

an ambassador having been despatched, when that tyrant sent *to him* two garments. . . ." Note the relative positions of αὐτῷ and ἐκείνου in the phrase προσπέμψαντος αὐτῷ δύο στολὰς ἐκείνου: the normally emphatic demonstrative ἐκείνου has been relegated to the end of the clause, thereby giving more prominence to αὐτῷ.

The slightly unusual postponement of the subject πρεσβευτής was necessitated by the rhetoric of the sentence, which correctly places the emphatic πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν τύραννον ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως first; ἀποσταλείς then properly follows immediately so as not to be separated by πρεσβευτής from the local prepositional phrases with which it belongs. That is perfectly correct Greek; one sees at once (after the fact and thanks to Sansone) how in this context it could have been misunderstood.<sup>1</sup> Πρεσβευτής (τις), an easy change,<sup>2</sup> would remove any ambiguity, but I do not press that. Sansone has pointed out (nn. 9 and 18) instances in this passage where Plutarch has deliberately revised the wording of the *Apophthegmata Laconica*. The replacement of the proper name found there by πρεσβευτής is such a revision. The motive was to contrast emphatically Lysander with the corrupt Spartans in general rather than with any particular Spartan. By omitting the personal name Plutarch makes the anecdote appear to be of wider application; that is a delicate touch.

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1. Before objecting to the word order, one should reflect that any objections raised against πρεσβευτής in this postponed position would apply equally to Ἀρίστας.

2. Της and τις (1) came to be identical in pronunciation and (2) were visually liable to haplography.

### HERODAS MIMIAMB 5

A mistress, presumably a free woman, Bitinna, berates her slave-lover Gastron for his infidelity; she has him stripped and bound by a fellow slave, Pyrrhies; she threatens him with two thousand lashes at the hands of Hermon the jailer and with tattooing. Only the intercession of her favorite, the home-slave Cydilla, saves the wayward Gastron: the Gerenia festival is at hand, Cydilla reminds Bitinna, and during that feast for the dead punishments must be postponed. A sordid business, to be sure, in which critics have found little to edify. Yet the surface is deceptive and beneath the ignoble exterior, as is the case generally with Herodas, themes of some significance are latent.

The unfortunate Gastron is a cipher in whom various states of humanity are briefly represented. As slave he is first of all κτῆμα, a thing bought and owned (21), an ἐμψυχον ὄργανον as P. Groeneboom notes,<sup>1</sup> not yet even in quality human; it is

1. *Les "Mimiambes" d'Herodas I-VI* (Groningen, 1922), p. 161, citing Arist. *EN* 1161b4; cf. W. Headlam and A. D. Knox (eds.), *Herodas, The "Mimes" and Fragments* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 237, and O. Crusius, *Untersuchungen zu den "Mimiamben" des Herodas* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 110, who cites the double sense of τιμή at 5. 68. In addition to the above-mentioned works, the following will henceforth be referred to by the last name of the author or editor: I. C. Cunningham (ed.), *Herodas "Mimiambi"* (Oxford, 1971); J. A. Nairn (ed.), *The "Mimes" of Herodas* (Oxford, 1904). The text used here is that of Cunningham.

a point which Gastron freely acknowledges: *δοῖλός εἰμι. χρῶ δτι βούληι μοι* (6). Yet as Bitinna's lover Gastron has been raised to the status of human male and becomes capable of definition in physical terms. He is, as is indicated by a gesture in line 1 and implicit in his very name, "belly";<sup>2</sup> he is also, as soon appears, phallus:<sup>3</sup> here then a second state. The third follows closely: as *ἄνθρωπος* Gastron is also *ἄνθρωπος*. This was the word which Bitinna had used in line 15; by making Gastron her lover she had placed him *ἐν ἀνθρώποις*. He is thus thing, man, and human.<sup>4</sup>

Only after the third of these states—his being *ἄνθρωπος*—has been acknowledged can Gastron's capacity "to err" come into play. Bitinna had believed that her act of raising Gastron to the status of "human" was a *ἁμαρτία* (16); in fact the result was that Gastron himself, after his humanity had been recognized, became liable to moral fault: *ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ἡμαρτον* (27; cf. 38, 73).<sup>5</sup> Bitinna claims in 20–21 and 77–78 that Gastron has yet to comprehend the significance of his complex status; but, as lines 6 and 27 show, Bitinna is in error: Gastron has understood his roles all along.<sup>6</sup> It is rather Bitinna herself who is demonstrably lacking in self-knowledge at the opening of the mime. For whereas Gastron had with justification defined his own humanity in terms of his capacity to err, Bitinna's self-definition had depended on her ability to maltreat and make an example of Gastron (12–13):

*ἢν μὴ κατακίσασα τῇ σ' ὅλην χώραν  
παράδειγμα θῶ, μᾶ, μὴ με θῆης γυναικ' εἶναι*

In fact, as we shall shortly see, Bitinna's achievement of true self-knowledge depends in large measure on her realization that such exemplary maltreatment as she here wishes to visit on Gastron would ultimately reflect upon herself; it is for this reason that in the end she backs away from inflicting the very punishment on which she here asserts her identity as *γυνή* depends.

Bitinna's actions and threatened actions show a purposeful intention to humiliate Gastron in each of his three qualities. That he is her slave she demonstrates by having him bound (10, 18, 25, 31, 64) and by threatening an impossibly harsh beating (33–34, 48–49); that he is male she demonstrates by having him stripped

2. It has been usual to take *ἡδ'* in line 1 as referring to Gastron's *κέρκος* (45): so Nairn, p. 58; Groeneboom, p. 157; Cunningham, p. 148. But it has recently been persuasively argued by D. E. Gerber, "Herodas 5. 1," *HSCP* 82 (1978): 161–65, that it is better to imagine a reference to Gastron's *γαστήρ* in the demonstrative. For the name (= *Ventrio*), see esp. Headlam, p. 228.

3. In addition to the explicit reference in line 45 to *ἀνώνυμον κέρκον*, we find a quite plausible double entendre at 11: *τὴν ἱμανήθρην τοῦ κάδου*. See A. Cosattini, "Κάδου ἱμανήθρη," *RF* 39 (1911): 418–21: "Hic vero puto ita vocatum esse ipsum χαλαρόν αἰδοῖον, quod similitudinem ferret lori, quo Gastronis tunica vinciebatur, de ventre pendens"; for *κάδου* he draws a parallel to *ἀσκού* in the phrase *ἀσκού τὸν προύχοντα πόδα* (Eur. *Med.* 679). Cf. Petronius' "lorus (lorum) in aqua" (57. 8, 134. 9; cf. Mart. 7. 58. 3). Groeneboom, p. 160, would deny the obvious without reason.

4. W. G. Arnott, "Herodas and the Kitchen Sink," *G&R* 18 (1971): 126, explains from Bitinna's point of view: "... the woman has a double relationship to the slave, of equality to him as lover and of superiority to him as owner." But he might better have said: "... of inferiority to him as lover. ..."

5. The joke of course has also a serious side; the position recalls that of the nurse at *Hipp.* 615. For other examples of the commonplace, see Headlam, p. 241, ad 27.

6. Nairn, p. 67, ad 77; see also B. Veneroni, "Divagazioni sul V 'Mimiambo' di Eroda," *REG* 85 (1972): 327–28: "... l'espressione di una consapevolezza che egli ha di questa 'sua' condizione di schiavitù: consapevolezza che, invece, gli schiavi della commedia nuova greca e della commedia latina non sembrano avvertire."

naked (18, 20) to reveal his *άνωνυμον κέρκον* (45); that finally he is *άνθρωπος* she threatens to demonstrate by having him tattooed with the Delphic motto *γνώθι σαυτόν* (79)<sup>7</sup>—it was the punishment which he himself had suggested at line 28 as most appropriate to an erring *άνθρωπος*. The first two of these punishments—the binding and the stripping—are actually performed in the course of the mime,<sup>8</sup> although in both cases Bitinna finally relents. Gastron is untied at line 81 (*νῦν μέν σ' ἀφήσω*) and clothed again at line 45 as Bitinna realizes that Gastron's shame, although she at first desired it (12–13), would also reflect upon herself (44–46):

δόσεις τι, δούλη, τῷ κατηρήται τούτῳ  
 ράκος καλύψαι τὴν άνωνυμον κέρκον,  
 ὡς μή δι' άγορῆς γυμνός ὢν θεωρῇται

The threatened harsh beating by Hermon the jailer is avoided as Gastron suffers less drastic abuse at the hands of Pyrrhies (57). Similarly the last punishment—the tattooing—is only a verbal threat. The message *γνώθι σαυτόν* tattooed on Gastron's forehead could not be read by him, nor in fact would it be necessary, for, as already mentioned, Gastron thoroughly knows himself from the beginning of the mime. It is rather to the beholder, to Bitinna herself, that the imagined message *γνώθι σαυτόν* would speak: like the shame of a naked lover (45–46), the tattoo on his forehead would reflect back on the mistress herself.

The message of self-knowledge which is thus directed at Bitinna is more precisely identified in the characters of her favorite, Cydilla, and the thoroughly evil warden of Gastron, the slave Pyrrhies.<sup>9</sup> In terms of personality these two characters form a natural pair of opposites: the one pleads for and would have pity on Gastron; the other is gratuitously vicious (57).<sup>10</sup> Yet in terms of role and background we are led to note their even more essential similarity to each other and to Gastron himself. Gastron, a slave, had been raised by becoming his mistress' lover to a higher status as *άνθρωπος* and had then overextended himself into *άμαρτία*. Cydilla, a slave (44, 54), had through her mistress' love been raised even above the status of "human" to become a foster-daughter to Bitinna (82). She now extends herself to speak boldly to her own mistress (73). Pyrrhies too, we learn in an odd detail of plot, had once been enchained in a servile position below that which he presently holds (60–62); he too had been raised (we may naturally assume by his owner

7. The only reasonable tattoo for us to imagine: see Cunningham, p. 159, ad 79. Other suggestions include "his price in minas" (H. Jackson, "Herodas," *CR* 6 [1892]: 5), "some offensive title" (Nairn, p. 67). "The inscription might be 'οὐκ οἶδα ἑμαυτόν', 'άνθρωπός εἰμι', possibly 'γνώθι σε αὐτόν', or a description of what he really is, 'δούλος'" (Headlam, p. 265).

8. Gerber, "Herodas 5. 1," p. 161, rightly corrects the statement of Cunningham, p. 148, that Gastron stands naked at the beginning of the mime: "Gastron must be clothed, since in vv. 18 and 20 Bitinna orders Pyrrhies to strip him."

9. On the names Pyrrhies, "Red-head, a Northern slave, big, clumsy, stupid," and Cydilla, perhaps from the root of *κύδος*, see J. C. Austin, "The Significant Name in Herondas," *TAPA* 53 (1922): xvi–xvii.

10. For Cydilla, "the only pleasant person in the piece," see Headlam, p. xlvii; Crusius, p. 105 ("diese Anwendung von Mitleid"); and Veneroni, "Divagazioni," p. 326. For "the dark figure of Pyrrhies" as a silent presence through much of the mime, see F. Will, *Herondas* (New York, 1973), p. 71.

Bitinna) and now overextends himself in his violent treatment of Gastron.<sup>11</sup> But at the beginning of the mime it is apparent that Bitinna fails to see the similarity of these three cases (14–17):

ἐγὼ αἰτὶ τούτων,  
ἐγὼ μὲν, Γάστρων, ἢ σε θέισα ἐν ἀνθρώποις.  
ἀλλ' εἰ τότ' ἐξήμαρτον, οὐ τὰ νῦν εὔσαν  
μώρην Βίτινναν, ὥς δοκεῖς, ἔτ' εὐρήσεις.

As far as Bitinna is concerned, at least at this early point in the mime, Gastron is the only case of such a *ἀμαρτία* which she ever has or ever in the future will be “foolish” enough to make. Not until her last speech in the mime (81–83), in which she couples her willingness to release Gastron with her motherly love for Cydilla, do we sense a hint that her understanding has become deeper: such *μωρία* as recognizing the humanity of another is in truth not so easily avoided as Bitinna had thought.

An even more central point emerges through the conflict between Cydilla and Pyrrhies. In it, as we shall see, can be identified a further aspect of the self-knowledge which Bitinna achieves. The vital point is specified by Cydilla herself (56): Pyrrhies acts as if he is unaware that he, Gastron, and Cydilla are *σύνδουλοι*. To him *δοῦλοι* are truly *κτήματα* and any community among them is not to be thought of; it is to be remembered that he alone in the mime actually inflicts physical punishment on Gastron (57). Cydilla's appeal to Pyrrhies to respect the “community” of slaves is bound to fail;<sup>12</sup> yet her appeal to Bitinna to respect the community of all *ἄνθρωποι* meets with success: let Bitinna spare Gastron in deference to the feast to the dead which is soon to be celebrated (80).<sup>13</sup> *Ἀνθρώπος* thus finally is *θνητός* without further distinction between *δοῦλος*, man or mistress.<sup>14</sup> Here then the self-awareness which leads Bitinna to relent is fittingly presented by Cydilla, who as slave and beloved foster-daughter belongs to both worlds and therefore sees more clearly than her mistress what humanity has in common. It is she alone in the mime who recognizes human mortality: first by her pointed contrast at 56–57 between the “fellow-slave” and that lowest of criminals, the grave robber; second, as Groeneboom has elegantly remarked,<sup>15</sup> by her use of the diction of funeral

11. Nairn, p. 64: “Pyrr. might have had some fellow-feeling for Gastron. He had himself tasted Bitinna's cruelty”; see also Cunningham, ad 61–62.

12. We may imagine, although the point is not developed, that the equivalent to Pyrrhies in Bitinna's social circle is Amphytaie: as Pyrrhies has no fellow-feeling for Gastron, she, it would appear, has betrayed a fellow-mistress (3). The name Amphytaie, despite Nairn, p. 58, who identifies her as a slave, is clearly that of a mistress: see Headlam, p. 230, and Groeneboom, p. 158.

13. For Gerenia, “an otherwise unknown festival of the dead” (Cunningham, p. 159), see I. C. Cunningham, “Herodas 4,” *CQ* 16 (1966): 115, n. 6; the suggestion of Crusius, p. 113, that the festival is connected with *Γερήμιος* Nestor and the *γένος* of “Nestoridae” on Cos is generally rejected: so, e.g., by Groeneboom, p. 174. Headlam, p. 268, and in “On Herodas,” *CR* 13 (1899): 154, had suggested that *Γερήμι* was “an error for *καὶ Ἀγρήμι*” . . . which is recorded by Hesychius to have been *νεκύσια παρὰ Ἀργείοις*. The postponement of the punishment during a religious festival recalls, of course, the case of Socrates. Considering the general theme of this mime we may well imagine that the parallel is intended.

14. Note the development of a similar theme in Sen. *Epist.* 47. 1: “Immo conservi, si cogitaveris tantundem in utrosque licere fortunae.”

15. Groeneboom, p. 171, ad 70–71. My thanks to Professor Seth Benardete of New York University for his advice while I was writing this paper.

inscriptions at 70–71 where she is attempting to persuade Bitinna to forgive the *ἀμαρτία* of Gastron; and, finally, by her reference to the forthcoming Gerenia festival in which, as Bitinna herself recalls, libations are poured to the dead. Gastron and Bitinna had earlier defined *ἀνθρώπος* by his capacity to err; to Cydilla it is even more that he is liable to death.

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### CATULLUS 63: RINGS AROUND THE SUN

In his recent monograph on Catullus, E. Schäfer offers a perceptive analysis of poem 63.<sup>1</sup> In the course of his discussion he demonstrates that the Attis poem, like poem 68, is written in ring-composition.<sup>2</sup> Despite the importance of Schäfer's findings for our understanding of Catullus' artistry in general and of poems 63, 64, and 68 in particular, his work has not received the attention it deserves.<sup>3</sup> It is hoped that the present study in proposing a significant refinement to Schäfer's scheme will not only awaken scholarly interest in Schäfer's analysis of 63 but also suggest that poems 63, 64, and 68 are structurally more akin than has generally been supposed. Support for the proposed structural analysis of 63 is drawn from Catullus' practice in 64 and 68. Future studies of 64 and 68 might well benefit from a consideration of the comparatively straightforward scheme of 63.<sup>4</sup>

Schäfer's scheme, which excludes the personal epilogue (91–93), can be represented diagrammatically as follows:

- A (1–11): the onset of *furor*
- B (12–26): Attis' exhortation of his companions
- C (27–37): frenzied ascent of Mt. Ida and sleep of exhaustion
- c (38–49): awakening and descent to shore
- b (50–73): Attis' lament (addressed to *patria*)
- a (74–90): the renewal of *furor*

Schäfer's scheme follows the natural divisions of the poem into alternating segments of narrative and direct speech except that he divides the narrative between the speeches into two sections. Here the pointed contrast in subject matter (ascent—descent, falling asleep—awakening, 31 *furibunda*—44 *sine rabie*) suggests

1. *Das Verhältnis vom Erlebnis und Kunstgestalt bei Catull* (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 95–107. His study of the poem is by no means confined to the ring-composition structure examined here. He offers a sensitive appreciation of the poem as a whole, and, in particular, pointing to the symbolic significance of the sunlit shore and the dark woods, draws attention to Catullus' use of external space to express inner spiritual or psychological experience. Schäfer sees this as a hallmark of Catullus' writing and traces the use of the technique in poems 64 and 68.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

3. I have seen no discussion of Schäfer's analysis of the poem. G. Sandy summarizes it in "The Imagery of Catullus 63," *TAPA* 99 (1968): 395, n. 20. C. Rubino, "Myth and Mediation in the Attis Poem of Catullus," *Ramus* 3 (1974): 171, n. 1, points out that Schäfer's is one of the few full discussions of poem 63. In Quinn's edition (1977), the useful bibliography following the commentary on the poem unfortunately does not refer the reader to Schäfer's work.

4. In particular, since the corresponding sections in 63 do not correspond in length, there seems no need to postulate lacunae in 68 in order to obtain corresponding sections of identical length.