



An Allusion in the Literary Tradition of the Proserpina Myth

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by Philodemus' contemporary Thyillus), who danced at the festivals of Dionysus and Cybele.

The problem is the third line. Half the difficulty was solved by Louis Robert, who showed from three inscriptions that *δοῦμος* means a religious club or council.³ Gow and Page accept this explanation, and go on: 'The vindication of *δοῦμος* makes us reluctant to alter *καλύβη*, which may have had a suitable meaning now unknown... In the present context the *καλύβη* might be the meeting-place of the *δοῦμος*, the centre of their *φιλοπαίγμων στωμυλίη*.'⁴

Help may be at hand, if we suppose – what is not at all improbable, given Philodemus' career – that the scene of the epigram is Rome. The temple of the Great Mother was on the Palatine, and on the Palatine there was a *καλύβη*, referred to by Josephus in his narrative of the murder of Caligula (*AJ* 19. 75, 90). In the topography of the pre-Neronian *Palatium*, the description of its site as *πρὸ τοῦ βασιλείου* fits most naturally at the western corner of the hill, precisely where the Great Mother's temple stood.⁵ Moreover, the hut at the top of the *Scalae Caci*, which was attributed variously to Cacius, Faustulus, Remus, and even Romulus himself (though the *casa Romuli* proper was on the Capitol), must have been in the same area, and should, I think, be identified with the one mentioned by Josephus.⁶ Conon, a mythographer of the Augustan period, calls Faustulus' dwelling a *καλύβη*, and sites it *ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερῷ*. Dio refers to a temple of Jupiter 'in the precinct of Victory' (*ἐν τῷ Νικαίῳ*). The temple of Victory was at the western corner of the hill, above the Lupercal; it was evidently close to the temple of the Great Mother, since the latter's image, brought from Pessinus in 204 B.C., was housed there until her own temple was built.⁷

The simplest explanation is that the *καλύβη* was next to the temple of the Great Mother, and served as the club-house or common-room of her eunuch priests. Its attribution to figures of Rome's ancient past may indicate an attempt to 'naturalize' her into the Roman tradition, comparable perhaps to the way Romulus' mother Ilia became Rhea Silvia,⁸ borrowing one of the names of the Great Mother herself.

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³ L. Robert, *REG* 58 (1945) xii; *CIG* 3439, *Ath. Mitt.* 23. 362, 35. 144; cf. also Hesych. s.v. *δοῦμος* (Wackernagel), Hipponax fr. 30. 2 (Masson).

⁴ op. cit. 397–8.

⁵ See *LCM* 5. 10 (Dec. 1980), 231–8, esp. 235 f.

⁶ Diodorus 4. 21. 2 (Cacius), Varro *ap. Solinus* 1. 18 (Faustulus), Prop. 4. 1. 9 (Remus); Dion. Hal. 1. 79. 11, Plut. *Rom.* 20. 5–6, *Notitia urbis Romae* s.v. 'regio X'; cf. Dio 53. 16. 5 (Romulus). *Casa Romuli* on Capitol: Vitr. *Arch.* 2. 1. 5, Sen. *rhet. contr.* 2. 1. 5, Macr. *Sat.* 1. 15. 10, *CIL* xvi 23. 2. 25.

⁷ Conon, *FGrHist* 26F 1.48.8; Dio 45. 17. 2, cf. 47. 40. 2, 60. 35. 1 (*Zeus Nikaios*); Dion. Hal. 1. 32. 3–33. 1 (Lupercal); Livy 29. 14. 13, with F. Castagnoli, *Arch. Class.* 16 (1964), 185 f. For the site of the temple of Victory, see *Ant. Jnl.* 61. 1 (1981), 35–52.

⁸ First attested in Varro, *LL* 5. 144 and Castor of Rhodes, *FGrHist* 250F 5.

AN ALLUSION IN THE LITERARY TRADITION OF THE PROSERPINA MYTH

...locus ut ipse raptum illum virginis, quem iam a pueris accepimus, declarare videatur

Cicero, *Verr.* 2. 4. 107

exigit ipse locus raptus ut virginis edam:

plura recognosces, pauca docendus eris

Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 417–18

While Cicero's famous Enna ecphrasis and account of Proserpina's rape (during the discussion of the plundering of Ceres' statues by Verres) is often among the passages brought up in the context of Ovid's treatment of the same myth in *Fasti* 4,¹ I am not aware of the suggestion having previously been made that the introductory couplet to Ovid's narrative of the story (quoted above) actually constitutes a deliberate and complex allusion to a prominent line in the Ciceronian ecphrasis (also quoted above, adrift from its context).²

The verbal resemblances are striking: *ipse locus raptus ut virginis* in *Fast.* 4. 417 almost repeats the group of words *locus ut ipse raptum illum virginis* in *Verr.* 2. 4. 107. Of course, the words, which in the earlier passage form part of a single clause, are now divided between two clauses. *ipse locus*, which in the Cicero denotes the geographical site that is Enna, in the Ovid means something very different, the occasion in the poem or calendar.

This last point is not something which tells against the allusion. Rather, the piquant effect resulting from the contrast of meaning is one which Ovid is likely to have relished. Furthermore, note that, if the Ciceronian sense of *ipse locus* is mentally substituted in the Ovidian line, *exigit ipse locus raptus ut virginis edam* is capable of giving the momentary impression that, like Cicero's sentence, it refers to the way in which the geographical site calls attention to the rape. Such a reading is very likely to make a fleeting appearance in the mind of a reader who spots the Ciceronian allusion. Of course, strictly speaking, it is logically inapposite in the Ovidian context; but note that what follows directly after the quoted couplet is a description of Sicily which soon focuses on the geographical site of Proserpina's rape, the site being introduced with the formula *locus est* (427; note also the geographical use of *locus* in 420, only three lines after the *locus* in 417). This encourages one all the more to see some play with *locus* in 417, enriching the meaning of the line and underlining the presence of the allusion.³

¹ For a full survey of the literary tradition of the myth, see N. J. Richardson, ed., *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 68–86.

² Augustan allusion to Cicero's words about Enna is also to be found at Liv. 24. 37–9, where Ciceronian associations enrich the account of Pinarius' massacre at Enna during the Second Punic War. The opening words of Livy's account, *Henna, excelso loco ac praerupto* (24. 37. 2), echo the opening of Cicero's ecphrasis, *Henna... est loco perexcelso atque edito* (*Verr.* 2. 4. 107). A little later, Pinarius' speech to his men calls to mind the section of the final address to the gods in the *Fifth Verrine* in which Cicero evokes the present passage of the *Fourth*: *vos, Ceres mater ac Proserpina, precor, ceteri superi infernique di, qui hanc urbem* [i.e. *Hennam*], *hos sacratos lacus lucosque colitis* (Liv. 24. 38. 8); *vos etiam atque etiam imploro et appello, sanctissimae deae* [picking up *Ceres et Libera* earlier], *quae illos Hennensis lacus lucosque incolitis* (Cic. *Verr.* 2. 5. 188); cf. *lacus lucique* at 2. 4. 107. Finally, the view of Pinarius' action as sacrilege (Liv. 24. 38. 8–9) must, I think (the commentators, who note the two parallels above, are silent here), owe something, if not everything, to Cicero's denunciation of Verres' crimes against the gods at Enna (*Verr.* 2. 4. 110–12). In particular, compare Livy's description of Enna as *non hominum tantum sed etiam deorum sedem* with Cicero's more elaborate conceit in the same vein beginning *etenim urbs illa non urbs videtur, sed fanum Cereris esse*. The number and nature of these similarities is such as to put paid to any doubts arising from our ignorance of what was in Livy's main source for the episode (presumably Polybius; see A. Klotz, *Livius und seine Vorgänger* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1940–1), p. 113), and to guarantee Ciceronian influence.

The writers on rhetoric furnish ample evidence of the celebrity of the *Verrines* in general and of the present passage in particular: see Sen. *Suas.* 2. 19; Quint. *Inst.* passim; on *Verr.* 2. 4. 106 f., *Inst.* 4. 2. 19, 4. 3. 13, 9. 4. 127, 11. 3. 164.

³ In connexion with this, I am tempted to suggest that *edam* at the end of the line may react with the fleetingly geographical *locus* before the caesura to produce a pun on the opening words of the Ciceronian ecphrasis (quoted in n. 2 above): the demand in *Fast.* 4. 417 would come very appropriately from a *locus perexcelsus atque editus*.

plura recognosces in the second line of the *Fasti* couplet implies that much in the ensuing narrative will be taken from previous accounts of the rape. In particular, as has often been said, a cross-reference to the other treatment of the Proserpina story by Ovid himself in *Metamorphoses* 5 is almost certainly intended. However, the words *plura recognosces* also have a complex contribution to make to the Cicero allusion. First, given their position just after the close verbal echo in 417, they are clearly meant to administer a slightly mischievous nudge to the reader, alerting him to the presence of the allusion. Second, besides being in this way a comment on it from the outside, the words actually function as a *continuation* of the allusion, constituting (with the aid of the educational nuance lent by *pauca docendus eris*) an oblique reference to Cicero's *quem iam a pueris accepimus*. On its own, a reference like this would not be felt; but, coming as it does in the wake of the close echo in the line above, it is readily discernible.

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A NOTE ON JUVENAL SAT. 7. 86¹

curritur ad vocem iucundam et carmen amicae
Thebaidos, laetam cum fecit Staius urbem
promisitque diem: tanta dulcedine captos
adficit ille animos tantaque libidine volgi
auditur. sed cum fregit subsellia versu
esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agauen.

(Juv. Sat. 7. 82–7)

The general sexual imagery of these lines has been commented on by Rigaltius in his edition (Paris, 1616) and others:² *amicae, laetam fecit, promisit diem, dulcedine captos* and *libidine* have been noted as suggesting that the *Thebaid* is envisaged as a prostitute (the imagery continues in *intactam... vendit Agauen*).

At the most obvious level the phrase *fregit subsellia* suggests either the force of the recitation itself³ or the behaviour of the audience: a good reception was marked by standing⁴ or jumping,⁵ and the breaking of the benches is an obvious satirical exaggeration of this. It seems, however, that *fregit subsellia* did not exist in Juvenal's time as a phrase used in the sense of 'to bring the house down' (Latin variants of the phrase occur later in Martianus Capella and Sidonius Apollinaris,⁶ both of whom are known to have borrowed from Juvenal). In view of the novelty of Juvenal's phrase and the sexual imagery both preceding and following line 86 (especially as lines 86 and 87 together form the climax of the passage) it is likely that Juvenal designed *fregit*

¹ Mr P. A. George and Prof. D. A. West read an earlier draft of this note, and I am indebted to their comments.

² R. Pichon, *De sermone amatorio* (Paris, 1902), p. 6; P. Ercole, *RIGI* 15 (1931), 47–50; G. Highet, *Juvenal the satirist* (Oxford, 1954), p. 271 n. 5; W. S. Anderson, *AJP* 81 (1960), 245–7, 254; V. Tandoi, *Omaggio a Eduard Fraenkel per i suoi ottant'anni* (Rome, 1968), pp. 248–70; Tandoi, *Maia* 21 (1969), 103–22; D. Wiesen, *Hermes* 101 (1973), 447–8; N. Rudd, *Lines of Enquiry* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 101–2; E. Courtney (London, 1980), nn. ad loc.

³ cf. Juv. 1. 12–13; see Quintilian 2. 12. 9 on the extravagant behaviour of some speakers; also Eunap. *Vit. Soph.* 489, ἐνθουσιῶν δὲ καὶ πηδῶν.

⁴ cf. Mart. 10. 10. 9–10; Pliny *Ep.* 6. 17. 2; Tac. *Dial.* 13. 2; Lucian *Rhet. Praec.* 22; *pr. Im.* 4.

⁵ cf. Hor. *A.P.* 429–33; Pers. 1. 82; Plut. *rect. rat. aud.* 7. 41c; Lucian *Rhet. Praec.* 21; note Epictetus' sober advice at *Ench.* 33. 11.

⁶ Mart. Cap. 5. 436; Sid. *Ep.* 5. 10. 2; 9. 14. 2.