Another reason for Aeneas' Herculean role was the Augustan associations of Hercules. We saw earlier that Augustus did not particularly favor Hercules, but Aeneas' Herculean associations were apt to detract from Pompey's and Antony's claims to being the successors of Hercules[45]). It is hardly accidental that Octavian made his triple triumph with its celebration of the victory over Antony coincide with August 13, the festival of Hercules at the Ara Maxima. Nor is it accidental that Aeneas arrives in Rome on

[44]) Varro's euhemeristic dissection of Hercules into forty-three men of that name: Servius ad Aen. 8, 564; Tiberius: Dio 56, 36, 4; Seneca: Const. Sap. 2, 1—2.

[45]) These claims have been well documented by A. R. Anderson, Heracles and His Successors, Harv. Stud. Class. Phil. 39 (1928) 37ff.

that day[46]). Thirdly, the inspiration for some of the affinities between Aeneas and Hercules, in particular endurance in the face of adversity, may have come from Stoicism, although Aeneas and Hercules are not portrayed as Stoic sages in the Aeneid. Finally, as we have seen, the Hercules myth and cult had traditionally been popular in Italy, so popular in fact that Hercules might well have been accepted as the popular ancestor of all the Roman people[47]).

This leads us to the strongest reason for Vergil's peculiar mythopoeic adaptation of Hercules. Besides his tremendous popularity in Italy, Hercules had been the one national, truly pan-Hellenic hero. In many ways, he came to sum up the national experience of Greece. Greek writers from Homer to Theocritus had interpreted and adapted the myth in terms of their own times, thus making Hercules the incarnation of the history and aspirations of Greece[48]). This is precisely the role which Vergil intended for Aeneas in Italy and Rome. Aeneas and the Aeneid were meant to sum up the Roman national experience. Vergil combined the concept of Hercules as an inspirational model for Aeneas with the realities of the Hercules cult and myth in Italy. Hercules' popularity throughout Italy contrasted sharply with Aeneas' monopolization by the *familiae Troianae*, and his cult in Rome had remained private and individual. By linking Aeneas to Hercules, then, Vergil strove to assure Aeneas some of Hercules' popularity and he may have hoped that his readers would regard Aeneas with the same kind of personal intensity with which they worshiped Hercules.

The symbiosis which Vergil created for the roles of Aeneas and Hercules is reflected by the fact that he not only modelled Aeneas' *labores* on those of Hercules, but adapted a Hercules legend and, in large part, created it to illustrate the nature of Aeneas' final struggle. That is, of course, his version of the fight of Hercules against Cacus, which is a genuine mythopoeic addition to the Hercules myth and was recognized as such, e. g., by Ronsard[49]). And Vergil strengthened the close link between the two heroes by harmonizing the aspects of Hercules which Euripides, e. g., had

[46]) See P. Grimal, Enée à Rome et le triomphe d'Auguste, REA 53 (1951) 51—61.

[47]) As has been plausibly suggested by H. Hill, JRS 51 (1961) 90.

[48]) So, e. g., G. des Essarts, Du type d'Hercule dans la littérature grecque depuis les origines jusqu'au siècle des Antonins, Paris 1871, 229f.

[49]) In the posthumous preface to the Franciade.

set off against one another: his internal and outward heroism. The gap between the two was even wider in Apollonius' portrait of Hercules. But in the Aeneid, both Aeneas and Hercules are epic heroes whose great deeds are anything but belittled or considered anachronistic. At the same time, they have ample spiritual strength, fortitude, and compassion.

In sum, Hercules in the Aeneid is a profoundly meaningful figure. The importance Vergil accorded him was fully recognized by later Latin epic poets. Lucan's lengthy account of Hercules' fight against Antaeus (4,593—660) shows that a Hercules episode was considered almost a topos in post-Vergilian epic. Silius went beyond Vergil by not only modelling the Roman heroes of the Punica, Scipio in particular, on Hercules, but also by presenting their Carthaginian counterparts, especially Hannibal, as unworthy claimants to Hercules' succession[50]). Finally, in deliberate antithesis to Apollonius, Valerius Flaccus presents an unequivocally positive characterization of Hercules, expands on the hero's exploits, and adds new adventures for Hercules. The Renaissance epopees on Hercules continued in this vein.

IV

This, then, is the context in which we must view Ovid's version of Hercules' exploits and of the hero's apotheosis. It shows that Heinze's categorization of Ovid's poetry is far too schematic. For instance, the difference even between the Hercules episode in the Fasti (2,303ff.), i. e. the story of Hercules and Omphale, and the Hercules episode in Metamorphoses 9 is the difference between burlesque and epic parody rather than between elegiac and epic style. The humorous aspects of the story in the Fasti are explicitly stated — *fabula plena ioci* (2,304) — whereas they are subtler, and therefore all the more penetrating, in the Metamorphoses. But not even the story in the Fasti is truly elegiac. The keynote of the Hercules-Omphale story in elegiac poetry was romantic sentimentalization. It became so well worn that Ovid would mock its

[50]) The various passages have been collected and discussed by E. L. Bassett, Hercules and the Hero of the Punica, in Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan, Ithaca 1966, 258—273, and more generally, M. Piot, Hercule chez les poètes du Ier siècle après Jésus-Christ, REL 43 (1965) 342—358.

conventions[51]), and wit rather than emphasis on the *servitium amoris* is the point of Ovid's version in the Fasti. Wit, irony, and parody, especially parody of accepted conventions and conventional motifs, have more rightly been regarded as the characteristics of Ovid's elegiac poetry. And it is this attitude that carried over into the Metamorphoses. Walther Kraus has summed this up most concisely by singling out Ovid's „Freude am Witz" as one of the two essential characteristics of the Metamorphoses. „Für die geheimnisvolle geschichtliche Wirklichkeit des Mythos", Kraus continues, „fehlt ihm der Sinn"[52]). Ovid's treatment of the Hercules myth, especially when it is compared to Vergil's as it must be, completely supports this view of the Metamorphoses. Instead of seeing and elegiac and an "epic" Ovid, we see a self-assured *lusor* at work in all genres of poetry.

Even if we followed Heinze's lead and viewed Ovid's poetry in terms of the dichotomy between epic and elegiac, Ovid's treatment of Hercules in Met. 9 would lead us to elegiac poetry. Propertius' Elegy 4,9 is an extensive parody of Vergil's Hercules-Cacus episode[53]). Time and again does Propertius completely ignore any potential heroic symbolism of the events or of Hercules' actions. So does Ovid in Met. 9. Like Ovid, Propertius minimizes the traditionaly grand facts of the story and emphasizes its trivial aspects. Hercules' amatory pursuits and their consequences are central to the versions of both poets.

Even if the Hercules episode is a pivotal one, it may be hazardous on this basis to come to far-reaching conclusions about Ovid's technique and world view in the Metamorphoses. Yet episodes such as this are a useful corrective to the interpretations of scholars like Otis who try to discern a profoundly serious purpose, even if it is latent, to the Metamorphoses. Compared to the adaptations of the Hercules myth, e. g., by Euripides or Seneca, Ovid's version pales

[51]) A. a. 2,217—222; cf. Prop. 3,11,17—20. F. O. Copley has discussed the topos in Servitium Amoris in the Roman Elegists, TAPA 78 (1947) 285—300, esp. 286, 291—293.

[52]) Ovidius Naso, RE 18.2 (1942) col. 1946. On the problematic nature of terms such as epic and elegiac as applied to the Metamorphoses see M. von Albrecht in Ehwald, vol. 1,486ff.

[53]) As has been demonstrated by W. S. Anderson, Hercules Exclusus: Prop. 4,9, AJP 85 (1964) 1—12.

into insignificance. It is not even a jeu d'esprit[54]), but a mere play and a play whose only function seems to make the myth as meaningless and trivial as possible. What is more, the banalization and the deflation of the story are deliberate. Why?

Two related answers suggest themselves. The Metamorphoses, in large part, were Ovid's answer to Vergil's Aeneid. Not only was Vergil, to repeat Bömer's phrase, "ever-present in the poetry of Ovid", but the Metamorphoses, a continuous hexameter poem superficially resembling an epic, were the most direct counterpart to Vergil's true epic. Vergil revitalized myth — and his use of Hercules is an excellent example — by endowing it with a sense of historical truth and perspective, with mystery, dignity, and seriousness. In the Hercules episode and elsewhere, Ovid seems to have tried to demonstrate that myth could survive without being treated in Vergil's manner, and Ovid proceeded to adapt it in a manner diametrically opposed to Vergil's: with wit, flippancy, irony, as a vehicle for psychological rather than historical truth, and as being vivid and palpable rather than mystic or mysterious. Besides the intentional contrast with Vergil, Ovid's attitude to Augustan themes and reforms was instrumental in his peculiar adaptation of myth. Throughout his poetry, before his exile, Ovid treats Augustan symbols with irony, and whereas the princeps tried to infuse a sense of the numinose into the traditional gods, Ovid treats them as mere mythological figures. Vergil incorporated Roman custom and the serious Augustan view of the gods into his epic; Ovid ignored them. In the Metamorphoses Hercules is not the inspirational, personal god of many Romans and Italians, nor is he the Augustan exemplar of *virtus*, but he is cast in the comic, burlesque tradition[55]). But Ovid's procedure here also shows that while he is busily inverting Augustan and Vergilian themes, the theme of his own "epic" suffers from another, ensuing inversion: the Hercules theme and myth in general undergo a spiritual, truly profound metamorphosis in Vergil's epic, whereas many metamorphoses in Ovid's poem remain external, conventional, and superficial.

[54]) This term is used by H. Herter to characterize Ovid's attitude (in Ovid. Wege der Forschung 92, 360).

[55]) Linguistically this is true also; cf., e. g., Ehwald's note on 9, 53.

HANS DIETZ / SPOKANE, WASHINGTON

Die besonderen Lesarten des Codex A in Sophokles' Oed. Col.

Seitdem A. Turyn gezeigt hat, daß die sogenannte byzantinische Trias, Aias, Elektra und Oed. Tyr., in der Hs. A, dem neben L meist respektierten Textzeugen von Sophokles, statt echt zu sein, ihren Text von der spätbyzantinischen Ausgabe des Manuel Moschopulos ableitet, ist die Debatte der Gelehrten über die Stellung von A unter den anderen Sophokleshandschriften noch nicht zur Ruhe gekommen[1]). Der Streit der Experten über Wert oder Unwert dieses Zeugen gilt als einer der akutesten in der heutigen Klassischen Philologie.

J. C. Kamerbeek, ein eifriger Verfechter von A, hat den Codex als Repräsentanten eines dritten Überlieferungszweiges bezeichnet, neben den bekannten laurentianischen (oder λ, in den Hss. L P) und römischen (oder ρ, in G, R und Q) Zweigen der Sophoklesüberlieferung[2]).

A. Dain gleicht Kamerbeek in seiner Erklärung der Position von A, hält es aber nicht für unmöglich, daß A das Produkt einer sorgfältigen Kollation des 13. Jh. sein könnte[3]).

Daß A einen philologisch bearbeiteten Text enthält und nicht reine, von textkritischer Betriebsamkeit unangetastete Quelle ist wie λ und, zum gewissen Grade, ρ, hat P. E. Easterling als unbestrittene Tatsache dargelegt[4]). Es wird an Ort und Stelle zu zeigen sein, daß der A-Text von Oed. Col. nicht nur eine editoriale Revision

[1]) A. Turyn, The Sophocles Recension of Manuel Moschopulus, TAPhA 80 (1949) 94–173. Heftige Kritik findet sich bei R. M. Rattenbury, CR 4 (1954) 102–105.

[2]) De Sophoclis memoria, Mnem. 11 (1958) 25–31.

[3]) Sophocle. Texte établi par A. Dain et traduit par P. Mazon I, Collection Budé, Paris 1955, XLVI.

[4]) The Manuscript A of Sophocles and Its Relation to the Moschopulean Recension, CQ 10 (1960) 51–64. Jetzt auch: The Transmission of the Text, in T. B. L. Webster, Sophocles Philoctetes, Cambridge 1970, 172f.

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