

Iambe/Iambos and the Rape of a Genre: A Horatian Sidelight¹

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Do nomen quodlibet illi.

Horace, *Sat.* 1. 2. 126

Quis devium scortum eliciet . . . ?

Odes 2. 11. 21

Not the least task for the recent bimillennial commemorations of Horace's death was to clarify his relations with half the human race.² Are they typified by a certain crudity in understanding the iambic genre?

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo (Horace, *A.P.* 79). The student of the *iambos* is confronted with a paradox. On the one side, the exponent of the iambic style par excellence for Greeks and Romans alike is certainly Archilochus, notorious for his aggressive ("rabid") attacks on the daughters of Lycambes, which ultimately, as was said, drove them and their father to suicide. On the other, the misty origins of the pre-literary iamb are linked with Eleusis and the successful effort by Iambe to reconcile Demeter to the loss of her daughter, Persephone. It seems unlikely that Iambe can have prevailed on the grieving goddess by abusing in any Archilochian sense the ways of women—or of anyone else, since that would have served only to intensify an anger already intense enough. Yet the commentators knew it was from her name that the *iambos* took its origin.³ In its

¹ Δις ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίης ῥόον. This article is an attempt to refine certain ideas already presented in my *Roman Catullus* (Hildesheim 1990) in the light of my *Augustan Propertius*, *Spudasmata* 63 (Hildesheim 1997). In acknowledging how much I have learned in the meantime from the work of Anastasia Summers (*Philodemus' Περὶ Ποιημάτων and Horace's Ars Poetica: Adapting Alexandrian Aesthetics to Epicurean and Roman Traditions* [diss. University of Illinois 1995]), as earlier from that of Olga Arans (*Iambe and Baubo: A Study in Ritual Laughter* [diss. University of Illinois 1988]), I apologize for the inevitable need to summarize certain previous arguments here as a preliminary to their modification.

² An intelligent (as always) modern scrutiny in R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Horace: Behind the Public Poetry* (New Haven 1995).

³ E.g. schol. B ad Hephaestionis *Enchiridion*, ed. M. Consbruch (Leipzig 1906) 299; N. J. Richardson (ed.), *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) 213. Obviously in fact it is a back-formation from a (non-Indo-European?) root found also in διθύραμβος and θρίαμβος.

beginnings, therefore, the iambic was derived from the ritual, threshold provocation of laughter in the face of mourning and death, intended in its turn to precede resurrection from the lower world,⁴ and whether this is historically true or not, what matters is that this was how the genre was perceived. What happened then to the iamb as it passed from Attica to Paros, from ritual to literature? What turned dialogue between women into matter for male party pieces⁵ threatening women's social acceptance and therefore their very lives?

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Paros, Archilochus' island home, is already mentioned as a shrine of Demeter in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (491; cf. Pausanias 10. 28. 3). The *Hymn* (96 ff.) describes her anguished wanderings in search of her daughter. Eventually, she came to Eleusis, where Celeus' wife Metaneira bade her welcome as she approached the threshold of the palace, and asked her to be seated on her own couch. But Demeter would not accept, until Iambe finally set a "jointed" chair⁶ for her, covered by a silvery fleece. The goddess was then willing to sit, but remained veiled, silent and motionless, unsmiling and fasting from food and drink, "wasting away with longing for her deep-girdled daughter." At last, wise Iambe with "glees" and jokes made her smile and laugh and filled her heart with graciousness (202–05):⁷

πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ χλεύης⁸ μιν Ἰάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα
πολλὰ παρὰ σκόπτους ἔτρέψατο πότνιαν ἀγνήν
μειδῆσαι γέλασαι τε καὶ ἴλαον σχεῖν θυμόν·

⁴ Cf. the ritual μέγαρα (μεγαρα, *me'ara*, "[burial] cave") from which the buried offerings were resurrected on the third day (Kalligeneia) of the Thesmophoria.

⁵ "In der Poesie und in der Geselligkeit des Symposions," J. Burckhardt on Archilochus, *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin–Stuttgart 1898–1902) IV 159.

⁶ A version of the seat of authority known to the Romans as the *sella curulis*? On this in general, O. Wanscher, *Sella Curulis: The Folding Stool, An Ancient Symbol of Dignity* (Copenhagen 1980); T. Schäfer, *Imperii insignia: sella curulis und fasces*, *Römische Mitteilungen Suppl.* 29 (Mainz 1989).

⁷ H. Usener notes this passage in his *Kleine Schriften* IV (Leipzig–Berlin 1913) 469–70, "Klagen und Lachen." See the comments in Richardson (above, note 3) 213–17. The edition by H. P. Foley, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter: Translation, Commentary and Interpretive Essays* (Princeton 1994), is important for its feminist perspective.

⁸ Apparently the word is connected with the same root as the English "glee." The phrase "unholy glee" attests its ambivalence. For its survival in the mysteries, cf. κάπισκόπτων καὶ παίζων καὶ χλευάζων, Aristophanes, *Frogs* 375–76, a play also concerned with a resurrection (and with the *spoudogeloion*, lines 391–92). It recurs in Apollonius' χλεύη γηθόσσυνοι, *Arg.* 4. 1726 (below, 115–16). In NT Acts 17. 32 we read: ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐχλευάζον κτλ. If there was miming at Eleusis, Philo connects χλεύη with the mime: χλευαζόμενοι . . . ὡς ἐν θεατρικοῖς μίμοις (*Leg. ad Caium* 359). The mime actress Theodora used to "mock" (ἐχλευάζεν) her lovers, according to Procopius (*Anecd.* 9. 13 ff.). The χλευ- root might well merit a separate monograph, but meanwhile it may be seen that there is a certain persistence of vocabulary and ideas over the centuries.

ἢ δὴ οἱ καὶ ἔπειτα μεθύστερον εὐαδεν ὀργαίς.⁹ 205

Then she accepted a cup of mingled barley and water from Queen Metaneira, and undertook to nurse the baby prince Demophon. That was the beginning (although at first thwarted) of her recovery from Hades of the lost Persephone, later remembered (mimetically?) in her rites.

The action takes place on the threshold (οὐδόν, 188). The passage is thought to describe an action of the Eleusinian mysteries, and to presuppose more than it says. In particular, it offers no information about Iambe who, κέδν' εἰδυῖα,¹⁰ evidently is meant to remind the goddess (who has not been called κεδνή since her terrified daughter cried out to her at line 35) of her own better wisdom. Later authors knew that Iambe was the serving maid of King Celeus, even that she was an old woman.¹¹ Euripides, as we shall see, substitutes for her Aphrodite. The primitive connection of thought is, when forced into our clumsy, serial logic, that of "before" and "after." Before grief is dispelled, her would-be comforter, like the goddess herself, is necessarily apprehended as an old woman. Afterwards, and even by means of *eros*, new life is restored to the one and the other. But these concepts are not successive or mutually exclusive within an eternally occurring and self-duplicating cycle.¹²

This account of its origins links the *iambos* then with Iambe, the mysterious figure who "afterwards pleased the goddess ὀργαίς" ("in her temper," "in her rites"?). Can she have pleased by "ravidly" attacking either the goddess herself, or her daughter, or any woman? This seems even less likely given that Euripides replaces Iambe by Aphrodite. The meters of this passage are mainly iambic/choriambic (*Helen* 1338–52):

ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπαυσ' εἰλαπίνας
θεοῖς βροτείῳ τε γένει,
Ζεὺς μελίσσων στυγίους
Ματρὸς ὀργαίς ἐνέπει· 1340
Βᾶτε, σεμναὶ Χάριτες,
ἴτε, τᾶ περι παρθένῳ
Δηοῖ θυμωσαμένῃ
λύπαν ἐξαλλάξατ' ἀλαλᾶ.

⁹ Richardson tentatively suggests "was . . . pleasing to her spirit," but can ὀργαί only mean that in this context? Cf. ὀργάς below at Eur. *Hel.* 1340. And can we dissociate the term from ὀργάω, "swell with new life," Ὀργάς (the rich land sacred to the goddesses of Eleusis; Call. fr. 495 Pf.), "orgasm"? The translation must accommodate Baubo's displays.

¹⁰ Hardly "knowing her duty" (P. Bing). The verb here describes a moral attitude, as in ἦπια εἰδώς and other similar Homeric idioms. The semantic range of πρῆ may be compared; see the article by J. Bergman and G. J. Botterweck in G. J. Botterweck (ed.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* III (Stuttgart 1982) 479 ff.

¹¹ Philicus, fr. 680. 54 (H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* [Berlin–New York 1983] 323).

¹² This illustrates the concept of "vertical" rather than horizontal time: *Roman Catullus* (above, note 1) 465; *Augustan Propertius* (above, note 1) 184–85.

Μούσαι θ' ὕμνοισι χορῶν. 1345
 χαλκοῦ τ' αὐδάν χθονίαν
 τύπανά τ' ἔλαβε βυρσοτενῆ
 καλλίστα τότε πρῶτα μακά-
 ρων Κύπρις· γέλασέν τε θεὰ
 δέξατό τ' ἐς χέρας 1350
 βαρύβρομον αὐλὸν
 τερφθεῖσ' ἀλαλαγμῶ.

But, since she had brought to an end the festivities of gods and mortals alike, Zeus, in his effort to soothe the hellish anger of the Mother, said, "Go, holy Graces, go drive out the pain of Demeter's resentment over her Maiden daughter with the shrill cry; and you, Muses, with song and dance." Then the earth-sprung noise of the bronze and the skin-stretched drums were taken up for the first time by her who is fairest of the Blessed—Cyprian Aphrodite. And the goddess Demeter burst into laughter and took into her hand the deep-echoing flute, delighting in its keening.

No student of Mikhail Bakhtin¹³ will wish to ignore the importance here of the resurrecting γέλασεν (1349). Can we imagine that Aphrodite's no doubt lascivious cavorting to the accompaniment of pipe and drum actually mocked Demeter in any hurtful way? Did it not celebrate and advertise sexuality? That is the kind of mockery surviving in the mysteries. Not only is the Eleusinian γεφυρισμός well known,¹⁴ but the scholia to Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans* preserve an account of the Eleusinian Haloa, also sacred to Demeter, which perhaps gives a much better idea of the repartee characteristic of these festivals. There, the women claimed a liberty to utter "obscene and irreverent things":¹⁵

ἐν ταύτῃ (sc. τῇ ἑορτῇ) καὶ τελετῇ τις εἰσάγεται γυναικῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι καὶ παιδιαὶ λέγονται πολλαὶ καὶ σκώματα. μόναι δὲ γυναῖκες εἰσπορευόμεναι ἐπ' ἀδείας ἔχουσιν ἃ βούλονται λέγειν· καὶ δὴ τὰ αἰσχίστα ἀλλήλαις λέγουσι τότε, αἱ δὲ ἱέρειαι λάθρα προσιοῦσαι ταῖς γυναιξὶ κλεψιαγμίας πρὸς τὸ οὖς ὡς ἀπόρητόν τι συμβουλευούσιν. ἀναφώνουσι δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλας πᾶσαι αἱ γυναῖκες αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἄσεμνα βασιτάζουσαι εἶθη σωμάτων ἀπρεπῆ ἀνδρεῖά τε καὶ γυναικεῖα.

At this festival a rite is also introduced among the women at Eleusis, accompanied by many jokes and jests. Only women are admitted, and with no fear of retribution they may say whatever they wish, and indeed

¹³ Nor indeed of Genesis: ρηγν, 17. 17.

¹⁴ E. de Martino, "I Gephyrismi," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 10 (1934) 64–79; K. Kerényi, "Parva Realia: Γεφυρισμοί—zu Aristoph. *Plut.* 1013–16," *SO* 36 (1960) 11–16; Richardson (above, note 3) 214; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, Eng. tr. (Berkeley 1983) 278.

¹⁵ Schol. Lucian *Dial. Meretr.* 2. 1, p. 280 Rabe (Leipzig 1906); M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 3rd ed. (Munich 1967) I 466–67; E. Fantham, *Women in the Classical World* (Oxford 1994) 92–93. Σκώματα (σκώπω) is noted again in the later discussion, since the verb is applied by Demetrius to Sappho.

they do say then the most shameful things to one another. The priestesses approach the women stealthily and, as some mysterious secret, whisper in their ears advice about marriage cheating. And all the women proclaim to one another obscene and irreverent things. They also carry indecent models of both men's and women's bodies.

Κλεψιγαμία in some sense ("bride-stealing"?) is presumably what Hades inflicted on Persephone.

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But, at some stage, in a second "rape of Proserpina," as the private social life of the Greeks came to be more and more embodied in the symposium, dominated by men, the *iambos* was elevated to the status of literature, and in the process changed from being a women's laughing celebration of sexuality; and this is the rape of which my title speaks. Already for his ideal bee-woman, iambic Semonides rejects the "themes of Aphrodite" which archaizing Euripides still saw, in his account of its origins, as essential (7. 90–91 West):

οὐδ' ἐν γυναιξίν ἤδεται καθήμενη,
ὅκου λέγουσιν ἀφροδισίους λόγους.

She takes no pleasure in sitting among the women, where all they talk about is sex.

The fact that "bees" were Demeter's priestesses can only add to the injustice.

This usurpation persisted. From Archilochus of Paros the *iambos* descended to Hipponax of Ephesus, who is often quite misunderstood as a simple beggar (δὸς χλαῖναν Ἰππώνακτι). In fact, he is a literary *poseur* whose type recurs in the Byzantine Theodoros Prodromos.¹⁶ Characteristically for what had become the iambic tradition, he exploits sex—as predators perceive it. A large fragment recovered on papyrus exhibits an eroticism that anticipates Petronius. We read (fr. 84 West) ἐκδύντες, ἐδάκνομεν, γυμνούς, ἐγὼ δ' ἐβίνευν, and some ambiguous nautical imagery.¹⁷ If he looks forward to the Romans here, in an attack on "Sannus" (fr. 118 West) he uses the kind of epodic meter familiar from his predecessor Archilochus.

¹⁶ There seems no good reason therefore to distinguish a Theodoros Ptochoprodromos from Theodoros Prodromos, as already K. Krumbacher had recognised: *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed. (Munich 1897) 749; cf. A. Kazhdan in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* III (1991) 1756.

¹⁷ See W. de Sousa Medeiros, *Hipponactea* (Coimbra 1969) 46–48.

Hipponax is wrongly viewed however as a Greek Villon.¹⁸ His native city was famous for its devotion to Artemis, no doubt a variant of the Great Goddess worshipped throughout Asia Minor. Tadeusz Sinko has urged that his verses were guided by artistic (generic) requirements more than by the demands of reportage. The poet's begging songs are to be associated with old popular festivals and processions like that of the *eiresione*, the *chelidonisma*, *koronisma* and so on, accompanied as they were by ribaldry and insults. Certainly, Hipponax shows himself acquainted with the Thargelia, with their ceremony of the *φαρμακός*.¹⁹ Always ready to dress inherited elements of every type, whether vocabulary, beliefs, idioms or superstitions, in literary guise, the poet did not allow this ritual fund of jest and amusement to escape his notice.

Hermann Fränkel also doubts the "plebeian" character of Hipponax: "His poems constituted, as far as may be seen, an impudent and grotesque entertainment literature."²⁰ In modern terms, it seems, Hipponax was a "carnival" poet. The conclusion is relevant to certain aspects of Catullus.

The relation of such a genre to what went on in historical times at Eleusis is not easily traced. Did the Eleusinian ceremony itself once involve the sacrifice of a virgin, as Burkert has argued?²¹ We find something of this (*le sacre du printemps*) at the start of Propertius 4. 8, often dismissed as local color. Had that victim at one time been ritually cursed,²² and is some fossilized relic of this the origin of iambic hostility to women (Propertius 3. 24 and 25)²³? But, in that case, the ritual adumbrated in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* would already evince the profoundly civilizing mentality of the Greeks—and is it not this which should attract attention rather than the *sceleris vestigia*? It would be Archilochus, with his vicious attacks precisely on unmarried maidens, preliminary to their expulsion from the community, and therefore in that sense sacrifice (glossed as "suicide"), who

¹⁸ E. Degani, *Studi su Ipponatte* (Bari 1984) 150–51, offers a stimulating reassessment, including a report of Sinko's views.

¹⁹ Nilsson (above, note 15) 107. Cf. the characteristic meters, including the hendecasyllable, of Bacchylides 18, written perhaps for the Thargelia (so Jebb).

²⁰ H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*, 3rd ed. (Munich 1969) 245–49 (here, p. 249).

²¹ Burkert (above, note 14) 268. He seems to identify the ceremony in Aristophanes, *Clouds* 254 ff. as a parody of an originally human sacrifice at Eleusis, even though the poet, in introducing this motif, alludes to the quite unrelated myth of Athamas (257). These are murky waters, and with Burkert we must guard against dredging up from them one aspect, that of sacrifice, as if it were necessarily weightier than and isolated from all others. Do not death and laughter guarantee resurrection and, for the primitive mentality, is not this link the whole point? So at least J. G. Frazer and others would argue. *Si le grain ne meurt . . .*

²² Cf. Callimachus, *Aet.* IV, fr. 90, with Pfeiffer's notes on p. 97 of his edition. Servius (on *Aen.* 3. 57) cites a fragment of Petronius describing a (Gaulish?) rite at Massilia in which a human scapegoat was dressed in sacred garments and led around the city to the accompaniment of curses before being driven off: Nilsson (above, note 15) 108.

²³ The meter is elegiac, but iambic Archilochus had written elegiacs, and Lucilius is called *iambicus* by Apuleius even when hexameters are in question (*Apol.* 10). The spirit matters more than the letter.

would be the more primitive, and perhaps in this respect closer to Hipponax than has appeared. Possibly with the rites of Demeter had crossed other archaic rituals much harsher to women.

Archaizing Euripides, who should be viewed as himself in many important senses an "iambic" poet,²⁴ inevitably therefore also recovered, though without necessarily approving, the anti-feminism which had come to typify the literary genre. His chorus of women in the *Medea* laments (421–30) that it has no power to answer a long tradition of such poetic assaults. His efforts and explorations were perhaps sometimes ambiguous or misunderstood, and it is at another festival of Demeter (on the Μέση, or day of fasting and mourning preceding the resurrection), that Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazuae propose to punish their slanderer.

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This was Attic humor. In Alexandria, another attempt was made to recover a different version of the iambic. In the first place, this meant to defang it. Theocritus, for example, normally regarded (on the basis of *Idyll* 7. 45–48) as a follower of Callimachus, unexpectedly praises Archilochus without mentioning his venom.²⁵ Callimachus himself perhaps thought that Archilochus' fierce reputation was beyond rescue (*Grapheion*, fr. 380 Pf.):

εἶλκυσε δὲ δριμύν τε χόλον κυνὸς ὀξύ τε κέντρον
σφηκός, ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἰὸν²⁶ ἔχει στόματος.

He bared the sharp anger of the dog and the piercing sting of the wasp, and poured from his lips the poison of both.

Elsewhere, he alludes to μεθυπλήγος φροίμιον Ἀρχιλόχου (fr. 544 Pf.). His quarrel was apparently well known. Antipater of Thessalonica, active under Augustus, can still declare (*AP* 11. 20):

Φεύγεθ' ὅσοι λόκκας ἢ λοφνίδας ἢ καμασηνας
ἄδετε, ποιητῶν φύλον ἀκανθολόγων,
οἳ τ' ἐπέων κόσμον λελυγισμένον ἀσκήσαντες,
κρήνης ἐξ ἱερῆς πίνετε λιτὸν ὕδωρ.
σήμερον Ἀρχιλόχοιο καὶ ἄρσενος ἡμαρ Ὀμήρου
σπένδομεν· ὁ κρητῆρ οὐ δέχεθ' ὕδροπότας.

²⁴ In view of the descent of tragedy from the dithyramb alleged by Aristotle (*Poetics* 1449a11; cf. Archilochus, fr. 120 West).

²⁵ *Epigr.* 21 Gow. Cf. *Epigr.* 19, in which Hipponax is made to explain that the virtuous have nothing to fear from him. Pindar's criticism of Archilochus (*P.* 2. 54–56) had perhaps challenged a re-evaluation. What Apollonius of Rhodes had to say in his *Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου* (Athen. 10. 451d) we would dearly like to know, but evidently the question of the poet's place in literature was important enough to be addressed by the Alexandrians.

²⁶ The language indicates that Callimachus already knew the derivation of ἴαμβος from ἰὸν βάζειν also given, for example, by schol. B ad Hephaestionis *Enchiridion*, ed. Conbruch, p. 300.

Off with you and your songs about “Ioccae” and “Iophnides” and “camasenes,” tribe of poetic thorn-pluckers! You elaborate your complex pattern of words and drink simple water from your sacred spring. Today we pour libation to honor the feast of Archilochus and manly Homer. The mixing bowl is not at home to water-drinkers.

This epigram, which *καμασηνας* at least suggests may be a covert swipe at Callimachus’ *Galatea*, is a tissue of Alexandrian key words: *φεύγεθ’*, *φῦλον*, *κρήνης*, *ἐπέων κόσμον*,²⁷ reinforced by the characteristic *σπονδειαζων* in line 3. The literary game consists, as elsewhere in the *Anthology*, in using all the refinements of the Callimachean water-drinkers in order, *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, to assail their master.²⁸ But the contrast between the two styles is clear.

At the start of the *Iamboi* then the initial declaration must be read as polemical (fr. 191. 1–4 Pf.):

Ἄκουσαθ’ Ἴππώνακτος· [ο]ὐ γὰρ ἄλλ’ ἤκω
 ἐκ τῶν ὄκου βοῦν κολλύ[βου]πιπρήσκουσιν,
 φέρων ἴαμβον οὐ μάχην [ἀείδ]οντα
 τὴν Βοῦπ[άλ]ειαν . . .

Give ear to Hipponax. No, I come from where an ox is sold for a farthing, bearing an *iambos* that does not sing of the battle with Bupalus.

Hipponax returns from the next world, to speak in the first person. In οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ’ he uses an idiom known to Aristophanes. But what kind of Hipponax was this? With its own *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, Callimachus’ iamb, making the old poet reject his most characteristic theme, has latched directly on to the Eleusinian topic of laughing (*γέλωτος*, *Ia.* 1. 94) resurrection (*divina commedia*).

The real revolution however was reserved until the twelfth poem of the collection, which perhaps has not yet been sufficiently evaluated from the feminist perspective.²⁹ It alludes to the Cretan festival of the Amphidromia,³⁰ which took place five days or so after the birth of a baby. This was an occasion, sacred to Apollo, when by the parents’ invitation relatives, friends and neighbors, along with all those who had taken part in any way, gathered to celebrate the happy event with gifts. During the general rejoicing, the baby was carried at a run around the hearth—and

²⁷ “Ἐλλετε (= φεύγεθ’), *Aet.*-pref. 17; φῦλον, *Aet.*-pref. 7; κρήνης, *Epigr.* 28. 3 (cf. *πίδακος* ἐξ ἱερῆς, *Hy.* 2. 112)—all from Callimachus; ἐπέων εἰδῶς κόσμον, Philetas, fr. 10 Powell.

²⁸ Cleverness is piled on cleverness. Alan Cameron (*Callimachus and his Critics* [Princeton 1995]) does not sufficiently develop the dialogic moment of these exchanges, inherent in the very nature of the Greek genius. The epigram, in spite of its anti-Alexandrian tone, is Alexandrian, as a moment’s comparison with pre-Alexandrian epigrams will show.

²⁹ It is not mentioned, for example, in E. Fantham’s already noted *Women in the Classical World* (above, note 15).

³⁰ *RE* 1.2 (1894) 1901–02, s.v. “Amphidromia” (P. Stengel).

hence the title of the feast—possibly by naked bearers (so Hesychius s.v. *δρομιάφιον ἤμαρ*), and perhaps at one time for inspection by the elders of the family to determine whether it would be reared (Plato, *Tht.* 160e). Now the ceremony had become a sign of acceptance.

This was the occasion selected by Callimachus in Alexandria to honor the birth of a baby daughter to his friend Leon, who obviously kept up in his new home some old traditions. In his twelfth *iambos*, the poet described how the gods had attended a similar celebration for the baby Hebe (later the wife of the deified Heracles). Each one brought different presents, but Apollo, in offering a poem, explained that his gift would outlast gold and all the other trinkets of the hour, until an age of peace and reconciliation should come, when ravaging wolves should delight in kids. The language is messianic,³¹ the *topos* seems naive. But if indeed in Callimachus the self-praise does look “obvious” (Trypanis), it is only to those who forget the clichés often deployed to laud their poetic wares by writers anxious to secure the patronage of the rich and powerful. Theocritus offers a notable example (*Δαιμόνιοι, τί δὲ κέρδος ὁ μύριος ἔνδοθι χρυσός κτλ.*, *Id.* 16. 22, addressed to Hiero II of Syracuse). But this little baby had done nothing and, as a girl in so masculine a society, what could she be expected to do that would merit the services of a eulogist? But now she receives free from Callimachus and Apollo the tribute normally reserved by other well-paid poets for some mighty general (*reges et proelia*, Virgil, *Ecl.* 6. 3; cf. Horace, *Odes* 4. 15. 1–2), in the wake of Alexander the Great and his Choerilus (*regale nomisma, Philippos*, Hor. *Epist.* 2. 1. 234). The lesson for the value of this poet’s gift to his friend Leon’s new daughter, and for his estimate of her social worth and potential, was obvious, as was its implied critique of “cyclic” (*Epigr.* 28. 1), military/bombastic epic.³² *Παιδίον ἔστησεν . . . ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν . . .* With its concern for the child, how much this poem had done to recover the iambic for the woman.

The Amphidromia was also the feast at which the newborn might receive a name—and, as Cleomenes’ precocious Gorgo reminds us

³¹ Isaiah 11. 6: “Then (= בְּיָמָיו הַהֵם, 10) the wolf shall live with the sheep, and the leopard lie down with the kid; the calf and the young lion shall grow up together, and a little child shall lead them . . .” (*New English Bible*). Cf. Nonnus, *Dion.* 41. 185 ff. Horace in his iambs can only use this sort of language however in poems filled with irony (*Epode* 2. 67, *faenerator Alfius*, said to be modelled on an Archilochian original), even eventually despairing irony (*Epode* 16. 41 ff.).

³² Cf. D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* (LCL), no. 142, p. 590, where Germanus is compared to Achilles, “breaker of men.” Callimachus’ eulogies of other royal ladies (e.g. the *Ἐκθέωσις Ἀρσινόης*, the *Coma Berenices*) are perhaps also programmatic in this sense, although no doubt helped by the fact that among the pharaohs the line of succession passed through the female. Catullus translated the *Coma Berenices* but—tellingly—he had no Roman lady to whom it could be offered in her own right. The hostility towards Cleopatra at Rome (*Epode* 9. 12, *feminae*: she is never named in extant Augustan literature) is relevant to a comparison of the two societies and the poets who lived in them. The extraordinary passage in the *ad Herennium* (4. 23, *maiores nostri* etc.) also gives pause for thought, since with this piece of unpleasantness the author is seeking merely to illustrate the rhetorical device of *rationatio*.

(Herodotus 5. 51), Greek girls did have their own names. Whether she received her name in this now fragmentary poem or not, Leon's little daughter was not only accepted by it into the family and community, but through it told that she could have an identity just as theophoric as that conferred on the warrior and king.

That was in Callimachus' Alexandria, where Theocritus' own Gorgo—and Praxinoa—continued the Doric, comic tradition (*Id.* 15. 91, Corinth). It was after all the tradition of Spartan Helen (*Theocr. Id.* 18). But, even if Etruria had shared a similar concept of women's value, Rome was different. Cicero adored his daughter, but the name she had was a feminine version of his gentile name, "Tullia," and if her father wanted to give her more, "Tulliola" is as far as he could go. Wives such as Terentia might progress to *mea vita* (*Cic. Fam.* 14. 4. 1; cf. 14. 2. 3)—which was to drop the effort towards a "personal" name altogether. Dido (Elissa/Eliza) and Anna had their own names in Virgil; but they were Carthaginians, the enemy. The assumption that they could have any other than a public destiny was their mistake.

* * *

Horace was aware of Callimachus' effort to recover a different version of the *iambos*. In the last but one epistle of Book 1, he reviews his achievement to date (*Epist.* 1. 19. 23–33):³³

Parios ego primus iambos	
ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus	
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.	25
ac ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes	
quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem,	
temperat Archilochi Musam ³⁴ pede mascula Sappho,	
temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar,	
nec socerum quaerit quem versibus oblinat atris,	30
nec sponsae laqueum famoso carmine necit.	
hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus	
volgavi fidicen.	

I was the first to show Parian iambs to Latium, following the rhythms and spirit of Archilochus, but not his topics and language that hunted down Lycambes. I do not deserve a lesser crown for hesitating to change his meters and poetic art: after all, Sappho, masculine enough in her handling of meter, merely plays variations on Archilochus' music, and so does Alcaeus, though his topics and arrangement are different. He does not

³³ This passage is also discussed in my *Augustus and the New Poetry* (Brussels 1967) 339 ff.

³⁴ E. Fraenkel argues (*Horace* [Oxford 1957] 344) that *Archilochi* and *Musam* are likely to go together. This leaves *pede* to qualify *mascula*. Horace is not prying into Sappho's bedroom, merely noting that her poetic technique rivals that of any male.

look for a father-in-law to smear with poisonous verses, or weave a noose for his betrothed with a scandalous poem. It was Alcaeus, untranslated before, whom I made available as lyric poet of Latium.

In this passage, Horace, modulating from Archilochus to Sappho and Alcaeus, joins his *Epodes* and *Odes* as in some sense in the tradition of the iambographer (and justifies Dante's *Orazio satiro*). The claim is however quite false if Horace is made to say *tout court* that he was the first to show Parian iambs to Latium. The grammatical tradition placed Lucilius and Catullus ahead of him there.³⁵ But he is not saying that. He is saying that he showed Parian iambs which had received a Callimachean modification of subject matter (*non res et agentia verba Lycamben* = οὐ μάχην ἀείδοντα τὴν Βουπάλειον). By contrast, in his final poem 116, a sort of prefatory piece set at the wrong end,³⁶ Catullus had sharply separated the Callimachean and Archilochian manners, and had opted in the last analysis for the latter.

Although Callimachus had in fact referred to Hipponax, the two most famous representatives of the iambic genre were easily assimilated. Horace himself supplies the evidence (*Epode* 6. 13–14):

qualis Lycambae spretus infido gener,
aut acer hostis Bupalus.

Like the son-in-law scorned by treacherous Lycambes, or the enemy bitter against Bupalus.

In his epistle, Horace claims to have spared Lycambes, and it is true enough, as Leo pointed out many years ago,³⁷ that the *iambi* have had their teeth drawn when it comes to most of their objects. But what about Lycambes' daughters? What did the epodes have to say *about women* which could have rivalled Callimachus' courtesies? The poet's admirers forget just how unpleasant for women the iamb in his hands could still be. I translate/paraphrase *Rogare longo putidam te saeculo . . .* (*Epode* 8):

Time has made you stink, yet you keep asking what saps my manhood, though your tooth is black and old age furrows your brow with wrinkles, and between your dry buttocks gapes what looks like the ugly orifice of a coarse cow. But is it your breast which moves me and your withered dugs like a mare's udders and your sagging belly and thin thigh—over your swelling ankles? You may be rich, your ancestor's busts may lead off your funeral procession, and no wife may strut along loaded with rounder

³⁵ Diomedes, *Ars Gram.* III in *GL* I 485.11–17 Keil: "Iambus est carmen maledicum plerumque trimetro versu et epodo sequente compositum . . . appellatum est autem παρά τὸ ἰαμβίζειν, quod est maledicere. cuius carminis praecipui scriptores apud Graecos Archilochus et Hipponax, apud Romanos Lucilius et Catullus et Horatius et Bibaculus."

³⁶ C. Macleod, "Catullus 116," in *Collected Essays* (Oxford 1983) 181–86.

³⁷ F. Leo, *De Horatio et Archilocho* (Göttingen 1900).

pearls [than yours]. Yes, you even like to leave Stoic treatises lying among your silken pillows. But do the sinews of a poor uneducated man <such as I am> freeze any less, or does his prick slacken any less? To rouse that from its disdainful loin, you will need to work overtime with your mouth.

Another effusion in this vein is *Quid tibi vis, mulier, nigris dignissima barris . . . (Epode 12)*:

What are you after, woman, fit mate for grey elephants? Why keep sending me presents or billets-doux? My youth may be immature, my taste is still refined. No one smarter than me when it comes to sniffing out whether some wen or the foul goat is lurking in an armpit—not even the keen hound hunting for the boar. What a sweat in her aged limbs and how unbearable at every point the smell when, limp though my member may be, she is in such a rush to quell her uncontrolled frenzy! Her chalky complexion, daubed on with the aid of a crocodile's droppings, is too damp to stay put, her sow's heat bursts the taut coverlets and the very roof! Or she hounds my disgust with her words of reproach: "That Inachia gives you a livelier time than me. You can fix her up three times in one night, while with me you go slack at a single go. A pox on Lesbia who, when I was looking for a mate, pointed out to me a plodding ox like you, though I could have had Coan Amyntas. His loin doesn't lose its zip, his sinew is more steadfast than a young tree clinging to the hillside. For whom were we in such a hurry with the twice-dipped purple stuffs? For you of course, so that no one at the party among your friends would be more loved by his woman than you. O poor me, you run away from me, fearful as a lamb from the hungry wolves or the wild goats from the lions."

At line 7 here, the dialogue ends, and Horace speaks about the woman in the third person. He does not bother to answer the protest she begins at line 14.

Augustus himself had indulged in some "iambic" humor.³⁸ That was the amateur. In a major poet, what justification can there be for this sort of thing, unless it is generically determined? But, in Horace's case, is it? And to what extent? Was a literary iambic possible of a different sort from that of Archilochus and Hipponax? Philodemus, Horace's contemporary, remarks: καὶ Σαπφῶ τινὰ ἰαμβικῶς ποιεῖ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος οὐκ ἰαμβικῶς (P. Herc. 460, fr. 8. 10–13).³⁹ Was there then a "Sapphic" iambic? If there was, did Horace know that, and did he deliberately turn his back on it?

* * *

To answer these questions, we need to ask again about the original nature of the iambic. Both the *Hymn to Demeter* and Euripides indicated that

³⁸ C. Buechner, *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum* (Leipzig 1982) 134, from Martial 11. 20.

³⁹ I owe this to Dr. Anastasia Summers. See in general D. Obbink (ed.), *Philodemus and Poetry: Poetic Theory and Practice in Lucretius, Philodemus and Horace* (Oxford 1995).

laughter was part of the world in which iambic was still a women's genre. And, interestingly, Demetrius uses of Sappho the word the hymn uses of Iambe—σκώπτει.⁴⁰ The whole context may be quoted (*De Eloc.* 166–67):

Διὸ καὶ ἡ Σαπφῶ περὶ μὲν κάλλους ἄδουσα καλλιειπής ἐστί καὶ ἡδεῖα, καὶ περὶ ἐρώτων δὲ καὶ ἀέρος καὶ περὶ ἀλκυόνος, καὶ ἅπαν καλὸν ὄνομα ἐνύφανται αὐτῆς τῇ ποιήσει, τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτῆ εἰργάσατο.

Ἄλλως δὲ σκώπτει τὸν ἀγροικὸν νυμφίον, καὶ τὸν θυρωρὸν τὸν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις εὐτελέστατα καὶ ἐν πεζοῖς ὀνόμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ποιητικαῖς, ὥστε αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἐστί τὰ ποιήματα ταῦτα διαλέγεσθαι ἢ ἄδειν, οὐδ' ἂν ἀρμόσαι πρὸς τὸν χορὸν ἢ πρὸς τὴν λύραν, εἰ μὴ τις εἴη χορὸς διαλεκτικός.

This is why Sappho, when her song is of beauty, is full of beautiful and pleasing words, as she is when too she celebrates love and the air and the halcyon. Every beautiful word is woven into the fabric of her poetry, some owed to her own invention.

Her jests at the expense of the awkward bridegroom strike quite another note, and at that of the doorkeeper at the wedding. Here she uses very ordinary language, rather than that of prose than poetry. These poems of hers are more suited to dialogue than song. They could not be adapted for dance or music, unless there were to be a sort of dancing dialogue.

Two well-known fragments of Sappho's epithalamia (fr. 110a, 111 L–P) support these statements. The exaggerated (carnival) numbers in the first example are noteworthy:

θυρώρω πόδες ἐπτορόγυιοι,
τὰ δὲ σάμβαλα πεμπεβόηα,
πίσυγγοι δὲ δέκ' ἐξεπόναισαν.

The doorkeeper's feet are seven fathoms long, and his sandals five oxskins thick. It took ten cobblers to fashion them.

ἴσοι δὴ τὸ μέλαθρον,
ὑμῆναον,
ἀέρρτε τέκτονες ἄνδρες·
ὑμῆναον.
γάμβρος φείσέρχεται⁴¹ ἴσος† Ἄρευι,
ἄνδρος μεγάλω πόλυ μέζων.

⁴⁰ And we already saw that σκώματα was used of the repartee at the Haloa: above, note 15.

⁴¹ The meter is obviously a hexameter divided by the refrain into a hemiepes and enoplion (Bentley). Since it does not fit this dactylic pattern, εἰσέρχεται in the penultimate line here is doubted by scholars but, whatever the merits of their more general objections, ἔρχομαι is the *vox propria* on these occasions, and the concept of "the one who is to come" is shared by both Greek (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) and Hebrew. Cf. σὲ δ' ἐρχόμενον ἐν δίκῃ πολλὸς ὄλβος ἀμφιπέμεται, Pindar, *P.* 5. 14; εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, LXX Ps. 118. 26 (= *benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini* in the *Sanctus*); σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἢ ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν, Luke 7. 19; כִּי, כִּי בִּי בִּי in Botterweck (above, note 10) I 536 ff. (H. D. Preuß), 808 ff. (J. Scharbert).

Up with the roof tree, sing marriage song, up with it, carpenters! Sing marriage song. Here comes the bridegroom like Ares himself, much bigger than a man who is big.

An “iambic” parallel to εἰσέρχεται here (*si sana lectio*) of a more univocal sort is found in Aristophanes (*Birds* 1708–13):

δέχεσθε τὸν τύραννον ὀλβίοις δόμοις.
προσέρχεται γὰρ οἶος οὔτε καμφαῆς
 ἀστήρ ἰδεῖν ἔλαμψε χρυσαυγεί δόμῳ,
 οὔθ' ἠλίου τηλαυγῆς ἀκτῖνων σέλας
 τοιοῦτον ἐξέλαμψεν, οἷον ἔρχεται
 ἔχων γυναικὸς κάλλος οὐ φατὸν λέγειν.

Welcome the lord in his prosperous house, for here he comes! Not such the bright star shines in its palace of gold, nor the sun's far-travelling beam, with such a bride does he come, her beauty beyond all telling.

The imagery anticipates the hymn of the Athenians to Demetrius Poliorcetes (Athenaeus 6. 253c–d). The ἔρχου at the end of NT Revelation, with its frequent allusions to the Bridegroom, is familiar.⁴²

In Sappho, there is an obvious interest in the grotesque body of the male. Scholars have been reluctant to discover any *double-entendre*. But if they are to give us any idea of the kind of sally in which Iambe indulged? Is it here that the Eleusinian obscenity already noted at the Haloa survived—not at the expense of women, however (Archilochus), but at that of men?

So also in yet a third Sapphic epithalamium (fr. 115 L–P):

Τίω σ' ὦ φίλε γάμβρε κάλως εἰκάσδω;
 ὄρπακι βραδίνῳ σε μάλιστ' εἰκάσδω.

Dear bridegroom, to whom may I compare thee? To a tender sapling most of all I compare thee.

What is this ὄρπαξ, this regenerative sapling (נצר . . . חטב, Isaiah 11. 1)? Yet the fun is innocent enough, and in its way sacral. The age-old idiom of the guessing game recurs even in the Christian Gospels.⁴³

There was then evidence of another side to the iambic manner, in which even so feminine an author as Sappho could find a place, and this may shed some light on the baffling Horatian dictum already adduced: *Temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho*, “Sappho, masculine enough so far as her meter goes, plays variations on Archilochus’ themes,” (*Epist.* 1. 19.

⁴² And cf. ἀστήρ, 22. 16.

⁴³ Matt 11. 7, Luke 11. 24. With Sappho's sapling may be compared the phallus pole (familiar from the *Acharnians*), Maypole and so on. The use of a branch soaked in holy water to sprinkle the congregation at the beginning of more solemn Masses, while the choir sings from Psalm 50 (51) (*Asperges me Domine hyssopo et mundabor*), is a ritual impregnation by the male priest of the faithful. This does not, of course, in any way diminish the sacredness of the rite.

28). This suggests an awareness of a common thread linking the two Greek poets which however other Horatian passages (e.g. *Odes* 4. 9. 10–12), by sentimentalizing Sappho, snap. Horace's treatment of Sappho as a whole would be another part of the indictment of his attitude to women.

In discussing Sappho's alternative version of the iambic, Demetrius wondered if there could be a *χορὸς διαλεκτικός*. But there were at least the ritual beginnings of such exchanges. Describing the rites of Mysian Demeter at Mysaeum, in a passage where γέλως and σκώμματα again attract attention, Pausanias reports (7. 27. 10):

ἀφικομένων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αἱ γυναῖκές τε ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας οἱ ἄνδρες γέλῳ τε ἐς ἀλλήλους χρῶνται καὶ σκώμμασιν.

When the men arrive at the temple, the women indulge in laughter and jokes at their expense, and in turn the men do the same for the women.

We can extrapolate from this. Burkert remarks: "... there must have been occasions [i.e. at the Thesmophoria] on which men and women derided one another."⁴⁴

With this the rites of Apollo Aegletes on Anaphe may be compared (Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4. 1720–30):

ὃ δὴ σφεας ὀπότε δαλοῖς	1720
ὔδωρ αἰθομένοισιν ἐπιλείβοντας ἴδοντο	
Μηδείης δμῳαὶ Φαιηκίδες οὐκέτ' ἔπειτα	
ἴσχειν ἐν στήθεσσι γέλω σθένον οἷα θαμειᾶς	
αἰὲν ἐν Ἄλκινόοιο βοοκτασίας ὀρώσσαι.	
τὰς δ' αἰσχροῖς ἥρωες ἐπεστοβέεσκον ἔπεσσι	1725
χλεύῃ γηθόσυνοι· γλυκερὴ δ' ἀνεδαίετο τοῖσιν	
κερτομίη καὶ νεῖκος ἐπεσβόλον. ἐκ δέ νυ κείνης	
μολπῆς ἡρώων νήσῳ ἐνὶ τοῖα γυναῖκες	
ἀνδράσι δηριόωνται, ὅτ' Ἀπόλλωνα θυηλαῖς	
Αἰγλήτην Ἀνάφης τιμήρον ἰλάσκονται.	1730

When the women, Medea's maids from Phaeacia, saw them pouring water offerings over blazing torches, they could no longer keep the laughter pent up in their breasts, for many were the sacrifices of oxen they had been used to seeing in the palace of Alcinous. And the heroes girded at them with crude words, and took pleasure in the glee. And a pleasing banter was kindled among them and loose-tongued exchange. And, because of that song of heroes on the island, that is how the women strive with the men, whenever they seek to placate with their sacrifices Apollo the Glorious, the champion of Anaphe.

Μολπή (1728) may in fact describe song *and* dance. The Eleusinian χλεύη recurs (1726; cf. γέλω, 1723). Ἐπεσβόλον at 1727 here (if it is from ἔπος

⁴⁴ W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Eng. tr. (Oxford 1985) 244.

βάλλω and not from ἐπεισβάλλω) rather recalls the ἰὼν βάλλω felt to lie at the root of “iamb.”

This ritual and a parallel were noted in Callimachus' *Aetia* (fr. 7. 19–20 Pf.):

Κῶς δέ, θεαί, . . .] μὲν ἄνθρωπος Ἀναφαίος ἐπ' αἰσχροῖς
ἦ δ' ἐπὶ Διὸς [φήμοις] Λίνδος ἄγει θυσίην;

How is it, goddesses, that the man of Anaphe sacrifices [to Apollo] with crude language, and Lindos celebrates its sacrifice [to Heracles] with blasphemies?

Later, these rites are specifically compared by Callimachus with the worship of Demeter Rarias at Eleusis.⁴⁵ Χλεύ[η] is found here too (*Aetia* 1, fr. 21. 9–10 Pf.):

χλεύ[. . .]δει . . . ος ἀπεκρύψαντο λα[
νήστ[ι]ες ἐν Δηοῦς ἡμασι Ῥαριάδος

. . . glee . . . they concealed . . . fasting on the days of Rarian Demeter

Apparently, women were not silenced on these occasions. In Rome, the *fescennina iocatio* immortalized by Catullus in poem 61 would be another example of this age-old “flying” between the sexes. Yet he spares the bride. It is the groom who is the butt of his quips (119 ff. Mynors).

The rites recorded by Callimachus and Apollonius seem to point to some early stage of what became the iambic repartee, yet one in which the women were allowed to give as good as they got. In literature, iambic Catullus also preserves a dialogue between the sexes (poem 62), in which the girls certainly have the chance to utter their regrets about their loss of virginity, but in which the men, rather than uttering any abuse, link that with nature's eternal cycle of growth and change. The Archilochian iambic, by contrast, had suppressed the woman's right of reply, and an epigram composed by Dioscorides in the late third century derives its pathos from the fact that it represents the other half of a missing dialogue. Its last line and word may allude to and seek to answer the slur in line 27 of the new Archilochus fragment (*AP* 7. 351. 7–10 = Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* no. XVII; cf. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, I, p. 15):

Ἀρχίλοχον μὰ θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας οὐτ' ἐν ἀγυαῖς
εἶδομεν οὐθ' Ἥρης ἐν μεγάλῳ τεμένει·
εἰ δ' ἦμεν μάχλοι καὶ ἀτάσθαλοι, οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνος

⁴⁵ Ῥάριον, *Hom. Hy. Dem.* 450. The passage is vividly evoked by J. G. Frazer on pp. 393–94 of the abridgement he made in 1922 of his *The Golden Bough* (repr. Ware, England 1993). See also Burkert (above, note 14) 292. Pfeiffer is rightly puzzled (pp. 28–29) by the relationship of this feast and its observances to the regular mysteries of the goddess at Eleusis. These queries are beyond the scope of the present argument.

ἤθελεν ἐξ ἡμέων γνήσια τέκνα τεκεῖν.⁴⁶

We (daughters of Lycambes) never set eyes on Archilochus either in the street or in the great precinct of Hera. Had we been lewd and lascivious, he would never have wanted to beget by us legitimate children.

Clearly at least some of this poetry found its true home in the “iambic” worship of a goddess, here “in the precinct of Hera.” But Hera was the patroness of marriage.

In some ways, at least where women are concerned, Aristophanes illustrates the resources and scope of the iambic much better than what we now have of Archilochus. The end of the *Peace*, celebrating a wedding, is divided by the Venetus into ἡμιχόρια (1332–57). This produces another version of the χορὸς διαλεκτικός scouted by Demetrius. This time, however, the dialogue appears to be between men, though, in this imitation of the popular style, with its frequent repetitions and even rhymes, the woman is certainly not depreciated. There is plentiful use of ἀφροδίσιον λόγοι. The text is reproduced here from that of Hall and Geldart (OCT):

HMIXOPION A

Ἵμῃν Ἵμέναι' ᾦ.

HMIXOPION B

	ᾦ τρίς μάκαρ ὡς δικαίως τάγαθὰ νῦν ἔχεις.	
Ημ. ^α	Ἵμῃν Ἵμέναι' ᾦ.	
Ημ. ^β	Ἵμῃν Ἵμέναι' ᾦ.	1335
Ημ. ^α	τί δράσομεν αὐτήν;	
Ημ. ^β	τί δράσομεν αὐτήν;	
Ημ. ^α	τρυγήσομεν αὐτήν,	
Ημ. ^β	τρυγήσομεν αὐτήν.	
Ημ. ^α	ἀλλ' ἀράμενοι φέρωμεν οἱ προτεταγμένοι	1340
	τὸν νυμφίον ᾧνδρες.	
Ημ. ^β	Ἵμῃν Ἵμέναι' ᾦ,	
Ημ. ^α	Ἵμῃν Ἵμέναι' ᾦ.	
Τρ.	οἰκήσετε γοῦν καλῶς, οὐ πράγματ' ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ συκολογοῦντες.	1345
Ημ. ^β	Ἵμῃν Ἵμέναι' ᾦ,	
Ημ. ^α	Ἵμῃν Ἵμέναι' ᾦ.	
Ημ. ^β	τοῦ μὲν μέγα καὶ παχύ.	
Ημ. ^α	τῆς δ' ἡδὺ τὸ σύκον.	1350
Τρ.	φήσεις γ' ὅταν ἐσθίης οἶνόν τε πῆς πολύν.	

⁴⁶ Cf. τῶς ὡσπερ ἡ κ[ύων τέκω], P. Colon. inv. 7511, line 27.

Χο. Ὑμῆν Ὑμέναι' ᾧ,
 Ὑμῆν Ὑμέναι' ᾧ.
 Τρ. ᾧ χαίρετε χαίρετ' ἄν-
 δρες, κἄν συνέπησθέ μοι
 πλακούντας ἔδεσθε.

1355

Thrice-blessed, how well deserved your good fortune! Hail, Hymen, Hymen hail! What shall we do with her? What shall we do with her? We shall reap her fruit! We shall reap her fruit! Up then, you whose task it is, and let us carry the bridegroom, you men. Hail, Hymen, Hymen hail! Yes, you will keep house well, not gathering trouble, but gathering figs. Hail, Hymen, Hymen hail! His fig is big and fat, hers so sweet. That you will say when you eat and drink deep. Hail, Hymen, Hymen hail! O farewell, farewell, you men and, if you follow me, your treat will be cakes to eat.

Homer knew the lovers' ὀαρσιτύς (*Il.* 22. 127–28). The Alexandrians valued it (Callimachus, fr. 401; [Theocr.] 27; cf. *Apoll. Rhod.* 3. 971–72). In the *Odes* Horace himself offers an ὀαρσιτύς between two lovers, Lydia and an unnamed other (3. 9). Yet this is a piece of light-hearted froth, which can only serve to enhance the contrast with the Horatian epodes translated above. And their nastiness persists into the final book of odes (4. 13, directed against Lyce). Although their author was perfectly aware of Callimachus' *Iamboi*, his own *Iambi/Epodes* spurn Callimachean courtesies. The objects of the crude assaults in poems 8 and 12 (!) are not so much as named. And how much "Lesbia" is devalued at 12. 17.

These iambs know nothing of any Amphidromia, with their opportunity for even a baby girl to receive a name. Yet the name of his sexual partner did concern the Roman male. In his satires, Horace explains that, among the many conveniences of employing a professional, was the chance for the man to impose any name he found exciting (*Sat.* 1. 2. 125–27):

haec, ubi supposuit dextro corpus mihi laevum,
 Ilia et Egeria est: do nomen quodlibet illi,
 nec vereor ne, dum futuo, vir rure recurat . . .

When she has put her left side under my right, she becomes Ilia or Egeria.
 I give her whatever name I like. I do not need to worry in case, while I am
 enjoying myself, her husband may get back from his out-of-town trip . . .

But the name and personhood are inextricably intertwined (again, something perfectly familiar to the Hebrew mind). To paraphrase Herodotus, οὐ φροντίς Ὀρατίω. In other aspects of his poetry, there are senses in which Horace is far more Callimachean than the professed Roman Callimachus. But not in this one most sensitive spot. Here, he reverts to the Archilochian vein. Why?

* * *

The universally occurring jubilee over harvest home illustrates the profound concern of the primitive tribe with the defeat of hunger and starvation. Sometimes the desperate need to secure the rich bounty of the earth may have persuaded our ancestors, by a kind of sympathetic magic, to sacrifice in the shape of a girl of marriageable age part of their own precious future, so that from her fertile blood a larger increase might flow, benefiting the entire community (Propertius 4. 8. 3–14). Sometimes this sacrifice was perhaps accompanied by evocative celebration in song and dance. Sometimes perhaps the victim was even ritually cursed, separated from her tribe ("consecrated"), so that she could more easily pass over into the unknown.⁴⁷

If this was the origin of the iamb ("one-step dance"?), it is clear how much the Greeks civilized this primal impulse. Eleusis no longer emphasized the loss or death—which were presupposed—so much as the resurrection and recovery. And its women were not merely the victims of curses, but were allowed a response, even a dialogic response. Hence perhaps ultimately that series of stunningly outspoken heroines, doomed and yet somehow mimetically more than ever alive, with which Attic (iambic) tragedy has presented us. But from the same root spring comedy's reversals of masculine values, the ἐκκλησιάζουσαι of the Παλαιά, the love affairs of the Κοινή.

Perhaps at Eleusis also those *rites de passage* were recollected in which the young bride goes from her mother's world into the arms of a groom at first perceived as menacing and alien, afterwards accepted and incorporated into the cycle of new life. The instrument of such incorporation was evidently Aphrodisian laughter, merriment, "glee." This is why the iambic for the ancients could never be divorced from the notion of wit, repartee. Archilochus was even, according to Pindar (*O.* 9. 1 ff.), the author of the primal epinician, with its twanging τήνελλα.

How then did an iambic so rich eventually become "poison speech" and not much else? The achievement of its literary progenitor, Archilochus, seems to have been narrowed and diminished in the tradition (ψογερόν Ἀρχίλοχον, *P.* 2. 55). Whatever his experiments even with the pre-tragic

⁴⁷ Hence perhaps Horace's own iambic "ut inmerentis fluxit in terram Remi / sacer nepotibus cruor," *Epode* 7. 19–20. Cf. more generally OT Leviticus 16. 21: "And Aaron shall . . . confess over him [the scapegoat] all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat . . ." (King James). The other goat mentioned by the sacred writer in this chapter of Leviticus was sacrificed (verse 9). The rich material on the general theme of the scapegoat collected by J. G. Frazer in vol. 9 of the twelve-volume edition of *The Golden Bough* (3rd ed., New York 1935) is summarized on pp. 538 ff. of his previously mentioned abridgement (above, note 45). If this sort of rite lay at the root of one aspect of the primitive iambic, perhaps this explains much of the identification of the sins of the community with sins thought typical of women. Cf. the Rev. J. C. Taylor's story cited by Frazer on p. 570 ("Wickedness, wickedness" = *tristia nequitia* <> *Lycori tua*).

dithyramb, for the increasingly male-dominated society of the polis, for the dinner table and the wine party, he preserved and emphasized the nasty invective against the woman (ritual cursing of the victim) perhaps characteristic of some aspect of the primitive rite. Semonides added to this the puritanical demand that even among themselves women should forget their talk (dialogue) about Aphrodite, though, in his version of the origins of the Eleusinian celebrations, Euripides tried to show how impossible and self-contradictory this was. It is clear how little room Semonides left for Sappho's alternative Muse, though recollections of her different iambic persisted as late as Demetrius, as in Horace's contemporary Philodemus, and even in Horace's own theorizings.

Callimachus revived for his eirenical *lamboi* the memory of the woman as baby, and therefore of the woman's role as mother, by implication just as important to Apollo as that of the warrior and king. Yet in his *lambi*, as elsewhere, Horace, though so mealy-mouthed when it came to attacking enemies who might defend themselves, where women were in play ignored Callimachus' civility and chose instead the old crudity. Perhaps this also explains his determined disparagement of whatever was going on to rescue the Sapphic alternative in contemporary elegy (*exigui elegi*, *A.P.* 77; *miserabiles elegi*, *Odes* 1. 33. 2–3), even of whatever had been achieved by Catullus and Calvus (*Sat.* 1. 10. 18–19). It is the shrilling of a sour note within his universe of discourse which will diminish all his chords. But of this more anon.

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