THE IAPYX EPISODE OF *AENEID* 12 AND MEDICAL TALES IN MYTH AND MYTHOGRAPHY

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This paper attempts to investigate an episode of the final book of Vergil's *Aeneid* about which criticism has been remarkably reticent. The episode, *Aeneid* 12.391–429, is that in which Iapyx, a doctor absent from earlier battles in the epic, attends the wounded Aeneas. This battlefield-surgeon heals the hero at once with a miraculous drug provided through divine intervention. Apart from commentaries which elucidate individual points of grammar or clarify obscure aspects of medical lore, no full interpretation of the episode exists, at least not one that satisifies the criteria that I argue need to be met. Such a full interpretation should take account of the mythological and cultural perspective of the passage. Its narrative function, its Homeric and post-Homeric antecedents, and what can be called the "medical fictions" in the minds of its original audience, all deserve attention. This requires a mixture of structuralist, new-historicist, reader-response, and philological tactics in approaching the text, but the understanding of the text, not the method or combination of methods, is paramount, because the intent is to show that the passage is not some sort of minor digression, as the absence of full, critical discussion might imply, but is carefully wrought and ought to have a substantial impact on readers' reaction to the climax of the *Aeneid*.

The treatment of Aeneas' wound by the doctor Iapyx in *Aeneid* 12.391–429 has an obvious source in *Iliad* 4.190 ff. There, Machaon, who is both a warrior-chieftain and a battlefield-surgeon, is summoned by Agamemnon's herald Talthybios and comes to treat the wounded Menelaus. Vergil knew Homer's descriptions of battlefield-doctoring either from *Iliad* 4.213–219 or from 11.828–848, where Eurypylos gets surgical and pharmaceutical help from Patroklos, while Machaon and Podaleirios are busy fighting. But Vergil makes considerably more of these scenes than he found in Homer. And the first thing to consider is Vergil's manipulation of these Homeric passages.

Over the past two decades criticism has made it quite clear that Vergil engages in what has been called the "creative imitation" of his sources generally. And even the subtle changes that Vergil makes in Homeric material transform it, often with the effect of emphasizing the distance between Homer and himself or between his world and the world of Homeric epic.[1] Thus, while acknowledging Vergil's

In the notes that follow, references to medical lore in anonymous scholiasts or authors such as Cornutus and commentators such as Eustathius are cross-referenced with Edelstein and Edelstein 1945; e.g., Cornutus *ND* 33 [= T6, EE].

[1] Knauer (1964: 444) credits the seventeenth-century critic Juan Luis de la Cerda with being the first to observe the parallel between the Machaon episode in *Iliad* 4 and the Iapyx episode in *Aeneid*

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reliance on the passage from *Iliad* 4 as a source for his own medical or healing episode in *Aeneid* 12, critics must also note the significant elaborations that make the "copied" episode so different from the Homeric original, and, in my view, magnify the silences of the source.

To begin with, the Machaon episode in *Iliad* 4 serves as the ending of a series of actions that separate Paris and Menelaus, the real antagonists at Troy, from one another and prevent them from settling things by single combat. Menelaus recuperates quickly (he is back in action at *Iliad* 5.50), but apparently he does so in an ordinary way that requires no word of explanation; his wound was slight to begin with (*Il.* 4.185). Paris, of course, had already been wafted back to Helen's bed-chamber at the end of Book 3. Thus, the possibility of μουνομαχίη between Paris and Menelaus, the simplest and most direct way of deciding the conflict at Troy, has been disposed of by the middle of Book 4. Although single combat will occur as a compositional element at the poem's climax in Book 22, the wrong characters, so to speak, are involved, and the death of Hector at the hands of Achilles is not conclusive. The war does not end even then and the matter of Troy is far from exhausted. The wounding of Menelaus and the Machaon episode in *Iliad* 4 retard the action of the poem and make it more complex not just by helping to eliminate the most probable way to end the war and to bring the song quickly to a climactic episode; the disappearance of Paris leaves Menelaus with nobody to fight and so already slows the narrative. But by breaking the truce needed for the staging of Paris' fight with Menelaus and by angering Agamemnon, the treachery of Pandaros forces the all-encompassing hostilities to start again, and opens up the poem's battlefield to many other warriors besides Helen's wronged husband and her paramour.

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12. Russell (1979: 1–16) stresses the transformations made in Greek sources by Vergil and other Latin writers. Williams (1982: 23) already argues that references to Homeric figures in the *Aeneid* often underscore the gap between them and Aeneas. Van Nortwick (1980: 303–314) calls attention to the fact that the *Aeneid*'s allusiveness to the *Iliad* allows Vergil's Turnus to become successively the goddess-born *alius* . . . *Achilles* (*Aen.* 6.89–90); then in *Aen.* 7 the prospective groom separated from his promised bride by his superior Latinus, as Achilles was kept from Briseis by Agamemnon; next, a reflection of both Hector and Paris with bits of Achilles added (in *Aen.* 9–11), and finally in *Aen.* 12 once again a vehicle for destructive thoughts and actions proper to Achilles. The bibliography dealing with Vergilian (multiple) voices, ambiguity, and polyvalence is large, but a piece such as that of Perkell (1994) points out that the scholarly ground covered by these terms is only recently won and that there may still be claims that there is a "plain" or "univocal" *Aeneid*. For me, it is Vergil's ambivalence about influences on epic, particularly Homeric influence, that first fixes his attention on a passage such as the Machaon episode in *Iliad* 4 and then pushes him to outdo or undo Homer in his own kind of healing episode in *Aeneid* 12. Whether or not this is viewed as the later poet's anxiety about his admired forebear's tight grip on the tradition seems to me less important than the fact that the texts of such an ambivalent epigone are rich in citations of earlier works, but the citations are almost always revisionist citations. A mixture of veneration for the traditions of the genre and the need to find openings for an ambitious poem begets catachresis.

In the *Aeneid*, the Iapyx episode has just the opposite narratological function and, therefore, almost the opposite consequences, even though it too flows from the breaking of a truce. The Iapyx episode hastens things to a conclusion[2] and is followed rather directly by the climactic, single combat between Turnus and Aeneas. This is a fight that can occur so soon after the grievous wounding of Aeneas precisely because the cure administered by the puzzled doctor Iapyx is a miraculous one unlike the normal treatment given to Menelaus by Machaon or to Eurypylos by Patroklos in the *Iliad*. Not only do the two episodes that feature Machaon and Iapyx have such contrary narrative functions, as is best determined by looking at their consequences, but Vergil's Iapyx episode is filled with interesting details, while the medical segment of the Machaon episode in *Iliad* 4 is exceptionally brief.

The actual treatment of Menelaus' wound (as compared to the lengthy discussion among the gods before they permit Pandaros to hit Menelaus with a shot from his bow) requires only two or three verses to describe:

> αὐτικα δ' ἐκ ζωστῆρος ἀρηρότος ἕλκεν ὀϊστόν·
> ...
> αἷμ' ἐκμυζήσας ἐπ' ἄρ' ἤπια
> φάρμακα εἰδὼς πάσσε, τὰ οἱ ποτε πατρὶ φιλὰ φρονέων
> πόρε Χείρων (Homer *Il.* 4.213; 218–219)

Immediately, he [Machaon] drew the arrow out of his [Menelaus'] fitted belt .... After he had sucked out the blood, since he knew about soothing drugs, he applied the ones Cheiron had provided to him, because he [Cheiron] was well-disposed toward his father.

This tale of healing is about as succinct as can be. It doubtlessly inspired the Iapyx episode in *Aeneid* 12, but Vergil added many details to his own healing or medical tale for which there is no Iliadic precedent. For example, Vergil takes pains to let readers know how the physician Iapyx came by his art and what his motive in acquiring it was. In the same episode we are told that the wonder-working drug for wounds is dittany (*Origanum dictamnus*), that the drug was discovered by animals grazing on Mt Ida on Crete, that it was brought secretly to the battlefield by the wounded hero's goddess-mother, and that she mixed it into the compound used to bathe Aeneas' wound unbeknownst to Iapyx. Also, despite the fact that Iapyx is a mere technician, neither a warrior nor a prince (Machaon is both in the *Iliad*), he is given a speech to deliver that interprets the larger significance of Aeneas' sudden recovery. None of the

[2]Heinze (1908: 232) already explains that after the miraculous cure, Aeneas' thought is now concentrated on Turnus alone, that *Zweikampf* now looms immediately ahead, and that Juturna's attempt to drive her brother's chariot away from Aeneas while disguised as Metiscus is *die letzte Retardation* before the climactic, conclusive battle. If Proclus' summary of the *Ilias Parva* is trustworthy, Vergil had the logic of an episode at or near the beginning of this part of the cycle to show him the way to connect healing and single-combat episodes: ἰασθεὶς δὲ οὗτος (*sc.* Philoctetes) ὑπὸ Μαχάονος καὶ μονομαχήσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κτείνει (cf. Davies 1988: 52).

foregoing details depends on the *Iliad*, but neither is any of them original, and a brief survey of some well-known medical episodes from myth makes it clear that post-Homeric stories of healing and/or the folklore of medicine in the Greco-Roman world gave Vergil the necessary raw materials for "improving" on the *Iliad*.

In taking one last look back at *Iliad* 4 and then briefly surveying the likely post-Homeric sources for Vergil's medical episode, the emphasis is always on the legendary rather than the scientific (to the extent they can be separated; see below, n. 17). This is so, because the aim here is not to advance any new argument about ancient medical empiricism, but to understand the place of the medical tale in epic and specifically to say how the Iapyx episode contributes to the sense of climax, peripety, and closure in the *Aeneid*. In my view, as I said at the start, the Iapyx episode has not received as full a treatment as it deserves. Close re-reading of the text and consideration of its place among other texts (even those "texts" which are iconographical) are, of course, necessary, but so too is a look at the social role of the doctor as Vergil and his audience would have understood it.

The details found in Vergil's Iapyx episode (details about Iapyx's becoming a doctor and details about the wonder drug and its provenience, among others), prompt a question about the Machaon episode in *Iliad* 4. Are there suggestions of fabulous or miraculous elements in the extremely brief Machaon episode that led Vergil in the direction of the elaborations he made? The two or three verses from *Iliad* 4 cited above surely relied on the audience to know how the centaur Cheiron[3] acquired information about drugs, and the singer probably also expected his listeners to know the tale that explained why Machaon's father, Asclepius, was the object of Cheiron's friendship (cf. Pindar *Pyth.* 3.1–45, which says that Apollo seized the infant Asclepius out of the body of the faithless, pregnant Coronis and brought the child to the centaur, who was to teach him to heal diseases for humans). Vergil's Iapyx episode may be more explicit on the subject of the relationship of the doctor Iapyx to his teacher and guide Apollo precisely because that is an obvious gap in *Iliad* 4. On the whole, however, the episode in *Aeneid* 12 is closer in spirit to tales of healing that are themselves far more detailed than the Homeric episodes in *Iliad* 4 and 11 just mentioned. These "elaborate" tales, even when they survive only in summary form, as well as some tales whose content can be inferred from the evidence of the visual arts, often give more details about the

[3] Pliny *NH* 39.17 tells the story of Cheiron's accidental discovery of the drug thereafter called centaury. A stalk of this plant resembles an arrowhead or the tip of a lance and that resemblance may have been enough to cause the ancients to experiment with it as a homoeopathic remedy for wounds. For a drawing of centaury see Majno 1975: 388, fig. 9.41. Was the trial-and-error method the method by which Cheiron always operated? Escher (1899: 2303) says that Cheiron is generally credited with being the inventor of the healing art as in Pindar *Pyth.* 3.63–66, but he also cites a single Orphic source (*Orph. L., praef.* 11 f., unavailable to me) that apparently says Zeus gave Cheiron the knowledge of medicine. This may be nothing more than a detail added to the separate genealogy given to Cheiron as distinct and apart from that of other centaurs; Cheiron is uniquely a son of Kronos, while Ixion is the father or grandfather of the rest of the centaurs.

crude drugs, about the animal discoverers or suppliers of such drugs, and about the specifically erotic relationship between doctor and patient or between the doctor and his teacher than does the description of Machaon's extracting the arrow and dressing the wound of Menelaus in *Iliad* 4.213–219.

In this instance, if "older is not better"[4] (or at least not more informative), it may be because "older" is not even really older at all. What this means is that Vergil's description of Iapyx's *pharmacopeia* and of this same doctor's choice of medical knowledge as the gift to be bestowed on him by the enamored Apollo may contain more of the traditional motifs found in Greek tales of healing generally than do the verses of Homer. It may be that the *Iliad* has erased or obliterated all but the vestiges of such medical folklore as can be discerned far more clearly in the *Aeneid* and in other mythical tales of healing. The *Iliad* is certainly not specific about drugs except at 11.846, where it mentions ῥίζαν ... πικρὴν ("a bitter root") as a coagulant; otherwise, drugs are simply ἤπια (4.218 and 11.830) or ἐσθλά (11.831) in the two healing episodes involving the warrior-healers Machaon and Patroklos.[5] ἤπια and ἐσθλά are epithets as much or more suited to aristocrats' speech and action as they are to drugs or the effects of drugs. Presumably, root-gatherers (see below, n. 15) knew exactly which plants supplied poisons, which ones could be made into medicines, and which made both poisons and medicines depending on their concentration in wine, oil, and the like, but the activities of ancient herbalists are apparently not subjects worthy of detailed description in the *Iliad*. This point should not be pressed too far, but we will return to it after examining some tales of healing which are less naturalistic, but at the same time more specific and more detailed, than those of the *Iliad* and are, therefore, closer to Vergil's Iapyx episode.

Two tales that overlap with the passage at the end of *Iliad* 11 and with the Machaon episode as well are those which relate how Achilles employed his medical knowledge in healing Patroklos and Telephos.[6] Like Machaon, Achilles was said to have been tutored by the centaur Cheiron, and Eurypylos knows

[4] This truism is a rallying cry for those who reject an older doctrine which held that folktales must be the remnants of degenerated myths. See Hansen 1990: 241–242.

[5] It is possible that the name Asclepius is not Greek at all, but the *interpretatio Graeca* was quick to seize on ἤπιος and make it into an element of his name (cf. Cornutus *ND* 33 [= T6, EE] ὠνομάσθη ὁ Ἀσκλήπιος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἠπίως ἰᾶσθαι). The view that saw the adjective ἤπιος within the name of the god and the formulaic use of the adjective ἤπια as an epithet for φάρμακα in Homeric verse clearly reinforce one another. If the name Asclepius is claimed for Greek, then it seems that the name can be interpreted to mean "very harsh and gentle," (with σκ(ε)λ- or σκλ(ε)- from σκέλλω [root σκελ-] and with ἀ- epitactic; cf. σκληρός). Scholiasts, however, rehearse the story of the healing of a certain Askles, tyrant of Epidauros, who suffered from a disease of the eyes (of the *sclera*, no doubt), in conjunction with the origin of the name Asclepius as if the name meant "the one who was kind/gentle to Askles"; see TT 271–273, EE.

[6] The healing of Patroklos is depicted on the famous Berlin *Sosiasschale* (F 2278 = *LIMC* 468) dated to ca 500 B.C. The position of Achilles between the legs of Patroklos, who is half-sitting and half-squatting on a shield that is lying flat on its rim, and the depiction of Patroklos' genitals may suggest that these two (or contemporary warriors like these models from epic) could be thought of as

that fact and also surmises that Patroklos learned about drugs from Achilles (*Il.* 11.831–832). It would be appropriate to recall now that although the friendship of Achilles and Patroklos is never said to be a sexual relationship in the *Iliad*, it was obviously portrayed that way later on (see below, 387–390 and nn. 22 and 24). This is germane here because one of the ultimate questions to be answered in this essay is why Vergil made his doctor the object of Apollo's erotic desires and portrayed the art of medicine as the gift used by Apollo to win the love of Iapyx. The notion of a medical τέχνη shared among the coterie of Cheiron's pupils plus an inference based on general patterns of Greek education[7] may have helped to change the view of Achilles' friendship for Patroklos in post-Homeric literature. The Sosias cup (above, n. 6), whether it conveys an erotic message or not, shows Achilles and a partly-clad Patroklos in close physical contact, as Achilles, positioned between the legs of Patroklos, bandages a wound to the upper arm of the half-sitting, half-squatting older hero. Gourevitch (1984: 397) suggests that it is because doctors typically ask patients to disrobe and then palpate the patient and because the patient may experience pleasure in being touched by the healer that the widespread view of doctors' sexual indecency or excess arose.[8]

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sexual partners at the time when the painting was made. On the other hand, Greek attitudes at the end of the sixth century B.C. about nudity, physical proximity in private and in public, and the status and conduct of healers (cf. below, nn. 8 and 22) were arguably so different from our own and the anatomical challenge posed by the scene for the vase-painter is so obvious that these factors should make us hesitant to ascribe any blatant sexual message to the painting.

The story of the healing of Telephos is summarized in Apollod. *Epit.* 3.20, where we are informed that Apollo told Telephos he would find a cure when the one who had wounded him became a physician (τεύξεσθαι θεραπείας ὅταν ὁ τρώσας ἰατρὸς γένηται). There is an allusion to Telephos' attack on the Greeks in Mysia, when only Achilles and Patroklos withstood him, in Pindar *Ol.* 9.70–73, and *Il.* 1.59 can, by stretching things, be interpreted as a reference to the failure of the Greeks who mistook Mysia for the Troad eight years before the time of the expedition led by Agamemnon (this is especially so, if πάλιν πλαγχθέντας ["beaten again"] is adopted as a reading instead of παλιμπλαγχθέντας ["beaten back"]).

[7] Marrou (1956: 31) makes clear his distaste for pederasty, but concedes it was "the normal mode, the standard type" of Greek education, at least of the classes which recorded such educational details. The possibility that medical apprenticeships may have been copied from chaste Near Eastern models does not mean that the Greek adaptations of such apprenticeships would not have been assimilated to Greek homosexual educational practices. At least three of the main schools of medicine were located in Cyrene (founded from Sparta and Thera), at Cnidos (possible descent from Sparta), and on Cos, and the Doric cities' festivals, such as their Karneia and Hyakinthia (with related months), both linked to Apollo, were celebrations of youthful male beauty and athletic prowess; cf. below, n. 23, for a dissent from Marrou's view that educational pederasty originates after the time of the formation of the polis itself.

[8] This comports with Gourevitch's earlier view (1970: 751) that the exaltation of sexual continence in the conduct of the Hippocratic doctor extends even to norms of dress that ought not, for example, expose to view too much of the flesh of the doctor's limbs (how different from the medical Achilles on the Sosias cup!). Throughout Gourevitch's 1984 work, the doctor idealized as savior and moralist and the doctor feared as criminal intruder into the intimate secrets of the household are said to exist in a more or less permanent tension in the collective fantasy of patients and public.

In the case of Telephos the healing was said to have been brought about by a medicine concocted from the rust of Achilles' spear in fulfilment of the prophecy that "the one who hurts heals."[9] Both tales about Achilles may be aitiological stories that attempt to connect Achilles to healing cults or to explain the existence of a drug called *achilleos* (Pliny at *NH* 25.19 says that the hero was the discoverer of this drug and recounts the tale of Telephos in the same passage). Additionally, both stories may involve the etymologies, real or fancied, that found both ἄχος and ἄκος in Achilles's name (as old as *Il.* 9.151–152). Much, therefore, is at work in these tales about Achilles, but the most interesting elements for this discussion are the supernatural/hieratic ones such as the rust-based drug that fulfills the prophecy, itself based on the spear's magical ability to undo its own injurious work, and the notion that medical knowledge is passed on as a token of friendship, perhaps even used to foster sexual intimacy.

Another medical tale in which the hieratic and folk elements are prominent is the story of the healing of Iphiklos,[10] which is also brought about by a drug made from rust, in this case the rust from a knife used many years earlier by the frightened child's father to geld oxen. In this tale the knife had to be found in a miraculous way, because it had been stuck into a sacred oak whose bark had overgrown it. Melampous is the healer in this tale. His unusual name, "Blackfoot," was curious enough not only to spawn its own etymologizing tale, but it is also a name parallel to that of Podaleirios, "Footwise lily-[white],"[11] Machaon's brother physician in the *Iliad*. In any case, Melampous was told the whereabouts of the

[9] Majno (1975: 113 and fig. 3.23) both describes and photographs his experiments with metallic rusts as bactericides. Majno scraped the rust from strips of copper plates that had been exposed to the fumes of vinegar (the nearest he could get to an old bronze spear, it seems) as well as other rusts into the center wells of dishes containing pathogenic bacteria from infected wounds. In the case of the verdigris the bacterium was *E. coli*, and Majno calls the results "spectacular," as is confirmed by the photo. Although Majno later says (1975: 389) that he has no data on the effect of rust on wounds (because he apparently made no tests on human subjects), the implication of his experiment is that rusts, especially copper or bronze rust, might have controlled infection without posing too much danger of metallic poisoning.

[10] As in the case of the tale about Telephos' healing (above, n. 6), our most complete source for the tale of the healing of Iphiklos by Melampous is Apollodorus (1.9.12), although *Il.* 2.705 already gives his genealogy in part and *Od.* 11.290–297 and 15.225–242 show that the story of Melampous' journey to get the cattle of Phylakos was known early on.

[11] Cf. Pley 1931: 392 for the curious story found only in scholia that Melampous was left in the shade of a forest with feet exposed to the sun, which burnt them black. Even if the name Podaleirios actually derives from a toponym, only the notion that his name means "traversing the [herb-]gardens," i.e., "being familiar with herbs" and their medicinal properties (Eust. *ad Il.* 13.830 [= T197, EE]) is productive in the mythological sphere. These bits of folklore appear to say that as experts in pharmacy Melampous operated in the dark world of the forest while Podaleirios walked in the cultivated world of the garden, or that Melampous supplied subterranean (dark) roots and Podaleirios sunlit (bright) flowers; the "logical" or "sorting" value of the names is paramount. The same is true of texts that differentiate Podaleirios as herbalist and specialist in internal medicine from Machaon as surgeon (cf. below, n. 20, for Benveniste's notion that such divisions of medicine are an Indo-European legacy).

knife that had become encased in the bark of the oak by a vulture that had come to feed on the flesh of steers that he was sacrificing. The seer, it should be added, understood the speech of animals because his ears had been licked by snakes earlier on. (This uncanny ability is even more important to Melampous in the episode in which he listens to the talk of worms and predicts the collapse of rotting beams than it is in the tale of Iphiklos.) It would be rash to say that all of the elements in this tale can be easily understood as a coherent whole, but a sexual element is obvious from the steer's castration and the impotence or sterility it caused in Iphiklos, and the hieratic elements are pronounced (sacred oak, understanding the speech of the vulture, and sacrifices performed by Melampous, whose cult and temple really existed at Aigosthena, according to Paus. 1.44.5).

Of all the mythical healing episodes that display the constellation of elements that later turn up in Vergil's medical episode in *Aeneid* 12, perhaps the one closest to the healing of Aeneas by the doctor Iapyx is the scene on an Etruscan mirror from the British Museum that shows Metvia (Medea) and Menvra (Minerva) attending to the seated Heasun (Jason), while Rescial (?) stands by.[12] The relevance of the mirror to tales of healing has been obscured by the title it is usually given *Jasons Verjüngung* (the Rejuvenation of Jason).[13] This title, assigned to the mirror by the editors of the fifth volume of Gerhard's *Etruskische Spiegel*, was endorsed by Beazley (1949: 8 and n. 42), who accepted the argument he found in Klügmann and Körte's commentary, namely that the scene on the mirror was connected to a fragment of Simonides. The so-called "fragment" is actually a statement from the argument of Euripides' *Medea* and it refers to a tale in which Jason, presumably grown old or made prematurely old by magic, is rejuvenated by being cooked:

Φερεκύδης δὲ καὶ Σιμωνίδης φασὶν ὡς ἡ Μήδεια ἀνεψήσασα Ἰάσονα νέον ποιήσειε.

No other version of such a tale, which obviously shares the motif of cooking with the story of Medea's murderous trick involving the daughters of Pelias, is to be found in extant art or literature. Moreover, despite what Beazley says, the Jason of the mirror does not appear to have the body of an old man. He is certainly slumping in his seat, but he may be sick, listless with love-sickness, or even wounded. (The German editors, whom Beazley professes to follow, consistently refer to him as *Jüngling* and note more accurately "während Haupt und Glieder derselben durchaus jugendliche, kräftige Formen zeigen, sei die Haltung noch die eines kraftlosen Greises . . ." [1897: 117–118]; they prefer to interpret the scene as the immediate aftermath of a metamorphosis from age to youth.) The

[12] See Klügmann and Körte 1897: pl. 93 and 116–120 for the drawing from the mirror (*LIMC* 63) and comments on the links between the picture and literary texts. For the drooping head as a sign of injury, not of old age, see the Sosias cup (above, n. 6).

[13] Beazley (1949: fig. 8, and pl. VIIIa) reproduces the drawing in Klügman and Körte 1897: pl. 93, photographs the mirror, and provides the somewhat unwieldy English translation.

scene below the principal scene, just above the mirror's tang, shows the mauling of a deer and may be a visual metaphor for the central scene. If so, it better supports the notion of a hero wounded in battle or wounded by love than that of a superannuated hero.

The bird flying toward the group is perhaps carrying a *bulla* that symbolizes youth—this may be the strongest part of the argument made by Klügmann and Körte (1897: 117). However, the *bulla* is really associated with childhood rather than with early manhood, and it is possible that the object in the bird's beak is a sprig of oregano, teasel, or some such plant to be used as an ingredient in a medication or to be worn as an amulet. The figure of Rescial is an enigma, but the idea that the bird which she is plucking may be the ἴυγξ or wry-neck, an idea rejected by Klügmann and Körte (1897: 120), deserves re-consideration. The tormenting of this bird as a love-charm is already alluded to in Pindar's version of the Argonautic expedition to Colchis (*Pyth.* 4.224–225, ἴυγγα ... ἐν ἀλύτῳ ζεύξαισα κύκλῳ; cf. fr. 128a Snell). But the German editors seem to discount the idea that the bird in Rescial's hands is the wry-neck, because they wish the scene to belong to a later phase of Jason's life (in fact, to a phase when he ruled at Corinth with Medea, a period of the hero's career mostly unknown in early Greek literature but suggested by Pausanias 2.3.7–10 [following Eumelos?] and Bergk's emendation of *synasteos* to *synthronos* in his reading of Simonides fr. 48). Also, Klügmann and Körte may have resisted the idea that the bird is the ἴυγξ because a wheel on which to spin the bird is absent from the scene on the mirror. Very recently, Faraone (1993: 11–16) has argued that spinning or whirling the wry-neck was not the key to this magic ritual, but instead that the wheel was simply the rack on which the bird was immobilized for torture.[14]

The one unassailable conclusion that can be based on the mirror, whether we accept the notion that Jason is being rejuvenated or we argue that the hero is being treated for an illness, for love-sickness, or for an injury suffered in his adventures, is that the therapeutic effect is going to be produced by his drinking or by having instilled into him whatever liquid has been poured out by the goddess Minerva into the *patera umbilicata* extended toward him by Medea. His head is inclined toward the shallow vessel that has just been filled from the pitcher hanging at Minerva's side (for the same detail, as Venus mixes drugs in a vessel in the Iapyx episode, cf. *Aen.* 12.417–418, *hoc fusum labris splendentibus amnem / inficit*). In short, whatever is being done in the central scene on the mirror is carried out in the manner of a healing with the drug provided by a goddess and administered to Jason by Medea, who is linked to him erotically, and animal helpers are involved in the scene, too. Whether the medication is an antidote to aging (φάρμακον ἀγηρασίας) or a remedy for sickness or for a wound may remain an open question, but there is no question that the scene presents us with the picture of a healing.

[14] Faraone's discussion focuses on Pindar *Pyth.* 4.213–219.

From a brief look at a handful of medical episodes (the healings of Menelaus and Eurypylos in the *Iliad*, the healings of Telephos and Patroklos by Achilles, the healing of Iphiklos by Melampous, and what I have called the healing of Jason on the mirror discussed above), it is possible to say that certain narrative elements are likely to occur with greater or lesser emphasis in all such fully developed episodes: unusual medicines, animal- or centaur-helpers who find or deliver the drugs, friends or lovers who do the surgery or administer the remedies, and healers who double as warriors, priests, or messengers and agents of the gods. The Iapyx episode in the last book of the *Aeneid* certainly fits well into the pattern of such tales: it combines the stable narrative elements mentioned above (except for the social standing of the doctor) in the way that a conscious, literary borrowing might, i.e., it does so with a heightened sense of peripety, climax, and closure in the narrative. In the medical episode of *Aeneid* 12, as the name of the doctor Iapyx itself suggests, the *pharmacopeia* is elaborate. Dittany from Crete, glossed as stalk-cabbage, ambrosial juices, and *panaces* comprise the remedy. A couple of generations later, Pliny recognizes four kinds of *panaces*, and what he calls types three and four were discovered by Cheiron (*NH* 25.13–14); centaury, too, (also called *chironion*) may have beneficial effects on wounds, because it was given to Cheiron when an arrow of Herakles fell on the centaur's foot, Pliny tells us (25.30). But in *Aeneid* 12.413 the critical ingredient is dittany, not *panaces*, and dittany is said to have been discovered by goats on Cretan Ida, who use the plant to heal themselves when they have been wounded by arrows. When Iapyx bathes Aeneas' wound with this mixture, whose effective ingredient is the *dictamnum*, the embedded arrow is removed easily (a surgeon of Vergil's day would most likely have used the "spoon of Diocles,"[15] but Vergil is describing surgery in the age of heroes), the blood coagulates, and the pain disappears. Dittany, as G. E. R. Lloyd shows (1983: 142–143), had been described as possessing these identical powers three hundred years before Vergil by Theophrastus (*HP* 9.16), and dittany's effectiveness was to be described in exactly this way by Pliny (*NH* 25.92), although Pliny says deer, not goats, were the discoverers of the drug. For Lloyd, the invariability of this description over hundreds of years shows that a written text had superseded the oral tradition that had existed still earlier among the root-cutters, supplanted their empiricism, and become authoritative or canonical.[16] Clearly, we ought not to imagine Vergil gathering his background

[15] *Aen.* 12.388–389 may refer to such an instrument's ancestor, i.e., one without a cup-shaped extremity. The wounded Aeneas asks Mnestheus, Achates, and Ascanius to open his wound with a broad sword and to section back the flesh that covers the embedded spear (*ense secent lato vulnus telique latebram/ rescindant penitus*), but by line 391 Iapyx is already on the scene, though his *tenax forceps* (12.404) proves inadequate. It is interesting that the Hippocratic Oath (below, n. 22) entails an obligation to treat patients with diet and drugs alone and to call in a surgeon when there is cutting to be done, but the oath does not seem to contemplate wartime medical practice.

[16] Also relevant to the argument made in this paper is Lloyd's description (1983: 120–126) of the similarities and differences among root-cutters, drug-sellers, and doctors in the age of Hippocrates.

information for the Iapyx episode from herbalists, but rather, from learned tomes on natural history, if Lloyd's view is right.

Lloyd's notion of canonicity may also help to explain why the *Iliad*'s healing episodes mention no specific drugs at all.[17] Not only were the ῥιζοτόμοι situated below the level of society that was the focus of the *Iliad*, but their necessarily local knowledge could never produce an authoritative discovery of any single drug that all the audiences who heard the *Iliad* would recognize as the best cure for arrow wounds. Only when banausic herbalists and doctors (i.e., those who did not double as princes, prophets, warriors, or priests) became fit subjects for poetry and when medical practice put its stamp of approval on particular drugs that became traded widely and widely written about, were the sorts of details we find everywhere in healing tales other than in the *Iliad* perceived to be the stuff of epic, as they are in the *Aeneid*. Such a model or something quite like it may be the best we can do in explaining the absence of detail from the *Iliad*'s healing episodes and in trying to assign "priority" either to folktale or to myth in the transmission of medical lore. The palm apparently belongs to tales that were late additions to epic literature but do not seem to be degenerated myths. If anything, the *Iliad* has "degenerated" on this point; drugs must always be specific, not merely "noble" or "soothing." The *Iliad* remains our oldest Greek literary text, but "older" medical folklore may have to be sought in epic texts or comments on epic written down far later than the *Iliad*. This question of priority is an important issue but not one that can be settled here, and we need to return to other details of the Iapyx episode in *Aeneid* 12.

The mysterious nature of the cure, mysterious even to the doctor Iapyx himself, is chiefly interesting for two reasons. First, this miraculous healing inspires the doctor to proclaim that supernatural powers are at work, and readers ought to recognize that this is, indeed, a sign that the *finis* predicted in *Aeneid* 1.199 (*dabit deus his quoque finem*) has been reached. Now finally, Aeneas has no further physical suffering to endure in the epic, and in a sense the epic can now end because the gods have ended the hero's pain in recognition of his worth.[18] Yes,

[17] Scarborough (1991: 139–140) discusses the Homeric epics as evidence for the initial intellectual context out of which pharmacology arose. Also important is Scarborough's warning that Greek pharmaceutical texts always mingle magic, strict empiricism, and religion in shifting proportions (151). There is a difference between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* on the matter of pharmaceutical detail. While drugs are merely "soothing" or "noble/useful" in the episodes of *Iliad* 4 and 11 that we have been examining, drugs in the *Odyssey* have specific names and/or characteristics. In *Od.* 4.220–232, the drug νηπενθηές (if that is a name) is added to wine by Helen. It has its anodyne effectiveness described at length and it is given an Egyptian pedigree. We are told that Polydamna, wife of Thon, gave it to Helen and that the Egyptians are more well supplied than others with plants for drugs and with better doctors. Even in *Od.* 10.302–306, the μῶλυ given to the hero by Hermes is said to have a black root and a white blossom, and it is difficult for humans to dig up.

[18] Gransden (1984: 37–39) shows that there is an the emphasis placed on *finis* even in *Aen.* 1 and demonstrates that Book 12 refers back to these first foreshadowings of closure. One notion that arises in the Iapyx episode and helps to create the sense of finality in Book 12 is the idea of *indignatio*.

the anguish of having failed to protect Pallas, Evander's son, does trouble Aeneas in the last lines of the poem, but as he executes Turnus, he says that the dead Pallas really delivers the fatal strokes of the sword.[19] Iapyx's admission that his art failed to accomplish the healing of Aeneas (and the healing is the very miracle that we recognize as the end of Aeneas' suffering) leads him to ascribe the cure to a *maior*... *deus* and to assert that Aeneas is now ready for greater deeds in battle (*opera ad maiora*, 12.429). The doctor's rhetoric coincides with that of the poet himself, who calls the second half of the epic its "greater" half (*maius opus*, 7.46). Iapyx even cries out for *arma* to be given to the suddenly cured *viro* (12.425) in a reprise of the epic's opening words. Thus, in his amazement at the divine nature of Aeneas' cure and his certainty that the cure prepares the hero for "greater" exploits, Iapyx reinforces both the rhetoric about suffering found throughout the poem and the Iliadic consciousness of its last six books—this despite the fact that he does not comprehend the working of the medication which he administers (he is *ignorans* in 12.421).

Although Iapyx knows nothing about the miraculous drug and the mechanics of the cure, the poet himself has told us that the drug comes from Crete, where it is a remedy used among goats, and that Aeneas' mother brought the drug to the battlefield to be mixed into the doctor's remedy. This is the second noteworthy thing about Iapyx's puzzlement: the poet expected the original audience of the *Aeneid* to know how such a cure worked even if his doctor Iapyx did not. We should understand that the notion of a therapeutic intervention by an animal or divinity bearing a wonder-drug is part of the lore of the cult of Asclepius and the incubation ritual associated with it. Vergil, however, has transferred the god's visit from the patient to the physician, who is wide awake but still unaware of Venus' appearance on the scene. As it happens, several of the miraculous cures recorded at Epidaurus[20] are particularly instructive in regard to such epiphanies and interventions.

At 12.411 Venus plucks the dittany for Aeneas' medicine because she is shaken in her mind by his "unworthy wound" (*indigno*... *vulnere*) and at 12.786 she herself is still *Venus indignata*. The issue of "worthiness" and its link to angry characters in the epic are topics I hope to discuss elsewhere.

[19] In saying that Pallas delivers the fatal thrusts to the scapegoat Turnus, Aeneas participates in what has been called the "comedy of innocence" by following the sort of sacrificial practice that exonerates an officiating priest from any blood-guilt (Burkert [1972: 18–19] gives the translation of a comparable Babylonian text: "Diese Tat—alle Götter haben sie vollbracht; nicht ich habe sie vollbracht").

[20] The votive testimonies are recorded in *IG* IV.2.1 121–122 (= T423 EE). There are parallels shared among what is recorded for many cases (case 40 in particular) on the *stelai* at Epidaurus, the Iapyx episode in *Aeneid* 12, and one of the doctoring episodes of the *Tain*. The Irish narrative is full of doctors, including fifteen or fifty (texts vary) killed by Cethern because these healers gave him a gloomy prognosis. Fingin *fáthliaig* (i.e., *vates*-doctor) is the most remarkable of that group (*LL* 3655 [*LL* = "Book *Lebor* of Leinster"]). Elsewhere in the narrative, the hero Cúchulainn himself is healed by Lug, who identifies himself as "your father from the mounds of the *sid*" and who has the appearance of a youthful warrior. Cúchulainn is put to sleep, Lug chants over him, and Lug then "dropped wholesome healing herbs and grasses into Cúchulainn's aching wounds and several sores, so

Of the forty-three cases memorialized on the surviving *stelai* nearly eighty-five per cent record the intervention of Asclepius himself or of an animal (snakes, dogs, and a goose) acting alone or in concert with the god, or the appearance of a handsome youth or youths. When the miraculous cure occurs the patient is typically asleep and visited in a dream, but several patients are awake. Cures 12, 30, 32, and 40 are most relevant here simply because they involve puncture wounds; Euhippos (12), for example, carried a spearhead in his jaw for six years until he saw the god remove it as he slept, and on waking up, he was holding the spearhead in his hand; Gorgias (30) went on suppurating for a year and a half (filling sixty-seven basins with pus) after having been wounded by an arrow in the lung; he saw a vision of the god extracting the barb and woke up with the arrowhead in his hands. Case 40 involves a man whose name was likely Timon (the inscription is damaged) and who was probably wounded by a spear beneath his eye. He dreamed that the god visited him after having grated an herb (into a liquid?), which the god then proceeded to pour into the wound or the eye (ἐδό]κει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ποίαν τρίψας ἐγχεῖν εἰς τ[ὸν ὀφθαλμόν ...), and Timon became a healthy man.

In most of the cases recorded at Epidauros there is the patient's dream about the divinity or the handsome young messenger(s) of the god, and in a handful of cases also a dream about the healing serpent, Aesclepius' own animal symbol, or a therapeutic encounter with some other animal while the patient is fully awake and aware. Vergil has lifted such figures from the realm of dreams and transformed them to suit his own needs: Cretan goats presumably licked their own wounds after chewing on dittany, but having a goat on the scene in *Aeneid* 12 or having the hero dream that his wound was being licked by such a creature would be inappropriate; Aeneas' goddess-mother had no very strong links to medicine or to cures by incubation, but she is the divinity who intervenes by bringing the drug to Italy, though she remains unseen by both Iapyx and Aeneas. (Cretan dittany may have been linked to females in Vergil's mind because Hippocratic literature suggests its use in cases of dysmenorrhea and failure to discharge the afterbirth [*Nat. Mul.* 32], among other female complaints; see Lloyd 1983: 127 and nn.) Most importantly, the poet seems to be playing off his Iapyx episode against the audience's expectation concerning miraculous gifts, medical or otherwise, in myth

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that he began to recover in his sleep without knowing it." O'Rahilly (1967: 312, *ad* 2153) notes that a number of these details come from the *LU* (= "Lebor na Uidre" or "Book of the Dun Cow") version, a version known (xiii) to have been contaminated by someone with a knowledge of the *Aeneid*. Kinsella (1970: 142–144), who accepts the *LU* version of this episode, is the source for the translation given above. Prof. D. O'Higgins (letter to the author, 6.8.94) notes that in O'Rahilly's *LL*-based version it is only the plants, not the healer, that come from the *síd*; any error of interpretation is, of course, my own. See Benveniste (1945: 5–12) for the notion that three distinct forms of healing (chant, surgery, and plant-medicine) correspond to the three functions of Indo-European kingship (priest, warrior, and guarantor of fertility), or at least to three social classes, including *agriculteurs*, into which Indo-European society may putatively be divided.

and folktale. Such marvelous gifts are ultimately to be shared with others. Even as early as the story of Gilgamesh, it will be remembered, the prickly plant of rejuvenation was to be brought back to the elders of Uruk. This is so because such wonder-drugs comprise a subcategory of the *don merveilleux* with which the culture-hero transforms his society and the folk-hero enriches his family or his village, after having received the gift in the course of his adventures. But neither Aeneas nor Iapyx (who is a better candidate than Aeneas himself to share the drug with others) can transmit this boon to society at large. In the episode of *Aeneid* 12 that we have been examining, dittany is a miraculous gift because it reinvigorates the swooning hero just before his climactic battle with Turnus, but the gift cannot be shared with others until a Theophrastus or (later) a Pliny comes along. The *doctus poeta* may be having a bit of fun here in suggesting that his sources, the learned natural historians, are the true culture-heroes; they make the knowledge of the miraculous remedy for wounds available to humankind.

The final point to be made about the medical lore contained in Vergil's Iapyx episode is the notion that the skill of the doctor was a gift to him from the enamored Apollo. According to Vergil, Iapyx chose the gift of medical skill in preference to archery, augury, and music, any of which Apollo might have given to him, despite the fact that the practice of medicine meant that he would remain without fame (*inglorius* at 12.397). Iapyx's motive for the choice of this lesser skill was a powerful one. He wished to prolong the life of his father Iasos (obviously also a healer), who was lying ill at death's door (*ut depositi proferret fata parentis*, 12.394—"in order to postpone the fates of his father who had been laid on his sickbed/deathbed"). The motive assigned to the doctor Iapyx is important because it means that Apollo's guidance, even sexual intimacy with Apollo, was a consolation for the loss of a father and potential teacher. Vergil may well have thought that ἔρως, since it was an emotional factor in many Greek educational situations (see above, n. 7), was also an emotional or physical concomitant of shared medical knowledge among the Greeks. In any case, Iapyx, who valued his father so highly that he wished to exceed nature and destiny in extending Iasos' life, accepted Apollo's *amor* (12.392) when he, as the *dilectus* (12.391, equivalent to the Greek ἐρώμενος), accepted Apollo's gift of the medical art.[21]

There is some real-world evidence that is explicit on this point. In Plato's *Symposium*, Phaedrus and Eryximachos, who are historical figures, are clearly a couple. Phaedrus obeys the physician both "otherwise" and in medical matters (176e); each time Phaedrus is vexed with Eryximachos, he turns the discussion to Eros (177a); and after the revelers burst in, the two leave the symposium together (223b). If Eryximachos is typical of those who practice the ἰατρικὴ τέχνη in other ways (even if only in pomposity, as is argued by those who find him comic), then

[21] The use of *dilectus* in describing Iapyx is exactly the same as it is in Ovid *Met.* 10.152–153, where Orpheus sings about Ganymede and Hyakinthos and in Suet. *Aug.* 98.4, where Augustus composes *ex tempore* verses at the tomb of Masgaba, *ex dilectis unum*, on Capri; note also that Vergil's Iapyx is loved *ante alios*, i.e., "before Apollo's other young men."

perhaps his attachment to his pupil and patient Phaedrus ought to be regarded as typical of physicians' behavior as well. If such arrangements with pupils ("hunting in couples," says Bury [1932: 170] in his commentary on Pl. *Symp.* 223b) were typical, a possible motive for the "reform" proposed in the Hippocratic Oath may be revealed. There, the neophyte physician swears to respect and to live with his former teacher as with his γενέται. What is, perhaps, left unsaid by the oath, is that some medical students had lived with their teachers as with ἐραστaί. What is unquestionable is that the oath requires a pledge to abstain from both heterosexual and homosexual contact with patients.[22]

Some slight corroboration of the view that doctors were or were imagined to be sexually excessive comes from Aeschines' speech *Against Timarchos.* The speech is a crucial document concerning fourth-century B.C. Athenian law and custom on the issue of homosexuality, and it does say (40–42) that Timarchos set himself up as a prostitute in a doctor's clinic in the Piraeus under the pretext of studying medicine, but this is an isolated piece of evidence unless it can be fitted together with the *Symposium's* Eryximachos, the oath's prohibition against sexual contact with patients, the generally homoerotic pattern of Greek education as Marrou (above, note 7) saw it, and stories of Apollo's pursuit of beautiful youths. Pliny says that the Romans left the practice of medicine mainly to the Greeks, because the medical art was an affront to Roman *gravitas,* and that statement could have a sexual connotation, but Pliny seems to be most incensed at the quackery of doctors, not at their sexual conduct, about which he is relatively silent.[23] However, since medicine was a Greek art that involved skills imparted by experienced doctors to younger students, a knowledge and set of practices not

[22] Edelstein 1943 is still fundamental to the notion that the Hippocratic Oath is a manifesto of reform. The oath-taker swears "to regard the one who taught me this art equally with my parents and to share a common life" (ἡγήσασθαί τε τὸν διδάξαντά με τὴν τέχνην ταύτην ἶσα γενέτησιν ἐμοῖσιν καὶ βίου κοινώσασθαι). He pledges further that he will enter the homes of those who are ill only for their benefit and will refrain from injustice, other harm, and specifically from "sexual acts on either female or male persons both free and slave" (ἀφροδισίων ἔργων ἐπί τε γυναικείων σωμάτων καὶ ἀνδρείων ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων). The words of the oath, it should be pointed out, exclude all sexual relations with patients while they are being treated at home and also seem to exclude sexual relations between the new physician and his former teacher. It cannot be said that these provisions exclude all sexual relations between student and teacher; "initiatory" homosexual acts, for example, are not proscribed (see below, n. 24). This silence is curious, given the ethnic character of three of the four cities which had early schools of medicine and given the norms of Greek education (cf. above, n. 7).

[23] Pliny devotes the first three chapters of *NH* 25 to complaints about the secrecy with which contemporary pharmacologists guard their discoveries as opposed to the generosity of the *prisci,* and he also complains that he can name only three Romans (Cato, Pompeius Lenaeus, a freedman of Cn. Pompeius Magnus who translated an entire bookcase of treatises on medicinal plants taken from Mithridates, and M. Valgius, author of a book dedicated to Augustus) who recognized the medicinal value of *flora* in the broadest sense. Likewise, the first eight chapters of *NH* 29 comprise a diatribe against Greek medicine. This is where Pliny says that medicine is the only one of the Greek arts that "Roman seriousness does not yet practice" (29.7.17). Here also is to be found a mention of a pair of adulterous doctors (29.8.20), but nothing about homosexuality, a complaint about outrageous prices (29.8.22), and skepticism about a mind-boggling Mithridatic antidote that has fifty-four ingredients,

divulged outside the profession (these are *mutas* . . . *artis* in *Aen.* 12.397, neither conferring glory in poetry nor performed publicly like archery, augury, and music, the skills Iapyx turned down when they were offered by Apollo), it is possible that homosexual acts accompanied the candidacy of the neophyte physician,[24] or it may be that Vergil simply believed that something of this kind occurred within the largely secret, Greek society of doctors. Iapyx's forlorn desire to prolong the life of his dying father Iasos and his acceptance of medical knowledge as the gift that betokens Apollo's love are the mythological reflexes of some such sexual practices (initiatory or not), or at least reflexes of the belief that such practices occurred. But why is this detail concerning Apollo and Iapyx necessary in *Aeneid* 12 at all?

The love of Apollo for Iapyx is not the only homosexual love mentioned in the second half of the *Aeneid.* The tale of Cycnus' metamorphosis after mourning the lost love of Phaethon is introduced when Cupavo, Cycnus' son and king of the Ligurians, is mentioned in a catalogue of warriors in *Aeneid* 10.186–193. And the young warriors Nisus and Euryalus are said by Bellincioni (1985: 486) to share a feeling midway between friendship and passion. Even the dead Pallas is described by the use of images that originally come from erotic poetry.[25] Such passages function as reminders of the powerful feelings other than familial *pietas* that bind together warriors as comrades or that tie young men to their older trainers and guides. The instances that involve erotic passions (Cycnus and Phaethon; Apollo and Iapyx) contrast in an obvious way with the chaste *tirocinium* of Pallas under

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all of unequal parts, some of which are less than 1/60 of a *denarius* by weight. (*Quo deorum, per Fidem, ista monstrante*? asks Pliny, aghast at this sort of pharmaceutical, at 29.8.24.)

[24] Sergent (1986: 8–9) disputes Marrou's view that the closed, male character of the Greek polis in the archaic period produced educational pederasty. In Sergent's view, the practice was more ancient than the urbanization of the eighth through sixth centuries B.C., probably an Indo-European legacy. He uses Strabo's account at 10.4.21 (based on Ephorus) of the abduction by Cretan φιλήτορες of young men (called παραστάτεις or κλεινοί rather than ἐρώμενοι) on whom the abductors lavished gifts and whom they kept as hunting companions for two months to illustrate the originally rural character of initiatory male homosexuality (53–57). Bury (1932: 170, *ad* Pl. *Sym.* 223b) characterizes the physician and the young Phaedrus as a homosexual couple. It is possible that Vergil knew about the Cretan custom of "hunting in couples." And since dittany comes from Crete, where goats use the plant to heal wounds inflicted by the arrows of hunters, this Cretan lore may all have made a neat package of motifs for use in a medical episode.

[25] Williams (1973: 385) already compares the simile describing the dead Pallas with the flower simile at Euryalus' death in *Aen.* 9.435–437 and adduces Catullus 62 as the model. Gransden (1991: 75–76) stresses the eroticism of the lines and gives useful bibliography. The notion that either the warriors or Aeneas or the poet, all of whom admire the flower-like beauty of Pallas on his bier, have Pallas' missed chance at marriage uppermost in their minds (thus Gransden) seems unpersuasive to me. Pallas' virginal state may be relevant to the interpretation of the lines, but these are male onlookers admiring male beauty. Neither homosexual desire nor the joys of marriage should be imported into the passage. Those who gaze at Pallas perceive an almost perfect instance of the beauty that is related to their own younger selves or to their sons or their comrades. Aeneas himself says quite explicitly what has been lost in Pallas' youthful death: a defensive bulwark for Italy and for Iulus: *hei mihi, quantum / praesidium, Ausonia, et quantum tu perdis, Iule!* (11.57–58).

Aeneas' tutelage. However, since it is his own failure to protect Pallas from Turnus that infuriates Aeneas at the very end of the epic, it is useful to have a variety of male relationships and their emotional range presented to readers so that Aeneas' depth of feeling for Pallas arises out of a context established in the poem itself and so that the hero's rage is adequately justified.

Note, also, that Aeneas is not happy after he has been snatched from death by the medical miracle. Far from rejoicing that he has been favored with a miraculous cure—Iapyx does the rejoicing, Aeneas tells Iulus to be like his father (himself) in courage and effort, but like other men in fortune (*Aen.* 12.435–436 are a re-working of lines uttered before the Ajax's suicide in Sophocles' play: Soph. *Ajax* 550, as all the commentators see). It must be the loss of Pallas that troubles the hero's mind. No other misfortune weighs on Aeneas at this juncture in the narrative. Since readers have just been told how deeply Iapyx loved his father—perhaps an excess of *pietas*—and how Apollo gave the medical art to Iapyx because he loved him, the force of Aeneas' grief and anger over the loss of Evander's son is easily understood.

To summarize. The Iapyx episode of the last book of the *Aeneid* picks up on nearly all the commonplaces of medical folklore found in similar Greek tales and episodes that made their way into epic or caught the attention of mythographers. Mountain-goats[26] on Cretan Ida discover *dictamnum*, the herb that cures arrow wounds, and Aeneas' goddess-mother brings it to the battlefield of *Aeneid* 12. There, the dittany-laced compound is administered unconsciously as a wash for Aeneas' wound by Iapyx, who learned about medicine because he and Apollo stood in the relationship of a *dilectus* and *amator*.

Vergil fits this tale of a miraculous healing very neatly into the final moments of the epic. The grave wound received by the hero does not slow the pace of the narrative nor does it shift the focus to other warriors. The drug rescues Aeneas from the danger of death at once, and the episode puts an end to Aeneas' unjustifiable (from Venus' viewpoint) suffering. After this miraculous cure has taken place, Iapyx's short but effusive speech makes it clear that a greater god has brought Aeneas' pain to an end and means to send him back to the fight toward his greater heroic achievements. This reversal of fortune, as Iapyx also sees, propels Aeneas into the climactic single combat with Turnus that is the final action of the epic.

[26] The ultimate meaning of animals and animal-symbols in mythical tales is elusive, but Graf (1986) describes the approaches most likely to yield answers. Meuli ([1921]1975: 609) argues that the Argonauts with supernatural powers and animal-like names (e.g., Lynkeus/Λύγξ) point toward a common origin (*Urfabel*) for animal tales and heroic saga. Earlier in the same piece (602), Meuli points to tales in which the bear, the "Old Man of the Woods," possesses the healing power of plants. Propp ([1946]1983: 200–202 and 241–245) views intelligent animal-helpers in miraculous tales as a residue of both totemic ancestors and rituals of initiation performed by dancers clad in animal skins and animal masks. Graf (1986: 98 and n. 75) shows how the separate strands of these arguments in Meuli and Propp can be drawn together to illuminate mythological tales.

It seems fair to say that here in *Aeneid* 12 Vergil has created the capstone of medical tales that he found in Greek myth or mythography and that his use of the Homeric model (the Machaon episode from *Iliad* 4) is very free, because Vergil's circumstances permitted him to take a wider view of the real-world foundations of the medical art than had been possible in *Iliad*. This paper argues that the Iapyx episode brings readers into contact with an aspect of mythical tales which is more primitive than the hesitant, Augustan political programme that so much of Aeneas' activity in the epic suggests. Antiquarian research, it seems likely, had persuaded Vergil and his contemporaries that they could approach this earlier layer of myth, with which they had no direct contact. At the moment when Aeneas is wounded, the promised empire of the future recedes from view. A far more simple world of hunters, root-gatherers, military comrades, animal-helpers, drugs given by nature and magic, and two or three indignant goddesses comes to the foreground precisely because Aeneas' life lies in the balance. This existential moment, when the overall worth of Aeneas' deeds has to be assessed, makes clear his unhappiness and his shame over real and anticipated failures, and the cure administered by Iapyx allows Aeneas to act upon this rather dismal summation. The contrast with cheerful, sentimental medical fictions, such as the testimonies gathered by the operators of Asclepius' shrines, is stark, and the episode derives some of its force from the antiquarian attempt to look back into a heroic context even more "primitive" than the one depicted in Homeric epic.

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