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NOVEL AND PANTOMIME IN PLUTARCH'S 'ANTONY'

Plutarch's 'Antony' is a love story. It would be natural that in writing it Plutarch should have been influenced by other love stories and that a comparison between these and 'Antony' should reveal some degree of contact. In this note I suggest that Plutarch uses a motif in the Antony which readers would easily have recognised as coming from a particular type of love story that was prevalent in the second sophistic period, the ancient novel. I shall suggest further that in 'Antony', and also in 'Demetrius' (the paired Life), Plutarch has been influenced by the presentation of romantic stories on stage in pantomime, a type of entertainment with clear affinities to the novel.

The ancient novel is in content a fairly limited genre. Most novels are romances featuring young heroes who travel a lot, have a good many adventures, separations, and reunions. Generally the narrative is set at some indefinable point in the past. It is all pretty basic fare. That said, at least four of the fully surviving texts are well written by authors from the educated élite and are very probably aimed at a similar readership. These are Chariton's 'Chaereas and Callirhoe', Achilles Tatius' 'Leucippe and Clitophon', Longus' 'Daphnis and Chloe', and Heliodorus' 'Ethiopica'. Modern attitudes to the novel are changing fast. It used to be held that no »pepaideumenos« could have read romances. They were suitable only for women or adolescents. That view is now being overturned. To speak of »the novel« is of course to speak of a varied body of writing. Nevertheless, the belief is being established that certain, if not most, of the novels were meant to be read by an élite audience. The change in attitudes rests in part on awareness of the explicit evidence of ancient authors who talk of the novel as being read by their peers, partly on basics such as the very limited extent of literacy in the ancient world[1]. Further, it is arguable that the novel, which appears almost exclusively within the first three centuries, is a very important expression of the logocentric values of second sophistic society, of its need to examine its own boundaries and determinants and of its desire to naturalise the world according to its own first principles. What is important to realise is that the novel is not some outrageous eccentricity; it must be seen an integral part of the literature of the time.

Plutarch favoured »inoffensive fiction« (διηγήσεις ἄλυποι καὶ μυθολογίαι) as a proper means of relaxation open to his philologoi friends (de tuenda sanit. prace.

[1] See B. Wesseling, in: Groningen Colloquia on the Novel vol. i (Groningen 1988), 67–79; E. L. Bowie, to appear in papers selected from ICAN II; cf. J. Tatum and G. M. Vernazza, The Ancient Novel. Classical Paradigms and Modern Perspectives [Hanover, N. H. 1990], 150 f.).

133e). He was also interested in love stories. Xenophon's Pantheia from the 'Cyropaedia' appealed to him more than »going to bed with the most beautiful of women« (non posse vivi sec. Epic. 1093c)[2]. His 'mulierium virtutes' focusses on a number of examples where female bravery has been inspired by love. His much praised essay, the amatorius, is a discourse largely concerned with heterosexual vs. homosexual love, a theme explored in Achilles Tatius' romance. Plutarch was also credited in antiquity with five short erotic tales, the amatoriae narrationes, which have similarities with those in the mulierium virtutes. We have a very good example of a short erotic novella in the 'Life of Demetrius'. At 38.2–12 Plutarch narrates the story of Demetrius' daughter, Stratonice, and the love for her of Antigonus, to whose father Seleucus she was married. This story is known from several ancient authors of this period (Appian, Lucian, Galen). It was also a pantomime favourite. In the second sophistic pantomime was a widespread form of entertainment. For its repertoire it took themes from history and mythology. Undoubtedly pantomime was a 'popular' medium. Yet it was also, like the novel, appreciated by the élite. Emperors, senators, and knights attended the shows[3]. If it was denounced by the valetudinary sophist, Aristides, in a work now lost, it was applauded and examined by many others. Lucian wrote the classic essay on the subject, the de saltatione, which he put together for his patron, the emperor L. Verus. This work is not so much a defence as a celebration of the pantomime. Lucian notes that some people went as far as to say that the silence of the pantomimist was symbolic of Pythagoreanism (70; cf. 59), and in fact one of the most famous dancers of all, Apolaustos Memphios, was known as the φιλόσοφος ὀρχηστής (Athenaeus deipn. 20c–d). It is also worth noting that Libanius, a »pepaideumenos« through and through, composed a speech supporting pantomime, the pro saltatoribus (or. 64), which he aimed against the long dead Aristides.

Plutarch had seen pantomime. He complains of its »kakomousia« (see quaest. con. 748c–d; »theatres« makes the reference unmistakable). That does not exclude the possibility that he was influenced by it. The Hellenistic kings with their ready-made tales of trumpery and passion were ideal material for the pantomimists, and it is Lucian who records among others the theme of »the daring of Antiochus and of his father Seleucus over the love affair of Stratonice« (de salt. 58)[4]. We do not know how the theme was presented on the boards; but Plutarch's version of the

[2] Philostratus attributes a prose work called 'Araspas the Lover of Panthcia' to Antoninus Pius' secretary, Celer (VS 524); this may well be a novel, though declamation or epistolography cannot be ruled out.

[3] Suetonius divi Aug. 43.1, 45.3, 74; Macrobius sat. 2.7.12–19; Philostratus VS 589; Lucian de salt. 83.

[4] Macleod's sure emendation for »the daring of Antipater and of Seleucus, etc.« (O.C.T. vol. iii [1980], 44); no Antipater fits events which happened, says Lucian, in Phoenicia. Stratonice is a great favourite of Lucian: see E. Rohde, Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer[3] (Leipzig 1914), 56 n. 2.

story (Demetr. 38) is easily stageable. We have the sick lover, Antiochus, riddled by guilt, determined to end his life through starvation. We have the wise doctor, Erasistratus, diagnosing the son's malady: »he spent day after day in the bed chamber, and when a particularly good-looking girl or youth entered, he would study his patient's face minutely and watch those parts and movements of the body which nature has formed so as to reflect and share the emotions of the soul« (38.3). When Stratonice visited the boy, »his voice faltered, his face began to flush, his vision went blurred, a sudden sweat broke out on his skin, his heart began to beat violently and irregularly, and finally as if his soul were overpowered by his passions, he would sink into a state of helplessness, prostration, and pallor« (38.4). Erasistratus patiently leads the father to discover the truth; luckily Seleucus is sympathetic and gives his wife away to his son; and they all live happily ever after. (Stratonice's opinion is not recorded.)

If one had gone to see Stratonice done on stage, it would not have been too different from this. The movements and emotional displays are similar to those reported by Lucian on pantomime. The swooning lover, the concerned father, the family doctor, would have been done in turns by the virtuoso pantomimist with lightening changes of costume to the accompaniment of his singing and dancing troupe. The music is all we lack in Plutarch's version, which has no function in 'Demetrius' other than as entertainment. Plutarch's Stratonice is not an original creation, to be sure. Stratonice in Appian, Syr. 59–61, and Lucian, de dea Syria 17–18, is similarly presented. Hence ROHDE detected the influence of Hellenistic poetry[5]. But, since we can be fairly sure that Lucian's own version was influenced by stage productions, we can probably say, given the enormous popularity of pantomime in this period, that it is no coincidence that the story of Stratonice should be told only now. Plutarch's version is part of the trend[6].

Like all Plutarch's 'Parallel Lives' the 'Demetrius-Antony' has shared themes and motifs between the Greek and Roman halves[7]. But 'Demetrius' does not prepare us for the overriding love interest of the 'Antony'. Nothing is made of any possible rivalry between Demetrius' wife, Phila, and his lover, Lamia. The story of Stratonice, though, is at least some indication of what is to come, not only in the sense that it is a love story, but also in terms of its connexion with popular and ready-made methods of presenting such a story. In 'Antony' we find clear traces both of pantomime and of the novel. These two types of entertainment had much in common[8]. Both drew on a common pool of love and adventure. Indeed, we

[5] ROHDE (n. 4), 59.

[6] Cf. also Valerius Maximus 5.7 ext. 1; Valerius too was writing after pantomime became a widely established form of entertainment (cf. n. 3).

[7] See C. B. R. PELLING, Plutarch: Life of Antony (Cambridge 1988), 18–26.

[8] Cf. for example H. WIEMKEN, Der griechische Mimus (Bremen 1972), 139–46, on Apuleius Met. 10.2–12.

know of at least two fragmentary novels, the 'Ninus' romance and the 'Metiochus and Parthenope', that also appeared in pantomime form. Nor should we forget mime in this context, which was similar but less lavish than pantomime, and concentrated on domestic drama, love, divorce, etc. The novel departs from the immediacy of mime and pantomime in the portrayal of a romance which is threatened, developed, and completed over a long period of time. This is what we have in the 'Antony'.

I am not of course suggesting that 'Antony' is a novel. It lacks many of the basic ingredients, particularly the teenage heroes. It is also based on detailed historical events. That said, it may be noted that some of the novels were tied to particular historical or semi-historical situations; this sort of »half-history« is much in vogue in the second sophistic, and some of Plutarch's imaginative reconstructions in the 'Parallels' (and the 'Moralia') are not far off it. But the real point is that in writing a love story Plutarch might well have looked at how others did it. Fortunately we can detect a concrete example of novelistic technique in 'Antony'. This concerns the theme of education. At the time of the second sophistic the word »paideia« carries with it a great array of ideological baggage. It is a summation of the educational, cultural, and linguistic systems. It is synonomous with that it was to be Greek. In the shape of the rhetorical handbook, which blossoms from Plutarch's age, it offers a handy codification of the aims and values of the élite. »Paideia« is very important in the novel. An extreme example of this is provided by Longus' superficially innocent pastoral romance, 'Daphnis and Chloe'. Daphnis and Chloe are foundlings and are brought up by slave farmers. Yet their surrogate parents can read and write and determine to pass this on fully to their wards. In an era when most people could not read and write even their own names, 'Daphnis and Chloe' and other novels give a comfortingly rosy picture of literacy, which is quite understandable given the audience at which they were aimed.

In the novel the »paideia« theme is often given the particular twist of education in love, a sort of »institutio amoris« or »erotodidaxis«[9]. The best teacher of all is Palaestra in the anonymus 'Lucius or Ass'. Palaestra is significantly named – »wrestling school« – and the raunchy sex scene between her and the hero Lucius (6–12) sees her instructing him in various wrestling holds and positions. The idea of »teaching«, »instruction«, etc., in love occurs in the other novelists, but its use is tame after 'Lucius or Ass' and it tends to be instruction from man to woman[10]. In

[9] This seems not to related to the Latin idea of »ars amatoria« seen especially in Tibullus 1.4 and of course in Ovid (cf. A. S. HOLLIS, Ovid. Ars Amatoria I [Oxford 1977], xviii); see A. L. WHEELER, Cl. Phil. 5 (1910), 28–40, 440–50, Cl. Phil. 6 (1911), 56–77.

[10] Xenophon 3.2 (Aristomachus seduces Hippothous' lover, Hyperanthes, under pretence of being a teacher of rhetoric; cf. 'Apollonius' 18ff.); Achilles Tatius 1.10.1 (αὐτοδίδακτος γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς [sc. Eros] σοφιστής); 1.19.1, 3; 2.4.4; 5.27.1 (ταῦτα φιλοσοφήσασα [sc. Melite] διδάσκει γὰρ ὁ Ἔρως καὶ λόγους, ἢ (αὐτουργὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἔρως καὶ αὐτοσχέδιος σοφιστής);

the 'Ass' it is Palaestra who assumes the rôle of διδάσκαλος and ἐπιστάτης (8). We find an analogous situation in the 'Antony'. Consider first 9.7, where Antony's mistress Cytheris is described as coming from the same »palaestra« as his favourite pantomimist, Sergius. This could just mean that Cytheris comes from the same school of instruction (as it were); but we should also bear it in mind that Palaestra is a typical prostitute's name[11], and so Plutarch's phrase is a neat conflation of the educational and the illicit. Take next ch. 10. Here we meet Antony's second wife, Fulvia. She was »a woman who took no interest in spinning or managing a house, but desired to rule a ruler and to command a commander. The result was that Cleopatra owed Fulvia fees [»didaskalia«] for teaching Antony the power of women, for by the time she met him he was quite broken in and schooled [»pepaidagôgêmenon«] from the outset to obey them« [10.5–6). This is striking language. Fulvia owes something to the »domina« of Latin elegy[12]. But her handling of Antony is Hellenised by the employment of language familiar from the novelists' idea of »institutio amoris«. The second main example of the »paideia« motif is at 29.1. Cleopatra »kept Antony under constant instruction [»diepaidagôgei«] and released him neither night nor day.« The association of pedagogy and pleasure occurs elsewhere in Plutarch. At 'Pericles' 11.4 Pericles is spoken of as διαπαιδαγωγῶν οὐκ ἀμούσους ἡδοναῖς τὴν πόλιν. But only in the 'Antony' is the link made between education and sex[13].

»Institutio amoris« suits Plutarch on three counts. First, the idea was already developed for a love story. It was part of the thematic equipment of this type of narrative. Second, the teacher-pupil image is well adapted to Antony's characterisation as a man who is easily led and influenced by others. Third, there is Plutarch's own interest in »paideia«. This is the crucial possession for him and much of his writing is given up to studying its affect. He is of course especially interested in how it is absorbed by his Roman subjects[14].

As one might expect the ancient novel is good at visualising emotional scenes of separation and reunion, of love and hate. Theatrical imagery is especially strong in Heliodorus[15]. Chariton even claims to have outdone the dramatists in his own confection[16]. Herein lies another example of the novel's closeness to the (pan-

Longus Preface 3 (τὸν οὐκ ἐρασθέντα προπαιδεύσει); 3.18.3 (ἤρχετο παιδεύειν); Heliodorus 3.17. Exceptions to the male-as-teacher rule are Achilles Tatius 5.27 and Longus 3.18.

[11] H. LICHT, Sexual Life in Ancient Greece (London 1932), 410; cf. Alcaeus (com. vet.) 'Palaestra', *Palaestra* in Plautus 'Rudens'.

[12] PELLING (n. 7 above), 141.

[13] Cf. P. A. STADTER, A Commentary on Plutarch's Pericles (Chapel Hill 1989), 137.

[14] C. B. R. PELLING, in M. GRIFFIN and J. BARNES (edd.), Philosophia Togata (Oxford 1989), 198–232; S. C. R. SWAIN, J.H.St. 110 (1990), 126–45.

[15] J. W. H. WALDEN, Harv. Stud. 5 (1894), 1–43.

[16] 5.8: »What dramatist ever staged such an astonishing story? It was like being at a play packed with passionate scenes, etc.«

to)mime. In the 'Antony', where theatrical imagery is also strong[17], love and theatre combine in the final death scenes of Antony and Cleopatra. Take first Antony. There is the crushing blow of the false report that Cleopatra is dead (76.4)[18]; then we see Antony running himself through, but still surviving (76.5–10); next the news that Cleopatra is alive (76.11); then a scene change to Antony being hoisted up into Cleopatra's broch. Plutarch pictures it all for us: »those who were present say there was never a more pitiable scene [θέαμα]. Antony was pulled up covered in blood and struggling to die, holding out his hands to her as he swung in the air[19]. For the work was not easy for a woman; and it was only with great difficulty that Cleopatra, clinging with both hands to the rope and with the muscles of her face distorted by the strain, was able to haul him up, while those on the ground encouraged her with their cries and shared her pain« (77.4)[20]. Consider now Cleopatra's death scene in ch. 85. The elaborate preparation of queenly apparel and costly fare; the cozening of the guards by the smiling man carrying the basket with the asp; Cleopatra lying dead on a couch of gold; finally the death throes of her maid, Charmion, and Charmion's defiant valediction, »It is well done and fitting for a descendant of so many royals.« An audience in the theatre might have agreed.

Plutarch was quite capable of emotional and visual writing. Nevertheless, the pictorial imagination of these scenes is surpassing and the possibility of influence from the popular theatre should not be dismissed. According to Lucian the pantomimist was expected to know »everything beginning with Chaos itself and the original birth of the world right down to the story of Cleopatra the Egyptian« (de salt. 37). What did »the story of Cleopatra the Egyptian« contain, if not scenes from Cleopatra's affair with Antony? »Before all else the pantomimist will know the stories of his characters' loves« (de salt. 59). Plutarch, as has been said, would have seen pantomime productions, perhaps (why not?) in the little theatre cut into the rock above Chaeroneia. It is certainly possible that he got some idea of how to present the tragic but colourful end of Antony and Cleopatra from this type of entertainment.

Plutarch's 'Antony' is different from his other 'Lives'. Along with 'Demetrius' it was intended as a warning of how not to behave. But Plutarch realised that his material was unruly. He suspected that it would appeal for reasons other than ethical melioration. He is quick to deny that this »variation in my writings is designed ἐφ' ἡδονῇ ... καὶ διαγωγῇ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ('Demetrius' 1.5). In 'Antony' this denial will not stand up. 'Antony' is monitory; it is also great enter-

[17] PELLING (n. 7 above) 211 f.

[18] One is reminded distantly of novelistic »Scheintod«.

[19] Movement of the hands/arms was especially important in the pantomime (Lucian de salt. 63, 69 »cheirosophoi«).

[20] Cf. Ant. 93 (6).4 on Antony's death: »he took himself off stage« (ἑαυτὸν ἐξήγαγεν).

tainment. The nine chapters focussing on Cleopatra after Antony's death (78–86) constitute a good reason for speaking not of the 'Antony' but of the 'Life of Antony and Cleopatra'. Plutarch could not stop with Antony, for he had created another character he had to follow through to her end. In its vitality and its romance this double 'Life' may well owe something to the pantomime and to the novel. In fact we might wish that the Greek novel had left us a creation as psychologically satisfying.

Oxford SIMON SWAIN

APULEIUS EROTICUS: ANTH. LAT. 712 RIESE*

One of the pieces in the 'Anthologia Latina' derived from the now lost codex Bellovacensis[1] is a passage of twenty-four iambic senarii, entitled 'ANEXOMENOΣ ex Menandro' and ascribed to Apuleius. Both the assertion that this is a translation from Menander and the ascription to Apuleius have been doubted, the former more widely than the latter, and neither with much argument[2]. My purpose here is to examine these lines with a view to confirming Apuleian authorship on internal grounds, and to consider in what way they can relate to any play of Menander.

First, the text, quoted in the most recent edition, BEAUJEU's Budé text of Apuleius' fragments[3]. Corrections of early editors necessary for metre or grammar are inserted without notice, while less certain conjectures are listed in an apparatus criticus, in which S stands for the lost manuscript as transcribed by BINETUS in the sixteenth century.

amare liceat, si potiri non licet.
fruantur alii: non moror, non sum invidus.
nam sese excruciat, qui beatis invidet.
quos Venus amavit, facit amoris compotes:
nobis Cupido velle dat, posse abnegat.
olli purpurea delibantes oscula
clemente morsu rosea labia vellicent,
candentes dentes effigient suavio,
malas adorent ore et ingenuas genas
et pupularum nitidas geminas geminulas.
quin et cum tenera membra molli lectulo

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[1] On this MS. and BINETUS' use of it cf. A. RIESE, Anthologia Latina **1**, 2nd. ed., Leipzig 1894, pp. xxxiii–iv.

[2] Most notably, the lines do not appear in the poetry ascribed to Apuleius in the two Teubner editions of 'Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum' by W. MOREL, Leipzig 1927 and K. BÜCHNER, Leipzig 1982.

[3] J. BEAUJEU, Apulée: Opuscules Philosophiques et Fragments, Paris 1973, pp. 169–70.