ABSTRACT

Modes of reporting speech in Latin fictional narrative

The thesis reviews the techniques employed by Latin authors up to the second century A.D. to report the spoken words and articulated thoughts of their characters. The study is principally devoted to continuous narratives of a fictitious kind: epic, 'epyllia' and prose fiction, although some consideration has been given to narratives in other genres for comparative purposes.

Several means are at the disposal of a narrator for presenting the discourse of his or her characters. What is supposed to have been said or thought may be conveyed by quotation in direct speech, some form of indirect or free indirect discourse, or by the simple mention that a speech act has occurred.

The Introduction sets out the terminology used in this enquiry and surveys the modes of reporting speech in Latin. Some attention is given to the views of ancient literary critics and theorists on speech presentation.

The first chapter on martial epic examines the reporting of speech in Virgil and Lucan in particular.

The second chapter on poetry reviews epyllion and Ovidian narrative, and compares the practices of authors working in different genres. Divergences in style between authors working in the same genre are also considered: the techniques of four poets who report speech in scenes involving the dictation and delivery of messages are compared.

The final chapter treats the prose fiction of Petronius and Apuleius.

For all the texts taken into account, it will be shown that concentration on speech presentation can broaden our insight into some fundamental features of Latin narrative.

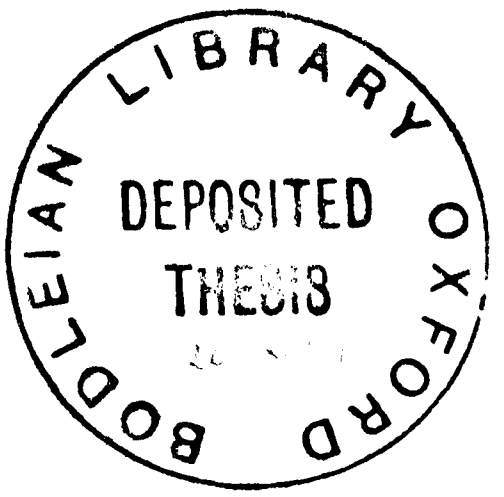
MODES OF REPORTING SPEECH IN LATIN FICTIONAL NARRATIVE

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Modes of reporting speech in Latin fictional narrative

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Introduction

> We will consider the author, the character, and the receiver, not outside the artistic event, but only insofar as they enter into the very perception of the literary work, insofar as they are its necessary constituents. . . In return, all of the definitions that the historian of literature and society will propose in order to define his characters (the biography of the author, more exact qualification of the characters from chronological and sociological perspective etc.) are obviously excluded here: they do not enter into the structure of the work, they remain outside of it. Similarly, we will consider only such a receiver as the author himself considers, the one with respect to whom the work is oriented, and who, for this very reason determines its structure, and not at all the real public that turned out to have read the work of this or that writer.
>
> Voloshinov 1926[1]

(i) Aims and methods of this study

In this section, I shall explain the nature and range of my research and outline the content and purpose of the chapters that follow.

The thesis reviews the techniques used by Latin authors up to the second century A.D. to report the spoken words and articulated thoughts of their characters. The study is generally devoted to continuous narratives of a fictitious kind: epic, extended elegiac poems, 'epyllia' and the novel, although I have given some consideration to history, satire and oratory for comparative purposes.[2]

The application of the term 'fictional narrative' to these kinds of ancient literature might be regarded as anachronistic. The term is to be regarded as a label for the sake of convenience; it is more usefully specific than 'literary narrative' - which

[1] This will be the method of bibliographical notation used throughout. All works cited in the text will be referred to by the surname of the author(s) followed by the year of publication.'Quine 1960 and 1966' serves to indicate two distinct works by the same author. Surnames and first name initials, followed by year of publication form the classification heading in the Bibliography. The title of the work referred to is followed either (if it is a book) by the place(s) of publication, or (if it is an article) by the name and volume number of the journal in which it appears.

[2] A fuller consideration of texts in these genres could certainly yield interesting results. Oratory, satire (and even love elegy and lyric) do of course contain some narrative elements but display less overall variation than the genres I have concentrated on. On the other hand, the lack of full treatment of historical narrative from a study like this may seem to be a more striking omission, since distinctions made between 'history' and 'literature' tend to be specious in terms of ancient conceptions as well as modern theory (see Wiseman 1979, Woodman 1988 for Roman attitudes, and White 1973, White 1988, Veyne 1971 and Ricoeur 1988 for various contemporary views). The forthcoming collection by Gill & Wiseman 1992 will consider both ancient and modern views of fictionality. Momigliano 1981 provides a counter-blast to White. My omission of historical narrative can be justified on three main grounds (not necessarily in order of importance): (i) Indirect discourse is the standard mode for presenting characters' speech in Roman historians, whereas it is very much the exception in ancient fictional genres. For this reason it is more fruitful to discover in what circumstances and to what ends *oratio obliqua*, free indirect discourse etc. are employed by the poets and novelists. (ii) Much work on the historians' means of presenting speech has already been done. See Walsh 1961, 242-4 for a discussion of this with some useful bibliography and the discussion of Livy in relation to Ovid in the second chapter of this survey. (iii) Some limit had to be placed on the scope of my work for practical purposes.

might well be seen to include all historiography, biography etc.. Certainly no claim is made for the status of 'fiction' as an ancient category. Epic thus deserves the slightly disproportionate amount of attention it gets in this study: it is the most abundant form of fictional narrative antiquity has left us.[3]

A narrator has several means at his disposal for presenting his own discourse and that of his characters. He can use direct speech quotation, render what is supposed to have been said in some form of indirect discourse, or simply mention that a speech act has occurred. These distinctions are the basic speech modes which operate in literary narrative.

A sense of the distinctions between them is especially important for an appreciation of ancient texts, some of which might have been conceived for performance aloud rather than for silent reading. These differences between the speech modes just listed might be all the more conspicuous and significant to a live audience at any kind of recitation. Some aspects of the possible importance of that will be considered in Section (ii) below.

It should become clear that a study of this kind is generally essential for an understanding of quite fundamental narrative techniques in all kinds and periods of literature: particularly characterisation and the function of the narrator's relation to the material he presents. A major part of this survey therefore seeks to examine the effects achieved by whatever means of speech presentation are adopted and to look at the interplay between the various instances of them in a narrative. Reported thoughts of characters (including active first person narrators), whether given in direct or indirect discourse, are included in this investigation of 'speech presentation'.

Most secondary literature concerned with work of this nature has tended to concentrate on direct speech. One reason for this is that there is a great deal of it[4] . Subject matter affects approach: this relative abundance, which accounts for the dramatic quality of most ancient literature, naturally influences the way it is criticised. Another reason might be that a study of the various types of indirect discourse is not particularly helpful for a consideration of the role of rhetoric in poetry. Nor do ancient rhetoricians have much to say about indirect discourse.

As a result there is a tendency among critics of classical literature to concentrate on passages of direct discourse at the expense of looking at other types of

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[3] On ancient notions of fiction and fictionality, see (as well as the discussions in Gill&Wiseman 1992) Feeney 1991, 5-57 (on epic and fiction), Meijering 1987, 54f.,76f. and Fraser 1972, 760f. on Eratosthenes. Nelson 1973 is also useful. On the basis of remarks like Ezra Pound's: 'an epic is a poem including history' (Pound 1961,46), pedants may argue that Ovid *Fasti* , Lucan *De Bello Civili* , even the *Aeneid* are works treated here which are not strictly fictional. Yet these have evident fictional elements. One such element, which seems to be a virtually infallible criterion for fictional narrative in modern terms, is the presentation of characters' unvoiced thoughts for which there can be no formal evidence or documentary sources (providing we discount some forms of modern historiography e.g. 'faction'.)

[4] In Homer two thirds of the *Iliad* is given over to direct speech, and half the *Odyssey* (if we include Odysseus's account in 9-12 to Alcinous). Other figures are: 29% in Apollonius's *Argonautica* , 47% in the Aeneid including Aeneas's narrative, 32% in Lucan, 31% in Silius Italicus. Further information is to be found in Avery 1936; Highet 1972; Lipscomb 1909; Loesch1927; and Sangmeister 1978. The importance of direct speech in epic certainly did not go unnoticed in antiquity. Both Plato in (*Rep*. 392-5) and Aristotle (*Poetics* 1460a5) comment on this feature of narrative; their remarks are examined in the next section.

narrated speech[5]. In Highet 1972 for example, the treatment of speeches and thoughts rendered indirectly is confined to a list of them in an appendix, and a claim is made there which would be hard to prove:

> It is possible that during his revision, Vergil would have turned at least some of these passages into direct speech.

But epic narrative is not drama. The presence of a narrator's voice and indeed indirect speech itself help distinguish it from drama. All the modes of speech to be found in a literary work should be considered, whether direct discourse or not and should be taken into account when we look at the whole.

My research shows that specific techniques of presenting speech are characteristic of recognised genres. This is one concern of the next section of this Introduction. The fact that there are striking differences of style between authors working in the same genre, even when they treat similar or virtually identical subjects is a major point of interest in this research. It is intended, however, for all the works treated in this dissertation that characteristics of speech presentation will be related wherever appropriate to more general themes and preoccupations in those works. The form of a story not merely presents, but actually shapes and determines, its content.

It remains to explain the range and choice of texts and subject matter to which this enquiry is devoted and explain the basic design of the following chapters. Before proceeding with that, three important disclaimers should be given. The conception of what this enquiry does treat will be clearer if these related areas it does not treat are listed, and if the reasons for them not being treated are given.

1. The work to come will not constitute research in grammatical or syntactical features of speech presentation in the Latin language in general. There is little to add to the general accounts already existing of, say, the syntax of various *oratio obliqua* constructions in Latin[6] . Though the grammars providing such accounts have often been useful and reference is made to them, I have not found it generally helpful, for the sake of understanding literary narrative, to classify instances of speech presentation in terms of established categories of grammatical or syntactical usage.

Enumerations of syntactical rules and parallels do not necessarily help us to

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[5] In this respect modern literatures have been better served. There are a variety of speech modes employed in the novel; the number of works treating this aspect of the genre is vast. See especially Cohn 1978 for extensive treatment and bibliography, and Page 1973. Haig 1986 and Ullman 1957 are examples of a specific treatments. Two classic studies have universal application: Bakhtin 1973 (on Dostoevsky) and Genette 1980 (on Proust).

[6] Hofmann-Szantyr 1965, Kühner-Stegmann 1912-14 and Madvig 1851 are standard. Ernout & Thomas 1951 is more discursive and occasionally literary-historical. Rubio 1982 offers a more modern approach. There (257f.), linguistic means of speech presentation in Latin are usefully compared to those in modern French and Spanish and the problems posed for translation are considered.

explain the function of an instance of speech presentation in a narrative[7]. Conversely, we may wish to establish new categories for the analysis[8]. New rules, or at the very least, conspicuous trends of narrative practice will emerge instead.

2. The enquiry that follows is not meant to be a purely statistical survey, a comprehensive catalogue of the frequency and distribution of particular speech modes or configurations of speech modes in each text reviewed. Statistics have been collected to support many of the observations to be made and some are cited. Their compilation is a means to the end either of investigating the effect on reader or audience of techniques of speech presentation in the texts considered, or of appreciating the specific stylistic qualities of one text in relation to another[9].

3. Finally, this account has little claim to be of great significance for the literary historian. This study has been devoted to three genres of Latin literature produced over a period of at least two hundred years. On the whole, no serious attempt can be made to trace the influence of the practices of speech presentation employed in one text, or group of texts, upon another. This is partly because most of the texts selected have been examined in detail on their own merits. Although mention is given of important parallels and precedents in select Greek authors (e.g. Homer and Apollonius), less attention has been given to a general exploration of Greek sources. Full commentary cannot be supplied for the passages selected: the main purpose has been to explain the practices of speech presentation we find employed in our Latin authors.

The second reason for not attempting a diachronic account of technical influence is that there are not enough extant Latin texts from the period covered to provide anything approaching an overall impression of what the the general practices in speech presentation would have been. One cannot discern whether or not certain devices are original to the author in which we first find them.

A review of the few testimonies we have from ancient authors on speech presentation is given in (ii) below. No more than two of them (Trogus in Justinus, Quintilian) were offered contemporaneously with any of the Latin texts treated here. No more than two (Servius, Trogus) could have originally been conceived to apply directly to those texts. The import of these testimonies verges on the conventional,

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[7] Definitive categorisation of an instance of speech presentation into a particular speech mode can itself be counter-productive on certain occasions. We shall encounter a number of places in which instances of speech presentation could be in more than one mode: *Aeneid* 5.615-6 for instance could be direct discourse or free indirect discourse. It does not even have to be either one or the other. Placing an example like this into an exclusive category may sometimes serve the purposes of linguistic analysis, but strict pigeonholing is hardly ever useful for literary purposes. The inclusion or omission of quotation marks in modern editions of ancient texts often exerts an insidious influence on today's commentators critics and readers, inclining them to a particular interpretation of such passages.

[8] Some of the speech modes in themselves, which are to be set out in (iii) below provide instances of such new categories e.g. *'oratio memorata'*, mimetic indirect discourse. Angled narration of dialogue, also defined in (iii), which is a juxtaposition of direct and indirect speech modes, provides another example. These new categories arise from looking at speech categorisation in context, which does affect the way it is considered (cf. the objections in Bourdieu 1977 and Voloshinov 1973 to the impact of 'philologism' - philologists' acceptance of an implicit definition of an object of their science - on the social sciences).

[9] For example the observation of 150 instances of *oratio obliqua* constructions in Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* is of little interest as an isolated fact. It is of far greater interest, if we note that in Statius's *Thebaid* - a poem twice the length of Valerius's - there are only 130 such instances, and that in the *Aeneid* there are about 50 instances of *oratio obliqua*.

basically remaining unchanged from the fourth century B.C. to the Christian era. Though we shall see how helpful they are in other ways, these citations cannot contribute much to the provision of a diachronic account of speech presentation in Roman literature[10].

The main observation of literary-historical significance yielded by this enquiry into narrative form is the conclusion that speech presentation supplies a means of generic identification. The ways in which characters' speeches and thoughts are presented in a text, viewed overall, can confirm the text's allocation in a genre. This is usually demonstrated by quite different criteria (e.g. metre, thematic content, historical context).

The approach employed here, then, is a kind of literary criticism. The basic purpose of this research is to increase a general understanding of the impact of some texts on readers or audience by their employment of various devices of speech presentation.

With the shorter narrative texts like Catullus 64 and *Georgic* 4, it is possible to give consideration to each instance of speech or thought presentation they contain. For the longer works treated in this enquiry like the *Aeneid* or Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* , an account of the general features of their speech presentation is given. This partly consists of examination of as many passages or features of the narratives as possible to support these overall conclusions.

The texts have been selected with a view to providing a broad spread, and reasonable variety of samples. Distinctive features of speech presentation in any text, or genre, cannot be discerned unless they are seen in relation to a wider range of texts or genres.

The first chapter deals with the major narrative genre of martial epic. The concentration on Virgil and Lucan is not primarily intended to reflect the status these two particular poets happen to enjoy in the current literary canon. For the *Aeneid* , it may well be true that the amount of secondary literature either demands or prompts a closer reading of the poem, and a more extensive treatment. But the main reason for its receiving such emphasis here is the prominent place in Latin literature that Virgil's epic held in antiquity.[11] The *Aeneid* stood as a major precedent for successive Latin epic poets like Lucan, Statius, Valerius Flaccus and Silius Italicus, as well as authors producing work in related genres like Ovid, and even Petronius. That seems adequate reason to make the *Aeneid* a kind of 'control' text for the chapter on martial epic at least, if not for this study as a whole.

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[10] A more 'historical' account of the development of speech presentation would be a more realistic proposition, if the account was offered for a wider span of periods, genres and languages. Greek literature would have to be considered in depth. All works which contain narrative elements or situations in which personages other than the principal narrator are given speech would have to be covered: dialogues, orations, didactic poetry etc.. The success of such of an account would be greater for better documented periods - the impact (or lack of it) of the techniques of speech presentation in the Gospel narratives on late antique Biblical epic would be worth exploration. (I have noted, for instance, that Iuvencus is prone to insert speeches in direct discourse into his narrative, when there are none corresponding in the Bible.) There is a strong case for studying even later Latin literature - especially interesting for an account of the development of literary technique is the contemporaneous existence of vernacular versions of Latin texts e.g. Walter de Chatillon's *Alexandreid* . For works which come later still like Petrarch's *Africa* and Sannazaro's *De Partu Virginis* , we have the advantage of being able to identify and read sources available to the authors, and assess for ourselves the extent of specific influences.

[11] This was a place it rapidly came to occupy. See the first 5 chapters on 'the Vergil of literary tradition' in Comparetti 1908, 1-74.

Lucan seems to be the best second choice for a relatively detailed, though not so extensive, study in the first chapter. In several aspects of style and technique *De Bello Civili* is an exception among the extant Roman epic poems[12] . For this very reason it makes a good subject for an exemplary analysis; the stylistic practices adopted by other poets can be put in clear relief when Lucan is under discussion. Explicit comparisons in my text and footnotes are offered to show the extent to which this is so.

In addition, Flavian epic receives some specific attention in the last part of the second chapter which is devoted to stylistic comparison. The first section of that second chapter, though, is devoted to speech presentation in the most important 'epyllion' type narratives in Latin. Catullus 64 is the earliest extant example - it is usefully followed by an examination of *Georgic* 4 because of the numerous points of reference they share. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* seems most appropriately placed in the category of 'epyllion' type narrative - on account of the thematic and stylistic features of the episodes it contains. More Ovidian narrative is treated in the third section. There, techniques of speech presentation found in two different genres are compared in a review of the narration of episodes recounted both in the *Fasti* and Livy *Ab Urbe Condita*.

The fact that there are also striking differences of style between authors working in the same genre, even when they treat similar or virtually identical subjects is a major point of interest in this research. Thus the focus is sharpened further in that section in which the reporting of speech is reviewed in scenes involving the dictation and delivery of messages in four narrative poets. Other motifs or contexts could be examined just as profitably: supplication speeches, reported poems, rumours and anonymous allegations, oracles etc.. Comparative criticisms of this kind not only highlight convergences and divergences in style, but they also show how the use of direct or indirect discourse is of no small significance when quite general effects of literary texts are considered.

The shape and content of the third chapter needs little explanation. It is devoted to reporting of spoken and thought discourse in the two extant examples of Roman prose fiction. Both Petronius's *Satyricon* and Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* are narrated in the first person, so that both texts, as we have them, in themselves constitute reported speeches of a kind. This means that a number of features common to both can be examined virtually in parallel. For this genre especially, a concentration on speech presentation can enhance our appreciation of literary artistry.

On the whole in the principal argument I have tried not to stray too far from the treatment of the passages of literature under review and have reserved theoretical matter for footnotes. Much material has appeared offering general theories of narrative in recent years[13]. One purpose of this research is to engage in the less popular task of applying the fruits of some these theories to particular texts.

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[12] See Feeney 1991, 250f. on Lucan's divergences from other epic poets in subject matter.

[13] E.g. Bal 1985, Barthes 1966 (and other contributions in the same issue of *Communications* , which in itself has had a key role in launching recent discussions of narrative) Genette 1980, 1988 & 1991, Mitchell 1981, Rimmon-Kenan 1983, Todorov 1977 & 1982. The most convenient bibliography of theoretical material on narrative is to be found in Genette 1988. See also my bibliography at notes 2 & 5 above.

(ii) The significance of ancient testimonies on speech presentation[14]

Ancient testimonies often stress how literary genres are marked, and even characterized, by techniques of presenting speech. One could go so far as to say that speech presentation actually provides the basis on which Plato, in *Republic* 3 distinguishes between kinds of literature[15] . The whole passage (392-395) will be treated in some detail here. It is interesting for its examination of the implications of direct and indirect discourse in a narrative and has enjoyed a long-lasting influence. The relevant excerpt begins at 392d when Socrates says to Adeimantus:

"Ἆρ' οὐ πάντα ὅσα ὑπὸ μυθολόγων ἢ ποιητῶν λέγεται διήγησις οὖσα τυγχάνει ἢ γεγονότων ἢ ὄντων ἢ μελλόντων; . . . Ἆρ' οὖν οὐχι ἤτοι ἁπλῇ διηγήσει ἢ διὰ μιμήσεως γιγνομένη ἢ δι' ἀμφοτέρων περαίνουσιν;

Isn't everything that fable tellers or poets say is a narrative of past or present or future...and don't they execute it either by pure narrative, or by narrative conveyed by mimesis, or both?

Here *μίμησις* has a restricted meaning - the poet's impersonation of his character's actual words, using direct discourse. *Διηγήσις* (or narrative proper) is the poet speaking in his own person, and this includes indirect speech. Plato's pairing of *mimesis* and *diegesis* could be seen as a happier attempt at the pairing of 'showing' and 'telling' made by Anglo-American critics in recent decades. That 'showing/telling' (or 'scene/summary') dichotomy has caused much grief for students of the novel. People can never agree about which features of fictional description are which[16]. For Socrates the matter is clearer: direct discourse or *mimesis* corresponds to 'showing' - the rest, including narrative of events, *ecphrases* and indirect discourse, is telling.

However Adeimantos, Socrates's interlocutor, has not understood the point.

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[14] Both De Jong 1987, 1-7 and Fantuzzi 1988, 47f. treat the passages from the *Republic* and *Poetics* in considerable detail for their own purposes. Both those passages, though, have a distinct significance for the research that follows, so I have decided to retain my discussion here rather than simply refer the reader to these recent treatments. Fantuzzi is particularly thorough and relates the testimonies of Plato, Aristotle, Longinus and Diomedes to those in the Greek scholia. Neither De Jong nor Fantuzzi (as Hellenists?) concern themselves with Trogus or Servius.

[15] See Genette 1980, 162f. for more discussion of this Plato passage and its implications. The treatment of the same passage in Lodge 1990, 28-9 is largely derived from Genette 1980, but at least its usefulness is again demonstrated. On the ancient afterlife of this discussion see note 22 below. The translations in this section are from Russell & Winterbottom 1972. The parentheses are mine. Translations are given for these Greek passages because I want to show how these passages are interpreted and because Plato's terminology has influenced my own: the terms *mimesis* , *diegesis* , 'pure narrative' etc. will recur frequently in this study.

[16] Hägg 1971, 87-111 deals with the showing/telling dichotomy in the Greek romances. The traditional discussions which have influenced Hägg are: Wellek &Warren 1949: ch.16 'Nature and modes of narrative fiction'; Liddell 1953; Friedman in Stevick 1967,113; Booth1965 *passim* . It is obviously tempting to to compare close and accurate descriptions of things with the verbatim rendering of speech - both slow down the progress of events in a story, and provide detailed information. Hence both have been described as 'showing'. But the former type of representation is really *ἐναργέια*: see Quintilian's treatment of this in *Inst. Or.* 8.3. 61-71f. No matter how extensive or vivid a description of something may be, selection is always involved. This notion of selection does not generally apply to direct discourse. Thus Plato is right to call direct discourse only 'mimesis'. But selection <u>can</u> apply to indirect discourse as much as it does to description and to narrative in general. On description, see Hamon 1982.

Socrates illustrates what he means by taking the beginning of the *Iliad* as an example at 393a:

Οἶσθ' οὖ ὅτι μέχρι μὲν τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν —
καὶ ἐλίσσετο πάντας Ἀχαιούς,
Ἀτρείδα δὲ μάλιστα δύω, κοσμήτορε λαῶν
λέγει τε αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπιχειρεῖ ἡμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἄλλοσε τρέπειν ὡς ἄλλος τις ὁ λέγων ἢ αὐτός· τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ὢν ὁ Χρύσης λέγει καὶ πειρᾶται ἡμᾶς ὅτι μάλιστα ποιῆσαι μὴ Ὅμηρόν δοκεῖν εἶναι τὸν λέγοντα ἀλλὰ τον ἱερέα, πρεσβύτην ὄντα. καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δὴ πᾶσαν σχεδόν τι οὕτω πεποίται διήγησιν
περί τε τῶν ἐν Ἰλιῳ καὶ περὶ ἐν Ἰθακῃ καὶ ὅλῃ Ὀδυσσειᾳ παθημάτων.

You know that as far as the lines :
And he begged all the Achaeans
and especially the two Atreidae, the generals of the host,
the poet speaks in his own person and does not try to turn our attention in another direction by pretending that someone else is speaking [i.e. by employing reported speech]. But from this point he speaks as though he were Chryses himself and tries to make us think that it is not Homer talking, but the old priest. And he does practically all the rest of the narrative in this way, both the tale of Troy and the episodes in Ithaca and the whole *Odyssey* ... So in this sort of thing, Homer and other poets are conveying their narrative by way of *mimesis* [direct speech].

Socrates then develops the idea of a narrative without *mimesis* and gives a demonstration of what he means by summarizing his chosen lines of the *Iliad* using indirect discourse - and without metre, 'for I am no poet' (*οὐ γάρ εἰμι ποιητικός*) he remarks significantly.[17] Socrates concludes (394b-c):

οὕτως, ἦ δ' ἐγώ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, ἄνευ μιμήσεως ἁπλῆ διήγησις γίγνεται . . . Μάνθανε τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι ταύτης αὖ ἐναντία γίγνεται, ὅταν τις τὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὰ μεταξὺ τῶν ῥήσεων ἐξαιρῶν τὰ ἀμοιβαῖα καταλείπῃ.
Καὶ τοῦτο, ἐφη, μάνθανω, ὅτι ἔστιν τὸ περὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας τοιοῦτον.
Ὀρθότατα, ἔφην, ὑπέλαβες, καὶ οἶμαί σοι ἤδη δηλοῦν ὃ ἔμπροσθεν οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦ, ὅτι τῆς ποιήσεώς τε καὶ μυθολογίας ἡ μὲν διὰ μιμήσεως ὅλη ἐστίν ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις, τραγῳδία τε καὶ κωμῳδία, ἡ δὲ δι' ἀπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ— εὕροις δ' ἄν αὐτὴν μάλιστά που ἐν διθυράμβοις— ἡ δ' αὖ δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἔν τε τῇ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσει, πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθι, εἴ μοι μανθάνεις.

That's pure narrative without imitation ... Understand that the opposite happens when the

[17] Nothing in this discussion is otiose. Even this apparently frivolous quip is picked up by Aristotle in *Poetics* 1447a28 - 1447b2 in which he considers the importance of metre for a definition of poetry , as well as the rest of this discussion in *Rep.* 392-5 (see below).

poet removes the passages between the speeches and leaves just the exchanges of conversation.[18]
- I see, that's what we have in tragedies.
- Quite right. I think I'm making clear to you what I couldn't before, namely, that there is one kind of poetry and fable which entirely consists of direct speech: this is tragedy and comedy, as you say; and there's another kind consisting of the poet's own report - you find this particularly in dithyrambs; while the mixture of the two exists in epic and in many other places, if you see what I mean.

There it is: dramatic, epic and dithyrambic genres are distinguished according to the degree of *mimesis* , or direct speech, involved. Differences between direct and indirect speech would have been more conspicuous to an audience in a climate where literature was read aloud[19] . Thus Plato's use of them as could prompt us to look at them as a basis for generic distinction. Even in a discussion which seeks to disparage literary *mimesis* , the Platonic Socrates shows a remarkable sensitivity to its mechanisms.

Aristotle too, shows how types of poetry are differentiated according to the speech modes a poet adopts. But unlike Plato he offers this basis for generic distinction in conjunction with two others in this context; the media of delivery, like metre, and the objects of delivery are considered as well. The basis for distinction according to speech presentation is as follows in 1448a 19-28[20] :

*καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μιμεῖσθαι ἔστιν ὁτὲ μὲν ἀπαγγέλλοντα, ἢ ἕτερόν τι γιγνόμενον ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ποιεῖ ἢ ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλοντα, ἢ πάντας ὡς πράττοντας καὶ ἐνεργοῦντας *τοὺς μιμουμένους*.*

For one can represent the same objects in the same media (i) sometimes in narration and sometimes becoming someone else, as Homer does, or (ii) speaking in one's own person without change, or (iii) with all the people engaged in the *mimesis* actually doing things.

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[18] This too is mischievous: rhetoricians often demonstrate the devices they are describing by employing them at the same time e.g. 'Longinus' on rhetorical questions at 17.1: 'What are we to say of enquiries and questions? Should we not say that they increase the realism and vigour of the writing...?' Aristotle *Rhetoric* even has an end which treats endings (3.19.5-6) and practises what it preaches. In Plato here, note how at this very point in this dialogue, the 'passages between the speeches' are actually omitted! It is thus especially interesting to note that in *Poetics* 1447b11 (the same section cited in the note above), Aristotle remarks that 'we have no common term to apply to the [prose] mimes of Sophron and Xenarchus and to the Socratic dialogues'. Such a point made in this context about the mimetic nature of Socratic dialogues could either have ironic implications, (Rostagni 1926 suggests that Aristotle is pointedly exposing the *mimesis* in Platonic dialogues in *Περὶ Ποιητῶν* Aristotle fr. 72), or it could merely show that Aristotle has picked up an irony that is already inherent in the *Rep*. See Fantuzzi 1988, 47f. on the omission of introductions to speeches in epic, and the treatment of 'Longinus' 27.1 in (ii) below.

[19] The vivid and dramatic quality a recitation from Homer may have had is described by Plato in the *Ion*. The direct speeches in epic poems would allow the rhapsode actually to take on a character's role and display his powers of impersonation. For ancient audiences this would have made a clear contrast with renditions of a poet who did not put his characters' words into direct speech. It would be a question of whether the rhapsode or *recitator* acted out the characters' parts or not. Rutherford 1905, 97-168 is an important chapter on reading *καθ' ὑποκρισιν* which bases conjectures on evidence from scholia.

[20] See Lucas 1968, ad loc., Halliwell 1987, 77-8 and 1986, 128 n.34 looks at the precise ways in which Aristotle's use of terminology here differs from Plato's and his shifting conception of epic as mimesis.

The fourth century grammarian Diomedes also followed Plato's division of poetic genres, which had an extensive influence in the middle ages.[21] We find Servius thus classifying the *Eclogues* according to three genres based on speech presentation:[22]

novimus autem tres characteres hos esse dicendi: unum in quo tantum poeta loquitur, ut est in tribus libris georgicorum; alium dramaticum, in quo nusquam poeta loquitur, ut est in comoediis et tragoediis; tertium, mixtum, ut est in Aeneide: nam et poeta illic et introductae personae loquuntur. hos autem omnes characteres in bucolico esse convenit carmine, sicut liber etiam iste demonstrat. nam habet in quo tantum poeta loquitur, ut <4.1> Sicelides musae, paulo maiora canamus; habet mixtum, ut <10.1> extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem - nam etiam Gallum illic inducit loquentem - ; habet dramaticum, ut in prima ecloga, item in hac, quam miro ordine, ex rebus communibus veniente, composuit: habet enim in ipso quasi primo occursu lites et iurgia; inde quaeritur iudex, quo praesente habent conflictum et desceptationem; sequitur inde sententia, quae universa concludit.

(Servius's more specific distinctions with respect to the *Eclogues* and Virgil's works, are in some respects more practically correct than those provided by Socrates - dithyrambic poetry may not always confine itself to the poet's speech[23] .)

If someone was asked nowadays how we distinguish dramatic from narrative genres, the most likely reply would be that drama is in general for live performance before an audience, narrative is not. In the Roman as well as the Greek world, this criterion might well have been of less use if both tragedy and epic were on occasions

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[21] For the sake of brevity, the schematic summary of Diomedes in Curtius 1979, 440 is reproduced here:
1. *genus activum vel imitativum* (*dramaticon vel mimeticon*). Characteristic: the poem contains no interlocutions by the poet (*sine poetae interlocutione*) only the dramatic personages speak. To this genre not only belong tragedies and comedies, but also pastorals such as Virgil's first and ninth Eclogues. Four subordinate genres: *tragica* , *comica* , *satyrica* , *mimica* .
2. *genus enarrativum* (*exegeticon vel apangelticon*). Characteristic: here the poet alone speaks. Example: Virgil's *Georgics* Books 1-3, together with the first part of Book 4. (This means that the story of Aristaeus [4.314-558] falls outside of the *genus enarrativum* .) Further example: Lucretius.)
Three subordinate genres:
a) *angeltice* : contains 'sentences' (Theognis and chrias)
b) *historice* : contains narratives and genealogies. Example: Hesiod's catalogue of women.
c) *didascalice* : the didactic poem (Empedocles, Lucretius, Aratus, Virgil) .
3. *genus commune* (*koinos vel mikton*). Characteristic: both the poet and the characters speak. Examples: *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Aeneid* .
Two subordinate genres:
a) *heroica species* : *Iliad* and *Aeneid*.
b) *lyrica species* : Archilochus and Horace.

[22] See Diomedes ed. Keil, 1.482 and Thilo-Hagen 3.1 ad loc., 29. See Curtius 1979, 439f. on these grammarians and Rosenmeyer 1969, 4f. & 13f. (on the implications of Servius's and Quintilian's remarks for criticising pastoral poetry), Kayser 1906, Steinmetz 1964. Scaliger too used categories from speech to explain pastoral typology - see Padelford 1905. A good treatment of ancient bases of classification in general is in Rosenmeyer 1985. Riffaterre 1972 attempts to analyse the modern genres.

[23] Fantuzzi 1988, 48n.2: 'Qui Platone fa evidentemente riferimento ai soli ditirambi narrativi, tacendo di quelli <<arionei>>, dialogico-mimetici, pur bene attestati per Bacchilide e Pindaro, cfr. B. Gentili , <<Il coro tragico nella teoria degli antichi>>, *Dioniso* 55, 1984-5, pp. 147 sgg.'.

declaimed[24] . Even the inclusion of a narrator does not necessarily give decisive grounds for a distinction: the speaker of the prologue to a comedy of Plautus could be regarded as a narrator of sorts. The means of speech presentation adopted in a text sems overall the most satisfying theoretical condition for distinguishing drama from narrative.

Even now our own identification of literary genres often rests on criteria to do with their origins in performance. It has been shown decisively that conditions of and reactions to live performance are essential to the distinction between generic forms. [25] *Epithalamia* and *epinikia* are literary genres which were originally identified by their function in performance. Published sermons, lectures etc. continue to reveal their performative origin long after they have solidified into literary prose.

Nonetheless, generic classification, in spite of its historical basis, should never be too rigid.[26] The practice of the rules of genre is flexible, and so we may expect flexibility in the trends of presenting speech which betray a genre. We should look for obvious statistical tendencies rather than hard and fast rules. Even so the tendencies can be striking.

We have seem that the difference between drama and narrative with respect to speech presentation is largely cut and dried, but distinguishing between the various narrative genres is, as Plato remarks, a matter of gradation: the presence of much, less or no direct speech.

However it should be noted here that a sense of the different modes of indirect discourse is also important for understanding narrative. This was not

[24] The extent to which Roman literature was encountered by public recitation rather than by silent reading of books is far from established: the evidence for *recitatio* having been the main means of access to literature is perhaps not as decisive as it is taken to be. In this thesis I have taken, in the end, an agnostic line, but I feel it is important to consider what the implications for speech presentation would have been if recitation was a general and widespread practice. As noted above in (i), the difference between direct and indirect modes of speech presentation would have been much clearer if texts were read out loud. The significance of *recitatio* then will be considered for our interpretation of some passages and authors, and for some stylistic practices such as apostrophe.
Major treatments of *recitatio* and the evidence for it are Quinn 1982, Wiseman 1982a & 1982b and most recently Vogt-Spira 1990. See also Jahn 1867, Hardie 1983, 74-102, Herington 1985, 41-57, 201-6, Rohde 1914, 326-7. Oliver 1989 (especially the chapter 'Narrative in Performance' 119f.) gives an account of the implications performance of poetry has for narrative form in our own era.

[25] See especially Taplin 1986 for the distinction between Attic drama and comedy in this respect. Fowler 1982 cites many examples of genres whose literary form emerged from their social function e.g. French court drama and the country house poem (Dubrow 1982, 114-5).

[26] Horace makes this point in *Ars Poetica* 92-6, and modifies Aristotle's firmer prescriptions from *Rhetoric* 3.7, to which his own discussion otherwise bears a close resemblance (See Brink 1971 ad loc. on this). He first says that a comic subject will not be set out in tragic verse and *vice versa* ; that everything must keep the appropriate place to which it was alloted. But then he concedes:

> *interdum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit*
> *iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore;*
> *et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri,*
> *Telephus et Peleus cum pauper et exsul uterque*
> *proicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba. . .*

However Quintilian (1..10.22), as a rhetorician and not a poet, is once again more doctrinaire: *Sua cuique proposita lex, suus cuique decor est. Nam comoedia non cothurnis assurgit, nec contra tragoedia socculo ingreditur.* The diction may be Horatian (cf. *A,P.* 89f.) but the sentiment is Aristotle's.

discussed by ancient critics and will be discussed in the next section.

Much has been written about why Roman historians use so much indirect speech[27]. It is established that indirect discourse is a major formal feature of Roman historiography. Pompeius Trogus, a historian and contemporary of Livy, complained about the ways Sallust and Livy render speech. This is recorded in Justinus 38.3.11:

Quam orationem dignam duxi, cuius exemplum brevitati huius operis insererem; quam obliquam Pompeius Trogus exposuit, quoniam in Livio et in Sallustio reprehendit, quod contiones directas pro sua oratione operi suo inserendo historiae modum excesserint.

Trogus must have been appealing to a notion of history - beyond his own practice - which did not use direct speech: possibly the annalists' accounts. The annalistic tradition provided sources for the early books of Livy, filtered as it may have been, through Antias and Macer. Perhaps there was an assumption - based on the practice of that annalistic tradition - that historians were meant always to present speeches in *oratio obliqua*.

A major reason for opposing *oratio recta* in historiography could be the objection that the historian often lacks sufficient evidence for whatever he might quote (cf. Polybius 2.56.10 who claims that a historian using direct speech will be writing fictitiously).[28]

One could also speculate that Trogus, like Socrates, prefers 'pure narrative' without direct speech, because where he is concerned it would make for a sober historical *recitatio*. The possible excess of emotion produced by a rhapsodic performance of epic would be avoided[29].

However it has been shown that for many historians, producing an appropriate speech was very much part of their art[30]. Moreover, some Roman historians have passages of indirect discourse so extensive and mimetic that our impression of hearing a precise rendering of the words of an original speaker can be almost as strong as that induced by direct discourse anyway. (The speech mode of mimetic *oratio obliqua* will be described in (iii) below.)

In spite of Trogus's criticism, it is worth pointing out that there is still a good

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[27] On Livy in particular, as well as Walsh 1961 see Kohl 1872, which contains statistics displaying the length and frequency of different speech modes. This information is summarised in Borneque 1933. In general see Ullmann 1927.

[28] See Walbank 1960, 216f. & (?)1965 (the third J.L.Myers Lecture: no date given) On history and tragedy, and the criticism of *ψυχαγωγία* in history see Ullmann 1947, 25f. Brink 1960 modifies Walbank's arguments - 'tragic history' did exist, and was prominent enough to be criticised by Polybius. Austen 1971 on *Aeneid* 2.486 ad loc. is also pertinent. The Virgil passage has an affinity with Livy 1.29 (on the fall of Alba). Norden 1912, 155f. suggests that Livy's early sources were influenced by early epic or Hellenistic tragic history, or that Virgil was influenced by Ennius.

[29] The Elder Seneca(*Controversiae* 4.*praef.* 2) tells us that Asinius Pollio was the first to read out his work, to select groups. Cicero *De Finibus* provides specific evidence for historical *akroases* : *Ipsi enim quaeramus a nobis ... quid historia delectet, quam solemus persequi usque ad extremum, praetermissa repetimus, inchoata persequimur . Nec vero sum nescius esse utilitatem in historia, non modo voluptatem ... Quid quod homines infima fortuna, nulla spe rerum gerendarum, opifices denique delectantur historia?* Wiseman 1982a remarks at 35: ' The pleasure [of history]... applies to everyone, even poor people and *opifices* 'artisans'. Here too we must not think of books being read; historians are even wordier than epic poets, and the man in the street could hardly buy twenty volumes of Sempronius Asellio or Claudius Quadrigarius, much less 140 volumes of Livy. He must have heard his history, not read it.'

[30] See e.g. Wiseman 1979 *passim* , and 1987, 244f.

deal more *oratio obliqua* in Livy than *oratio recta* - there is a four to one ratio in the early books. Whatever the point of Trogus's remark may have been, it is clear that once more speech presentation and genre are connected. The generic decorum of historiography is somehow supposed to be offended by the use of too much direct discourse. This obtains whether or not historiography was mainly encountered by public recitation.

The last testimony to be considered is in 'Longinus', (*De Sublimitate* 27.1f.)[31]. The device described here is one of the figures of thought and speech which constitute one of his five sources of sublimity:

Ἔτι γε μὴν ἔστ' ὅτε περὶ προσώπου διηγούμενος ὁ συγγραφεὺς παρενεχθεὶς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πρόσωπον ἀντιμεθίσταται, καὶ ἔστι τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος ἐκβολή τις πάθους·

Ἕκτωρ δὲ Τρώεσσιν ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν ἀύσας
νηυσὶν ἐπισσεύεσθαι, ἐὰν δ' ἔναρα βροτόεντα·
ὅν δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε νεῶν ἐθέλοντα νοήσω,
αὐτοῦ οἱ θάνατον μητίσομαι.

οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν διήγησιν ἅτε πρέπουσαν ὁ ποιητὴς προσῆψεν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δ' ἀπότομον ἀπειλὴν τῷ θυμῷ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐξαπίνης οὐδὲν προδηλώσας περιέθηκεν· ἐψύχετο γὰρ εἰ παρενέτιθει· ἔλεγε δὲ τοιά τινα καὶ τοῖα ὁ Ἕκτωρ , νυνὶ δ' ἔφθακεν ἄφνω τὸν μεταβαίνοντα ἡ τοῦ λόγου μετάβασις. διὸ καὶ ἡ πρόσχρησις τοῦ σχήματος τότε ἡνίκ' ἂν ὀξὺς ὁ καιρὸς ὢν διαμέλλειν τῷ γράφοντι μὴ διδῷ, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπανγκάζῃ μεταβαίνειν ἐκ προσώπων εἰς πρόσωπα, ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἑκαταίῳ· Κῆυξ δὲ ταῦτα δεινὰ ποιούμενος αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε τοὺ (Ἡρακλείδας) ἐπιγόνους ἐκχωρεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν δυνατός εἰμι ἀρήγειν. ὡς μὴ ὧν αὐτοί τε ἀπόλησθε κἀμὲ τρώσητε, ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ δῆμον ἀποίχεσθε.

Sometimes a writer, in the course of a narrative in the third person, makes a sudden change and speaks in the person of his character. This kind of thing is an outburst of emotion.

Hector shouted aloud to the Trojans
to rush for the ships, and leave the spoils of the dead.
'If I see anyone away from the ships of his own accord,
I will have him killed on the spot [*Iliad* 15.346]

Here the poet has given the narrative to himself, as appropriate to him, and then suddenly and without warning has put the abrupt threat in the mouth of the angry prince. It would have been flat if he had added 'Hector said'. As it is, the change of construction is so sudden that it has outstripped its creator.

Hence the use of this figure is appropriate when the urgency of the moment gives the writer no chance to delay, but forces on him an immediate change from one person to another. 'Ceyx was distressed at this, and ordered the children to depart. "For I am unable to help you. Go therefore to some other country, so as to save yourselves without harming me.."(Hecataeus[32])

This is rather different from the ancient treatments of speech presentation mentioned above. 'Longinus', although he is speaking about general literary and rhetorical technique, has moved from pure theory to a consideration of the effects of specific literary practice. In these reviews of passages from Homer and Hecataeus, speech presentation is not bound up with genre, the relative roles of narrator and

[31] See again Fantuzzi 1988, 54f. for examination of this observation from 'Longinus' in conjunction with testimonies of the scholia. F. (55n.20) remarks that in modern editions of the *Iliad* quotation marks are introduced earlier at 347; *ἐπισσεύεσθαι* and *ἐὰν* are counted in the direct speech as imperative infinitives. He notes that ancient sources were uncertain about the status of these words, but the prevalent opinion was that held by 'Longinus'.

[32] fr. 30 Jacoby

character as speakers or with performance. Instead there is a concern with how the manipulation of a type of speech presentation operates as a *σχήμα*, to enhance the effect of a narrative.

What 'Longinus' has observed - the force of the omission of a declarative phrase like 'Hector said' which causes a change of construction so sudden that it outstrips its creator - might be tantamount to what some contemporary theorists have labelled 'free direct speech'. This is supposed to be a particular speech mode. Compare this observation by Leech and Short[33] :

> Direct speech has two features which show evidence of the narrator's presence, namely the quotation marks and the introductory reporting clause [what I have just called the 'declarative phrase']. Accordingly, it is possible to remove either or both of these features, and produce a freer form, which has been called FREE DIRECT SPEECH: one where the characters apparently speak to us more immediately without the narrator as an intermediary.

(My own category of 'free direct discourse' will be explained and defended in section (iii) below) I disagree with 'Longinus' and Leech and Short in their conclusion that it is merely the absence of a declarative verb that makes narration like Homer's so effective.

Direct speech with absence of a declarative phrase (or absence of quotation marks) may well mean no more than direct speech with that feature absent. Certainly there is something to talk about in the excerpts taken by 'Longinus', but the main thing they illustrate is a shift in speech mode, from indirect to direct discourse. The nature of Hector's utterance may have been presented indirectly first: now it is being quoted. A declarative phrase may be cumbersome at any point after that shift has occurred, but it would not hamper the basic effect.

In the section below I will outline the other speech modes and explain my own terminology.

(iii) Terminology used; The speech modes in Latin

Much recent theory of narrative or 'narratology' has revolved around the axis of the distinction made famous by Genette between 'narrative' (*récit*) and 'story' (*histoire*)[34] . This distinction has become widely adopted: the story is the totality of narrated events, the narrative is the discourse that narrates them.

However, a consideration of historical texts alone highlights a general problem with this distinction which Genette himself has recognised.[35] Can a story - i.e. 'a totality of events,' as Genette puts it (if it is not everything that ever happened at all or could happen) - be conceived without being put into a narrative? This conception of 'story' has been likened unfavourably to an unrealiseable Platonic Form.[36] As soon as we try to approach it, we come up with a version - which has to

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[33] Leech & Short 1981, 322

[34] The distinction is propounded by Genette 1980, 25f. At 29 G. remarks 'Analysis of narrative discourse will thus be for me, essentially, a study of the relationships between narrative and story, between narrative and narrating, and (to the extent that they are inscribed in the narrative discourse) between story and narrating.' The divide is not original to Genette but was first conceived by the Russian Formalists. Eichenbaum 1925 attributes the *fabula /sjuzet* distinction to Sklovskij in 1919.

[35] See 'Récit fictionnel, récit factuel' in Genette 1991, 69f. where he responds to Herrnstein Smith, 'Narrative Versions, Narrative Theories' in Mitchell 1981, 209-33

[36] The analogy is made by Herrnstein Smith in Mitchell 1981 at 201. She attacks various 'dualisms' in narratology. See Genette 1991, 73 n.3

be a narrative, embodying a particular point of view. As just noted though, a conception of story on Genette's original lines is useful: we do want a practical distinction between the sequence of events presented and the discourse that presents them.

The fundamental importance an understanding of these terms, the distinction between them and the terms that follow from them (e.g. 'narrative time' and 'story time')[37] has for a thesis that deals with the reporting of speech as a narrative technique ought by now to be obvious. The (supposed) original utterance of a character is part of the story; any rendering of it whatsoever, whether in direct or indirect discourse, is part of the narrative.

The notion of 'focalization' should also be explained. The term was again coined by Genette in the drawing of a crucial distinction between 'who speaks' and 'who sees'. Focalization ('seeing') has to be distinguished from the reporting of spoken or thought discourse ('speaking'). An example (*Aeneid* 4.281-2) will help:

> ardetque abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras
> attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.

These verses certainly do not present anything uttered by Aeneas, nor even necessarily an unvoiced thought. Yet they do tell us something about his attitudes. The *terras* of Carthage are *dulcis* really only to Aeneas. They are not particularly *dulcis* to us, nor to to the poet-narrator, and certainly not to his original audience of committedly patriotic Romans. *Abire fuga* too is a rather embarrasing way of conceiving the last stage of the grand *iter* towards Italy - but this is the way Aeneas sees it. It would be quite different for him to say or think (in any speech mode) *'ardeo abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras'*. Aeneas's state of mind is thus not anything articulated, but it is discreetly conveyed by this focalization[38] .

This instance of focalization, like many we shall encounter, happens to be in the vicinity of reported discourse: we shall deal with the whole passage in which it occurs in the first chapter. But it is worth emphasising here that the 'thoughts' handled in this enquiry are only those which might be shown to involve presentation of characters' discourse. Accounts of characters' states of mind conveyed by focalization, or by what I call 'exotopic' narration of thoughts - insights on a character's dispositions presented purely objectively by the narrator either by imagery or other descriptive language (as with 4. 282 quoted here) - will not be our main concern.

In practice there are always going to be instances of diction we cannot so easily categorise: the difference between focalization and speech presentation is not always so clear as I have made it seem. There is no infallible criterion for identifying the presentation of discourse: the absence of a declarative verb indicates little either way. The interpretation of ambiguous instances often depends on our interpretation of the whole contexts, and sometimes even of the entire works in which they appear.

As we turn to an enumeration of a classification of the speech modes in Latin literature, it must be emphasised that these categories, too, are not as hard and fast as they may seem to be. The basic speech modes I have identified for this enquiry are

[37] Genette 1980, 34f.

[38] I generally find it sufficient throughout to refer to such instances of 'deviant focalization' or 'focalization through a character' simply as 'focalization,' since the identification of species of focalization is not an object of my enquiry. And I avoid again the question of whether narrative may ever be in any sense 'unfocalized'(zero focalization) cf. Genette 1980, 188f. and 1988, 73. For focalization and Latin literature, Fowler 1990 and 1991 are useful and adventurous treatments.

shown on the table below.

SPEECH MODES IN LATIN NARRATIVE[39]

1. Direct Discourse:

a) 'Quotation' - we are given impression of hearing the character's actual words

as in Aeneid 12.947-9:

'tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit'

b) Free Direct Discourse - we may not necessarily be expected to believe these are the words actually uttered or thought by character(s)

as in Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 1.631-3 :

tristius an miseris superest mare? linquite, terrae,
spem pelagi sacrosque iterum seponite fluctus.'
haec iterant segni flentes occumbere leto

Can a gloomier sea await us wretched men? Land-dwellers leave hope of the sea and again shun the holy waves.' They repeat this, bewailing an idle death.

(It could be argued reasonably that all direct discourse in verse narrative is also free direct discourse)

2. Indirect Discourse

a) Free Indirect Discourse

as in *Aeneid* 4.283-4 :

[39] In addition to treatments of speech presentation in the works of literary theory and criticism cited in the notes above, there is abundant discussion of the definition and functions of the speech modes in more specifically linguistic treatments of direct and indirect discourse. Those most pertinent for consideration of literary discourse include: Banfield 1982, Coulmas 1986 (very useful anthology considering the reporting of speeches in a variety of languages), Fillmore 1981, Larson 1978, Partee 1973, Tannen 1986, Zwicky 1978. More general linguistic studies which have importance for the study of speech presentation are: Biber 1988, Hickmann 1982, Johnstone 1987, Lyons 1977 (an important introductory work), Polanyi 1982, Romaine 1985. The index of Lyons 1977 and Crystal 1985 are useful guides to the terminology in these works. Davidson 1969 offers a philosophical consideration of indirect discourse in English; see also Quine 1960 and 1966. My list of speech modes has obviously been developed with the Latin language (and literature) in mind - nonetheless it is very striking how similar the patterns of the relation between reporting and reported speech can be in a variety of languages. The third part of Voloshinov 1973 (cited earlier), 109-61, is entirely devoted to reported speech (mostly indirect discourse). That study, on the boundary between linguistics and literary theory, precedes all these aforementioned in its composition, as well as in clarity and pertinence.

heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem
audeat adfatu? quae primordia sumat?

Alas what is he to do? With what address should he dare to approach the queen in her rage? What should be his first words?

b) Oratio Obliqua

as in *Aeneid* 7.166-8

nuntius ingentis ignota in veste reportat
advenisse viros...

The messenger announced that huge men in strange garb had drawn near...

3. Mentions of Speech Acts

a) 'Expansive' or 'Informative' Oratio Memorata

as in *Aeneid* 1.742f.

hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores
unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes

He sang of the wandering moon,the sun's tasks, of the origins of the human race and of beasts, of rain and fire...

b) 'Terse' Oratio Memorata

as in *Aeneid* 9.2

Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Juno

Saturnian Juno sent Iris down from heaven

The first mode is direct discourse or *oratio recta*. (I shall use the abbreviation 'o.r.') The characters' words (spoken or thought) are 'quoted'. The narrator, as it were, gives the floor to his character so that the audience have the impression that these words are a precise imitation of what the character is supposed to have uttered.

In all narrative of whatever kind, direct discourse has an importance and quality which no other style, mode or feature of narrative can match. In the presentation of direct discourse, the actual time it takes for the speech to be uttered in the world of the story becomes effectively synchronised with the actual time it takes to narrate that speech - if 'narrative time' is ever equal to 'story time', it must be when the narration of direct discourse occurs.

Of course direct discourse in narrative, oral or literary, cannot enjoy the same effect as the speech uttered in our world of experience: a precise timing for enunciation, pauses in or between enunciations and the timing for those, intonation, qualities of accent, tone and voice cannot be recaptured for presenting utterances which occurred outside of the world of the story, nor can they be comprehensively prescribed for presenting utterances which have been purely invented by the narrator.

Nonetheless utterances are the only things the *'mimesis '* of narrative can

directly imitate. That is because utterances, like discursive (as opposed to visual) forms of narrative are made of language. And these forms of narrative themselves are utterances.

Direct discourse accomplishes more than a purely temporal synthesis of narrative and story if a voice other than the narrator's takes over and confronts us directly with the world of the story, or even puts us in it. We feel that we hear the utterance as those present in the story hear it. Hence the fuss about the use of quotation in accounts of events in our world of experience: 'Is this what he or she actually said?' is a frequent response to quotations in stories we hear in everyday life.

A theoretical problem with this is highlighted when we consider first person narrative genres. So far Plato's firm distinction between direct and indirect speech has been taken for granted. But people have seen problems with it. What status do we give to o.r. when we are dependent on a character narrator like Lucius, as opposed to an omniscient disinterested narrator to supply it? With a first person narrator we are faced with a situation similar to real life experience. We can only take his word for what he tells us about what he himself or other people actually said.

In real life conversations, *all* speech rendered in conversation is reported, whether it is presented directly or indirectly. Thus the distinction of function between direct and indirect discourse becomes eroded: reported direct speech seeks to reproduce an utterance with some historical status.

In literature the boundaries between direct and indirect speech are not always clear either; this is because of certain midway categories we shall investigate below like free indirect discourse. But in most cases, there is a clear functional difference between the two, which is confined to literary or fictional discourse: the use of direct speech in a narrative poem or novel *constitutes* an original utterance - it does not imitate or report an earlier one as indirect speech does. Thus Plato's use of the term '*mimesis* ' for direct speech in Homer is a little misleading , but the sharp distinction he makes between direct speech and narrative is, in my belief, valid for most literature.

I said we should accept 'for the most part' that speech quoted is what we are to suppose was uttered. The second category of direct discourse gives ground for this qualification: free direct discourse (f.d.d.)[40]. This was mentioned in the previous section. Although the definition supplied by Leech and Short quoted above may be unacceptable, their identification of some examples of this category happens to be correct. This is a valid category (and an important one for classical narrative) if we can explain it another way.

Here, first, are two examples of f.d.d.from English literary narrative[41] :

Now. Is there any other witness? No other witness.

Very well, gentlemen! Here's a man unknown, proved to be in the habit of taking opium in large quantities ... if you think it is a case of accidental death, you will find a verdict accordingly.

Verdict accordingly. Accidental death. No doubt. Gentlemen, you are discharged. Good afternoon. [*Bleak House* Ch. 11]

[40] Genette 1980 does not deal with f.d.d.; in Genette 1988, it is made clear at 56 that he regards direct discourse in general and f.d.d. as being within the the same category. Rimmon-Kenan follows suit.

[41] The citation of Dickens comes from Leech and Short, 323 (labelled by them as f.d.d.); the Jane Austen passage from Page 1973, 32 - Page calls that an 'abridged monologue', an example of the 'movement towards the integration of direct speech with narrative style'(31). P. does use, cautiously, the term 'free direct speech' later in his discussion.

'I do not quite despair yet. I shall not give it up till a quarter after twelve. This is just the time of day for it to clear up, and I do think it looks a little lighter. There, it is twenty minutes after twelve, and now I *shall* give it up entirely...' [Northanger Abbey]

On the second example, Page (at 32) remarks:

Unblushingly, the novelist permits twenty minutes to elapse during the uttering of less than forty words. Quite clearly, the force of the quotation marks in this example is different from that in most direct speech: a protracted conversation, or at least a one-sided series of remarks has been telescoped into a single speech in the interests of narrative economy.

The comfortable notion suggested above that direct speech offers a temporal synthesis of narrative and story is rather ruptured. The same could be said of the truncated monologue Dickens provides for the narration of the inquest of Nemo. The basic effect of both these passages on a reader is rather similar. Now Leech and Short argue that the Dickens passage is 'the most free form of all' - in no small part because of 'the lack of quotation marks and locutionary clauses'. The narrator for them, like 'Longinus''s Homer, is not acting as an intermediary.

This seems to be deeply misconceived. Presumably Leech & Short would have to argue that the Jane Austen passage is less 'free' because of the presence of quotation marks. Worse still is the notion that reported utterances like these quoted are somehow more liberated from the narrator's control than standard instances of direct discourse. In terms of *mimesis* they are clearly less realistic - the 'telescoping' surely exposes the hidden grand design of the narrator as he is working his purpose out.

The misconception derives, in my view, from an aspiration to make f.d.d. more parallel to free indirect discourse than it really is: because f.i.d. is a freer version of an ostensibly indirect form, f.d.d. has to be freer than standard direct discourse in an analogous way.

In my opinion, f.d.d. is so called because it is frees the narrator from the constraint of quoting or constituting the precise words supposed to have been uttered by a character or characters. The sort of temporal telescoping is a sufficient but not a necessary condition for it in classical narrative. Some o.r. utterances seem to be much briefer (or lengthier) than we might expect them to be in real life. Other sufficient conditions for f.d.d. might be (ii) the ascription and quotation of shared direct discourse to a group of speakers (we shall see this happens in Lucan), (iii) an apparently naturalistic quotation followed by the narrator remarking that this is something like what was originally said, and (iv) speeches made in verse. This last condition suggests that all direct discourse in epic or epyllion narrative might in fact be f.d.d.[42]

So f.d.d. may be regarded as a type of o.r.. In the enquiry that follows instances of direct discourse will generally be classed as o.r. - some will be explicitly categorised as f.d.d. if conditions other than (iv) are met. We should bear in mind however that all the instances of o.r., in the verse narratives we shall consider at least, might be

[42] Borges 1986, 6 rejects assumptions that Dante 'believed in' his *Commedia* partly on the basis that Dante would have known Virgil could not speak in vernacular tercets. Presumably a Roman audience would be no more inclined than we are to believe that in a heroic age people spoke to each other in Latin or Greek hexameters. Audiences have to engage in a contract with an epic narrator to suspend certain sorts of disbelief for the poems to work: the acceptance of speeches in verse is one such supension. Lewis 1942 on the need of 'solemnity' for appreciating epic might be pertinent here. Cf. Todorov 1984 quoting Bakhtin at 88: 'an absolute epic distance separates the epic world from contemporary reality.'

counted as f.d.d. as well.

The first indirect speech mode is *oratio obliqua*. (o.o.) The character's words (spoken or thought) are channelled through the voice of the narrator. The audience hardly ever have the impression that they are hearing what the character said, because the narrator's presence is so clearly accentuated by the syntax in a sentence in which o.o. features. This is very much the case when we consider literature in Latin - the accusative and infinitive construction generally used is fairly unwieldy compared to those in English or Greek[43]. The very use of this construction provides a constant reminder that the discourse it constitutes is reported.

However, there are types of o.o. in Latin which come closer to giving the illusion of precise imitation afforded by o.r. The first we will call *mimetic* o.o. [44]. With this, the diction does seem to be more the property of the original speaker than the narrator. Yet it is all held within the confines of an o.o. clause. Jane Austen provides an example of this in English:

Mrs. Jennings however assured him directly, that she should not stand upon ceremony, for they were all cousins or something like it, and she should certainly wait on Mrs. JohnDashwood very soon, and bring her sisters to see her.

[*Sense and Sensibility* , 230 Penguin edn.]

Here by the repetitions of 'should', and the idiomatic 'cousins or something like it', Jane Austen mimics Mrs. Jennings without actually quoting her. It is clear that it is the narrator who is speaking all the time, though there is an element of caricature of the supposed original speaker. This caricaturing by no means has to be always mocking or satirical.

Some vigilance is needed to spot this kind of thing in Latin. The appearance of an oath, exclamation or other turn of phrase associated with direct utterances can often signal mimetic o.o. e.g. *heu* or *immo vero* .

Another type of indirect discourse which comes near to giving the effect of direct speech has become more famous. This is the free indirect discourse (f.i.d.). An example of this in English comes from D.H.Lawrence:

She lifted her head and pondered. How could it be wrong to love him? Love was God's gift and yet it caused her shame. That was because of him, Paul Morel.

[*Sons and Lovers* , 211 Penguin edn.]

There are still the customary alterations to any imagined original utterance that we find in conventional o.o.: changes of tense, mood and person. But the propositions recording the utterance (*How could it be wrong to love him?* etc.) are not hinged

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[43] The frequency of the accusative and infinitive diminished in post-classical Latin, no doubt because of its unwieldy nature compared to the simpler *quod /quia* type constructions. Ernout & Thomas 1951,453 hold plausibly that even in classical period the traditional construction was confined to language that was written and read.

[44]Neither mimetic o.o. nor f.i.d. are confined to fictional literature in Latin. Roman historians are particularly fond of mimetic o.o., and they do use f.i.d., though usually it is to liberate a long passage of o.o. from a declarative verb. The practice of English historians was similar until this century, if Macaulay is anything to go by. These observations alone might prompt us to question the conclusion of Banfield 1982 that f.i.d. is impossible in the spoken language. Genette 1988, 99-101 provides an amusing refutation of this view and its presuppositions.

grammatically on a verb of saying and thinking[45]. They are quite independent and show a change of voice - the narrator does not have indisputable control, as he does with mimetic o.o.. Very often in Latin epic, deliberative questions in the third person of the present subjunctive, as in the example on the table from *Aeneid* 4, signal f.i.d.

The sentiments of a character expressed in f.i.d. could be either spoken or thought - it is never revealed. Nor is it ever revealed who it is who is giving expression to these sentiments. The voices of narrator and character become synthesized, or at least confused.

Incidentally, the situation in which f.i.d. is used in the Lawrence passage quoted here has a striking number of parallels in Latin poetry. Scylla in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.25f. and Medea in Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica* 7.336, are other young girls in love questioning the legitimacy of their feelings. In all these passages, as often, f.i.d. opens out to a direct speech soliloquy.

A narrator has one more general means of reporting speech at his disposal. This is another kind of indirect speech which I shall call *oratio memorata* (o.m.)[46] . We are given merely an indication that something was said or thought and we have much less information about the original utterance - though we may know its effect or the nature of its content. Examples in English are:

> They agreed.
> He asked them to leave.
> She told him about the war.

The name I would give to this most remote way of presenting characters' discourse is 'terse o.m.'. The speeches or thoughts are mentioned mainly as events. In the terse kind of o.m., a good deal of the information about the utterance is provided by the verb alone. The verb does not even have to be a specifically declarative one like *dicere* or *loqui*, as the use of *misit* in the example in the table from *Aeneid* 9.2 shows[47]. However, there is also a more informative type of *oratio memorata* which often includes indirect commands or indirect questions. (Iopas's song in *Aeneid* 1 quoted on the table is a good example of this)

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[45] cf. Ernout & Thomas, 434-5: *A côté du style indirect proprement dit, rapportant à un verbe déclaratif une série de propositions dépendantes, il y a des exemples de style indirecte libre en proposition grammaticalement independente; mais les changements de temps de mode ou de personne que l'on observe alors montrent avec évidence que cette indépendence est purement extérieure: il y a en réalité dépendence dans la pensée de l'écrivain* . ' Dependence on the *voice* of the *narrator* ' might be a better term for the basis on which tenses, moods and persons of verbs are determined for passages of f.i.d., although even this reformulation is contestable.
We shall see in the next section that a major problem with the f.i.d. is not so much who is speaking , as whether in some passages we actually have have f.i.d. at all. For identification we have to rely on the general context of a passage, not just the linguistic forms the passage may contain. For a general survey see MacHale 1978. For bibliography on f.i.d. in Latin, see Hofmann & Szantyr 1965, 362. Especially noteworthy is Regula 1951.

[46] My category of o.m. corresponds to what Lewin in her translations of Genette, 1980 & 1988, rather unhelpfully calls 'narratised speech'; Leech & Short, following Rimmon-Kenan 1983 call it 'N.R.S.A.' - narrative report of speech acts. It is hoped that for Latinists, at least, 'oratio memorata' may be the clearest and most memorable label.

47 It should be noted that even terse o.m. can have quite striking positive effects - e.g. bathos in syncopated narration when an audience are deprived of a a speech or speeches they may have expected to hear. A good example is the rendering of the final part of Anchises's exchange with Aeneas in *Aen.* 6.888-891. MacHale 1978, 2258-9 in his scale of speech modes subcategorises o.m. in a similar way : terse o.m. is called 'the diegetic summary'; expansive o.m. is 'summary, less purely diegetic'.

The distinction made here between o.o. and o.m. as two types of indirect speech is, in my view, an important one[48]. Even informative o.m., as used here for Iopas, merely summarises. It is highly unlikely that the indirect questions Virgil uses here are renderings of any actual questions which Iopas posed himself: they only serve to exemplify the subjects of his poem[49] . O.o., in my more limited sense, is actually a rendering of the imagined original, however brief, rather than a summary.

This then, is the range of speech modes. But these are just the basic components for presenting characters' discourse. Soliloquies, exchanges of long speeches and rapid dialogue can all be presented in any of these modes or in a combination of them. What might be called 'angled narration of dialogue' (a.n.d.) alternates direct and indirect discourse in the presentation of an exchange of speeches. The words of one speaker are usually spotlighted by being given in o.r.; his interlocutor or interlocutors have a form of indirect speech. The words of the speaker who is quoted in o.r. tend to have the most impact in these situations. For this reason I call it 'angled narration' of dialogue.

It is obvious that certain speech modes and types of speech presentation will be employed in certain situations in narrative literature[50] . The dramatic facility of o.r. means that a speech will have some emphasis. The mode is used for nearly all statements of importance in poetry and for the most solemn and important declarations in history.

O.o. has the general effect of distancing the audience from whatever a character may have said, whilst rendering at least a part of it. It too is used in certain kinds of situations in Latin narrative and particularly poetry. O.o. is the best mode in which to render rumours, anonymous messages or reports, since these can never be represented *verbatim*. Fama for instance, though she is personified by Virgil, Statius and Valerius is never given direct speech.[51]

O.o. is virtually always the mode adopted to express the sentiments of a group of people speaking at once. Groups of speakers are rarely quoted in chorus in Latin narrative literature. (A similar context in a narrative which makes indirect speech almost inevitable is a character repeating the same sentiment over and over again - possibly each time in a slightly different way. What I call the *iterative* use of indirect discourse conveys this.)

Perhaps most interestingly, o.o. is regularly used to present the thoughts and

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[48] The distinction is not without problems though: indirect questions and especially indirect commands are sometimes o.o., sometimes what I call o.m.. Then even within my finer subcategory of 'terse o.m.' quite different things can go on: *iubet* tells us a good deal more about a character's utterance than *loquitur* . My defence is that it is more important to have a 'working' terminology that can help us see what is going on in a narrative and identify the functions of certain passages, rather than a flawless meta-language (probably impossible to develop), that would give each and every function exactly the right name.

[49] Such questions were common in the *thesis* and are to be found in philosophical poems e.g. Virgil *Georgic* 1.1f., *Aetna* 1-4.

[50] On particular linguistic devices occurring in certain contexts see Todorov 1977 'It becomes obvious that all knowledge of literature will follow a path parallel to that of the knowledge of language - more than that these two paths will tend to coincide...The Russian Formalists ... had already sought to exploit this analogy. They located it, more specifically, between the devices of style and the procedures of narrative organisation; one of Victor Shklovsky's first articles was in fact called "The Link between the Devices of Composition and General Stylistic Devices".' Todorov examines the application of some rhetorical figures to the structure of fictional narrative.

[51] cf. *Aen.* 4.190f., *Thebaid* 2.201, 11.139, *Argonautica* 2.115f. and the section on messenger scenes at the end of the second chapter.

motivations of characters in a way that is far more revealing than direct speech soliloquy. The narrator can simultaneously interpret the character's thoughts bringing certain things into focus to describe his or her behaviour[52].

The type of situation for free indirect style usually involves a state of high emotion or agitation; or just surprise when a character is manifestly lost for words as in Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 3.9 (see Chapter 3 below) as well as *Aeneid* 4.283-4 discussed in the chapter to follow.

In contrast, terse o.m. is not found in any particular story situations. It is used in a narrative when nothing would be gained by quoting or even summarizing an utterance that might well be routine.

I have saved until the end of this introduction any account of my use of the terms 'speech' and 'discourse'. The fundamental nature of these terms makes definition of them problematic; however they can at least be distinguished.[53] This thesis deals not only with the spoken words (speech) of characters, but also their thoughts - in that regard 'Modes of reporting discourse in Latin fictional narrative' could have been an alternative title for this study. But it seemed necessary to establish dissociation from looser, jargonish uses of the word which have become so prevalent. These uses have come about presumably from anglicisations of the French *discours* .

Even in the general, traditionally legitimate sense of the word all narrative is discourse: only a specific feature of narrative is treated here, and use of 'discourse' in my title might not give an accurate impression of the contents[54] . A more modern sense of 'discourse' might correspond to what Bakhtin more helpfully calls 'speech genres': as in 'religious discourse', 'discourses of power' etc.. The problem with Bakhtin's nomenclature, at least as it is translated, is that far from all the speech genres he lists are spoken[55] . The same problem exists here: by no means all of the characters' 'speech' reported and treated in this study is spoken. On the whole then my use of 'discourse' is more local: 'direct discourse' or 'indirect discourse' stand for, and are often here interchangeable with, 'direct speech' or 'indirect speech' as

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[52]It is partly for this reason that stories told in the first person do not usually succeed in providing a sense of immediacy equivalent to that granted by third person accounts cf. Friedman in Stevick 1967,113: 'The reader perceives the action as it filters through the consciousness of one of the characters involved, yet perceives it directly as it impinges upon that consciousness, thus avoiding that removal to a distance necessitated by retrospective first person narration.' Mendilow 1967, 106-7 gives a fuller description. For example, Cephalus's account in Ovid *Met.* 7.690f. seems less immediate than that of the poet-narrator of the circumstances of his rendition, although both are in the past in relation to the 'instance' of narration of the poem. This is not just because Cephalus's tale is a story within a story: being in the first person his story goes back from this moment of his narration to Phocus to a time in the past. With the narrative of the *Met.* overall, the poet and reader generally go forward on an equal footing, from a distant point in the past to a less distant point.

[53] Crystal 1977 attempts a neat definition of 'discourse'in the technical sense: 'In LINGUISTICS, a stretch of language larger than a sentence.' Crystal 1985, at 96 & 284 offers more expansive definitions of 'discourse' and 'speech' respectively in which the complexities of those terms, even within linguistics, become more evident.

[54] I have discussed elsewhere (Laird 1990, 130-6) the application of the opposition between 'discourse' and 'narrative' (first made in Benveniste 1971 & adopted in Genette 1982) to ancient genres in general, and Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* specifically. That opposition derives from Aristotle *Poetics* 1447b f.: the 'narrative' genres would include drama as well as epic, history etc.; the 'discursive'genres would include first person elegy, epistolography, satire etc.. For the sake of clarity more than relevance, that opposition will not be mentioned in what follows.

[55] Bakhtin 1986, 60f.

classicists, including myself, loosely use them. The context should always make sure that my meaning is clear.

In the specific naming of some of speech modes (f.d.d., f.i.d.) 'discourse' seemed manifestly better than 'speech' because very often, perhaps most often, these modes do not convey actual speech of characters at all. 'Style' is a common alternative - again an anglicisation of French usage (free indirect style = *le style indirect libre*). This was rejected on the simple basis that (e.g.) f.i.d. is not a style of narration in the normal sense, but consists in a change or modification of voice.

There are one or two more terms I employ, which will be explained as they are actually applied. This is partly for the sake of economy: illustration of those terms requires interpretation of exemplary passages. Such interpretation should appear in more appropriate contexts below.

1. Speech presentation in poetic narrative: Martial Epic

Introduction[1]

Epic is one of the most important and abundant forms of ancient literary narrative.[2] Yet in our times, it has emerged as a genre which is far from automatically popular. The responses and tastes of audiences today who appreciate narrative literature are very much conditioned by novelistic forms.

Two kinds of attempts have been made by critics to justify epic to modern (general) readers. (i) They have attempted to explain the context of its production, by talking about oral culture, historical context, conventions etc. - we are to make allowances[3] . (ii) They have (until recently) tried to show more directly how it can be appreciated in our terms, providing us with notions of epic as an 'objective', 'behaviourist' or 'dramatic' form of narration. Auerbach's comments on part of *Odyssey* 19 - Eurycleia's recognition of Odysseus's scar - might be typical[4] :

> All this is scrupulously externalised and narrated in leisurely fashion. The two women express their feelings in copious direct discourse. Feelings though they are, with only a slight admixture of the most general considerations upon human destiny, the syntactical connection between part and part is perfectly clear, no contour is blurred. There is also room and time for orderly, perfectly well-articulated, uniformly illuminated descriptions of implements, ministrations and gestures; even in the dramatic moment of recognition, Homer does not omit to tell the reader that it is with his right hand Odysseus takes the old woman by the throat ... Clearly outlined, brightly and uniformly illuminated, men and things stand out in a realm where everything is visible; and not less clear - wholly expressed, orderly even in their ardor - are the feelings and thoughts of the persons involved.

It is clear from what follows in his chapter that Auerbach does not mean his general observations to be applied to Homer exclusively. Compare these remarks from Fraenkel[5] :

> Der Sänger berichtet, aber er reflektiert nicht. Als Person tritt er völlig hinter der Sache zurück. Er urteilt nicht über seine Gestalten und deutet nicht von sich aus ihre Charaktere; nur durch ihre Handlugen und Reden lehrt er sie uns kennen. Alle Problematik ist in der Erzählungstumm.

According to these views - party to the 'behaviourist' notion - actions, events and discourse are presented in great clarity and detail, but they are presented very much from the outside. It is no accident that the mention of (direct) speech is made in these contexts by both critics quoted here. As in most ancient narrative

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[1] The word 'Introduction' in the actual text that follows will always refer to the Introduction of this whole study - not to the beginnings of any chapter.

[2] The following studies devoted wholly or partly to epic are helpful for showing relations between my observations on speech presentation and other general features of the genre: Auerbach 1953, Bakhtin 1981, Curtius 1979, Draper 1990, Frye 1971, Ferry 1963. Hainsworth 1991 and Thalmann 1984 are concerned to a great extent with recovering ancient notions of what epic was.

[3] See e.g. Lewis 1942, Kirk 1962, Lord 1960, Merchant 1971.

[4] Auerbach 1953, 3.

[5] Fränkel 1975, quoted in De Jong 1987, 15.

poetry, direct discourse is the norm in Greek and Roman epic and plays an important part in modern perception of the genre.

The notable length of some *rheseis* and the number of them must have had some part in giving ground to the view of epic as being dramatic. Drama still makes sense to modern readers - epic will make more sense if it is seen as a 'dramatic form' of narrative[6] . The novel too makes sense to people: it might also have been seen as helpful to compare epic to a familiar novelistic form of narrative. 'Behaviourist narrative' like Hemingway's might appear to offer some kind of correspondence[7] .

Such traditional notions of 'epic' as 'objective' or 'behaviourist' have recently come under attack.[8] If we consider Eliot's notion of the 'objective correlative' alone, we can see that the audience come to know the characters of epic poetry not only from what they do and say aloud but also by other narrative techniques like metaphor and simile.

Nevertheless o.o. and f.i.d. are rarely (in comparison with o.r) used in epic to render the characters' thoughts and inner motivations. When we find indirect speech modes in Latin epic they are often in certain predictable contexts[9] . External forces acting on a *mens* or *animus* often provide the equivalent of unvoiced thoughts[10] . This leads me to believe that in an important sense - in terms of the reporting of discourse - principal narrators in Latin epic intervene less than narrators in other fictional genres[11] .

When epic narrators describe the intimate feelings of characters with imagery or personified emotions etc., they are still doing so from an external, if omniscient, position: only very occasionally do they fuse their discourse with that of their characters[12] .

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[6] Brecht's 'epic theatre' sought by linear narration to stimulate the audience's reason rather than 'empathy' and to present events as if quoting something already seen and heard. This conception may have had an influence on the issue by uniting notions of drama and epic. See Willet 1964. On attribution of 'dramatic style' to the *Iliad*, see the critique in De Jong 1987 at 20.

[7] See Genette 1980, 219f. For some convincing accounts of the distinction, widely held, between epic narrative - seen as 'monological' - and the 'polyphonous' discourse of the novel, see Bakhtin 1981.

[8] This attack comes most of all from De Jong 1987, and is applied to Homer, but her remarks have implications for the study of other epic poets as well. Effe 1983 is a recent statement of the traditional position.

[9] The typical contexts (other than thoughts of characters) for Latin epic as a whole (e.g. Virgil, Ovid, Statius, Valerius Flaccus) are : anonymous traditions (o.o. constructions governed by *tradunt , fertur* etc.), rumours (*fama*); a group of characters thinking or voicing the same sentiment at the same time, reported poems and some prophecies, 'flight and fright' situations (deliberative questions in f.i.d.), indirect commands (speech acts generally in o.m.), episodes when messages are transmitted. Specific examples in specific epic poets will obviously be considered in this chapter and in part (iv) of the next.

[10] The way that Dido's personality is delineated at the opening of *Aeneid* 4 considered below shows how Virgil makes use of the traditional epic manner of presenting speeches and thoughts. See also the discussion of focalization and speech presentation in part (iii) of the Introduction.

[11] On 'intervention', 'sympathy', 'empathy'/ 'Empfindung' etc. in Virgil, see Fowler 1990 at 55. This recounts the impact of Otis 1964 (Chapter 4) and questions of 'point of view' on Italian narratological criticism.

[12] The presentation of a character's intimate feelings in an o.r. (or f.d.d.) soliloquy, which often does occur, is obviously a different matter: we feel we can make what we like of the character's discourse - it is not (so explicitly) being channelled through the discourse of the narrator.

(i) Virgil[13]

I shall begin this discussion of the *Aeneid* with a few general remarks before turning to look at some specific instances of the reporting of discourse in the poem. The major study of speech in Virgil written in English is provided by Highet 1972.[14] This is extremely useful as a reference book and I have benefited much from the statistics it supplies. The appendices (291-343) list all the o.r. speeches under various classifications e.g. in sequence, function in story (though what that function is depends on the apprehension of the reader), by grouping (whether in isolation, pairs or clusters), by speaker etc.. However, the best parts of the book itself do not venture far from these classifications; the remaining parts are, as Mackie remarks, 'descriptive rather than analytical'. The final two chapters, 'The Speeches and their Models' and 'Vergilius Orator an Poeta' show that Highet is mostly interested in considering the *rheseis* as set pieces.

My principal objection to Highet's study (which by no means applies to Highet alone) was stated in the Introduction - he gives very short shrift to speeches or thoughts in the *Aeneid* which are presented in indirect discourse of any kind. The emphasis he and commentators and critics in general have placed on the nature and function of o.r. *rheseis* in the poem has led me to pay some attention to the effects of the use of indirect speech modes in the poem both in this chapter and the part of the following chapter which treats the *Aeneid* . Much of this section, also to avoid repeating material provided either elsewhere or in the next chapter, will be devoted to thought rather than spoken discourse.

I will begin though by considering a feature of Virgil's employment of o.r. which has been often enough noted but little explained. Another topic relatively neglected in other discussions will also be treated here in detail: embedded narratives in the *Aeneid* . Those very narratives themselves are of course instances of reported speech, which merit attention as much as the techniques of speech presentation within them. The discussion of messenger scenes - one major type of episode involving speech in the *Aeneid* - will be deferred until the next

[13] It is impossible to supply anything approaching a full bibliography of works of secondary literature on the *Aeneid* . The most systematic I know is Suerbaum 1980. The following general studies have been useful: Heinze 1915, Eliot 1944 , Pöschl 1962, Knauer 1964, Quinn 1968, Gransden 1983, Conte 1986, Cairns 1988, Henry 1989. Much useful material is in the anthologies of Commager 1966 and Harrison 1990 (relevant studies will be cited individually). Feeney 1983, Fowler 1990, Highet 1972, Lyne 1987 & 1989, Mackie 1989, Otis 1964, have been particularly informative with regard to the reporting of speech in the poem (even if they do not all treat the question directly or explicitly) in addition to the commentaries to be mentioned below. See also note 4 in the Introduction for works concentrating exclusively on speech in epic including Virgil. Further material will be cited in the following pages.

[14] Mackie 1988 is also useful and is slightly more aware than Highet of the contribution indirect speech makes to the effect of the poem's narrative. At 10f. he distinguishes thus between what he calls 'direct characterisation' ('direct speech method') and 'indirect characterisation' - defined as either 'simple narrative decription instead of direct speech and narrative' or 'the poet's use of *oratio obliqua* to decribe the words and thoughts of a character.' Although Mackie is justified in claiming to be more sytematic and analytical than Highet, these categories turn out to be rather slippery. Like Highet, M. at 11 seems to consider the main functions of indirect discourse to be sustaining the 'tempo' of the narrative and 'presenting the character's sentiments or behaviour in a less prominent way than direct speech'. I hope to show in all that follows that the privileging of direct discourse, or rather the view that the narrator privileges it, restricts our appreciation of a number of passages.

chapter. This is because the techniques employed by Latin narrative poets in messenger scenes are so similar that an examination of comparable passages by different authors seems worthwhile.

Before proceeding, I should explain that any citation from 'Servius' refers to the Servian corpus as a whole[15] . As with the testimonies on speech presentation as a whole assembled in the Introduction, it is the nature of the comments rather than the identity of the commentator(s) which is of most interest here.

O.r. in the *Aeneid* : Explanations for unanswered *rhesis* in the poem.

It is not within the scope of this enquiry to look at the structure or content of o.r. speeches in the literary works examined, so much as the way that the manner in which they are presented fits into the narrative which encloses them.

An overwhelming majority of the speeches in the *Aeneid* are not met with speeches in response. It should go almost without saying that of these 127 speeches that meet with no answer, in virtually all cases no (verbal) answer to the utterance is apparently required[16] . Some exceptions where a lack of response seems to have a poignant effect will be treated in a brief consideration of a couple of pointed uses of silence in the poem, which follows in the section below.

There are fewer occasions in which two or more speakers exchange a speech each[17] , and fewer still in which more (three to eight) speeches are exchanged[18]. Virgil is by no means alone among Latin epic poets in this sort of practice. There are three different sorts of explanation offered here for why, at least in the *Aeneid* the manner of presenting speech in one *rhesis* might be adopted.

(i) Context in the story

The existence of many of the single *rhesis* can be explained by the context or situation in the story when they are uttered. Highet classifies them as mostly as commands, or else as prayers, persuasions, exhortations, oracles,

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[15] See Murgia 1975 for the tradition. Lazzarini 1989 looks at Servius's poetics, attempting a reconstruction of their theoretical framework.

[16] Lyne 1987, 145 in introducing his notion of the 'cut-off' technique comments on the lack of 'conversation' in Virgil: 'V. does appear to pass up the chance. His normal practice (there are some exceptions) is to restrict conversation to two characters, and on each occasion to permit no more than a speech, a reply and then perhaps a further retort by the first speaker'. On lack of conversation cf. Feeney 1983, 213f. & accompanying notes.

[17] The passages are: 1.65-80; 1.229-96; 1.522-78; 1.595-630; 1.753-3.715 (Dido's request for Aeneas's story, and the story itself. That 2.1-3.715 should be counted as an exchange of *rheses* will be argued below), Within them: 2.69-194 (Sinon and the Trojans); 2.281-295; 2.322-335; 2.535-550; 3.359-462. Then: 4.9-53; 5.348-56; 5.724-42; 5.781-815; 5.843-51; 6.318-330; 6.388-407; 6.560-627; 6.669-76; 7.116-34; 7.545-560; 8.36-78; 8.127-74; 8.374-404; 9.6-22; 9.83-.103; 10.524-34; 11.108-31; 11.502-19; 11.705-17; 12.889-895; 12.931-49. I concur with Highet in giving this maximum estimate of 32 altogether. In addition H. counts 6 in which there are two speakers who make a speech each, but in which the first speaker is not directly addressed in response by the second, but the second speech is made as a consequence of the first e.g. Latinus makes a prayer at 12.197-211, just after Aeneas has (12.176-94) when they strike their truce.

[18] There are seventeen altogether. The majority involve the exchange of 3 or 4 *rhesis* (which are spoken by personages of effectively equal status). cf. Heinze 1915, 404-5. There are three occasions on which more than four *rhesis* are exchanged: these will be discussed below.

apostrophes,taunts or threats, or, in one or two intances, as narratives or descriptions. Clearly the majority of these *rheseis* have something to do with speakers bidding or in some way trying to work on their addressees. The addressees then do (or possibly on occasions do not do) as they are asked; an affirmative reply would seem to be redundant. Two examples: Vulcan at 8.439-443 orders the Cyclopes to direct all their attention to making arms for Aeneas. They give no verbal reponse but do as they are told:

> nec plura effatus, at illi
> ocius incubuere omnes pariterque laborem
> sortiti. 8.443-5

Turnus's appeal to Faunus is handled thus:

> 'Faune, precor, miserere' inquit 'tuque optima ferrum
> Terra tene, colui vestros si semper honores,
> quos contra Aeneadae bello fecere profanos.'
> dixit, opemque dei non cassa in vota vocavit .
> namque diu luctans lentoque in stirpe moratus
> viribus haud ullis valuit discludere morsus
> roboris Aeneas. 12.777-83

Prayers then provide instances of speakers in subordinate positions petitioning gods who do not utter replies but who may act on the requests (e.g. Jupiter's reactions to prayers at 4.219f. and 9.630f)

(ii) Power relations between speakers and addressees

However in general the superior position of the speakers and their power over their addressees might also explain why so many speeches in the *Aeneid* are not replied to - in this poem as in real life it seems to be for those in authority to speak and the inclination, if not the duty of those with less power to remain silent.[19] Ascanius is a good example of an agent and speaker whom we can take as a case in point. As a child, generally in the presence of his father, he is normally

[19] This question will be mentioned again in the Conclusion to this survey. Dealing with the social dimension of speech presentation would lead us into broader area: the question of 'who speaks?' and thence to 'who are the *dramatis personae* and why are they?' In general we can observe that social hierarchy is more reinforced by speech presentation in martial epic than it is in other genres of fictional narrative. Bakhtin 1981 and Auerbach 24f. assert in different ways that prose fiction is a more democratic form of narrative.

seen and not heard[20] . At 12.4355-40 by way of saying farewell to Ascanius before he goes into battle Aeneas advises him to follow the *exempla* of his elders:

> Ascanium fusis circum complectitur armis
> summaque per galeam delibans oscula fatur:
> 'disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
> fortunam ex aliis. nunc te mea dextera bello
> defensum dabit et magna inter praemia ducet.
> tu, facito, mox cum matura adoleverit aetas,
> sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum
> et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector.'
> Haec ubi dicta dedit, portis sese extulit ingens
> telum immane manu quatiens; simul agmine denso
> Antheusque Mnestheusque ruunt... 12.433-43

Ascanius is not given the opportunity of any verbal response, not even just to say that he has heard and will obey. Nor are we told anything of Ascanius's disposition at this stage or of his reactions to this speech - the narrator follows it by immediately describing Aeneas's progress into battle[21] . So many indications of the power relation between father and son are given in Aeneas's few words that this lack of narratorial attention to Ascanius can hardly seem inappropriate. Aeneas gives two commands (*disce...* and *tu facito...*) followed by two exhortations (*sis memor* and *te animo ... excitet*). The vocative *puer* and the remark *cum matura adoleverit aetas* emphasise the son's relative juvenility and subordinate position, as well as Aeneas's use of his own name and title in 440 (*et pater Aeneas*). In this speech Aeneas's paternity is more a question of rank than emotional attachment. We have to look to Aeneas's demonstration of affection in 433-4 for

[20] Cf. Highet, 28: 'Young people in the *Aeneid* say very little. The high-spirited Nisus talks most, with fifty-seven lines; but Pallas has only twenty-four, Camilla less than seventeen. Lavinia and Lausus, in spite of their importance in the plot, never speak at all. The voice of Ascanius is heard for the first time briefly in the fifth book , where he sounds like a young prince (5.670-673). During his father's absence, he speaks four times uttering forty-one lines in all. Thereafter we see him weeping (12.399) and in the farewell embrace of his father (12.433-434), but he speaks no more. He is no Telemachus.' Conclusions drawn from a limited analysis like this can be misleading. For a start, there is no discernible category of 'young people' in the *Aeneid* to correspond to Highet's: Camilla and Lavinia, for example, as young women are very different in terms of function and status. Nor need 'importance in the plot' ever necessarily require detailed portrayal or, as part of this, a large number of words to say. At the same time, quantifying lines of speech of a character without a fair consideration of the extent of his/her presence in the narrative as a whole will tell us little. Hence to say that Ascanius is 'no Telemachus' principally because he has only 41 lines of speech really tells us nothing about Ascanius at all. Other distinctions aside, the narrative and story functions of Ascanius in the *Aeneid* and Telemachus in the *Odyssey* are (inevitably) completely different. And Homer employs different manners of speech presentation form Virgil anyway: sustained exchanges of o.r. are normal in the *Odyssey* . A Homeric Ascanius might well speak in reply to his father (after all even the infant Astyanax emits a scream in *Iliad* 6.) ; perhaps a Virgilian Telemachus would not.

[21] Compare in contrast Evander's farewell to Pallas - the effect of the young warrior's departure on his father is shown in some depth, as we shall see below.

proof of the latter[22] .

Ascanius has come into his own as a speaker and personage at other points in the poem when his father is absent. At 5.667 he is the first to approach the Trojan women after the fire they have caused has been reported. He addresses them thus:

> 'quis furor iste novus? quo nunc, quo tenditis' inquit
> 'heu miserae cives? non hostem inimicaque castra
> Argivum, vestras spes uritis. en, ego vester
> Ascanius!' - galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem,
> qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat.
> accelerat simul Aeneas, simul agmina Teucrum.
> ast illae diversa metu per litora passim
> diffugiunt ... 5.670-77

Ascanius is speaking to them from a superior position; even if there are no actual commands or exhortations here, the rhetorical questions clearly convey strongly the sense that he is reprimanding the women. These reproachful questions, and perhaps the speech as a whole, also seem rather similar to Aeneas's at 12.313-7 when he reproaches the soldiers for not keeping to the terms of the pact made

[22] It is of course the detail of the helmet in 434 (*per galeam*) which has partly caused commentators to see this episode as an echo of the scene in the sixth book of *Iliad* 6.390f. when Hector takes his leave of Andromache and his son Astyanax. There, Andromache is actually the first to speak (*Il.* 6.407-38), and Hector's words (6.441-65) are in reply to her lament. It is Astyanax's crying at the sight of his helmet that prompts Hector's next speech (467-81) which is actually a prayer addressed to Zeus and the other gods for his son to be as valiant and pre-eminent as he is. Andromache laughs through her tears and her grief prompts Hector to come out with one more speech of consolation and instruction (486-93). After Hector leaves Andromache and her handmaidens, they break into weeping - but no further speech is presented in this episode.
So, on comparison, the effect of this Homeric farewell scene is quite different in tone from Virgil's. This is in part down to the different quality of speech presentation. There is more direct speech, and two speakers. Even though Andromache speaks only once and Hector thrice, it is first her words and then the child's behaviour, and thirdly her weeping which can provide cues for Hector's words. That is why this scene conveys more emotion than Aeneas's farewell: Aeneas seems by contrast to be pronouncing a set of instructions which almost seem to have been rehearsed for the moment, rather than spontaneously evoked. His mention of Hector may achieve some pathos as we think of the Iliadic farewell, but even that occurs in a line which is a formal and precise echo of Andromache's words to him about Ascanius in 3.343. Belfiore 1984, 27-30 considers the Homeric precedent without making the obvious point - Hector's kin do have the right to reply and respond. See Lyne 1987,152-3, 192-3, 205-6 on the lack of affection displayed in Virgil here,& Feeney 1983, 214-5. Lyne 1987 at 8 looks at the resemblance of Aeneas's words here to those of Ajax in Sophocles *Ajax* 550f. (which might have been encountered via Accius's translation as well).

with Latinus at the beginning of 12.[23]

Heu miserae cives is not just commenting ruefully on their unhappy state of mind; it is also a reproof: they are are no good as citizens. *non hostem ... spes uritis* at least shows Ascanius is in a position to inform his addressees of their error and its implications. Finally Ascanius too uses his own name, as if to set a seal on his claim to authority.[24] The women make no reply to this speech but scatter in all directions.

Later in Book 9 we see Ascanius in a position of authority. Nisus and Euryalus seek his audience in order to volunteer to be the messengers who will find Aeneas (230-3). Ascanius speaks twice in the scene that follows - to propose his rewards for Nisus and Euryalus's venture (257-80) and (296-302) to agree to Euryalus's request to look after his mother. The one time we do hear Ascanius speaking in his father's presence is when he gives his ominous and auspicious utterance at 7.116. The verse and those that follow run thus:

> 'heus, etiam mensas consumimus?' inquit Iulus,
> nec plura, adludens. ea vox audita laborum
> prima tulit finem, primam modo loquentis ab ore
> eripuit pater ac stupefactus numine pressit. 7.116-9

Servius explains *pressit* :

> 'pressit' autem vocem Ascanii, quo possit ipse numina deprecari. [25]

But is it entirely coincidence that Ascanius is silenced the one time he does speak in the company of his father?

Highet's Appendix 3 entitled 'Grouping of the Speeches' which lists speakers and their addressees according to the number of speeches exchanged can also be used to survey their relative status of speaker and addressee within divine and mortal hierarchies. I estimate that 88 of the 127 speeches which receive no answer (they, as noted, constitute the majority of the episodes in which o.r. is presented) are made by a speaker who is of a superior standing to his addressee(s) either in terms of political, military, divine, gender or family status or occasionally in terms of knowledge or expertise. This should bear out the second explanation for the common use of the unanswered *rhesis* in contexts where speech is presented.

(iii) F.d.d. and the nature of direct discourse in epic.

In the introductory chapter to this enquiry the notion of f.d.d. was

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[23] *'quo ruitis? quaeve ista repens discordia surgit?*
o cohibete iras! ictum iam foedus et omnes
compositae leges. mihi ius concurrere soli;
me sinite atque auferte metus. ego foedera faxo
firma manu; Turnum debent haec iam mihi sacra.'
Note how similar the pattern of this speech is to Ascanius's at 5.670f. Two rhetorical questions are followed by an appeal for the Trojans to restrain their *iras* : Ascanius had commented on the Troades' *furor*. Here too the speaker brings his utterance to a close by considering himself and his status in the situation. *Ego* is forcefully used in both cases.

[24] Servius on 5.670 interprets this bit rather differently: *QUIS FUROR ISTE NOVUS quasi ad furentes loquitur: unde ne tum quidem agnitus, cum dixisset 'en ego vester Ascanius: galeam proiecit inanem'.*

[25] See also Fordyce ad loc.

explained. This notion seems particularly helpful for a better understanding of the way all direct speech functions in epic.

One explanation for many of these single *rhesis* could be that they are in f.d.d. They might indicate that the words were spoken by other speakers as well as the one to whom words are specifically attributed. For example if we consider a farewell scene like that between Aeneas and Ascanius in 12.432f. actually taking place, we might well expect something to be said by Ascanius, and perhaps more to be said by Aeneas. We shall encounter narrators later who tease their audience by hinting that more could be revealed than they are revealing, or by encouraging scepticism about what they relate[26] .

Silence as a significant response.

There is one further explanation for some *rhesis* not being answered. This is not consistent with those offered above and applies only in exceptional cases, at points in the story when the audience expect to hear an addressee make a speech in return and feel disconcerted when this does not happen[27] . The classic instance of this is Dido's response (or lack of it) to Aeneas's words to her when they meet in the Lugentes Campi (6.450f.).

There is an obvious precedent for this passage in *Odyssey* 11.562f.: Ajax's silence after Odysseus's words to him in Hades. Here, in contrast to what we shall see in Virgil, the audience are not really led by Odysseus's closing plea (561-2) to expect a reply:

> ἀλλ' ἄγε δεῦρο, ἄναξ, ἵν' ἔπος καὶ μῦθον ἀκούσῃς
> ἡμέτερον· δάμασον δὲ μένος καὶ ἀγήνορα θυμόν.

Ajax's silence is brought home by Odysseus the narrator (563-4):

> Ὣς ἐφάμην, ὁ δέ μ' οὐδὲν ἀμείβετο, βῆ δὲ μετ' ἄλλας
> ψυχὰς εἰς Ἔρεβος νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων.

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[26]Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* encourages scepticism of by exercise of his own narratorial voice e.g. 10. 300-3:*procul hinc natae, procul este parentes*
aut mea si vestras mulcebunt carmina mentes
desit in hac mihi parte fides. nec credite factum
vel si credetis, facti quoque credite poenam

[27] See Taplin 1972 on silences in Aeschylus. We also find significant silences in Livy. These take two forms: (i) the hush is explicitly mentioned as an event in the story (e.g. 1.13.4 *silentium et repentina fit quies*) used to add suspense. Ogilvie 1965 on *A.U.C.* 3.47.6 lists such instances with bibliography. (ii) In Livy the technique of a.n.d. can portray more powerfully a character who does not speak than one who does. Two examples in Books 1-4: Tarquin's interview with Attus Navius (1.36.4). The seer is shown to be reticent and modest by the presentation in o.o. of his respone to Tarquin's impertinent question. On hearing Tarquin's second command to cut the whetstone, Attius Navius says nothing but simply acts. Similar narrative techniques are used to present Coriolanus as the strong silent type in 2.40. His last words in the previous chapter composed a curt *atrox responsum* conveyed in o.o.; the second time envoys approached his camp, they were sent away with no reply at all. C.'s response to the news that a group of women is approaching the camp is behavioural not verbal (*multo obstinatior adversus lacrimas muliebres erat*). The words of a friend, given in o.r., inform him that his mother is present. Even when Coriolanus comes to embrace his mother, the only words we hear are hers - no speech from him is hinted at throughout the narration of this incident. See the note on Livy's use of a.n.d. at the discussion of *A.U.C.* 1.58.7-11 in the next chapter.

It is a silence which has had some impact on Homer's readers[28] . The Virgil passage is worth quoting in full, from the opening of Aeneas's speech:

> demisit lacrimas dulcique adfatus amore est:
> 'infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo
> venerat exstinctam, ferroque extrema secutam ?
> funeris heu tibi causa fui? per sidera iuro ,
> per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est,
> invitus, regina, tuo de de litore cessi.
> sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,
> per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,
> imperiis egere suis nec credere quivi
> hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.
> siste gradum teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro.
> quem fugis? extremum fato quod te adloquor hoc est'.
> talibus Aeneas ardentem et torva tuentem
> lenibat dictis animum lacrimasque ciebat.
> illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat
> nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur
> quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.
> tandem corripuit sese atque inimica refugit
> in nemus umbriferum, coniunx ubi pristinus illi
> respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem. 6.455-474

Even if the questions which open Aeneas's speech do not require answers from Dido, the strength of his oath and declaration that he left Carthage unwillingly failing to predict the extent of her grief seem sufficient to elicit some kind of response. But as Aeneas speaks Dido starts walking away, as *siste gradum etc.* at 465 indicates. *Quem fugis ?* (466) shows that Dido is still in retreat. The speech ends with an urgent plea - this is the last time fate will allow him to speak to her. Austin notes on 468:

> Virgil is in fact restating the situation as Aeneas was speaking: this line looks back to 455, with *lenibat* here corresponding to *dulci adfatus amore* there, *demisit lacrimas* picked up in *lacrimas ciebat* here, a chiastic arrangement. Similarly, what follows describes first Dido's reaction to the opening of Aeneas's speech (*incepto sermone* , 470) then her convulsive movement (472) at the point where Aeneas cries *siste gradum* (465).

The notion of the narrator 'restating' seems to be correct, but the audience are given another misleading impression even as this precise consistency between narration of speech and narration of event is achieved[29] . The fact that Austin is obliged to make this observation perhaps demonstrates that it is not self-evident from reading or hearing these particular verses.

What makes this episode so disconcerting is the misleading impression that Dido is going to speak. First, the imagery in 469-471 which follows the speech in

[28] The silence is responsible for an interpolation at 565-7 which softens its effect - see Heubeck & Hoekstra 1989, ad loc.. 'Longinus' at 9.2 says this silence is more sublime than any speech. Russell ad loc. (on L.) compares schol. Λ 536: *δῆλον ὅτι καί των παρὰ τραγῳδοῖς λόγων βέλτιον αὐτοῦ ἡ σιωπή.*

[29] This thorough consistency approaches the technique I call 'intersection'. This will be further illustrated below . Fowler 1990, 52-3 discusses this passage and also disagrees with Austin's response here. See also n. 32 below.

the narrative could still give us the impression that Dido is standing still after the speech in the story. Before the giveaway phrase *incepto sermone* , we have the verse *illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*. We briefly get the idea that Dido is static after Aeneas's words, not as they begin. Anyway, the phrases *fixos oculos* , *tenebat* , *nec ... movetur* , and the comparison with *dura silex* or *Marpesia cautes* all suggest quite powerfully the notion of Dido being immobile far more powerfully than any conception of exactly when this is. The audience is basically tricked into thinking that Dido is still standing there, when she isn't.

Another deception is also achieved. 6.469 echoes 4.362-3, which I quote with some verses that follows them[30] :

> Talia dicentem iamdudum aversa tuetur
> huc illuc volvens oculos totumque pererrat
> luminibus tacitis et sic accensa profatur:
> 'nec tibi diva parens generis nec Dardanus auctor
> perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
> Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres...[31]

4.362-3 are followed by a speech from Dido, while 6.469-71 are not. We are tempted into expecting one: after *tandem* in 6.472, there would be good grounds for expecting *dixit* or some other declarative verb. Instead there is the abrupt *corripuit sese.* I am not grounding this expectation purely on the contrast made by the comparable diction of these two passages alone. The narrator has already described the countenance of characters, and particularly made mention of their *oculi* , immediately before they speak in a number of other places in the poem[32] .

In themselves, Dido's withdrawal and the shock of her silence actually have an effect on audience and readers of the poem as well as on Aeneas (at least once his speech is over), because of these narrative devices. At the close of this episode Aeneas is described as being horror-struck, probably more at Dido's grim fortune than at her refusal to answer

[30] Austin points out the various effects of the several poignant echoes this episode has to the exchange between Aeneas and Dido in 4.305f. cf. Norden ad loc., 253

[31] Dido's speech quoted here (4.365-387) ends with her abrupt departure. Aeneas here wants to address her but cannot: *His medium dictis sermonem abrumpit et auras*
aegra fugit seque ex oculis avertit et aufert,
linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem
dicere. 4.388-91
The situation is not quite the same as in 6.455f. though. Aeneas's lack of opportunity to speak may be moving (the narrator makes it clear that Aeneas would have plenty to say if he could), but we are not tricked into expecting a speech when nothing follows. The tableau here is more similar to that of Evander's farewell to Pallas which I shall also treat in this section on silence.

[32] The instances preceding this one at 6 are, apart from 4.362-3 are: 1.227-9 *atque illum talis iactantem pectore curas/ tristior et lacrimis oculos suffusa nitentis/ adloquitur Venus: 'o qui res hominumque...* ; 2.67-9 *constitit atque oculis Phrygia agmina circumspexit, /'heu! que nunc tellus ...*; 2.687-689*at pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus /extulit et caelo palmas cum voce tetendit: /'Iuppiter omnipotens...*; 4.220-2 *audiit Omnipotens, oculosque ad moenia torsit/ regia et oblitos famae melioris amantis/ tum sic Mercurium adloquitur ac talia mandat...* There are of course other examples later in the poem e.g. 7.249f. and 8.152-4 discussed below. See also the discussion that follows on the killing of Turnus. See Heuzé 1985 for a full treatment of *'regards* ' in Virgil 540-81 -especially 563f. on *volvere oculos* . As eyes were regarded as 'mirror of the soul', H. suggests eyes provide extra information (even if it is not always easy to decode). This might compliment whatever we glean from the speeches.

him[33]:

> nec minus [i.e. no less than Sychaeus cf.*respondet curis* 474] Aeneas casu
> percussus iniquo
> prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem. 6.475-6.

The impact of Dido's silence after the narration of Aeneas's speech can easily be misunderstood. It is designed to surprise and shock the audience far more than it surprises Aeneas who had already perceived its full import as he was addressing her[34] .

Silence from a potential speaker is used significantly in another celebrated episode in the poem - the final scene in which Aeneas kills Turnus at the end of 12. Here though, instead of the effect being misunderstood by critics, it is never noticed at all. Nonetheless the lack of reply from Aeneas to Turnus (his speech at 947-9 is not a reply) and, possibly, the lack of a verbal reply from Turnus at the very end of the poem as well, contribute to the disturbing quality of this scene. The passage in question runs as follows:

> ille humilis supplex oculos dextramque precantem
> protendens 'equidem merui nec deprecor' inquit ;
> 'utere sorte tua. miseri te si qua parentis
> tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis
> Anchises genitor) Dauni miserere senectae
> et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis,
> redde meis. vicisti et victum tendere palmas
> Ausonii videre; tua est Lavinia coniunx,
> ulterius ne tende odiis.' stetit acer in armis
> Aeneas volvens oculos dextramque repressit ;
> et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
> coeperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
> balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
> Pallantis pueri, victum quem vulnere Turnus
> straverat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
> ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris
> exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
> terribilis: 'tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
> eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas

[33] Contrast e.g. Highet p.139 'But even while he speaks to her, Dido's somber figure is turning away. At this he breaks down.' There is an ambiguity in *casu ... iniquo*.

[34] Two parodies bear witness to the force of this episode. In Ovid *Fasti* 3.601 Aeneas and Achates stumble upon Anna on the Lavinian shore: *aspicit errantem* (cf. *errabat* , 6.451) *nec credere sustinet Annam*. Aeneas's hailing of Anna echoes his oath to Dido (6.458f.): *Anna, per hanc iuro, quam quondam audire solebas/tellurem fato prosperiore dare,/ perque deos comites ...* (*F.* 3.613f.). Anna does reply, but in o.m.(*errores exposuitque suos* 626) -we do not hear her words. The second parody, in Scarron's seventeenth century *Le Virgile Travesti* at 6.1756f. (ed. Serroy 1988) plays more directly on Dido's response: *Mais elle, d'une mine grise,/Paya ce joli compliment,/Sans s'ébranler aucunement/Des beaux endroits de sa harangue,/Et, lui tirant un pied de langue, /Rendant son visage vilain,/Faisant les cornes d'une main,/Et de pétarade,/ Et sur le tout une gambade,/ Le laissa pleurer tout son soûl./Quelque auteur (il faut qu'il soit fou)/Écrit que cette âme damnée /Dit au révérend maître Énée:/<Allez vous faire tout à droit ...* The editor supplies the following comment on this last verse: 'Terme qui sert à couvrir une parole qu'on ne veut pas prononcer'.

immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit'.
hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
fervidus; ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras. 12.930-52

Here again at 930-1 the mention of a character's eyes and a gesture precede the presentation of that character's speech in o.r. (see notes 29, 32 above). After Turnus's speech finishes we are led by a pattern of resemblance to expect Aeneas to speak too. At 939 he is described as moving his own eyes and checking his sword hand (*dextramque repressit* - which also picks up 930: *dextramque precantem*).

A speech in direct response to Turnus's supplication might be expected when another comparison is taken into account: the two previous occasions in which warriors overpowered by Aeneas beg for their lives. In both cases Aeneas replies to their requests (though he does not necessarily comply with them) and responds to their content in what he says.[35] The obvious Homeric model - the killing of Hector in *Iliad* 22 - also has an exchange of words between slayer and slain which takes

[35] The occasions (worth quoting for purposes of comparison with the Turnus scene) are (i) the supplication and death of Magus 10.522-536:

ille astu subit, at tremibunda supervolat hasta,
et genua amplectens effatur talia supplex:
'per patrios manis et spes surgentis Iuli
te precor, hanc animam serves gnatoque patrique.
est domus alta, iacent penitus defossa talenta
caelati argenta, sunt auri pondera facti
infectique mihi. non hic victoria Teucrum
vertitur aut anima una dabit discrimina tanta.'
dixerat. Aeneas contra cui talia reddit:
'argenti atque auri memoras quae multa talenta
gnatis parce tuis. belli commercia Turnus
sustulit ista prior iam tum Pallante perempto.
hoc patris Anchisae manes , hoc sentit Iulus.'
sic fatus galeam laeva tenet atque reflexa
cervice orantis capulo tenus applicat ensem.

(ii) the supplication and death of Liger 10.595-601:

frater tendebat inertis
infelix palmas curru delapsus eodem:
'per te, per qui te talem genuere parentes,
vir Troiane, sine hanc animam et miserere precantis'.
pluribus oranti Aeneas: 'haud talia dudum
dicta dabas. morere et fratrem ne desere frater.'
tum latebras animae pectus mucrone recludit.

Note that Turnus is not described as *orans* (or given any o.m. of a similar kind) as Aeneas kills him.

us up to Hector's death[36] . Even after his victim's last words Achilles continues to be an interlocutor.[37]

But no speech from Aeneas meets Turnus's words here: instead his reaction to Turnus's *sermo* is described (940-1), but he is not prompted by it to say anything[38] .

It is only after he has caught sight of Pallas's swordbelt and stared at it for some time (*oculis ... hausit*) that Aeneas does say something. The content of his utterance shows that the influence of Turnus's appeals to his sense of filial piety discernible at 940-1 has no bearing on what he is thinking now. 947-9 are purely dependent on what he has seen and are contemporaneous with his action of stabbing Turnus in 950. (If we remove the full stop after *sumit* , we could read 945-51 as one sentence with *condit* as the main verb.) Moreover *hoc dicens* as opposed to, say,*his dictis* , carries futher the disturbing suggestion that Aeneas is speaking as he is actually stabbing Turnus - the repetition *Pallas ... Pallas* might accompany the thrusts of his sword.[39]

Turnus does not have any chance at all to respond to Aeneas's words - he is killed as they are being uttered. If speakers often enjoy supremacy over their addressees as was argued above, then Aeneas, by having the last word, is given the final authority. Turnus becomes a mute sacrificial victim as Aeneas punishes him in Pallas's name - although this indisposition to speak could also show his relative bravery (compare the deaths of Magus and Liger in note 35 below).

One more example is worth discussing here although it is of a slightly

[36] At 22.326-7 Achilles spears Hector through the throat; the narrator emphasises (328-30) that Hector's ability to speak is not impaired.Even if 329 is an interpolation (Aristarchus rejected it - see Erbse 1974 ad loc.) we are still explictly told he will still be able to reply to what Achilles is going to say (326-30):

τῇ ῥ' ἐπὶ οἱ μεμαῶτ' ἔλασ' ἔγχεϊ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀπαλοῖο δι' αὐχένος ἦλυθ' ἀκωκή.
οὐδ' ἄρ' ἄπ' ἀσφάλραγον μελίη τάμε χαλκοβάρεια,
ὄρρα τί μιν προτιείποι ἀμειβόμενος ἐπέεσσιν.

Achilles tells Hector that Patroclus will be buried but he will not be (331-6). H. then begs to be buried (338-43), A. refuses (345-53), H. dying prophesies A.'s own death (356-60).

[37]The continuation of the conversation, even after death, is emphasised by the Homeric narrator (361-5):Ὣς *ἄρα μιν εἰπόντα τέλος θανάτοιο κάλυψε,*
ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἄϊδόσδε βεβήκει,
ὃν πότμον γοόωσα, λιποῦσ' ἀνδρωτῆτα καὶ ἥβην.
τὸν καὶ τεθνηῶτα προσηύδα δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς·
τέθναθι· . . .

[38] But compare the end of 10 when Aeneas does not reply to the request Mezentius makes for burial (10.900-906) just before Aeneas kills him. Lyne 189, 113 notes evidence at 11.10 suggests Aeneas did not comply with Mezentius's request.Mezentius has not found the reassurance he wants. This gives the litotes *haud inscius* grim implications:

haec loquitur iuguloque haud inscius accepit ensem
undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore. 10.907-8, but see Harrison 1991 on 903-4. Servius regards *haud inscius* as being emphatically affirmative: *non enim dicit 'non ignarus'sed exspectans omnibus votis, ut* <VII 261> *munera nec sperno, id est libenter accipio. in hac autem figura plus cogitatur, quam dicitur.*

[39] Feeney 1983, 210 n.5 is pertinent here: 'Whenever Vergil has *dicens* (2.550; 10.744, 856; 12.950) or *dicente* (10.101), he means 'even as X spoke'.' More could have been made by critics of the grim effect this usage has here in 12.950: it makes Aeneas's killing of Turnus look rather like a crime of passion. Cf. 4.660 (*'sic sic...*) spoken by Dido as she stabs herself and the discussion 4.657f. and n.71 on page 51 below.

different kind. This is the episode at 8.558f. in which Evander sees off his son Pallas who is joining the Trojan forces:

> tum pater Evandrus dextram complexus euntis
> haeret inexpletus lacrimans ac talia fatur:
> 'o mihi praeteritos referat si Iuppiter annos,
> qualis eram cum primam aciem Praeneste sub ipsa
> stravi scutorumque incendi victor acervos
> et regem hac Erulum dextra sub Tartara misi,
> nascenti cui tris animas Feronia mater
> (horrendum dictu) dederat, terna arma movenda -
> ter lecto sternendus erat; cui tunc tamen omnis
> abstulit haec animas dextra et totidem exuit armis:
> non ego nunc dulci amplexu divellerer usquam,
> nate, tuo, neque finitimo Mezentius umquam
> huic capiti insultans tot ferro saeva dedisset
> funera, tam multis viduasset civibus urbem.
> at vos, o superi, et divum tu maxime rector
> Iuppiter, Arcadii, quaeso, miserescite regis
> et patrias audite preces. si numina vestra
> incolumem Pallanta mihi, si fata reservant,
> si visurus eum vivo et venturus in unum,
> vitam oro, patior quemvis durare laborem.
> sin aliquem infandum casum, Fortuna, minaris,
> nunc, nunc o liceat crudelem abrumpere vitam,
> dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri,
> dum te, care puer, mea sola et sera voluptas,
> complexu teneo, gravior neu nuntius auris
> vulneret.' haec genitor digressu dicta supremo
> fundebat; famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant.

There are a number of interesting features about this speech and the situation in the story in which it occurs. Evander is holding Pallas in an embrace throughout the time he makes this speech.We are constantly reminded of the posture of the speaker and his addressee while this speech is being made by indexicals such as *hac dextra , dulci amplexu... tuo* etc. (underlined in the quoted passage above).

Pallas, though he is apostrophised twice (*nate* 569, *te, care puer* 581), and in spite of this long and intense embrace says nothing in response. All we have is information from the narrator that Pallas departs as Evander is still speaking: the word *digressu* is quite forceful - as well as indicating Pallas's departure from his

father's presence, it also suggests the physical sundering of their embrace[40]. The force of the imperfects - especially *ferebant* in 584 - is also remarkable.[41]

Needless to say, the lack of consolation from the Trojans adds to the grim effect: Evander's collapse recalls premonitory scenes of mourning in the *Iliad* [42] (compare Juturna's anticipatory grief for Turnus's death at 12.885-6, following her speech at 12.872f.). Just before the passage quoted *Fama* has been spreading fear and foreboding through the city (554-7) - she returns to spread the rumour of Pallas's death at 11.139f..

There are other addressees in Evander's speech: the *superi* and *Iuppiter* (572-3) and *Fortuna* (578). Gods do not generally make verbal replies to prayers, but here the lack of any ominous event must be significant when Evander's previous long *rhesis* at 8.470-519 did obtain a response from the gods at 523f.. Then there was a clap of thunder and Aeneas's arms appeared in the sky. Evander remarks later in his final speech in the poem on the gods' indifference to his prayers here:

> nulli exaudita deorum
> vota precesque meae! 11.157-8.

Sustained exhanges of *rheseis* : consultation scenes

It was noted earlier (n.18) that there are only three occasions in the poem in which more than four *rheseis* are exchanged between two characters. There are two occasions on which 6 *rheseis* are exchanged: between Venus and Aeneas in 1.321-409, and between Aeneas and the Sibyl in 6.45-155. The one episode in which

[40] *Digressu ...supremo* might conceivably have further significance as a veiled comment from the narrator on the quality of Evander's speech here and previously. Nestorean digressions and reminiscence of the past have formed a major part of Evander's speech(Fordyce on 560f. lists the speeches in the *Iliad* recalled by this one)which the structure of the rhesis here serves to accomodate: *Qualis eram cum... exuit armis* (8.561-7), contains an anecdote to illustrate what E's *praeteritos annos* were like; both the comment about Mezentius and the prayers to the gods have narrative elements. Could *digressu ...supremo* also have a meta-literary significance - that this is Evander's last digression? Quintilian, at least, provides instances of *digressus* having a figurative sense of 'deviating in speech' or 'digression'(10.5.17; 4.3.14; 10.1.49). One could well imagine *digressus* being used collloquially instead of *digressio* for the figurative as well as the literal sense of the latter word (compare the meanings of *accessio and accessus*). Evander's o.r. speech at 8.560-583 though it is his penultimate one in the poem is actually the last to contain any digressions or stories about the past. Evander's last speech at 11.152-181 which shows his reaction to the news of Pallas's death very much belongs to the moment. There are no recollections of the more distant past - only wishes expressed that recent events had gone differently. On *supremo* at 8.583 Servius notes: *SUPREMO hoc ex persona poetae, quia periturus est Pallas* . Obviously the narrator or *poeta* is speaking to us here, and not Evander. The point of this remark is to point out a prolepsis (See Genette 1980, 40) - we are being told in advance of Pallas's death. Alternatively the point might be in Servius because *supremo* could be read as indicating the tone of Evander's speech.

[41] Conington & Nettleship 1883 ad loc.: 'Comp. generally 4.391, 2. The imperfects are to be noticed, showing that the old man fails and is carried away while he is yet speaking.'

[42] E.g. the symbolic mourning for the still living Hector by Andromache and the women in *Iliad* 6498-502, and for Priam in *Iliad* 24.328. Thetis's grief for Achilles at 24.94 - not quite mourning - provides the prototype for Juturna.

the maximum number of eight *rheseis* is exchanged is the conversation between Aeneas and Anchises at 6.687-886.

Here we see a particular narrative technique being applied to a particular story situation. These three occasions all involve Aeneas; they are all 'consultation scenes'; in each case Aeneas's interlocutor has some kind of superhuman status. I do not propose to treat any of these scenes in detail here - they have received ample treatment[43] . Two fresh points can be made here - first the convergence of form of speech presentation with story situation is also to be found in Lucan, and so might be considered a convention.[44]

Secondly, the fact that there are two lengthy passages in which such numbers of *rheseis* are exchanged in 6 greatly affects its complexion within the *Aeneid* as a whole. There is a greater number of incidences of speeches presented o.r. here than we find in any other book.[45] At the same time there is a minimum number of personages who speak. In fact as few as we get in any book in the poem. The Sibyl and Anchises have the lion's share of the direct speech - about 160 verses each. It is they who supply most of the information given to Aeneas, and thus to the audience, about the underworld. The narrator has passed the real burden of responsibility on to these characters for providing this account of the underworld.

This is interesting because ancient literary *katabases* are generally recounted by an involved character-narrator who has gone down or across, to Hades and gives an account of what has been seen.[46]

In the *Aeneid* the technique used is strikingly different. This *katabasis* seems, at first sight, to come right out of the mouth of the poet himself. Perhaps it is unsurprising then that Virgil soon began to acquire the status of *vates* in the fullest

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[43] On 1.321f. see Wlosok 1967, 86f.; Highet 1972, 37-8, 106, 109, Feeney 1983, 211; Heinze 1915, 119-21; Mackie 1988, 25-31.The obvious precedent for this is Odysseus's supplication to Nausicaa in *Od.* 6.150f.,. Mackie remarks at 26: 'Whereas Odysseus is confronted by a mortal, Aeneas is confronted by a goddess ... Aeneas is himself addressed before he has the opportunity to speak.' Feeney 1991 at 183: 'Even Aeneas the son of a goddess does not converse with his mother as Achilles does with Thetis. The first time they meet in the poem, she is in disguise, and runs away from him as he recognises her ... when she gives him his shield, she speaks to him but receives no answer (8.608-15)'. For 6.45-155 see Mackie 116-8 - it is pointed out that Aeneas exhibits *pietas* in 103-22 as he did to Venus, but there a brief reply indicates his respect for the deity. See also Highet *passim*.

[44] See the treatment of 'consultation scenes' in Lucan below. The generic inclusion we see there could apply just as much to the exchange between Anchises and Aeneas in 6 here. The commentaries of Austin 1977 and Norden 1970 cite the precedents for the 'apocalypse', notably Lucretius. See Lyne 1987, 208 n.1 on the effect of the conversation with Anchises on Aeneas.

[45] There are 36 o.r. speeches in 6 altogether taking up more than half the text. The average number of *rheseis* per book is 25.

[46] This is the case with *Odyssey* 11 and the Gnat in the *Culex* . The narrator of the book of Revelation also keeps saying *vidi , et vidi haec* , along with Daniel, Ezekiel and Zecheriah (the sources of Rev.) in the Vulgate, as do narrators of medieval vision literature who follow. Or else there is an identifiable character-narrator who recounts the journey to someone else who tells it to us. This happens with the Myth of Er in Plato. Or again, as in some Orphic texts and in Apuleius's story of Psyche (see Chapter 3 below), directions are given by an authority to an initiate who must follow them. Dante obviously uses the first device, after the forms of biblical or vision literature.

sense of the word.[47] His employment of the third person as a rhetorical device, a device not used by Homer in this context, may basically account for the authority and precedence this story of death came to have.

Yet the innovation has been achieved cunningly: leaving aside the issue of his actual sources, Virgil has presented his *inferno* dialogically through a group of speakers.

The presentation of thoughts in the *Aeneid* .

We shall be dealing here mainly with what could be termed the propositional thoughts of characters. These are discernible linguistically because the devices of speech presentation - the various speech modes we have identified - are used to convey them.

Some narrative discourse which describes the psychological state of characters by naming the moods or emotions they experience may well imply that they are supposed to have articulated their thoughts to themselves, but we will never know what the characters would have said to themselves.

Aeneid 4.1-5 provides a clear example of such psychological description which is without doubt wholly in the voice of the narrator:

> At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura
> vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni
> multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat
> gentis honos: haerent infixi pectore vultus
> verbaque nec placidam membris dat cura quietem .

Here Dido's mental state is described in quasi-physiological terms. Our narrator is omniscient; his perspective is clearly independent from Dido's. This what I will

[47] For the early 'cult' of Virgil, see Comparetti 1895, 34-50. Fulgentius calls Virgil *vates* in his commentary/ dialogue with the poet (for translation and introduction see Hardison et al. 1974, 64f.. On 6, Servius remarks:*Totus quidem Vergilius scientia plenus est, in qua hic liber possidet principatum, cuius ex Homero pars maior est. et dicuntur aliqua simpliciter, multa de historia, multa per altam scientiam philophorum, theologorum, Aegyptiorum, adeo ut plerique de his singulis huius libri integras scripserint pragmatias.* In relation to this remark of Servius, see Dante *Inferno* 4.73-93: it does seems as if the rhetoric of Virgil's speech presentation in this book affected reception of the poet in general. On Virgil himself as *vates* see also O'Hara 1991.

call (adjusting Bakhtin's term) 'exotopic' narration[48].

Another lengthier and perhaps more deceptive example of exotopic description of thought comes at the opening of the poem. I shall quote 1.24 - 29:

> id metuens veterisque memor Saturnia belli
> prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis
> necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores
> exciderant animo; manet alta mente repostum
> iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae
> et genus invisum et rapti Ganymedis honores.
> his accensa ...

This sort of passage is rather more problematic because we are given a more extensive revelation of the type of things that are preoccupying Juno. There is an element in this description of thought not found in 4.1f. which might confuse us: Juno's preoccupations are described by the poet-narrator from her point of view. In other words,(at least in my view) Juno's 'focalization' is employed. Two clear examples of diction to indicate this are *caris Argis* and *genus invisum* . Although this is only the start of the poem, it already seems very unlikely that those sentiments could come wholly from the voice of the poet: we have already been told that he is celebrating a Trojan who came to Italy after being cast adrift:*saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram* . Other words in the excerpt quoted above are less determinate - *saevique* (25) could express the view Juno has of her suffering or it could be the narrator's glossing of the consequences (for the Trojans and others) of her *dolores* . Her grief will be seen to be cruel for the way that it will manifest itself.

There is much, though, to reassure us that we are hearing the poet-narrator's discourse and not Juno's. The whole passage serves to give us an explanatory resumé of how circumstances are affected by Juno's feelings.

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[48] On the difference between focalization and the discursive presentation of thoughts, see the Introduction above. I am adjusting Bakhtin's notion of 'exotopy' to label the narration which describes things directly from an outside perspective - which comes close to what has elsewhere been called 'behaviorist narration'. In fiction, what I call 'exotopic narration' by an omniscient narrator can include descriptions of thoughts - perhaps in anatomical or other metaphorical terms - which are not rendered by any kind of speech mode. Another example of exotopic narration of thought would be the description of Dido's state of mind at 4.1f. I do not think we are meant to regard this as the diagnosis of a conjecturing observer; rather it is an accurate description by an omniscient narrator. Bakhtin's original conception of exotopy is described and questioned by Todorov 1984, 99f.: 'Bakhtin takes the idea of exit from the self : in literature, for example, the novelist creates a character materially distinct from himself ; but rather than posit two variants of this activity (empathy and abstraction), Bakhtin asserts the necessity of distinguishing between two stages in *every* creative act : first, the stage of empathy or identification (the novelist puts himself in the place of his character), then a reverse movement whereby the novelist returns to his own position. This second aspect of creative activity is named by Bakhtin with a new Russian coinage : *'vnenakhodimost* ', literally 'finding oneself outside' , which I shall translate ... with a Greek root , as *exotopy*. ... This double movement is necessary: the author can accomplish, achieve, and close off his character only if he is external to him; he is the other bearing the transgredient elements that the character needs in order to be complete...' These aspects of creativity of course have analogues, as Bakhtin would have known, in ancient rhetorical theory.

It is all connected with the questions posed to the Muse earlier in 1.8-11[49] . The expression *necdum* implies the narrator has superior foreknowledge that these feelings will subside. Even the phrase*his accensa* suggests that the words preceding have been brought in to illustrate Juno's attitude. They do not really serve to offer a rendition of anything that was going through her head at any one time[50] .

Another way of presenting thoughts is to use simple terms like *amor* or *ira* . Another, noted earlier, is the employment of imagery or metaphor. It is a metaphorical usage when characters are upon by external or quasi-external agencies (e.g. *ira* , *pavor* etc.). This conveys the nature of psychological states, but again has little to do with the presentation of characters' actual discourse. Dido's *vulnus* and the *vulnus* also nurtured by Juno at 1.36 (*cum Iuno, aeturnum servans sub pectore vulnus*) are also examples of this.

The text goes on from 1.37 to provide a soliloquy in o.r. - the first direct speech enclosed in the narrator's discourse - which conveys the goddess's thoughts in an articulate manner:

> haec secum: 'mene incepto desistere victam
> nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem!
> quippe vetor fatis....

This kind of thought presentation is of course safely within the compass of our enquiry, whether in the mode of o.r. as it is here, or in the various kinds of indirect reporting of discourse.

Thoughts as soliloquies in o.r.

A soliloquy is one obvious literary means by which to present a character's

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[49] *Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso*
quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus
insigne pietate virum, tot adire labores
impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?

[50] The classification of this passage offered here differs from that given by Fowler 1990, although we are observing the same sort of thing. He says we here have mimetic o.o. rather than focalization: 'The answer was seen by James Henry, for whom *genus invisum* was simply an emotional expression of hatred inserted by Juno in her anger: 'the judgment of Paris, and I hate them, and the rape of Ganymede'. The irruption of the unspecified *et genus invisum* 'And the hateful race' reproduces in mimetic o.o. the way Juno herself put the matter in her mind. This is perhaps a matter of voice rather than focalization, since her thoughts were articulated in this way, but the intrusion of Juno's point of view parallels the focalization in *belloque superbum* [21]' I prefer to show that a passage like this does not provide an instance of speech presentation, although perhaps my notion of this is more restricted(see Introduction). This is because i) there is no expressed proposition, ii) it is not a particular thought at a particular time, iii) there is no declarative verb. Still this passage shows that, according to others' views, similarities between speech pres. and foc. are to be discerned. The situation is perhaps more complex than my main text here might imply.

private thoughts. But it is a means rarely used in this poem[51] . This rarity should lead us to investigate closely the functions of those we do find; to establish why this particular method of speech presentation is adopted to convey the thoughts only of some characters in some places.

All the soliloquies in the *Aeneid* except perhaps Dido's at 4.631-662, which will be investigated below, appear to present private thoughts - even if in one or two cases the thoughts are spoken out loud, they still count as expressions of private sentiment.

Such a soliloquy provides the very first instance in the poem of a character's discourse being represented in any manner at all. What is the effect of this relatively unusual device being used here? In the Introduction the mode of f.d.d. was explained. It was sugggested that instances of seemingly straightforward o.r. could be read as f.d.d..

Some of these eight soliloquies in the poem presenting thoughts (as well as other *rhesis* presenting voiced utterances) could well be regarded as f.d.d.. Thoughts in real life happen instantly - somebody can have several opinions, ideas and notions of how to express them at once. The rendering of these in words takes time - in literature the expression of a character's thoughts takes up narrative time[52] .

One could regard f.d.d. as a device which is able to hold narrative time in suspense, while a number of thoughts which a character has are externalised in sequence within (in ancient poetry at least) a structured speech which has the advantage of being dramatic expression too. Virgil could well be doing this with Juno's words at 1.37f., some of which were quoted above. They seem to be an example of iterative and therefore f.d.d. as the declarative phrases which enclose the speech indicate:

> cum Iuno aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus
> haec secum: 36
>
> Talia flammato secum dea corde volutans 50

Note not just the continuous senses of the present participles *servans* and *volutans* , but also the implications for the quoted discourse to follow of *aeternum vulnus* . The griefs causing these sentiments, and the sentiments themselves which are to be expressed have been going on for a long time. (I do not

[51] Basically there are nine to be found in the poem, all but one of which will be considered in this section: 1.37-49;1.94-101;1.437; 2.577-588; 4.534-552, 4.590-629; 4.651-662;4.701-2; 7.292-322. Establishing a conception of character from soliloquies is a frequent practice of critics. Here I shall provide some bibliography dealing with soliloquies in Virgil, then in ancient literature in general. References to treatment of soliloquy for the authors I treat specifically will be given later ad loc.. For Virgil see Heinze 1915, 427 (a comparison with Homeric monologues - it is also suggested that V. may have been influenced by post-Euripidean tragedy); Maar 1953; Williams 1983 (at 259 - short shrift is given to indirect speech) and Lefèvre 1987. In general: Baumann 1976; Hentze 1904; Leo 1908 (on drama, but useful); Offermann 1968; Petersmann 1973 & 1974 and Schadewaldt 1926 .

[52] A speech (re)presenting a characters' words uttered out loud can generally be regarded, for convenience at least, as offering a convergence between narrative and story time. This cannot really apply in the same way to f.d.d. or speeches representing thoughts. Perhaps our conception of narrative time should not be too rigid. For accounts of time in narrative see Genette 1980, 33 f., Ricoeur 1988. Bakhtin 1981, 84f. deals with classical narrative in detail.

think the use of the word *talia* rather than, say, *haec* is really significant[53])

There is a context for these thoughts of Juno to be expressed - her sight of the Trojans - which provides a suitable occasion for these long-held grudges to be expressed.

Standard o.r., at least notionally, offers a convergence between narrative time and story time. The next passage of o.r. ascribed to Juno (when she makes her appeal to Aeolus 1.65-75) is in contrast to the previous utterance, an instance of standard o.r.

This is indicated by the way her speech is introduced at 1.64:

> ad quem tum Iuno supplex his vocibus usa est

We will find many examples to show that *vox* or *voces* often mean 'utterance' or 'words' in poetry[54] . We can translate this verse here 'To him Juno as a suppliant used these words. The narrator closes this second speech by Juno *Aeolus haec contra* (1.76). Somehow this all seems a bit more definite. The idea of a distinction beween o.r. and f.d.d. in these passages depends not just on the diction of the declarative phrases, but also on the contexts of each speech. There would be good reason to move from f.d.d. towards a more standard o.r. at the opening to this poem as I hope to show briefly.

We are led very gradually into the sequence of events the poem purports to present. It is a cliché that the *Aeneid* starts *in medias res* .[55] The *Aeneid* begins by recognising and following the customary types of diction and style of programmatic openings to epics and then takes us to the central stages of the poem, divine and then mortal. This is a complex accomplishment, yet we hardly notice the transition from the timeless, spaceless and even (relatively) opinion-

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[53] My attempt to find a distinction in Virgil between speeches marked by occurrences of *talia /talibus dictis* (as f.d.d.) and those marked by *dicta /his dictis* (o.r.) ended up being circular.

[54] The *O.L.D.* article on *vox* , item 7 opens: '(sg or pl.) A spoken utterance, words (b) w. utterance expressed in dir. sp. or by acc. and inf.' Instances of it prefacing o.r. include : Catullus 64.202 and Ovid *Fasti* 5.478.

[55] Cf. Williams on 1.1ff.Austin on 34-49. The coining of *in medias res* was of course made by Horace in the *Ars Poetica* . Part of the context is worth quoting and emphasising: *nec bellum Troianum orditur ab ovo:/semper ad eventum festinat et in medias res / non secus ac notas auditorem rapit,...* That Virgil starts his account*in medias res* , when the story (in the technical sense) has already begun is of course hardly remarkable. All epics (and perhaps all narratives?) begin at a point when some things are supposed to have happened already. It is probably because we have Aeneas's 'flashback' in 2-3 (see below) that Williams and others say this. In that sense, the *Aeneid* and the *Odyssey* are narratives which begin *in medias res* in a way that e.g. the *Argonautica* does not. Another feature of the *Aeneid* that might prompt this observation is the elaborate way (see above) that we are led into the narration of events, after summaries of the situation so far, that are the direct subject of the poem.

free plane of the narrator[56] to the plane of the events tracked in his story. Briefly, I will set out how this transition is achieved subtly and gradually, showing how the speech modes deployed for Juno play their part:

1.1-7 These verses in imitation especially of Homeric models outline the narrator's brief of what he is going to cover.
1.8-11 A question appealing to the Muse for an explanation of the causes of these events and reasons for divine anger.
1.12-33 Summary account of Carthage's history and Juno's grudge. This is clearly a 'flashback' to answer the question just posed.
1.34-6. *Vix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum / vela dabant laeti et spumas salis aere ruebant / cum Iuno* etc. marks the slowing of the narrative pace as we are brought closer to the story. But this - and Juno's words which follow - acts more as a kind of scene setting.
1.50f. The real narrative gets underway, perhaps most securely indicated by the use of the perfect *venit* :

> Talia flammato secum dea corde volutans
> nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus Austris,
> Aeoliam venit. hic vasto rex Aeolus antro ... 1.50-2

Finally we sense that we have got into the story good and proper; something is happening which is neither just a resumé nor a situation setting the scene for something else. We can be more sure Juno's next (spoken) words, to Aeolus, were uttered there and then in a specific spatial and temporal context. Her words here in fact reassure us that such a context has been reached.

Of course it still takes a little more narration to show us the present state of affairs on the mortal plane (indicated first by the description of the effects of Aeolus's winds 84f.) and then more definitely by Aeneas's prayer (1.94f. see below) but this is a question of changes of scene rather than of narrative levels.

This particular homing-in resembles the opening of the *Odyssey* more

[56] There are surpringly few 'indexicals' to help us locate the nature and position of our narrator's voice. Such indexicals might be (i) personal, (ii) spatial or (iii) temporal. I shall give examples of each respectively (i) *Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui ...* (ii) *Tu quoque litoribus nostris Aeneia nutrix* and (iii) apostrophes to Roman families e.g. 5.123: *genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti.* Perhaps a less convincing example *vix illum lecti bis sex cervice subirent , /qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus* 12.899-900. The inclusion in our text of the four 'apocryphal' verses recorded by Servius in the *praefatio* and Donatus (*Vita* 42) would provide us with all three types:

> *Ille ego qui quondam gracili modulatus avena*
> *carmen, et egressus silvis vicina coegi*
> *ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono*
> *gratum opus agricolis, at nunc horrentia Martis*

Thus the question of whether these verses should be included is not just relevant to establishing how the the opening verses should read, but is of absolutely fundamental importance for narratological interpretation of the *Aeneid.* If the lines were to be accepted our narrator is not only given a spatial and and temporal position - he (we can now assume he is a 'he') is also characterised as the singer of the *Georgics* and the *Eclogues* and is perhaps more prone to be identified with Virgil the historical poet.
Austin, however in his commentary, 25-7) and1968 presents strong arguments against these lines being included which the recent defence of them in Koster 1988 does not really meet.

closely than the openings of other epics we have[57] . There, the subject of the poem is also outlined (*Od.* 1.1-10), 11 -21 recounts at a swift narrative pace the situation the story has reached so far, and at 22f. we are told that, while Poseidon hs gone to Ethiopia, the other gods are assembled in the halls of Zeus. Zeus is first to speak (first to speak in the scene as well as first in the narrative poem). He is prompted to do so having recalled Aegisthus whom Orestes had slain, and begins his words with the general reflection that mortals cannot blame the gods for all their problems. What he says appears at first perhaps to have a timeless, universal quality but we soon see this prompts a specific discussion about the fate of Odysseus.

But where speech presentation is concerned, the first o.r. of Zeus and the first o.r. of Juno which are to some extent parallel at these equivalent opening phases, are clearly different. Juno's f.d.d. has a timeless, general quality too, but her words will not form any part of a conversation. They serve to wean us into the story and the presentation of characters' speeches occuring within it. Virgil has a series of gradations for accomplishing this which is even more delicate than Homer's[58] :

Verses	Speaker	Mode used	Status of speaker
(*Focalisation of Juno* 1.24f.)			
First speech 1.37-49	Juno	F.d.d. soliloquy	Immortal
Second speech 1.65-80	Juno	Standard o.r.	Immortal
Third speech 1.76-80	Aeolus	Standard o.r.	Immortal
Fourth speech 1.94-101	Aeneas	O.r. soliloquy	Mortal

There is another important aspect of Juno's first soliloquy. In several ways it seems to resemble the prologue speeches spoken by Olympian deities which open a number of Eurpidean tragedies[59] .

A god or goddess tends, like Juno here, to announce a grievance and then his or her way of settling it. Juno's complaint is first that Athene has the power to scatter the Argive fleet while she has not beeen able to turn the Trojans back from Italy, and secondly that her worship is being neglected.

This complaint is perhaps most comparable to that in the prologue speech to

[57] The *Iliad* of course begins by announcing the subject of the poem (1.1-7). A direct question is posed as in Virgil to ask which god was responsible for the strife. The answer - it is Apollo - takes us straight into the story : Chryses's speech comes at 1.17-21. The *Argonautica* opens with an apostrophe to Apolllo and summary of the poem's matter. The cause of the voyage is given 1.5-19, followed by a catalogue for over 200 verses before the story gets underway(234f.). The first speech, remarkably, is still in f.d.d. which represents the sentiments of those watching the heroes setting off on their voyage(1.242-246). Even the next speech from one weeping woman to another has the quality of f.d.d. as the declarative phrase closing indcates: *Αἱ μὲν ἄρ' ὡς ἀγόρευον ἐπι προμολῇσι κιόντων* (1.261). See De Jong 1987, 177-8 on *τις* speeches in the *Iliad* .

[58] The transition from the immortal world to the world of mortal events and speech in Homer is still subtle - the link is made by having Athene descend to Ithaca so that Telemachus can address her 1.123-4.

[59] The most celebrated examples from extant plays are perhaps Apollo's speech in the *Alcestis* , Dionysus's speech in the *Bacchae* , Aphrodite's in the *Hippolytos* , and Hermes's in the *Ion* . The apparitions of deities at the beginnings of Euripides's tragedies are discussed by Nestle 1930 - an account of these apparitions in the non extant plays is also supplied.(See also Jens 1971) On Virgil & Euripides see Fenik 1960, Muecke 1983. For V.'s reception of Roman drama, see Wigodsky 1972.

Hippolytus given by Aphrodite: she says she favours those who revere her power and destroys the proud - Hippolytus has shown more favour to Artemis than he has to her. Her explanation of her revenge outlines the action of play. Such outlines are generally fulfilled to a greater or lesser extent in Euripides. Juno does not outline any plan: instead we see her go straight into action as she seeks out Aeolus - but her speech to him also might also be seen to have a prologue function. Gods in Euripides's prologues can (but do not always) speak in a time and location outside that of the general action of the play.

The paralleling of Juno with Dido, who is often perceived to be akin to a Euripidean heroine in her nature and portrayal is something that might also be considered significant when we consider the Euripidean quality of the speech here[60].

Juno's only other o.r. soliloquy is at 7.293-322. Like 1.37-49 this soliloquy is also preceded by a passage which contains focalisation through Juno (7.287-91)[61]:

> saeva Iovis coniunx aurasque invecta tenebat,
> et laetum Aenean classemque ex aethere longe
> Dardaniam Siculo prospexit ab usque Pachyno
> moliri iam tecta videt, iam fidere terrae
> deseruisse rates: stetit acri fixa dolore.

It is interesting to note a recurrence of a form of *laetus*. The Trojans were described as *laeti* when Juno saw them before her first soliloquy at 1.35. Fordyce rightly observes resemblances of diction connecting these two soliloquies: 'The thwarted Juno's outburst in these lines clearly recalls her soliloquy in 1.37ff. Her indignant *ast ego* is repeated from 1.46 and her *vincor* points back to *victam* in 1.37. There is the same bitter irony in *quippe* there (1.39) and *credo* here, the same comparison with more divinities, there Pallas, here Mars and Diana.'[62]

But this passage in 7 unlike its forerunner, is definitely a speech spoken out loud - even if in private - rather than any expression of unvoiced thoughts, as the declarative phrases opening and closing the quotation must indicate:

> tum quassans caput haec effundit pectore dicta 7.292
>
> Haec ubi dicta dedit, terras horrenda petivit 7.323

From the circumstances it seems appropriate, given Juno's angry state that the act of speaking out loud in itself is another indication like *stetit quassans caput* of her bad mood, as well as adding a dramatic touch.

However, perhaps we should be cautious about reading whatever conceptions we may have about the difference between thought and spoken soliloquies back into the poem. It may not be a question of our conceptions being anachronistic, but of their being inappropriate if we are dealing with the world of

[60] Compared to Iris's speech in Eur. *Herakles* 822-42. Dido's harsh speeches to Aeneas at 4.305-330 and 4.365-387 seem to be modelled on Medea's words to Jason in *Medea* 465-626. See n. 59 for bibliography on Euripides and Virgil.

[61] Note that things are presented here in the order in which Juno might have seen them cf. Iris at 5.613f. and Mercury's sighting of Aeneas before as he approaches Carthage (reviewed in Chapter 2 below).

[62] Ad loc. 7.293ff.

epic. If Virgil is not always making a distinction between spoken and unspoken thoughts in the speech modes he uses, then neither should we as his audience apply too rigid a differentiation between them. Epic discourse is not realistic or consistent in this regard.

Of the three characters who are given soliloquies (Aeneas, Juno and Dido) the two given most to say in these speeches are Juno and Dido.[63] This must be significant. These two characters one immortal, one mortal have much in common. Both turn out to be very emotional and resentful, a characteristic which poses a risk for the founding of Rome which they would like to impede (see e.g. 1.25-33 for Juno, 4.590-629 for Dido). Both in different ways are protectors of Carthage. At several other points in the poem the reproduction of certain speech patterns from one context in the narrative to another serves to enforce parallels between different situations in the story not just involving the same character as with the resemblances between 1.25f. and 7.287f., but also to connect the fortunes of different characters.[64]

Dido's first soliloquy is prefaced by a similar declarative phrase to that used to close Juno's first soliloquy:

Sic adeo insistit secumque ita corde volutat 4.533

(cf. *Talia flammato secum dea corde volutans* 1.50.[65]) Again as it was with Juno's second (spoken) soliloquy, Dido's outburst seems to be an expression or actual symptom of her anger. It is closed thus at 4.553:

tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus.

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[63] Juno is given a total of 42 verses of soliloquy, Dido is given 88 and Aeneas only 19.

[64] See below for a discussion of the way Andromache's loss of Hector is presented to parallel the loss of Creusa in Aeneas's account..

[65] No forms of *volutare* used in contexts where speeches or thought are presented are found in the frs. of Ennius, Naevius or Livius Andronicus. The verb only occurs twice in Ovid *Met.* at 1.389 & 12.55 with *verba* as the object: Bömer ad loc. makes no comment on these occurrences. In Plautus *Miles Gloriosus.* we find a usage very similar to that in these two passages of Virgil - Periplectomene says at 196: *quid est ... quod volutas tute tecum in corde?.* In Virgil elsewhere compare *Ecl.* 9.37 where Moeris uses the expression *Id quidem ago et tacitus, Lycida, mecum ipsa voluto* . Cf. Silius Italicus *Punica* 1.597, Valerius flaccus 7.91 (followed by an indirect question). In the *Aeneid* , the use of *volutare* for characters' thoughts is recurrent. I shall list them briefly: 1) 6.157 *Aeneas maesto defixus lumina voltu / ingreditur, linquens antrum, caecosque volutat/eventus animo secum* here no actual rendering of speech or thought follows immediately - only the o.m. rendering of his conversation with Achates at 160.
2) 6.185 Aeneas is brooding on Misenus's death - here the use is followed by the rendering of discourse: the prayer at 187-9 *atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat/ aspectans silvam immensam , et sic forte precatur :/ si nunc* etc.
3) 10.159 Aeneas is thinking while Pallas is asking him questions about navigation: *hic magnus sedet Aeneas secumque volutat/ eventus belli varios* . Note how the underlined diction resembles the underlined words in 6. 157-8
4) 12.843 (of Jupiter) *His actis aliud genitor secum ipse volutat/ Iuturnamque parat fratris dimittere ab armis* . So the use of *volutare* in this specific sense is confined (12.843 excepted) to the very characters to whom Virgil has allowed facility of o.r. soliloquy: Aeneas,Juno and Dido.

This speech seems more like f.d.d. than standard o.r. - the continuous sense offered by *rumpebat* and *volutat* imply that this is an iterative type of utterance. Dido could have been speaking out loud but this is not necessarily a rendition of anything said at any one time. The passage which immediately precedes the speech supports this (4.529-33):

> at non infelix animi Phoenissa, neque umquam
> solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem
> accipit, ingeminant curae, rursusque resurgens
> saevit amor , magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.
> sic adeo insistit secumque ita code volutat:

Dido cannot go to sleep - the same thoughts are going around in her head, keeping her awake: the direct speech that follows is to illustrate rather than to represent them in any precise way. Austin's observation on *insistit* is nice, and very much to the point:

'**insistit**: generally taken as 'she starts to speak' (cf. xii 47 'sic institit ore') But she is not speaking, she is thinking to herself; in xii 47 an actual speech follows, and*ore* makes the sense plain . Here *insistit* ought to be, and is, explained by*secumque ... volutat* : she 'persists' in her troubled thoughts. *Sic* acts for *in his sententiis* , just as *ita* instead of an object to *volutat* . Dido wearily goes over argument after argument (see on 547), and it is not surprising that at the end of all her sleepless ramblings she illogically blames Anna for everything.

Dido's second soliloquy follows at 4.590-629. Between the two speeches narration of Mercury's second appearance to Aeneas and the Trojan's swift moves to give orders to his men to leave Carthage, followed by Dido's discovery of their actual departure.[66] This speech really does seem to be presented as a 'quotation' of what Dido says to herself at this point in the story:

> flaventisque abscissa comas 'pro luppiter! ibit
> hic,' ait 'et nostris inluserit advena regnis?... 4.590-1

The declarative verb is not placed, as *inquit* often is, after the first word of the presented o.r. utterance, but is interposed after Dido's exclamation and the first phrase of her rhetorical question.[67] A technique similar to this is employed towards the end of Dido's final speech considered next. This speech, the longest soliloquy in the poem, is closed with the same declarative verb *ait* , and an account of the (contrastingly) silent thoughts she then has about how to end her own life. Presented by iterative o.m. these speculations clearly stand for a different

[66] This scene, with the description of the ships sailing away (*litora deseruere, latet sub classibus aequor ,/ adnixi torquent et caerula verrunt* 582-3) , followed by Dido waking from her sleep, grief stricken and dishevelled at dawn (*vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis,/ litoraque et vacuous sensit sine remige portus,/ terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum/flaventisque abscissa comas* 587-90)) recalls Ariadne's situation in Catullus 64, which will be treated in the next chapter on 'epyllion' type narrative.

[67] A character's direct speech can be interrupted by a declarative verb or a description of an action he or she performs whilst speaking. This gives the audience an impression that the characters' words can be as precisely recorded as their actions. The intersection of narration of discourse with narration of action cause each to appear authentically rendered. See the discussion of Dido's final soliloquy below.

order of internal reflection, which is not externalised in direct speech, and which we are not allowed to see:

> Haec ait, et partis animum versabat in omnis,
> invisam quarens quam primum abrumpere lucem 4.630-1

Perhaps the queen's enunciation of her own name in her self-address in this speech (the only time a character addresses him/herself in this poem) carries the implication that she is talking to herself out loud:

> infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?
> tum decuit, cum sceptra dabas 596-7

The function of the self-address here seems to be an attempt on Dido's part to collect herself after her articulated loss of orientation in the previous verse[68]:

> quid loquor? aut ubi sum? quae mentem insania mutat? 595

596-7, in their sense and in the tenses used rather than their diction, recall poignantly another famous self-address of a lover. Catullus (8.1-4) tries to pull himself together thus:

> Miser Catulle, desinas ineptire,
> et quod vides perisse perditum ducas.
> fulsere quondam candidi tibi soles,
> cum ventitabas quo puella ducebat...

4.597-9, the passage immediately following in Dido's speech offers another interesting feature which is again unique in the *Aeneid*:

> en dextra fidesque,
> quem secum patrios aiunt portare penatis
> quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem!

The effect of her use of *aiunt* is to reduce the audience's strong awareness of Aeneas's acts of filial duty and piety to the status of mere allegation - and it is allegation in the character's, rather than the narrator's, voice[69].

The effect of a character like Dido doing this, and especially in reference to a person so well known to her is of course quite a different matter. Austin notes (ad loc.) that *aiunt* in fact has its only occurrence in this form here. The detail of the image Dido herself produces of the aged father on Aeneas's shoulders might well belie her own case that this is allegation. Dido has after all heard Aeneas's full account of his carrying Anchises who held the Penates in 2.687f.. Techniques of speech presentation have served to show Dido has already exhibited a refusal to face facts or a tendency to distort them. For example, there is her claim of marriage

[68]See Highet's discussion of this part of the speech at178. Internal agons are discussed in Fowler 1987: Otter 1914 points out that Homeric characters never address themselves in the second person.

[69] The use of expressions like *ut perhibent*, *fama est* as a context for indirect speech presentation will be considered in the next chapter. For a reading of them as an indication of Virgil's sources, see Horsfall 1990. See Heinze, 421-4 on distortions of fact in speeches in the *Aeneid* - when characters in their words seem to contradict what the narrator has told us.

expressed in o.m. in the narrator's voice at 4.172 (*coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam*) - something to which Aeneas appears to respond at 4.337-9.[70]

Dido's last utterance is also presented in o.r. soliloquy at 4.651-662. There is even less reason to doubt that we are here hearing the actual words she is supposed to have spoken at this point. They are presented partly as a reaction to what she sees: the Trojan robes and her bed, as well as the sword she has unsheathed. And the action of her speech is presented in parallel with her bodily action of reclining on her couch at 650:

> hic , postquam Iliacas vestis notumque cubile
> conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata
> incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba: 4.648-50

Again this supposition would seem to be confirmed when we look at the way the speech comes to an end:

> felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
> numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.'
> dixit, et os impressa toro 'moriemur inultae,
> sed moriamur' ait. 'sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras.
> hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto
> Dardanus, et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis .'
> dixerat, atque illam media inter talia ferro
> conlapsam aspiciunt comites, ensemque cruore
> spumantem sparsasque manus . it clamor ad alta
> atria: concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem... 657-666

Not only do two declarative verbs break up this passage of o.r. (*dixit* 659 and *ait* 660), but also a description of an action of Dido as she speaks (*et os impressa toro* 659). This technique of closely alternating narration of physical action with the narration of (usually direct) speech allows us to believe that a character's words and actions are being traced minutely. The intersection of these two orders of narration tends to suggest that we are being told exactly what was done and exactly when, and, more importantly for us, it carries the implication that any o.r. discourse we have is being precisely reported. The authenticity of each order of narration is assured by the close presence of the other. This is the technique I have called 'intersection'[71] .

Dixit marks the end of what might be called the formal part of the speech. At this point Dido buries her face in her couch and says *moriemur inultae, sed moriamur*. The declarative verb *ait* could convey a brief silence as the speaker actually stabs herself: that action is illustrating her next and final words as the emphatic repetition *sic, sic* indicates. The last word of Dido's last sentence is *mortis* providing a grim and decisive closure. *Dixerat* (recalling *dixit* from 659)

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[70] *neque ego hanc abscondere furto*
speravi (ne finge) fugam, nec coniuguis umquam
praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni.

[71] Page 1973, 28 calls such instances of intersection in the English novel 'stage directions' and remarks: 'Such stage directions are often introduced into a passage of speech as they might be into a dramatic script: thus Lady Booby in *Joseph Andrews* recalls her dead husband, saying that

'the dear man who is gone' (*here she began to sob*), 'was he alive again' (*then she produced tears*), 'could not upbraid me with any one act of tenderness or passion.'

brings it home that Dido has finished speaking altogether.

Now the attendants notice that Dido has fallen on her sword. Their presence at this stage could imply that Dido's speech was not strictly a soliloquy, but if the *comites* heard it they certainly did not understand it, if we are to assume from the amount of lamentation to follow that they would have done anything to prevent her suicide. On this basis they could not have seen what the queen was about to do either.

A question about whether they heard the full utterance might remain - or even about whether the whole utterance was actually made: what is the implication of *media inter talia* ? Could it not mean 'her attendants saw her fallen on the sword in the midst of her saying things like this'. My claim above that we have had what is supposed to be a precise rendition of what Dido really said could then seem doubtful.

However, the diction and structure of 663-4 need not suggest that the verses should be translated in such a way. The pause after *Dixerat,* in the first foot which definitively closes Dido's words and the *atque* which follows show that the attendants only make their observation after Dido has quite finished speaking - maybe they make it <u>because</u> she has stopped speaking. *Media inter talia ferro* is sandwiched between *illam* and *conlapsam* : the sense might be that Dido was in the midcourse of her utterance as she fell on the sword, and not that the utterance was interrupted or discontinued as she did this[72] . After all we may assume that the sword went in at a moment of narration in 660 - around the words *ait. 'sic, sic* , when there are at least two verses of speech still to follow. Given that Dido takes quite a while to expire (she is still *semianimem* when Anna finds her at 686; life remains until the book ends at 705), we should not be surprised that she still has the power of speech for a while after she has fatally stabbed herself.

The content of what I called the formal part of Dido's speech (651-8) in some ways transcends the speech's function purely in the context of the story:

> dulces exuviae , dum fata deusque sinebat,
> accipite hanc animam meque his exsolvite curis.
> vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi,
> et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
> urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi ,
> ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi,
> felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
> numquam Dardaniae tetigssent nostra carinae.

Strictly it is the *dulces exuviae* to whom Dido addresses her words, (cf. *accipite... exsolvite* 652). However, this is a speech which perhaps goes beyond its world in the poem to speak to the audience who could be regarded as Dido's

[72] There is a linearisation problem here (see Fowler 1991) - perhaps Dido was going to say more: *media* is often used to show things being interrupted or cut off. Cf. Austin on 6.468f. where he discusses the problem of the imperfect tenses there.

superaddressee(s). Almost composing her own epitaph[73] , she asks them to consider how successful she would have been if the Trojans had never got to Carthage. Yet in spite of the aspiration of these words to a kind of universality, the use of intersection with declarative phrases and narration of action inclines us towards reading this as as 'standard'o.r. rather than f.d.d.. The combination of these effects gives the famous last words a distinctive and unusual resonance[74] .

Iris's words in o.r. which ends Book 4 should also be noted here - though they may be considered as a speech of consecration not a soliloquy, Dis is not addressed and Dido is barely conscious enough to hear anything at this point:

> devolat et supra caput astitit. 'hunc ego Diti
> sacrum iussa fero teque isto corpore solvo':
> sic ait et dextra crinem secat, omnis et una
> dilapsus calor atque in ventos vita recessit 4.702-5

Again a description of the speaker's action is concomitant with the narration of discourse, but this time it does not interrupt the rendering of the utterance.

It has been remarked above that the first speech given by any mortal in the poem is Aeneas's - in the storm at 1.94-101:

> talia voce refert: 'o terque quaterque beati ,
> quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis
> contigit oppetere! O Danaum fortissime gentis
> Tydide! mene Iliacis occumbere campis
> non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,
> saevus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector , ubi ingens
> Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis
> scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit!'

---

[73] According to the parodies in *Heroides* 7.194-6 & *Fasti* 3 545-50 quoted here she did compose her own epitaph (the epitaph itself is the same in both passages):

> *arserat Aeneae Dido miserabilis igne,*
> *arserat exstructis in sua fata rogis;*
> *compositusque cinis, tumulique in marmore carmen*
> *hoc breve, quod moriens ipsa, reliquit erat:*
> *PRAEBUIT AENEAS ET CAUSAM MORTIS ET ENSEM.*
> *IPSA SUA DIDO CONCIDIT USA MANU.*

Fraenkel 1954 comments on the epitaphic quality of this *rhesis* , comparing the inscriptions on the tombs of the Scipios. In particular the perfect tenses used here recall those in military reports.Parthenopaeus's last words in *Thebaid* 9. 891f. (discussed in the section on messages below) achieve the quality of an epitaph by slightly different means.

[74] Cf. the 'last words' in 1 Corinthians 11 which combine an aspiration to universal significance with the use of intersection to give the impression of precision and authenticity: *ὅτι ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδοτο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον, καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε, καὶ εἶπε, Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον, μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποεῖτε, ὁσάκις ἂν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂ εσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον ἢ πίνῃ τὸ ποτήριον πίνητε , τὸν θάνατον του τοῦ Κυρίου καταγγέλλετε ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθῃ.*
This prompts a liturgical function: a priest as he recites this can imitate Jesus's actions as well as his words, and does so with cues provided by the narrative: an apostrophe is usually inserted after *καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε* - 'giving thanks to Thee'. This (re-) enacts Jesus's thanksgiving as much as it reports it.

Talia iactanti stridens Aquilone procella
velum adversa ferit, fluctusque ad sidera tollit. 1.94-103

This prayer seems to be conventional more than realistic: Austin lists speeches given in descriptions of storms in other poems as parallels[75] . Besides, could Aeneas articulate all that he has in such circumstances as these? This soliloquy again seems more like f.d.d. than standard direct speech. There is the implication in 102-3 that the blast of the wind is so strong that Aeneas cannot be heard. Yet the description of the activity of the elements enclosing this speech give it a peculiar kind of stature; and seems to bear some relation to the image, which ends Aeneas's speech, of the Trojan river churning shields, helmets and bodies of men in its waves. This relation is corroborated by an image the narrator gives us of the effects of the storm a few verses below:

apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto
arma virum tabulaeque et Troia gaza per undas. 118-9[76]

So the image in Aeneas's speech might be serving to help present his immediate predicament as a kind of paradigm or emblem of his more longstanding one - the hardship of leading the scattered remnants of a war-torn people amidst much confusion and with little sense of direction.[77] The mention of the Trojan heroes for the first time in the poem also has a thematic significance: we see the type of

[75] *Od.* 5.299-312 has Odysseus making a speech very similar in content. Again the context would suggest this too is f.d.d.. Cf. Lucan 5.578f.; Valerius Flaccus 1.627-32:

hoc erat inlicitas temerare rudentibus undas
quod nostri timuere patres . vix litore puppem
solvimus , et quanto fremitu se sustulit Aegon!
hocine Cyaneae concurrunt aequore cautes?
tristius an miseris superest mare? linquite, terrae
spem pelagi sacrosque iterum seponite fluctus.
haec iterant segni flentes occumbere leto.

This utterance is attributed to all the Minyae and it is iterative, and so it must be in f.d.d on independent grounds. (631 here has a conspicuous resemblance to *Aen.* 5.615 to be discussed below). Oratory in seastorms is obviously a narrative convention, perhaps parallel to Greek lyric poetry on storms (see Fraenkel 1975, 190f). The absurdity and patent lack of realism of these poetic speeches in such circumstances seem to be parodied in the *Satyricon* 115. Giton and Encolpius having avowed their love for each other in the storm at 114 seek to rescue Eumolpus who insists on completing a poem he has been composing during the storm: *Persecuti igitur sonum invenimus Eumolpum sedentem membranaeque ingenti versus ingerentem. Mirati ergo, quod illi vacaret in vicinia mortis poema facere, extrahimus clamantem iubemusque bonam habere mentem. At ille interpellatus excanduit et 'Sinite me' inquit 'sententiam explere; laborat carmen in fine.'* The speech Paul makes during the storm in *Acts* 27.21-6 gives the impression of being more functional.

[76] The collocation of *arma virum* recalls 1.1. If these verses are at all focalized through Aeneas, this possible evocation would be all the more poignant: we see, and Aeneas himself sees, everything he stands for being churned through the waves.

[77] The symbolism of the storm in *Aeneid* 1 is usefully discussed by Hardie 1986; he notes (p. 93 n.24) that Virgil associates storm-forces with theological and moral evil.

men with whom Aeneas is to be associated[78]. Altogether this speech has a function comparable to Juno's soliloquy; it draws us further into the action of the poem by yet another step: now we are brought to survey the mortal and more specifically Trojan outlook from Aeneas's words. The fact that this speech at least opens as a prayer is also significant for the bridging role it has: Aeneas's first (super) addressees are thus gods, or even the poem's audience, not his fellow men.

Aeneas's second and only other o.r. soliloquy is of one verse (1.437). If this is not a silent thought, it is at least a private comment he makes to himself:

> 'o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!'

This makes a pretty contrast with his first soliloquy just discussed. There the *terque quaterque beati* were those who fell beneath the walls of fallen Troy. Here the *fortunati* are the Carthaginians who are building new *moenia* of their own. Aeneas has been watching the construction of the city going on for some time (1.421f.):

> miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,
> miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum.
> instant ardentes Tyrii: pars ducere muros
> molirique arcem et manibus subvolvere saxa ...

That description is brought to an end with this remark which is clearly attributable to Aeneas without his name (or any other marker pronoun or verb of which he is the subject) being mentioned for 18 verses. The whole sight, including the ant simile perhaps, has really been focalized through Aeneas and it has obviously made a deep impression on him. The device of externalising a private musing in a single verse of o.r. is unusual and seems to be unique in the poem.

Thoughts presented in f.i.d..

Virgil seems to be the first extant Latin narrative poet to employ properly f.i.d.[79] . The passages we shall first examine here are decisive and unambiguous examples of the form. There are no declarative verbs and no passage follows on directly from any presentation in another mode of the speech or thought of the character concerned. The next passages we shall examine will be more

[78]The equation of Aeneas's stature with Hector's is subtly established by a poignant echo of diction from one speech to another - in imiation of Homer's formulaic style. Compare (i) Andromache's anxious questions about Ascanius to his father at 3.342-3:

> *ecquid in antiquam virtutemanimosque virilis*
> *et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitat Hector?'*

and (ii) Aeneas's own parting words to Ascanius before he goes into battle (a moment itself comparable to Hector's own farewell to his wife and son in *Iliad* 6) at 12.439-40:

> *sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum*
> *et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector.*

[79] Compare Perutelli 1979b (at 80-1) from which I shall be drawing here: 'Virgilio è forse il primo a utilizzare alcune valenze narrative dello stile indiretto libero ... Virgilio, che si avvale ampiamente della dinamica del punto di vista nella sua narrazione, ne svela le potenzialità espressive finalizzate al rapporto narratore-personaggio, esaltandole in una utilizzazione non univoca, ma rispondente alle esigenze diverse che il testo avanza di volta in volta.' There are certainly no decisive and unambiguous examples of the form of f.i.d. in epic poets prior to Virgil, as far as can be ascertained from what remains of them. Catullus's narrative will be considered in the next chapter.

inderterminate - they may or may not be instances of f.i.d..

In the Introduction the point was made that f.i.d. can fuse the voices of character and narrator. We cannot tell decisively who is speaking. With no declarative verbs employed, we cannot tell either, whether the discourse a character may have is spoken or thought. I have placed the discussion of f.i.d. in the *Aeneid* in this section on thoughts because the contexts of the passages to be treated tend to suggest we are hearing a presentation of thought rather than speech.

The first example we have of f.i.d. in the poet-narrator's narrative is a striking one at 4.283-4[80] . I shall quote these verses in their context from 4.279[81] :

> At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens,
> arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit.
> ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,
> attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.
> heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem
> audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat ?
> atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc
> in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat.
> haec alternanti potior sententia visa est:
> Mnesthea Segestumque vocat fortemque Serestum,
> classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant ,
> arma parent et quae rebus sit causa novandis
> dissimulent ; sese interea , quando optima Dido
> nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores ,
> temptaturam aditus et quae mollissima fandi
> tempora , quis rebus dexter modus . ocius omnes
> imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt.
> At regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?)
> praesensit ... 4.279-297

From 4.279 onwards, Aeneas, of whom a detailed portrayal has not yet been given in this book, is brought to our full attention (see Austin on 279-85). 279-282 show the physiological and psychological effect of Mercury's apparition and speech. We are told that Aeneas is dumbstruck (*obmutuit amens* 279, *vox faucibus haesit* 280) so that he cannot really be articulating the deliberative questions in 283-4. The way these are presented, in the the third person, means that we need not conceive of Aeneas actually asking himself these questions out loud,with the diction presented here or in the order they are presented in the text. At the same time the impression is given vividly that Aeneas is in a quandary and troubled by a number of conflicting demands. The use of the present subjunctive - though not necessary for f.i.d.: the imperfect is also found[82] - contrasts with the aorists which have been used in the narrative since the close of Mercury's speech at 276, and adds to the effect of vividness.

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[80] F.i.d. in Aeneas's narrative in Books 2-3 will be discussed below.

[81] Mercury's delivery of Jupiter's message to Aeneas is discussed in the last section of the next chapter.

[82] Cf. *Georgic* 4.504-5: *Quid faceret? quo se rapta bis coniuge ferret?/ quo fletu Manis, quae numina voce moveret?*. For comment on these verses see the next chapter. See Leumann-Hoffmann-Szantyr 338,on the subjunctive tenses in these contexts. Regula 1951 discusses the use of the present subjunctive in deliberative questions, and remarks on the f.i.d. in *Aen.* 2.27f.. See also Fowler 1987.

The use of f.i.d. in 283-4 then helps illustrate the more exotopic description of Aeneas's condition which precedes them. At the same time we are slightly prepared for the intrusion of his voice by the sympathetic focalization of *dulcis* - the Carthaginian *terras* are bound to be more sweet to Aeneas than to the more impartial poet-narrator[83] . 283-4 are then conceived very much in Aeneas's perspective (even *furentem* could hint a knowledge on Aeneas's part of Dido's nature). Had they been expressed in o.r., they would have seemed more mannered, and the complete change of voice might have sounded awkward and uncomfortable.

The examination of Aeneas can thus continue elegantly as the narration of subsequent events continues. First we have another exotopic description of his mental processes 285-6 before he comes to a conclusion at 287 (*haec alternanti potior sententia visa est*). We are told what that conclusion is as he promptly acts on it in 288f. : the action itself offers some other sorts of speech presentation. He summons his officers Mnestheus, Sergestus and Serestus to arrange the the departure of the fleet in secret (o.m. in 288 for the actual summoning, o.o. indirect command for the content of the orders given), while he himself decides on the way to explain his decision to Dido (288-94). In these verses the construction is technically awkward. Conington *ad loc.* describes it thus: 'a sort of *oratio obliqua* depending on the sense rather than on the expression of the previous line.' The absence of an obvious declarative verb makes this resemble f.i.d.; the syntactic modification makes it look like o.o..

The point of *Sese interea* is to show delicately Aeneas and his feelings are still to be the object of our attention. His worries about Dido are expressed in the same sentence as that in which he gives orders to his men, and given equal priority. *Optima* here, as a description of Dido seems to be less a sympathetic focalization on the part of the narrator as part of some kind of rendition of Aeneas's thoughts to himself.

Again, as in 283-4, any direct speech from Aeneas at this point would perhaps unwelcomely sunder an expression which conveys the conflict of Aeneas's wants.

In both instances of f.i.d. quoted in this excerpt there is a preoccupation on Aeneas's part with how is he is to express himself to Dido, with what words he is going to use. This might be significant as it remains to show a little later on.

Book 9 of the *Aeneid* provides two passages which are comparable to those just considered. The first is 9.67-8. Turnus is trying to find a way into the enclosure into which the Trojans have retreated:

> Qua temptet ratione aditus, et quae via clausos
> excutiat Teucros vallo atque effundat in aequum?

Like Aeneas in 4.288, Turnus is in a state of high emotion (*ignescunt irae, duris dolor ossibus ardet* 9.66) - he has just been compared to a fierce wolf (*asper et improbus ira* 9.62) howling around a sheep pen, tormented with hunger and frustration. *Temptare aditus* , here used literally, is only found elsewhere in Virgil at 4.293 - the previous passage of f.i.d. noted. It is even harder to imagine Turnus coining these rhetorical questions in his own voice, given the state he is in. However these questions in the narrative present his preoccupations at this point in the story. The next verses are interesting: they do not present the solution to the

[83] See the discussion of focalization in the Introduction above.

dilemma in Turnus's voice, and it is not easy to determine whether this is Turnus's focalization:

> classem, quae lateri castrorum adiuncta latebat,
> aggeribus saeptam circum et fluvialibus undis,
> invadit sociosque incendia poscit ovantis
> atque manum pinu flagranti fervidus implet. 69-72

Classem is significantly the first word. We seem to be shown Turnus's answer just as it strikes him, or at least an instant after. But then verse 70 - especially by *fluvialibus* - indicates this is not his focalization. In 71 the verb *invadit* shows Turnus already acting on his realization - Servius implies that this verse might be in some way mimetic of Turnus's utterance:

> hysteroproteron ut aviditatem iuvenis ostenderet.[84]

Compare the function of *Haec alternanti potior sententia visa est* (4.287). This too, as we saw, was followed by the presentation of a command to troops in o.o.

The second passage of f.i.d. in the book (9.399-401) conveys Nisus's extreme agitation when Euryalus is dragged off by the enemy. I will quote these lines in part of their context:

> audit equos, audit strepitus et signa sequentum;
> nec longum in medio tempus, cum clamor ad auris
> pervenit ac videt Euryalum, quem iam manus omnis
> fraude loci et noctis, subito turbante tumultu,
> oppressum rapit et conantem plurima frustra.
> quid faciat? qua vi iuvenem, quibus audeat armis
> eripere? an sese medios moriturus in enses
> inferat et pulchram per vulnera mortem?
> ocius adducto torquet hastile lacerto
> suspiciens altam Lunam et sic voce precatur:
> 'tu, dea, tu praesens nostro succurre labori, ... 9.394-404

Nisus's agitation is natural enough - he and Euryalus shared a *unus amor* (9.182). Again, and especially here given how little story time is available in such a moment, the deliberative questions posed in this way convey anxious confusion and indecision more convincingly than a self address in o.r.. This means that the prayer to Diana which takes up six verses has far more impact: we understand Nisus's need for divine assistance, but this speech increases our sense of tension as we are only too aware that it takes up part of the precious time in which he has time to act[85].

[84] See the entry for *hysteroproteron* in Lausberg 1973 and Bell 1923, 271. 7.150 (treated below in the next chapter) and 7.287f. (Juno catching sight of Aeneas) are other examples of *hysteroproteron* being used in this way.

[85] Alternatively, this slowing of the narrative pace for deliberation could be conveying a 'real time' description of Nisus's consciousness: for the subject of an experience like this, time itself would slow down at such a moment. Suerbaum 1980 provides bibliography on the Nisus-Eryalus episode.

The final example of f.i.d. in which the narrator might be regarded as taking up deliberative questions which the character the does not have time or composure to formulate or utter is at 12.486. Aeneas is pursuing Turnus's chariot which continues to elude him as a result of Juturna's endeavours:

> heu quid agat? vario nequiquam fluctuat aestu
> diversaeque vocant animum in contraria curae 12.486-7

Again the character concerned is in a state of high anxiety and confusion.

Perutelli 1979b observes the direct speeches given to Dido and Turnus when they articulate deliberative questions as they face crucial turning points. He quotes 4.534-47:

> en, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores
> experiar Nomadumque petam conubia supplex,
> quos ego sim totiens tam dedignata maritos?...

and 12.637-649 which begins[86]:

> nam quid ago? aut quae iam spondet Fortuna salutem?
> vidi oculos ante ipse meos me voce vocantem
> Murranum...

There is a contrast between f.i.d. presenting Aeneas's thoughts in certain situations and these externalised speeches - perhaps the effect is to give Aeneas more dignity. The implication might be that he has more self control than Dido or Turnus because he does not actually give voice to his doubts and anxieties, yet we are still meant to see that he suffers them.[87]

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[86] As Perutelli points out, this self-questioning, and considering of possible options recalls the *τί δράσω* of Greek tragedy.

[87] Perutelli at 78 remarks: 'All' interno del testo virgiliano la funzione dello stile indiretto libero in riferimento a Enea risulta orientata dall' opposizione con questi personaggi antagonisti: di fronte a un comportamento tanto diverso, il modo narrativo che si attaglia al protagonista non quando egli deve prendere una decisione esistenziale, ma solo quando non sa come ovviare a un problema o a una difficoltà contingente, non può che assumere un significato. Con tale procedimento il narratore revoca a sé la soggetivita del personaggio e ne controlla gli accenti espressivi sovrintendendo egli stesso alla communicazione del protagonista col lettore: nel concedere apparentemente, anche con vari artifici stilistici, una accentuazione patetica ai pensieri di Enea, ne soffoca il libero esprimersi di fronte alle decisioni più gravi e unisce invece a lui la propria voce nei momenti di difficoltà contingente, esasperando l'espressione del personaggio là dove essa è più tollerabile alla coerenza dell'edificio del poema'.

Mackie 1988, 77-91 has a rather different interpretation of all this from mine, e.g. he says at 81-2: 'Aeneas's dilemmas ... are conveyed by means of the indirect deliberative. The narrator asks the questions whilst Aeneas himself acts out the dilemmas. Thus the reader's direct involvement in these dilemmas is with the narrator rather than with the character. Unlike the cases of Dido and Turnus, Aeneas is placed in the dramatic background.'

It should be clear why I disagree: the narrator posing such questions (to the extent he himself does) allows us to share the dilemma more intimately with the character: f.i.d. is often found in the locality of a sympathetic apostrophe, as we shall see when dealing with 'epyllion' type narrative. Of an o.r. *rhesis* we have to make what we will - or at least, our responses to it can only be guided in different ways.

Many thoughts presented in f.i.d. constitute
questions of some kind, and the present rather than the imperfect subjunctive is used. They are usually in contexts in which the narrative present tense is frequently to be found e.g. *ardet , dividit , rapit , versat , vocat* (4.281-8); *ignescunt , ardet , invadit, poscit , implent , incumbunt* (9.57-74); *legit , errat , audit, audit , pervenit , videt , rapit , precatur* (9.392-403); *fluctuant , vocant* etc. (12.486-7).

These situations unfold before the audience as if they are presently occurring so that these questions in f.i.d. have a vivid, urgent quality about them. At the same time as highlighting a character's plight, they have dramatic function in the presentation of events to the audience: they are held in suspense wondering what choice of action he will take. After the pause in narration of actual events achieved by these passages of f.i.d. we see promptly what happens next: in 4.296-305 it is actually Dido who confronts Aeneas; Turnus decides to set the Trojan camp on fire in 9.71; Nisus resolves upon a prayer at 9.404; and Aeneas in 12.488, hit by Messapus, embarks upon his *aristeiae*

The deliberative questions in these passages might properly be regarded as being of a different order from the apostrophic questions which are found to follow closely some of these instances of f.i.d.:

> Quis possit fallere amantem? 4.296
>
> Quis deus, o Musae, tam saeva incendia Teucris
> avertit? tantos ratibus quis depulit ignis? 9.77-8

The apostrophic question on the part of the narrator at 12.500-3 is not related directly to Aeneas (or only in so far as it reflect on the extent of his *aristeiae*) , but they are still in the vicinity of the f.i.d. passage at 486:

> Quis mihi nunc tot acerba deus, quis carmina caedes
> diversas obitumque ducum, quos aequore toto
> inque vicem nunc Turnus agit, nunc Troius heros,
> expediat?

There is also an apostrophe (not a question this time) at 9.446-9 to Euryalus and Nisus which comes right at the end of the account of their heroic though tragic adventure:

> Fortunati ambo! siquid mea carmina possunt
> nulla dies umquam memori vos eximit aevo,
> dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
> accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

It could be that the interrogative tone of the deliberative questions and the speculation it invites, helps reinforce the presence of the narrator's voice and makes an appropriate context for these apostrophic questions which ensue. I remarked above that one issue often raised in these passages of f.i.d. was the character's preoccupation with how he is to express himself. This preoccupation is also one for the poet-narrator in all these instances of apostrophe just quoted.

There is another argument to suggest these instances of f.i.d. and narratorial apostrophe are not juxtaposed out of mere coincidence: f.i.d. and apostrophe, at least in Virgil and some other Latin authors we shall consider, are perhaps not

such different orders of narrative discourse as they may first appear to be. Take for instance the observation about the suicides in *Aeneid* 6.436-9:

> quam vellent aethere in alto
> nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!
> fas obstat, tristisque palus inamabilis undae
> alligat et novies Styx interfusa coercet.

436-7 may first just be read as a concerned exclamation from the narrator, followed by the grim details in 438-9 which show how conclusively the sad souls are penned in. Yet the verses could also be read as the discourse of these *maesti* . Indirect speech is often used to express the shared sentiments, spoken or thought of a group. In that way we could imagine this as a reported utterance (sc. *quam vellemus* etc.). The present tense in 438-9 need not then only be read as a narrative present - it could be the present tense of a more live utterance. It is interesting that *palus* and *Styx* which govern the verbs *alligat* and *coercet* do not have a stated object like *illos* in the Latin, although translators are naturally bound to insert 'them' in their English versions. This lack of an object increases the possibility of ambiguity: 438-9 might also be read as woeful f.d.d. attributable to these wretched suicides as they frequently and mournfully reflect on their internment[88] . When we come to treat Lucan we shall see a few more passages which are similarly indeterminate: they may first appear to be in the narrator's voice, but they could also be instances of f.i.d. attributable to characters.

There are other passages in the *Aeneid* in which the distinction between direct and indirect speech seems fairly indeterminate, and which it seems reasonable to classify as examples of f.i.d.. Verses 5.615-6 offer a particularly interesting example which I quote in their immediate context. After Anchises's funeral the Trojan women are lamenting and complaining:

> at procul in sola secretae Troades acta
> amissum Anchisen flebant, cunctaeque profundum
> pontum aspectabant flentes. heu tot vada fessis
> et tantum superesse maris, vox omnibus una;
> urbem orant, taedet pelagi perferre laborem.

Some texts have *heu ... maris* placed within quotation marks, others (including Mynors 1969) do not. If these words are to be regarded as o.r., the infinitive construction could be explained as an accusative and infinitive of exclamation.[89] If

[88] The fact that the clear precedent to these verses in Homer, noted by commentators since Servius, is itself part of a speech in o.r. would seem to help my case for relative indeterminacy here. The speech is made by Achilles in *Odyssey* 11.489f.:

> *βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ*
> *ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίοτος πολὺς εἴη,*
> *ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.*

[89] See Williams ad loc., Austin on 1.37

vox is translated as 'utterance'[90] ('this was the utterance common to them all'), we can have the idea of these *Troades* saying the same thing in choric unison[91] . This does not generally happen in the *Aeneid*. Another consideration which is relevant here is that this scene as a whole seems to be focalized through Iris from 611-12(*conspicit ingentem concursum et litora lustrat /desertosque videt portus classemque relicatam.*) It could be that this utterance is what Iris hears or seems to hear.

However one exception to Virgil's standard practice offers a fascinating parallel. At 11.481f., as the Latin citizens rush to the walls to watch the conflict on the plains, the women led by Amata utter a prayer which is presented chorically in o.r.:

> Succedunt matres et templum ture vaporant
> et maestas alto fundunt de limine voces
> 'armipotens, praeses belli, Tritonia virgo,
> frange manu telum Phrygii praedonis, et ipsum
> pronum sterne solo portisque effunde sub altis.' 11.481-5

The shared *voces* of these Latin women, like the *vox* of the Trojan women also stand against the course of fate. We are not told their prayer is heard; it is certainly not answered - Aeneas's spear gets stuck in a tree trunk after Turnus prays to Faunus (12.780f.) but it does not break.

Or instead, the phrase in 5.615-6 could be in some form of o.o. - perhaps more likely given its brevity and the nature of its context, as the distillation of an utterance or utterances made by a group. Then there is the problem of this infinitive construction being dependent on *flentes* or on a declarative verb that has to be understood. So perhaps this is all best regarded as another example of f.i.d.. The *heu* could show involvement of the narrator with his subject as he interjects, or else his voice here merges with that of the women[92] . In the context of a *recitatio* , the question of classification might be less relevant: the *recitator* could pronounce these words with emotion anyway, and the question of who is

---

[90] *Vox* is elsewhere found in the context of utterances in o.r. in the *Aeneid* e.g. 2.119, after the oracle of Phoebus to the Trojans has been quoted: *vulgi quae vox ut venit ad auris* ; 3.40-1: *et vox reddita fertur ad auris:/ quid miserum, Aenea, laceras?* ; cf. 3.93-4 (another oracle); 6.686 (of Aeneas's utterance to Anchises); 7.95 (oracle to Latinus); 7.117 (Iulus's utterance); 9.112.

[91] Given the Euripidean feel here, there may be a poignancy in Virgil's use of the word *Troiades* , the title of a play which of course has a chorus of Trojan women - the word occurs only here in the *Aeneid* . (Ennius might have written a *Troades* see Fantham 1982, 4-5 and on Ennius's tragedies, Mette 1964) If there is some kind of generic absorption going on, it might be appropriate for a group of women to give forth a direct utterance in chorus. And, more speculatively, might it be significant that it is at this point that Iris enters acting a part - that of Beroe -and speaks, 620f.?

[92] Compare the function of *eheu* in Catullus 64.61 discussed in the next chapter. Ariadne is also woefully looking out to sea: *saxea ut effigies bacchantis , prospicit, eheu prospicit ...*
and the *heu* in the storm simile in *Aen.* 12.452 (*miseris, heu, praescia longe/ horrescunt corda agricolis ...*)

speaking could remain open to his interpretation or that of his audience[93] . The indeterminacy would of course be equally present in an ancient unpunctuated text.

Our final example of what might be categorised as f.i.d. in the *Aeneid* also comes at a point in the story when the character whose discourse is reported is in state of high agitation. This is the description of Amata's raving in 7.385-91. She has failed to convince Latinus by argument that it is Turnus whom Lavinia should marry. Driven to a frenzy by Allecto's serpent, she is compared to a spinning top as she rages through the city, pretending to be driven by Bacchus's presence:

> quin etiam in silvas simulato numine Bacchi
> maius adorta nefas maioremque orsa furorem
> evolat et natam frondosis montibus abdit,
> quo thalamum eripiat Teucris taedasque moretur,
> euhoe Bacche fremens, solum te virgine dignum
> vociferans: etenim mollis tibi sumere thyrsos,
> te lustrare choro, sacrum tibi pascere crinem. 7.385-91

As with nearly all other sentences where the narrator's voice in the third person seems to merge with that of the speaker(s) described, the narrative present is used. What is interesting here is that an apostrophe from the poet-narrator to Bacchus sprouts out of Amata's reported speech: *te* and *tibi* are used twice each in three successive verses. *Euhoe Bacche fremens* which echoes Catullus 64.255[94] does not have to be taken to be standing outside the rest of the construction here: the expression would be in balance with that governed by *vociferant* . An effect of not having Amata invoke Bacchus directly in o.r. is to reinforce what was indicated by *simulato numine Bacchi* (385)- the point that her frenzy is not a genuinely religious one.[95]

Reviewing the employment of f.i.d. in the *Aeneid* , these general observations can be made: (i) it occurs only when the character(s) whose discourse is being reported is in a state of extreme anxiety or even frenzy. This is certainly not the case in modern fiction - f.i.d or 'indirect interior monologue' is often the norm for expressing a character's thoughts and feelings about anything, however incidental or trivial.The number of instances is small and only four single individuals have their discourse rendered in this way.
(ii) As we have seen, it is generally surrounded by verbs in the narrative present which contribute to the sense of vividness.
(iii) F.i.d. can be seen to render narratorial comment as much as the sentiments of

[93] Ennius's *Annales* 163 might provide some kind of precedent for a passage like 5.615-6:

Inde sibi memorat unum superesse laborem

Memorare can be a declarative verb for direct or indirect speech: it would not be impossible for this to be in o.r. too.

[94] See discussion of this poem below.

[95] We can compare the technique of speech presentation here to that at 8.287-302 (the hymn to Hercules) treated below, which is in indirect speech but moves to apostrophise Hercules in the second person. Amata's hymn here must also be worth considering as a precedent to the hymn to Bacchus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 4.11f.; surprisingly Danielewicz 1990 does not include this among the models he lists for Ovid's practice in the hymn to Bacchus at *Met.* 4.11f. See also *Georgics* 2.2 and especially 2.385-9. The quotation of 7.385-91 given on this page and its whole context recall the *Bacchae* heavily. 7.385 echoes *Bacc.* 218; 7.405 (*reginam Allecto stimulis agit undique Bacchi*)~ *Bacc.* 119.

a character. The occasional confusion with what is unequivocally narratorial intrusion or apostrophe can show the extent to which this is so. The degree to which we are hearing a character's or narrator's voice varies from passage to passage, depending on the context.
(iv) It was pointed out above that it is not always clear whether f.i.d. serves to present spoken words or silent thoughts. The last two instances considered (the Trojan women complaining and Amata's prayer at 7.385) definitely seem to be speeches, though it has been more convenient to set them with the other passages dealt with here, which largely seem to be renderings of thought.

Finally one element of the passage of f.i.d. which presents Aeneas's thoughts at 4.279f. should be noted. Aeneas's deliberation is about what he should say to Dido, and what words he should use. This is an interesting instance of the self-reflexiveness of this form. The character is speechless, in part because he does not know what he is going to say - the narrator cannot then let his audience hear such a dilemma expressed in o.r. We can compare a possible use of f.i.d. in Aeneas's first person account at 3.39 (discussed below):

eloquar an sileam ?

If not a pause in narration by the narrator in his own voice before Dido and company, this could be Aeneas using f.i.d. to narrate his own doubt and hesitation at the time he is describing. Whether to present speech or silence, is part of the riddle of f.i.d. itself.[96]

Thoughts presented in o.o. and o.m.

In the *Aeneid* , the number of passages of indirect speech in general is relatively small compared to the number of passages of o.r. (roughly 50 against about 330 direct speeches of all kinds, a proportion of under one to seven). Of these passages of o.o. and o.m., only ten or so could at all be regarded as presenting thoughts in a propositional form. Aeneas is the subject of most of these.

Otherwise the propositional thoughts of a group are presented: those of a number of Trojans on three occasions, and those of Turnus's allies once. That distribution in itself reveals something about the concerns, if not the sympathies of the poet-narrator. Incidentally it should also be noted that for the presentation of thought in indirect speech we are of course dependent on the narrator's voice - any presentation of discourse in indirect speech will reveal something about the nature and orientation of the narrator as well as the feelings of the characters.

All the passages that render the thoughts of the Trojans indicate various situations in which they feel uncertain. I shall quote the first of these (1.218-9) in its context: the Trojans have just been shipwrecked on the African coast, Aeneas

[96] We shall see below how often Apuleius uses f.i.d. in a first person narrative on a number of occasions in the story when Lucius was wondering whether or not to speak. On *Aen.* 3.39, the Servian corpus has: *ELOQUAR AN SILEAM parenthesis ad miracula posita; qua magnitudinem monstri ostendit. et bene auditorem attentum vult facere.* Compare *IT* 938-9:

Ορ. λέγοιμ' ἄν· ἀρχαὶ δ' αἵδε μοι πολλῶν πόνων
ἔπειτ' τὰ μητρὸς ταῦθ' ἃ σιγῶμεν κακά ...

On this kind of device see Lausberg 1973; Apthonius 1.258-9

has told them to consider the greater hardships they have already endured and they have prepared and eaten a meal:

> postquam exempta fames epulis mensaeque remotae,
> amissos longo socios sermone requirunt,
> spemque metumque inter dubii, seu vivere credant
> sive extrema pati nec iam exaudire vocatos. 1.216-9

217 provides an account in o.m. of the topic of their conversation. It is not completely clear, but I have the impression that 218-19 convey the thoughts haunting the Trojans as they are talking. *Spemque ... dubii* is an exotopic description of their state of mind; *Seu ... vocatos* is dependent on *dubii* and explains the source of the feelings of hope and fear. Feasibly it could be a rendering of the kind of things that were said in the *longo sermone*, but the phrase *nec iam exaudire vocatos* as a euphemism for *mortuos esse* suggests the preoccupation on the minds of the survivors. The sense of their friends' deaths (or indeed their lack of conviction about it) would have come from calling out names and receiving no reply. 'No longer hearing when called' could be seen as a figure of speech like 'no longer seeing the light of day', but obviously it is particularly suitable here. [97]

The next instance of a shared thought in indirect discourse is easier to interpret and to some extent picks up the concerns expressed in 1.216f.. Aeneas and Achates rendered invisible in the midst of Carthage by Venus's cloud, suddenly see their companions whom they had almost given up for lost:

> obstipuit simul ipse, simul percussus Achates
> laetitiaque metuque; avidi coniungere dextras
> ardebant, sed res animos incognita turbat.
> dissimulant et nube cava speculantur amicti
> quae fortuna viris, classem quo litore linquant,
> quid veniant; cunctis nam lecti navibus ibant
> orantes veniam et templum clamore petebant... 1.513-9

Again an exotopic description of a state of mind (513-5) is followed by the rendering of propositional thoughts. The phrase *laetitiaque metuque* recalls and contrasts with *spemque metumque* which began verse 218 above. This time we can be more sure that it is thoughts rather than spoken words that are being presented: Aeneas and Achates are in a situation in which they have to remain silent and inconspicuous. The brevity and simplicity of the three indirect questions governed by *speculantur*, as well as the effect of asyndeton, convey the anxious curiosity of the observers. The questions, even given indirectly as they are, have a lively effect: *Quae fortuna viris ?* could just as well be an interrogation

[97] Servius is preoccupied with how this passage should be understood. On *AMISSOS* we have: *Non re vera, sed ut illo tempore putabant.* On 218: *SPEMQUE METUMQUE INTER DUBII spes bonorum, metus malorum; et ideo subiunxit 'seu vivere credant, sive extrema pati' et hoc loco 'seu' pro utrumne. et quidam commodius distingui putant 'spemque metumque inter' et sic subiungunt 'dubii seu vivere credant sive extrema pati.'*

or exclamation in o.r[98] . Little apart from the use of the subjunctive in the next two clauses, showing that all three are dependent on *speculantur* as a declarative verb, could stop us from regarding *quae... veniant* as direct quotation.

In a couple of the passages of f.i.d. considered above, the deliberative questions, in part at least the property of the characters, were answered in the continuation of the narrative by what seemed to be more definitely the narrator's voice . Here too it seems to be the poet narrator who first provides for his audience part of the information his characters are so keen to have - this time before the characters can seize on it for themselves. The *nam* in 518 could indicate that an explanation is to come in the verses that follow. It need not be there to account for the curiosity of the two Trojans: the reasons for that were already made clear enough when they caught sight of their comrades.

The third and final example of the thoughts of the Trojans as a group being rendered is at the beginning of 5. It is harder to understand exactly the manner of presentation here. As Aeneas and the Trojans are sailing away, they catch sight of the sinister flames, which the audience know to be from Dido's funeral pyre:

> Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat
> certus iter fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat
> moenia respiciens , quae iam infelicis Elissae
> conlucent flammis. quae tantum accenderit ignem

[98] Passages like this undermine to some extent the division of kind between direct and indirect discourse suggested by so many examples of the two forms. Voloshinov 1973 in his chapter 'Indirect and Direct Discourse', 128 explains the usual nature of the distinction: 'The analytical tendency of indirect discourse is manifested by the fact that all the emotive-affective features of speech, in so far as they are expressed not in the content but in the form of a message, do not pass intact into indirect discourse. They are translated from form into content, and only in that shape do they enter into the construction of indirect discourse, or are shifted to the main clause as a commentary modifying the *verbum dicendi*. Thus for example, the direct utterance, 'Well done! What an achievement!' cannot be registered in indirect discourse as, 'He said that well done and what an achievement.' Rather, we expect: 'He said that had been done very well and was a real achievement' ... All the various ellipses, omissions, and so on, possible in direct discourse on emotive-affective grounds, are not tolerated by the analysing tendencies of indirect discourse and can enter indirect discourse only if developed and filled out.'

Depending of course on how it is interpreted, something like the *quae fortuna viris* at 1.517 could in theory (though not in practice, given what follows in this context) belie the kind of distinction Voloshinov is making. It is important in general to remember that the application remarks like these have to written or at least literary texts is bound to differ from their application to spoken language. A speaker of a live utterance is generally bound, at least in the syntactical structures used, to commit him or herself unequivocally to reporting utterances either by direct speech or else by indirect speech. Should the structures employed in his utterance fail to make this clear, other components like intonation, degree of mimicking etc. should indicate clearly the type of speech mode(s) being employed, and so we can be relatively sure of our categorisation being correct. (Even in spoken, non-literary language there are exceptions, as in this excerpt from a sermon delivered by the Rev. Rubin Lacy on May 5th 1968 (Rosenberg 1970 at 146): 'Sometime you see a little boy running around your home. And you watch his appearance and somebody will say that boy is a preacher.')

Speech modes in written or literary texts, however, more often have the right to be ambiguous or indeterminate. Without all the elements of a spoken utterance (see Riffaterre 1983 p.3-5) we cannot attempt be sure of a conclusive categorisation, so we should not be over zealous to apply one in every instance. The sermon example shows that even a recitation might not clear everything up.

causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores
polluto, notumque furens quid femina possit,
triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt. 5.1-7

Quae ... latet emphasises that the reason for the fire remains unrevealed to Aeneas whose perspective is presented to the audience from the first verse; we have just heard that the flames are visible to him as he is looking back (*respiciens* 3). The flames are also visible to the other Trojans, and the *causa* is obviously unexplained to them too, but they have a sense of grim foreboding about what they mean. The expression of this foreboding on first sight appears to be conveyed exotopically: The Trojans are acted upon by *duri dolores* and the *notum*. I would translate this thus: 'whatever cause may have ignited such a great fire is unknown; but the unbearable feeling of grief at a great love being profaned and common knowledge of what a woman in a frenzy can do lead the Trojans' hearts into a state of sad foreboding'. The use of the abstract nouns*Dolores* and *notum* governing the numerous *pectora* as object of the sentence perhaps emphasises how deeply common these sentiments are to all present.

The narrator is presenting a shared instinct in quite a powerful way. But the instinct does seem to have some propositional content, which is why I am including the passage here. Perhaps the notion of the love between Aeneas and Dido being violated (*polluto* 6) is more the Trojans' focalization than the narrator's - we have not hitherto had much insight on their feelings about the liaison other than that they are happy to set sail again (4.295). Alternatively again, it could be Dido's. As for *furens quid femina possit*, this could even be the Trojans' discourse as they thought to themselves: 'We know what a woman in such a state is capable of'.

The passage which presents the thoughts of Turnus's allies is at 9.55-7. Turnus has just started an attack on the Trojan camp in Aeneas's absence; his soldiers are amazed at the passivity of the defenders:

clamorem excipiunt socii fremituque sequuntur
horrisono; Teucrum mirantur inertia corda,
non aequo dare se campo, non obvia ferre
arma viros, sed castra fovere. 9.54-7

Mirantur here governs the accusative and infinitive construction. It is not a declarative verb. How can we assert that what we have here is in fact o.o., in the sense that the allies' thought discourse is presented here? It has been already established by the narrator that the Trojans are behind the stockade and do not want to engage in direct combat on the plain - would the narrator need to inform us of this again in his own voice? We have been told the Trojans are obeying the command Aeneas gave before he left:

ingenti clamore per omnis
condunt se Teucri portas et moenia complent.
namque ita discedens praeceperat optimus armis
Aeneas: si qua interea fortuna fuisset,
neu struere auderent aciem neu credere campo;
castra modo et tutos servarent aggere muros.
ergo etsi conferre manum pudor iraque monstrat,
obiciunt portas tamen et praecepta facessunt,
armatique cavis exspectant turibus hostem. 9.38-46

The key lies in the expression *inertia corda* , the direct object of *mirantur* . The preceding passage just quoted has already made it clear that, whatever their apparent behaviour, the hearts of the Trojans are anything but idle or inert (cf. *pudor iraque* 44). The words *inertia corda* express a mistaken view Turnus's supporters have of the Trojans' attitude[99] . We can see that the accusative and infinitive construction that follows has an epexegetic function - it explains for the *socii* , and, I think, very much in their terms, why they have the idea they do.

The diction of 56-7 supports the case for there being focalization through the Italians at the very least, if not the actual rendering of their thoughts. Servius's remark on *arma viros* supports this: *vehementius 'viros' pronuntiandum* . I.e. if the Trojans were real men, in the view of their opponents, they would come out and fight, rather than remain in the camp. There is some slur on their part in *fovere* perhaps.[100]

These other occurrences of the word in Virgil suggest there is something almost effeminate implied about the cautious behaviour it describes in 9.57, matching the pointed use of *viros* . It might be worth noting that Fairclough responds sufficiently to the notion that the discourse presented is that of the *socii* . In his translation he chooses to render this passage using o.r. thus:

> They marvel at the Teucrians' craven hearts, crying: "They trust not themselves to a fair field, they face not the foe in arms, but they hug the camp." [101]

It is difficult to establish exactly how we should regard these examples of thoughts ascribed to groups in the *Aeneid* . None of them are signalled by verbs which are unequivocally declarative - not even verbs of thinking. Yet these passages have an obvious and sustained propositional element which makes one feel uncomfortable about regarding them as instances of sympathetic focalization by the narrator. On the other hand the very idea of presenting shared thoughts of groups raises a lot of questions if we dwell on it. Language, or at least literary language, allows us this facility but is such presentation realistic ? Leaving aside the question of whether an individual's thoughts are verbalised in real life, the use of words to present a group's thoughts must be problematic. A text can set up the impression that the diction of propositional thoughts is the property of the group - consider the presentation of shared thought in o.r. which we find in Lucan: this at least is manifestly not the narrator's discourse. Yet in another sense it is only the narrator who can provide that discourse, unless we are prepared to conceive of a number of people thinking, and then verbalising their thought identically and in unison.

The situation is not so complicated with the presentation of the thoughts of single individuals, though it remains the case that words like the following could only be spoken with any credibility by a literary narrator:

> hic magnus sedet Aeneas secumque volutat

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[99] Cf. Servius ad loc. : *INERTIA CORDA non re vera, sed sicut hostibus videbatur.*

[100] Servius on *castra fovere* remarks: *veteres 'fovere' pro 'diu incolere' vel ''habitare' dicebant* . For *foveo* the *T.L.L.* entry (section 4), at 1220, lists among other parallels: Ovid *Amores* 2.11.31(*tutius est fovisse torum*); *Fasti* 6.45 (*non foveo Carthaginis arces*); Seneca *Hercules Oetaeus* 670 (*non dubios fovet illa toros fida coniunx*)

[101] 1960, at 117.

eventus belli varios, Pallasque sinistro
adfixus lateri iam quaerit sidera, opacae
noctis iter, iam quae pass us terraque marique. 10.159-162[102]

Nobody with Aeneas (least of all Pallas!) would be able to know by being in his company what he is thinking about, especially when he seems to be answering Pallas's numerous questions. Turnus's thoughts are presented in a similar manner (in o.m.) in a comparable situation later in the same book. He is making a speech exhorting his men to meet the Trojans in battle as soon as they arrive on the shore. Actually as he speaks he is inwardly contemplating the strategies that should be employed in the process:

'quod votis optastis ades, perfringere dextra.
in manibus Mars ipse viris. nunc coniugis esto
quisque suae tectique memor, nunc magna referto
facta, patrum laudes. ultro occurramus ad undam
dum trepidi egressisque labant vestigia prima.
audentis Fortuna iuvat.'
haec ait, et secum versat quos ducere contra
vel quibus obsessos possit concredere muros. 10.279-86

Versat would seem to have a continuous sense if it is in temporal parallel wih *ait* , making this accusative and infinitive construction iterative o.m. , rather than o.o.

The first thought of an individual recorded in indirect speech is more extensive. Aeneas stays awake the first night he arrives in Carthage:

At pius Aeneas per noctem plurima volvens,
ut primum lux alma data est, exire locosque
explorare novos, quas vento accesserit oras,
qui teneant (nam inculta videt) hominesne feraene,
quaerere constituit sociisque exacta referre. 1.305-9

Plurima volvens just gives us brief notice that Aeneas is pondering all night, but does not give away any of his thoughts. At dawn he comes to his decision (*quaerere constituit*) - this is also the time he acts on it. 306-9 give an account of its contents in o.o.. The use of the present *videt* in the narrator's explanatory aside makes an interesting contrast to *constituit* . The aorist conveys the instantaneous quality of his deciding; he has been seeing the uncultivated wasteland for quite a long period of time. We have the impression that the nature of and basis for Aeneas's plan of action are rendered precisely, but there is nothing particularly mimetic in this passage of o.o., apart possibly from Aeneas's wondering about whether humans or animals inhabit the place. The audience knows by this point who lives in Carthage but Aeneas does not. The aside (*nam inculta videt*) reminds us of his ignorance of the terrain - he sees it as *inculta* but the general dominance of the narrator's voice remains here.

In the two other places where Aeneas's thoughts might seem to have any propositional quality, there are no declarative verbs. Both are contexts in the story where he feels a sense of hesitation. (Compare the contexts and presentations of the Trojans' thoughts above especially 1. 218.) The first is at 5.95-6. Aeneas has seen

[102] On Lucan's imitation of this passage see the next section in this chapter.

the portent of a serpent appearing and eating the sacrificial meat after he has made a libation:

> incertus geniumne loci famulumne parentis
> esse putet...

Compare Aeneas's use of *incertum* in his rendition of his thoughts at 2.739-40, a passage discussed below. The second example is at 11.2-3. The proposition here explains the nature of the *curae* which beset him:

> Aeneas, quamquam et sociis dare tempus humandis
> praecipitant curae turbataque funere mens est.

The method of presentation is again similar to one used for the thoughts of the Trojans as a group. Book 5, as we saw, opened with a similar exotopic presentation with *dolores* and the *notum* (which governed a proposition, as *curae* does here) acting on them.

Latinus seems to be the only other character whose thoughts are presented in a passage of indirect discourse at any length. These are his reactions when Ilioneus introduces himself:

> Talibus Ilionei dictis defixa Latinus
> obtutu tenet ora soloque immobilis haeret,
> intentos volvens oculos. nec purpura regem
> picta movet nec sceptra movent Priameia tantum
> quantum in conubio natae thalmoque moratur,
> et veteris Fauni volvit sub pectore sortem:
> hunc illum fatis externa ab sede profectum
> portendi generum paribusque in regna vocari
> auspiciis, huic progeniem virtute futuram
> egregiam et totum quae viribus occupet orbem.
> tandem laetus ait: ... 7.249-59

Latinus is transfixed. In 251.*volvens* is being used in a more literal sense, conveying the king's rapid eye movement, but in such a context, the use of this particular verb may evoke its other senses to connote the king's pondering here as well as in 254[103] . A form of *auxesis* is used to relate exotopically the effect this embassy has on him: it is not the embroidered robe that moves him, nor the sceptre of Priam, but his own rumination on his daughter's future marriage. So we are taken into the first presentation of Latinus's in 'terse' o.m. in 254-5.

More unusual is what follows. Having told us that Latinus ponders the oracle of old Faunus in his heart, in 257-8 the narrator reveals to us through the account of Latinus's thoughts what that oracle actually was: so that one discourse is being rendered inside another. This is mimetic o.o. reproducing what we could imagine Latinus's unspoken words to be at this point in the story: it is clearly o.o. because the use of the infinives *portendi* and *vocari* preclude this from being an o.r. rendering. Nonetheless Day Lewis and Fairclough use direct speech in their translations[104] . They might well be encouraged to do so by the indexicals *hunc* ,

[103] See again Heuzé 1985, 563f.. Latinus's silence could be considered among those significant silences in the *Aeneid* treated earlier, but here we are given his unvoiced thoughts.

[104] Lewis 1966, 325.

and *huic* , evocative of o.r. utterance which gives this piece of o.o. its mimetic quality. Fordyce ad loc. compares the use of the deictic in 7.255 with that in 7.128:

> haec erat illa fames, haec nos suprema manebat
> exitiis positura modum 7.128-9

which is part of a speech in o.r. (It is made by Aeneas, after he has just quoted a prophecy he attributes to Anchises.[105]). Generally speakers of indirect speech, like Virgil's principal narrator, use themselves or their own position as their point of reference (e.g. 'He said yesterday that he would come today and he hasn't arrived' rather than 'He said yesterday he would come tomorrow and he hasn't arrived'). Generally it is only in giving direct speech renditions that they shift the deictic perspective to that of the speaker(s) they report. Dryden better reproduces the mimetic quality of the o.o. in 7.255 in his translation [106]:

> On these he mused within his thoughtful mind,
> And then revolved what Faunus had divined.
> This was the foreign prince, by fate decreed
> To share his sceptre and Lavinia's bed:
> This was the race that sure portents foreshew
> To sway the world, and land and sea subdue.

It is worth briefly comparing the presentation of speech and thought in this scene in 7 to the manner of narration adopted for the parallel reception of the Trojans by Evander which is supposed to contrast in some ways with the episode just examined. Aeneas has approached Evander himself, as he says, with no envoys and preliminaries (8.143-5). This is Evander's behaviour in response:

> Dixerat Aeneas. ille os oculosque loquentis
> iamdudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus.
> tum sic pauca refert: 'ut te, fortissime Teucrum,
> accipio agnoscoque libens! ut verba parentis
> et vocem Anchisae magni vultumque recordor!... 8.152-6

No thought responses of Evander are described, exotopically or otherwise. He looks directly at the man addressing him - not at the ground, as Latinus did. His speech, although advertised as brief (*pauca*) is in fact slightly longer than Latinus's was in these circumstances (twenty verses as opposed to fourteen). The first

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[105] On 7.128 Fordyce notes 'for *hic ... ille* thus identifying something realised in the present with something predicted or imperfectly understood in the past cf. 255f. 'hunc illum fatis ... / portendi generum', 272 'hunc illum poscere fata', iv.675 'hoc illud, germana, fuit?': so Ter. *And*. 125f. 'hoc illud est, /hinc illae lacrumae'
The examples provided by Fordyce all come from passages of direct discourse. His next from Tacitus *Annals* 14.22.4 gives more pause for thought. Tacitus is describing the popular view that Plautus was divinely singled out to become Nero's successsor: *hunc illum numine deum destinari credebant*. At first sight the style of the diction as well as the sense would seem to make this passage a striking parallel to Virgil's *hunc illum fatis* at 7.255. But *hunc* and *illum* in the Tacitus here do not stand as complements in the same way as they do in the Virgil. Here the *hunc* is a deictic that Tacitus as narrator in his own voice - he is using it with reference to his own position: 'They were believing that this man (sc. whom I've just mentioned) was the man that the gods' will had destined to become emperor.'

[106] Scott 1808, 439.

spoken words allow us to construct for ourselves something of Evander's thoughts before he spoke - he was scrutinising Aeneas so thoroughly because he recognised Anchises's characteristics in him. A subtle link has been made between Evander's actions in 152-3 and the words that follow.

One other thought of a mortal recorded is worth a brief mention: this is in a parenthesis which accounts for Nisus's warning words to his companion Euryalus:

> breviter cum talia Nisus
> (sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri)
> 'absistamus' ait, 'nam lux inimica propinquat... 9.353-5

This is terse o.m. - we are not told in what terms terms the thought in 354 was couched, but more what the fact of the matter was that Nisus realised. Indeed 'realised' might be the best way to translate *sensit* here.

That verb is used more than once for the presentation of the gods' thought-processes in the poem[107] . Instinct, realisation, perception or awareness might be better words than thought to describe divine apprehension as it is presented in the *Aeneid* , (when there are not o.r. soliloquies). Examples are:

> Interea magno misceri murmure pontum
> emissamque hiemem sensit Neptunus et imis
> stagna refusa vadis ... 1.123-5

> Olli (sensit enim simulata mente locutam,
> quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras)
> sic contra est ingressaVenus ... 4.105-7

> ille [Volcanus] repente
> accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas
> intravit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit,
> ... sensit laeta dolis et formae conscia coniunx 8.388-90,393-4

Compare to *sensit* in 8.394 the use of *risit* in 4.128:

> non adversata petenti
> adnuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis . 4.127-8

Overall in relation to the mass of spoken words in the *Aeneid* , only a small proportion of discourse presentation is given over to the thoughts of the characters - whether in soliloquy, f.i.d. or other forms of indirect speech. We shall consider the amount of attention given to the presentation of thoughts and the speech modes used to do so in other narrative poets later in this chapter.

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[107] 3.360 *sentis* (in Aeneas's speech, addressed to the seer, Helenus in connection with his divine powers; in Dido's self-address 4.542; Aeneas at 5.466 (in his rebuke to Entellus for not detecting divine power at work); 10.623 in Jupiter's speech to Juno (with regard to her understanding of his arrangement of affairs). Of *sensit* the subjects are: Neptune 1.125; Androgeos 2.377; Polyphemus at 3.669; Venus at 4.105; Dido at 4.588; Aeneas 5.868; Venus 8.393; Nisus 9.354; Aeneas 12.495. Of *sentit* : Iulus at 10.534.

Speech presentation and embedded narratives

The *Aeneid* also contains a number of stories within the story presenting events which are antecedent to the main action of the poem. These embedded narratives are generally presented in the characters' speeches[108]. They include first of all Iopas's recitation at 1.742f.. This account is followed and indeed complemented by Aeneas's long narrative of the fall of Troy and of his fortunes up to this point in the story. We also have Achaemenides's account of his misfortunes (3.613-654) and Evander's aetiological story of the fight between Hercules and Cacus and account of the founding of Latium in his speeches to Aeneas (8.185-275, 314-336). Diomede's narrative of events following the Trojan War is given in his speech at 11. 252-293 quoted by Venulus in his account of his mission to the Latins. Finally there is Diana's story of her association with Camilla which she gives in her speech to Opis (11.535-594).

The speeches which I count here as 'embedded narratives' are of course relevant to the story of the *Aeneid* and affect our apprehension of it, but they are not as essential to it as speeches (such as Saces's to Turnus 12.653-664) which inform characters (and audience) what is happening in the poem.

I may be challenged for including Aeneas's long narrative here because it may be regarded as central to the poem as a whole. Indeed it is, but the contents in that they offer a flashback are to be regarded as a kind of digression from the poem's principal *muthos* - they themselves do not directly influence the action that follows. Certainly though the effects of the narrative itself are important. The significance of Aeneas's embedded narrative as a speech will be considered when I deal with it later in this section.

The song of Iopas is presented in informative o.m. - we thus have a summary of the poet's topics, but we are not given any impression that Iopas's actual diction is being rendered:

> hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores,
> unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes,
> Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones
> quid tantum Oceano properant se tingere soles
> hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet. 1.742-6

[108] Some are not, like the ecphrasis of the relief which relates the fall of Troy in Carthage at 1. 456 f. : *videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas...* Highet in his second Appendix (p. 310) gives a list of 25 speeches which he collectively categorises as 'Narratives, Explanations and Descriptions'. These are 1.335-70, 2.372-385, 2.69-194, 2. 324-335, 2. 594-620, 3.321-343, 3.599-654, 4.9-29, 4.702-3, 5.646-652, 6.322-330, 6.347-371, 6.509-534, 6.562-627, 6.713-718, 6.722-751, 7.116, 8.185-275, 8.314-336, 8.351-348, 8.470- 519, 10.228-245, 11.243-295, 11.535-594, 12.653-664. From this list he omits Iopas's reported poem because it is not presented in o.r.. His discussion of speeches which are narratives (p.107-112) is rather uneven: for example he speculates about Dido's dreams - mentioned in her speech at *Aen.* 4.9 - over several pages (109-112), but gives Aeneas's tale of his adventures preposterously short shrift in only a couple of paragraphs. Highet lists 14 major narrative speeches (p.107 n. 18) 'recounting [1] past events or [2] explaining unusual situations, usually for the benefit of the reader as well as the characters who listen'. In my view these two functions are quite separate even if they are distinguished by a difference of degree rather than kind. Highet might have done better to list the speeches as Narratives, Explanantions and Descriptions under three separate headings.

It was noted in the introductory chapter that the indirect questions here do not have to be renderings of any questions - even rhetorical ones - that Iopas might have posed[109] . Rather the use of *unde* , *quid* , and *quae* serve to remind us that the dominant voice here is that of our narrator.

Two distinct types of precedent for this passage may account for the particular technique of speech presentation employed here. First, reference to scientific or cosmological issues in Latin poetry are often couched in a similar way. Poets, perhaps naturally as well as conventionally, use indirect questions if they are toying with a consideration of such philosophical enquiries. Propertius 3.5.25f., Horace *Ep.* 1.12.14f., Ovid *Met.* 15.66f. are examples which can be contrasted with the actual manner of exposition we find at the openings of *De Rerum Natura,* Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Manilius. One reason for employing o.m. in these contexts might be to preserve the enticement of arcane knowledge by affecting to conceal it rather than present it: questions are more interesting than anwers.

The second type of precedent is the reported poem. The poems within poems in the *Odyssey* like Demodocus's at 8.72-82 and Phemius's at 1.325 are also presented in o.m. .The absence of o.r. helps emphasise that the bards' songs are subordinate to the main events Homer describes.

The Iopas episode is not the first in which these two motifs are synthesised. Apollonius renders in far more lengthy and informative o.m. a poem recited by Orpheus to the Argonauts which treats of cosmological questions[110] . And Virgil himself provides two parallel passages - *Georgic* 2.477f. and the Song of Silenus in *Eclogue* 6.31f. - both again narrated in informative o.m.

Cretheus who is slaughtered by Turnus is another poet to be mentioned in the *Aeneid* :

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[109]Iopas could though be a didactic poet in which case these questions could well have been posed directly. The fact that Virgil is quoting his own words does not affect the situation either way.

Hardie 1986, 52 remarks 'In the song of Iopas Virgil includes direct quotaion from the list of natural questions in the very personal *recusatio* at the end of the second Georgic'. See Duke 1950, 191-3 to support a case for Iopas being a essay in the poet's 'self-portraiture'. Georgic 2. 475-80 are certainly worth quoting for purposes of comparison. The 'questions' are not direct interrrogatives but part of an invocation to the Muses:

Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae,
quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore
accipiunt caelique vias et sidera monstrent ,
defectus solis varios lunaeque labores ;
unde tremor terris , qua vi maria tumescant
obicibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa residant ,
quid tantum Oceano properant se tingere soles
hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.

Verses 481-2= *Aen.* 1.745-6. These verses in the Georgic might be taken to indicate that the poet is seeking to follow in Lucretius's path before correcting himself, as the following words indicate: *sin ; has ne possim naturae accedere partis / ... rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes* 2.483-5

[110] At *Arg.* 1.496f. In addition to the Homeric precedents, Fränkel 1968 notes for 496: 'In der Antiope des Euripides trug Amphion eine Kosmogonie vor, die mitdem Hexameter *Αἰθέρα καὶ Γαῖαν πάντων γενέτειραν ἀείδω* begann (Fgt. 182a in B.Snells *Supplementum* zu Naucks *Trag. Gr. Fgta.*)' Mooney 1912, ad loc., points out that Orpheus's doctrine resembles Empedocles's.

et Clytium Aeoliden et amicum Crethea Musis
Crethea Musarum comitem, cui carmina semper
et citharae cordi numerosque intendere nervis,
semper equos atque arma virum pugnasque canebat. 9.774-7

Servius describes Cretheus as a *poetam lyricum* (though his themes seem to belong to epic - could *citharae* and *numeros* etc. stand for two genres of poetry?). The subject of his poems is presented in iterative o.m. - the repeated *semper* and imperfect *canebat* emphasise how much he used to sing. The enumeration of Cretheus's themes juxtaposes *arma* and *virum*. It cannot be coincidence as Hardie remarks (p.59) - it must refer to Virgil's presentation of his own subject at the opening of the *Aeneid* itself.

Iterative o.m. is applied to another singer - Cycnus who pines for Phaëthon at 10.189-91.

The longest actual poem or song reported in the *Aeneid* is that of the Salii who praise Hercules at 8.287f.:

hic iuvenum chorus, ille senum, qui carmine laudes
Herculeas e t facta ferunt : ut prima novercae
monstra manu geminosque premens eliserit anguis,
ut bello egregias idem disiecerit urbes,
Troiamque Oechaliamque ut duros mille labores
rege sub Eurystheo fatis Iunonis iniquae
pertulerit...

Here again informative o.m. is used to summarise the full renderings which we are to imagine were given to Aeneas and company. But at 293f. there is a new touch as the rendering of the song goes from third person to second as it shifts to a direct apostrophe to Hercules:

tu nubigenas, invicte bimembris
Hylaeumque Pholumque manu, tu Cresia mactas
prodigia...

This technique is to be found in the hymn to Apollo in Apollonius's *Argonautica* 2.704f. on which this passage seems to be based[111] . These words in o.r. look as if they are supposed to form a quotation from the hymns summarised just before. This is further implied by *talia carminibus celebrant* : 'they celebrate things like this in their songs'. The reporting of the hymn closes with another passage of o.m.. This seems to be the characteristic speech mode for reporting poems:

super omnia Caci .
speluncam adiciunt spirantemque ignibus ipsum 303-4

Earlier in Book 8 Evander has told that story of Hercules and Cacus to explain the *sollemnia* to Aeneas (8.185f.). His o.r. account may be a vividly recounted

[111] σὺν δέ σφιν ἐὺς πάις Οἰάγροιο
Βιστονίῃ φόρμιγγι λιγείης ἦρχεν ἀοιδῆς
κοῦρος ἐὼν ἔτι γυμνός, ἐτι πλοκάμοισι γεγηθώς
ἰλήκοις· αἰεί τοι, ἄναξ, ἄτμητοι ἔθειραι
αἰὲν ἀδήλητοι· τῶς γὰρ θέμις. . . 2.703 f.

traditional version, but it is not meant to be a *carmen* . No speeches or thoughts are rendered within this narrative : it is all *ἁπλη διήγησις* describing the actions and dispositions of the characters involved.

The remaining embedded narratives to be considered here are delivered by interested narrators - characters who have been directly involved in the stories they describe. All these ac counts are rendered by Virgil in o.r.. Our first example is Achaemenides's (on this see Highet p. 28 n.20) whose speech at 3.613-654 gives an account of actions and behaviour rather than of speeches and thought. O.m. though is used to render the common prayers of Ulysses's comrades before they set about blinding Polyphemus:

> nos magna precati
> numina sortitique vices... 633-4

Diomede's enumeration of the sufferings he and other Greeks have endured is quoted by Venulus to the assembled Latins at 11.252f.. The only instance of speech presentation within this account is Diomede's description of his comrades crying as they may have been turned into birds: *socii... scopulos lacrimosis vocibus implent* (272-4).

Venulus introduced this whole speech by describing Diomede's mien as he delivered it:

> ille haec placido sic reddidit ore 251

We can infer that Servius views such advance notice of the tone of the speech to be presumably on the part of the poet:

> ut solet, habitum futurae orationis ostendit [112]

But it primarily serves as *ἠθοποιία* of Venulus as he seeks to convey the nature of the Greek's response to the anxious Latins, as well as of Diomede whose words are about to be described. Yet the speech with all its rhetorical formulae does not sound as if it was necessarily delivered *placido ore* : it contains strong language, visual description, rhetorical questions and praeteritio (*mitto ea* 256, *regna Neoptolemi referam?* 264, *ne vero ne me ad talis impellite pugnas* 278). One effect of the latter might be to indicate that Venulus is using this device along with others to compress and intensify the account of Diomede's sufferings in order to make his point more tersely and strikingly to the Latins who are waiting to hear the news.

Thus we could consider Venulus's' presentation of Diomede's speech to be an instance of f.d.d.. It need not be a quotation of what he knew the Greek said, but an attempt to present in a direct and lively way to the Latins (and the audience) an idea of the type of thing Diomede did say.

Later in 11 Diana who is another 'interested' narrator gives an account of events in which she has been

[112] This formula is also used for Servius's observation on the introduction to Diana's story-in-a-speech (*et has tristis Latonia voces/ ore dabat* 11.534-5) - that is the next embedded narrative to be considered.

involved.[113] The goddess begins her speech (presented by Virgil in o.r.) by describing Metabus's plight. The story is presented to some extent from his point of view and with much use of the narrative present (*ecce Amasenus abundans* 547, *caroque oneri timet* 550) as he worries about how to protect his infant daughter. His thoughts though are not rendered by any form of speech presentation but described in an exotopic manner:

> omnia secum
> venanti subito vix haec sententia sedit:
> telum immane manu valida quod forte gerebat ...
> huic natam...
> implicat 550-555

His prayer is rendered in o.r. (557-60):

> alma, tibi hanc, nemorum cultrix, Latonia virgo,
> ipse pater famulam voveo; tua prima per auras
> tela tenens supplex hostem fugit, accipe testor,
> diva tuam, quae nunc dubiis committitur auris.

It is remarkable that this prayer from a mortal to a goddess is actually rendered to the audience by the goddess who received it.

Of course by far the longest and most important embedded narrative (and speech) in the poem is given by the most 'interested' and involved narrator of all - Aeneas himself. The fact that this narrative also functions as a speech, just as Diana's does, seems to have been generally ignored [114]. Perhaps a preoccupation with the Odyssean precedent has made critics and commentators feel that Aeneas's account is to be seen more as Virgil writing in a traditional Homeric mould than as an attempt on his part to characterise the hero.

Austin at least does not seem to share this view:

> The Second Book must be read and remembered if we are to understand the Fourth Book. It is no brilliant soldier to whom Dido gives her heart, but a tired defeated man who needs comfort.[115]

Even so, Austin sometimes seems to forget that it is Aeneas who is telling the

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[113] Cf. Highet, 305 'Diana's long utterance in 11.535-594 is both a narrative of Camilla's strange upbringing and of her service to Diana (535-586) and a command that Opis shall avenge her death (587-94)... Although Diana tells the story in order to explain to Opis the reason for her command, Vergil's poetic purpose in introducing it was evidently to allow him to insert a romantic narrative (as with that of Achaemenides)...

[114] E.g. Highet's treatment discussed n.3 above - he is loath to count this as a speech of Aeneas. Feeney in 1983 opens thus: 'Aeneas's speech of defence before Dido is the longest and most controversial he delivers' Throughout Feeney refers to 4.333-61 as his longest speech in the poem: a consideration of books 2-3 might make Aeneas less taciturn. Otis 1963 does not discuss Aeneas's narrative as speech, or consider its implications for his characterization.

[115] Austin 1964 (on Book 2), xvi. & Warde Fowler 1920, 184.

story and who is primarily characterised - not Virgil.[116] His 1,507 verse speech is formally opened as he replies to Dido's request (given in o.r. by the poet) to tell his story:

> Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant ;
> inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto :
> 'Infandum, regina iubes renovare dolorem... 2.1-3

And the 1,507 verse speech is formally closed at 3.716-8:

> Sic pater Aeneas intentis omnibus unus
> fata renarrabat divum cursusque docebat
> conticuit tandem factoque hic fine quievit

These resemblances of diction (underlined) which frame the account indicate how Aeneas's narration fits into the context of the story which encloses it[117] . A stronger impression of how Aeneas's account fits into the whole is given if we quote the verses that immediately precede *conticuere omnes* (2.1). They describe what happens just after the applause for Iopas's cosmological poem:

> nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat
> infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem
> multa super Priamo rogitans super Hectore multa ;
> nunc quibus Aurorae venisset filius armis ,
> nunc quales Diomedis equi, nunc quantus Achilles.
> 'immo age et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis
> insidias' inquit 'Danaum casusque tuorum
> errores tuos; nam te iam septima portat
> omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.' 1. 748-756

The effect of Dido's frequent questioning, presented in o.m., is conveyed by the use of verb forms which produce a sense of continuity - the conative imperfect *trahebat* (748) and the present participle *rogitans* [118] (750).

From 750-2 it appears that Dido is demanding Aeneas to relate events that are on the whole more strictly 'Iliadic' than those which we are to hear in Books 2

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[116] Compare again Fowler 1990, 49-50: 'It is easy to forget in Aeneas's long narration that he speaks, not Vergil the narrator, and this narrative amnesia is inescapable: when Austin comments on 2.427 *'dis aliter visum '*, 'The comment comes from Virgil's private world of thought to move each reader in his own private way', the elision of the distinction between Aeneas and Vergil is unfortunate but invited by the text.'

[117]Servius notes part of this resemblance and the 'ring composition' effect produced by it in his note on 3.717: *CONTICUIT TANDEM ut <II 1> conticuere. On 3.717: sane in secundi principio duo poetae sunt versus, sicut hic tres et similis est finis initio : 'conticuit ' et 'intentis'.*

[118] The *O.L.D.* article at treating *rogito -are* offers two senses to the word and lists the accompanying constructions: '**1.** to ask (a person a question) frequently or insistently: **a** (w. acc. of person and internal acc.) **b** (w. indir. qu.) **c** (w. dir. sp.) **d** (absol. or ellipt.) ... **2** To ask for (a thing) insistently **b** to ask insistently, to inquire about a person.' From the examples there cited, it will become clear that the verb is used largely with iterative o.m. Although there are direct speech passages among the examples mentioned under 1c) - namely Prop. 1.18.23; Pl. *Cur.* 726; Liv. 3.26.9 - these are all, more precisely speaking, instances of f.d.d. as iterative o.r. usually is.

and 3 - or at least they refer to events which are not to be related in our poem[119] .

Thus although Dido's questions in o.m. (750) and o.o. (751-2) are different from those ascribed to Iopas in that we know she actually posed them, in a sense they complement Iopas's because they also have a kind of programmatic function. They serve to outline the range of material - also the stuff of poetry - that Dido wants Aeneas to cover.

Perhaps he actually does do all this[120] before hearing her request, which is presented in o.r., that Aeneas relate from the beginning the deceit of the wooden horse (*insidias* 754), the fall of Troy and his subsequent wanderings (*Danaum casusque tuorum/ erroresque tuos* 753-4).

These phrases also supply a kind of programmatic design: this time for an account which we are given. Aeneas of course has his own opening words to introduce his own story, dramatically and poetically:

> Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem,
> Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum
> eruerint... 2.3-4

Might this diction not remind us slightly of

> Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηλϊάδεω 'Αχιλῆος
> οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί' 'Αχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε *Iliad* 1.1-2

(*infandum ... dolorem* ~ *μῆνιν ουλομένην*; *θεά* ~*regina*), as Dido's *immo age et a prima dic hospes origine* could resemble

> *ἄειδε. . .*
> *ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα* *Iliad* 1.6[121]

So both Dido's words at 1.753-6 and Aeneas's in 2.3f. formally signal the beginning of an embedded narrative, and lay claim to a kind of poetic status for

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[119] Hector, Priam, Diomede and Achilles are of course major figures in the *Iliad* : *Aurora...filius* (751) is Memnon, who is the main subject of Arctinus's *Aethiopis* and in Quintus Smyrnaeus. Memnon is only mentioned fleetingly by Homer (*Od.* 4.188, 11.522). See Austin on *Aen.* 1.489 and 1.751 for further details.

[120] Servius in his comment on *RENARRABAT* (3.717) considers an alternative possibility -he thinks 2 and 3 consist of Aeneas recounting in the right order what he has told Dido already: *aut apparet Aenean ante de suis casibus cum Didone confuse locutum. et ideo hic addidit 'renarrabat' , quasi quae dixerat antea, ex ordine referebat, quod notat in primo* (753) *immo age et a prima dic hospes origine nobis.* This interpretation is explained in greater detail by Servius in his note on 1.753 which I quote in a footnote below.

[121] Compare the opening of Hypsiyle's long narrative of the murder of the Lemnian men in Statius *Thebaid* (5.49-498) : *immania vulnera, rector, /integrare iubes.* as well as the opening of the *Ilia Parva*

it[122] . At the same time, in tension with this literary self-consciousness, the diction at the opening and closing of Aeneas's account clearly links it with the story situation in which it is being told. The cosmological reference that began with Iopas, and was sustained delicately by Dido in 1.755-6 (quoted above) is taken up too by Aeneas when he says that it is getting late:

> et iam nox umida caelo
> praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos ... 2.8-9

There might be a tenuous link with the end of Aeneas's account. The description there gives his speech the air of being philosophical and theological, if not quite as cosmological as Iopas's:

> Sic pater Aeneas intentis omnibus unus
> fata renarrabat divum cursusque docebat 3.716-7[123]

A second link with the enclosing narrative is Aeneas's use of *amor* in

> sed si tantus amor casus cognocere nostros 2.10

(as well as his echoing Dido's use of *casus* from 1.754). This has an irony for Virgil's audience beyond Aeneas's ken: they have just heard in 1.749:

> infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem .

One more point should be made about the introduction to Aeneas's account before we examine its content and the manner of reporting speech within it. Aeneas is reluctant to give this account. The iterative o.m. ascribed to Dido at 1.750f. shows that she has had to press him. There is a silence before Aeneas speaks (2.1) and when he does so, the first word he says is *'infandum '* . He says that noone can speak of the Myrmidons, Dolopes and of tough Ulysses without tears (6-7). He indicates that his account of Troy's final trials will be short:

> sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros
> et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem 2.10-11

This use of *breviter* seems curious in a preface to such a long speech. Perhaps Aeneas gets more carried away in his narration than he imagines he will. Or

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[122]Cf. 10.159-62 (quoted below n.144). Even Aeneas's emphasis on his role as a participant in events he describes (*quaeque ipse miserrima vidi / et quorum pars magna fui* 5-6) could serve to enhance the idea that his account is a kind of literary creation in itself, if we recall the praise of Demodocus in *Odyssey* 8.477f.:
'Either the Muse taught you, the daughter of Zeus, or else Apollo. Very beautifully you sing the fate of the Achaeans, their deeds sufferings and toils as if you were there yourself or had heard from someone else. But change your tune now and sing of the making of the Wooden Horse'. (tr. Russell& Winterbotttom 1972)
In Virgil, the Wooden Horse is of course exactly Aeneas's subject and he was there himself.

[123] Compare the o.m. presentation of Aeneas's words at 12.110-111:
tum socios maestique metum solatur Iuli
fata docens, regique iubet responsa Latino ...

perhaps the word is used because there is much more to be told that Aeneas decides not to disclose - the story can always be bigger than the narrative.

It is worth noting that Aeneas prefaces [what I count as] his second longest speech in the poem (4.335-361) with the words *pro re pauca loquor* (4.337). Feeney's remarks in the article cited above, and his quotation of Conington's remarks on the use of *pauca* there may be pertinent for a consideration of *breviter* here[124]:

> *pauca* of course is odd, since this is his longest speech in the poem ... Conington's comment on the earlier use of *pauca* (*tandem pauca refert* 333) is equally applicable to this one ' "*pauca* "... seems to express Virg's feeling <u>that the words come slowly and with effort</u>, and bear no comparison to what the lover would have said had he given way to his emotion.

Here of course we need not think of Virgil's feelings but of Aeneas's. It is clear anyway that this is a tale that the hero finds hard to tell. He continues:

> quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,
> incipiam ... 2.12-13

Even before this point Aeneas has not found it easy to speak. The majority of his

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[124] Servius's explanation is different again. It is first supplied in his comment on 1.753 (*Et a prima dic hospes origine nobis*): *id est a raptu Helenae : quod quidem Dido cupit, sed excusat Aeneas. et dicit ruinam se Troiae <u>breviter</u> esse dicturum, habita ratione temporis ut suadentque cadentia sidera somnos* [!]This is emphasised again ad loc.: *ET BREVITER praescribit, quia Dido dixerat* [1.753 quoted again] *ergo non ad Didonis voluntatem, sed narrantis officium . et quibusdam hic hysterologia videtur; prius enim est, ut Troiae laborem , post Aeneae casus agnoscat .*
Breviter is used elsewhere in the poem to describe characters' manner of speaking by the poet before their speeches are quoted. The other contexts are 1.561 (to describe Dido's reply to Ilioneus 1.562-78 -i.e. quite a long speech), 4.632 (for Dido's speech to Barce the nurse), 6.321, 6.398 & 6. 538 - all to describe the Sibyl's speeches to Aeneas (2 speeches of 8 lines; 1 of 5); 9.353 for Nisus's order to Euryalus 355-6; 10.251 describing Aeneas's prayer in the 4 ensuing verses; 10.621 followed by Jupiter's words 622-7. It will be noted that these are not by any means examples of the shortest speeches in the poem. Servius makes routine comments on the word at 4.632 and 6.538, but some of what he says on 1.561 might be applicable here too:
TUM BREVITER DIDO atqui non breviter loquitur, sed breve et longum , parvum et magnum perfectum nihil habent sed per conparationem intelleguntur [tr. ' "brief" and "lengthy" "small" and "great" are not absolute, but are to be understood relatively] .
If Virgil can describe a speech in o.r. as brief, when compared to others he presents it is not, we might again be sceptical about how far o.r. in the poem seeks to render what was said.

utterances so far have been accompanied with moans, groans and anguish[125].

Speech and thought within Aeneas's account

Some of the assertions made above may well be contested: e.g. the notion that Aeneas's long speech in 2-3 is supplementary to the main narrative of the *Aeneid* rather than integral to it; or the idea that this speech is appealing for a kind of literary status. However what is indisputable is that there is a profound difference in kind between books 2 and 3 and the rest of the poem, simply because those books are written in the first person while the major part of the narrative (except for the embedded accounts considered above is not).

It has been argued that the story which comes out of Aeneas's mouth, or at least part of it, may originally have been conceived for presentation in the third person by the poet-narrator[126]. If this was the case, the changes made to present the story in the form we have were thorough. Nothing sufficient of Crump's hypothesised original remains in our text to allow critics like Austin (apparently) to confuse Aeneas's voice with that of Virgil the principal narrator.

Aeneas's account in turn contains another embedded narrative - the devious story of Sinon, given by Sinon himself in o.r.. Sinon's words altogether take up 109 verses - a considerable amount for any character in this poem[127] .

Sinon's account is presented by Aeneas in a rather different manner from that in which Aeneas's is being presented by Virgil. Throughout books 2 and 3 Aeneas's account is uninterrupted - there are no responses or reactions from Dido's court until his words reach their end. Virgil does not have an obtrusive narratorial voice: he has given the helm to Aeneas who has full responsiblity for carrying the narration forward.

Aeneas does not give Sinon the same amount of responsibility - and this must be related to the fact that in the end Sinon's testimony could not be trusted. Aeneas wants to show how at every point he and the Trojans were taken in by it: a rendition of their reactions and credulity is as important as reporting Sinon's actual words.

Such a rendition is accomplished by breaking up Sinon's account into three separate passages of o.r.. His opening lines at 69-72 are also in o.r.:

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[125] These are the instances:

ingemit et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas
talia voce refert 'o terque quaterque beati... 1.93-4

Talia voce refert curisque ingentibus aeger
spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem. 1.208-9

nunc Amyci casum gemit et crudelia secum
fata Lyci... 1.221-2

quaerenti talibus ille
aspirans imoque trahens a pectore vocem 1.371-2

constitit et lacrimans 'quis iam locus' inquit, 'Achate... 1.459

[126] Crump 1920, Austin ad loc. & Berres 1982

[127] See Highet's Appendix 4: 'The Speeches Listed by names of Characters' at 337.

heu quae nunc tellus ? inquit 'quae me aequora possunt
accipere ? aut quid iam misero mihi denique restat
cui neque apud Danaos usquam locus , et super ipsi
Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt?

At this the Trojans check their advance on the Greek. Aeneas presents their spoken response to him in o.o. (74-5):

hortamur fari quo sanguine cretus
quidve ferat; memoret quae sit fiducia capto.

As we have noted before, indirect speech is frequently used when there is a number of speakers: here it seems a good way to present a number of questions asked by a number of inquisitors. But the o.o. also has another function here. It serves to cast the words of the Greek defector which follow in o.r. into a sharper relief. This is an instance of a.n.d..

The first words of Sinon's response (77-8) clearly pick up the questions as we have heard them - *fari* even echoes *fatebor* :

'Cuncta equidem tibi rex, fuerit quodcumque fatebor
vera ,' inquit 'neque me Argolica de gente negabo ...

Sinon gives his name and claims kinship to Palamedes but affects not to wish to reveal Ulysses's schemes against him (101f.):

sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata revolvo...

An identical sequence of speech modes is used in Aeneas's second account of a Greek being received by the Trojans at 3.608f. This time it is Achaemenides, a *bona fide* defector. He has admitted that he is a Greek and that he fought at Troy, and begged asylum in o.r. (3.599-606). Then Aeneas renders the response of the Trojans thus at 608-9:

qui sit fari quo sanguine cretus ,
hortamur, quae deinde agitet fortuna fateri

Not only do we have shared o.o. in a parallel situation, but even diction similar to that employed in 2.74-5 quoted above.

But there is a different feel to this second encounter with a Greek exile: Anchises reassures the stranger with a touch of his right hand. And unlike Sinon who (falsely) claimed he was an enemy of Ulysses, Achaemenides (truthfully) calls himself *comes infelicis Vlixi* (3.612) and does not beat about the bush in explaining his present circumstances (615f.):

hic me dum trepidi crudelia limina linquunt,
immemores socii vasto Cyclopis in antro
deseruere ...

Achaemenides neither pauses in his account, nor is he interrupted. Perhaps this continuity in his narration is meant to suggest its authenticity - continuity is a

feature of Aeneas's account to Dido which we are hearing and believing, but not of Sinon's which we are induced to disbelieve by our narrator (see the following paragraph). Anyway, what Achaemenides says is more substantially validated by events in the story which immediately follow. In 655-6 Polyphemus appears as soon as he has finished speaking:

> Vix ea fatus erat summo cum monte videmus
> ipsum inter pecudes ...

Let us now return to Sinon's account and the Trojans' responses to it. Sinon's *praeteritio* in 105f. (*sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata revolvo...*) arouses curiosity as it was intended to, and prompts more questioning from the Trojans. Again their questions are rendered in indirect speech. This time they are summarised in o.m. (105-6), followed by Aeneas's narratorial comment (107) which prepares us for the deception to follow:

> Tum vero ardemus scitari et quaerere causas
> ignari scelerum tantorum artisque Pelasgae.
> prosequitur pavitans et ficto pectore fatur:
> 'Saepe fugam Danai Troia cupiere relicta etc.. 2.105f.

Sinon's speech in turn contains another embedded speech: the oracular response which is crucial to his story. Like most oracles and prophecies in the *Aeneid* (and in Latin epic in general)[128] it is given in o.r.:

> sanguine placastis ventos et virgine caesa,
> cum primum Iliacas, Danai, venistis ad oras;
> sanguine quaerendi reditus animaque litandum
> Argolica 2.116-9

In contrast, perhaps for the sake of stylistic variety, Sinon renders Calchas's prophecy in a different manner. This is worth reproducing in its context (2.174-94),

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[128] Highet assembles 24 other examples of oracles, interpretations, prophecies etc. which are presented in direct speech(p. 311). The passages are 1.257-296; 1. 387-401; 2.116-119; 2.776-789; 3.94-98; 3.103-117; 3.154-171; 3.247-257; 3.374-462; 3.539-543; 5.637-638; 6.83-97; 6.756-859; 6.868-886; 7.68-70; 7.96-101; 7.120-134; 7.124-127; 7.594-599; 8.36-65; 8.499-503; 8.532-40; 9.641-644; 10.739-741;12.830-40. Either these are self-contained speeches, or they form parts of other speeches. Often the activity of prophesying is conveyed as a speech act (using o.m.) - see the note below. The first report of Calchas's prediction 2.176f (treated below) is an exception in the *Aeneid*. In Valerius's *Argonautica* prophecies more generally do give occasion for o.o. : as with rumours the gist of their content is more important than any exact wording. e.g the soothsayer's prediction to Pelias that he will be killed by his nephew (1.27); Jason's reference to predictions of his father's death and *tot acerba* (1.301-3). In 3.618 Jason recalls the oracle that Hercules would desert the expedition was not contradicted by any *fama* or *certior auctor* . A type of situation especially inviting the use of o.o. in the context of prophecy in this poem is that in which the seer does not wish to reveal an unpleasant prediction. Thus Idmon in 1.239 conceals his knowledge-in -advance of his own death. Since Mopsus's realisation that Jason's union with Medea will be a short one (8.247-50) does not seem to be acknowledged, the implication is that he keeps his foresight to himself.

The form of prophecy scenes is considered in O'Hara 1990. In 54-60, such scenes in the *Aeneid* are usefully listed and classified.

as part of Sinon's response to Priam's question about the function of the horse:

> ... terque ipsa solo (mirabile dictu)
> emicuit parmamque ferens hastam trementem.
> extemplo temptanda fuga canit aequora Calchas
> nec posse Argolicis exscindi Pergama telis
> omina ni repetant Argis numenque reducant
> quod pelago et curvis secum avexere carinis.
> et nunc quod patrias vento petiere Mycenas,
> arma deosque parant comites pelagoque remenso
> improvisi aderunt; ita digerit omina Calchas
> hanc pro Palladio monit, pro numine laeso
> effigiem statuere, nefas quae triste piaret
> hanc tamen immensam Calchas attollere molem
> roboribus textis caeloque educere iussit,
> ne recipi portis aut duci in moenia posset,
> neu populum antiqua sub religione tueri.
> nam si vestra manus violasset dona Minervae,
> tum magnum exitium (quod di prius omen in ipsum
> convertant !) Priami imperio Phrygibusque futurum;
> sin manibus vestris vestram ascendisset in urbem,
> ultro Asiam magno Pelopea ad moenia bello
> venturam, et nostros ea fata manere nepotes.'

Calchas's words are reported in o.o. in 176-9. The elevated diction of *temptanda fuga ... aequora* , possibly the Grecism *pelago* , and the ornamentally descriptive *curvis* serve to give an impression that the soothsayer's utterance had a poetic air. The declarative verb *canit* confirms this - but at the same time it prompts us to wonder how far the discourse presented is the reporting of a conjecture about a cryptic sooth, rather than the content of the sooth itself[129] .

180-4 resumes a narrative of events as Sinon describes the effect Calchas's prophecy had on the Greeks. Then come Calchas's instructions, presented in an indirect command, on how to build the horse. At first it seems that that the diction is more Sinon's than Calchas's: 185-6 serve less to render the prescriptions as they were uttered than to describe the product of the seer's prescriptions as Sinon himself saw it. However the reporting clearly is supposed to be a rendering of Calchas's spoken warnings in 187-8.

The reporting of the seer's discourse seems to continue from 189 until 194 where Sinon's account ends. The connecting *nam* might serve to imply that the explanation for these instructions came from Calchas himself.[130]

These final verses of the speech (189-94) might provide another explanation (in addition to considerations of stylistic variety) for the extensive use of indirect speech here. Sinon is pretending to report Calchas's words. The subsequent

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[129] *Canit* elsewhere is the declarative verb of indirect discourse at 1.742 (Iopas's song); Aeneas's uses it topresent Celaeno's grim prediction in terse o.m. at 3.366; (3.444 *fata canit* only describes the Sibyl's occupation); 7.398; 12.864. Nowhere else does it actually govern anything into an o.o. clause.

[130] Naturally, it should be remembered that Sinon is lying all the time anyway; the speculation is about whether Sinon is pretending to render the actual words of Calchas or not. The situation would be the same even if Sinon were telling the truth. There would only be a practical difference if Virgil/Aeneas had actually presented Calchas's prophecies in some way, as narrators independent of Sinon.

utterances of Calchas given from 176 onwards would not be supposed to have such a direct and personal effect on Sinon as the prophecy quoted in o.r. at 116-19. It would be quite in keeping for a man singled out to be a victim of a human sacrifice to remember and quote verbatim the words which he knew at the time would send him to his doom (note Sinon's description of his reaction 119-21: *vulgi quae vox ut venit ad aureis/ obstipuere animi gelidusque per ima cucurrit / ossa tremor, cui fata parent, quem poscat Apollo*). Secondly, Sinon realises that anything he says Calchas said will be of immense interest to the Trojans. The structure of 189-94 exploits the form of his indirect report to give a direct exhortation to the Trojans [131] . The emphatic repetition *vestris ... vestram* in 192 underlines this, and the effect is hardhitting, even if everything is apparently expressed from the Greek point of view. Indeed the impact on the Trojans may be all the more powerful, simply because this is all expressed from the Greek perspective.

At the end of the next chapter we shall see how the formula here is to be found in some divine messengers' speeches in Homer in which the messenger reports the speech in such a manner that the messenger can by addressing the listener at the same time, act as a kind of substitute in the narrative for the god who first dictated the message.

Aeneas's presentation of his own speeches and thought in the story.

(i) Speeches

The proportion of the amount of o.r. in relation to the amount of remaining text (i.e. 'pure' narrative including indirect speech) in books 2 and 3 is more or less the same as it is in other sections of the poem, even though we have a different narrator. More interesting, given that Aeneas is this narrator, hardly any of the o.r given in the account reports his own utterances.

Aeneas's first rendering of one of his own speeches does not come until 2.281f. in the account of his dream of Hector. He is first to speak and his address to Hector is given in o.r.. Here a rather different schema is followed by the poet from the other accounts of dreams provided in the *Aeneid* - usually it is the apparition rather than the dreamer who speaks, and nearly always it is the apparition who speaks first[132]. For example in 4.560f. Mercury's address to Aeneas is given in o.r. - Aeneas says nothing in reply. At 7.414f. Allecto-Calybe appears to

[131] This speech formula occurs in frequently in everyday conversation. I overheard an example of this 'message commission' form in a café:
Waitress (on telephone to Denise, but addressing manager): *Denise says she can't come into work today.*
Manager:*Well tell Denise she's fired. It's the second time she hasn't come in, and she broke eight coffee pots last week*
Waitress (to Denise): *Did you hear that Denise? Henry says you're fired, you can't come into work no more.* (to manager, laughing) *Do you know what Denise said? She said - it's very funny- you can take that job and shove it up your arse !*
The waitress's transmission of the insult has some of its power because, like Sinon's exhortation, it modifies the words reported to fuel a direct command to the addressee, which she effectively gives herself in the second person. It is likely that the insult was originally coined by Denise in the third person: 'Tell him he can take that job etc.'

[132] On dreams in Virgil: see Steiner 1952 for a general study; also Highet at 199-200 (on the apparition of Mercury), 110-12 on Dido's dreams.

Turnus and addresses him (421-434); he gives his cocky reply (436-444) which provokes her wrath and another speech (452-5). We should also consider the appearance of the Penates to Aeneas which he describes himself at 3.147f.. There again the supernatural beings address in o.r. (154-71) the dreamer who makes no reply.

Aeneas's opening address to Hector in this dream in 2.281f. really serves to prompt a longer speech from Hector. The dead warrior gives Aeneas the crucial advice to flee - such advice must be more palatable if offered by such a hero. Austin notes in his commentary on 279-80 (*ultro flens ipse videbar / compellare virum et maestas*):

> Aeneas took the initiative in speaking (cf. 372); and from what he says it is plain that in his dream he did not realize that Hector was a ghost.

This seems to be right (cf. Austin's note on 282) - Aeneas's failure to see that Hector's appearance was a supernatural phenomenon accounts for the deviation from what becomes a standard manner of narrating the exchanges that occur in this kind of dream.

A little later Aeneas's conversation with Panthus runs along similar lines to that in the dream with Hector. Aeneas opens the exchange with two brief questions in o.r. (322):

> quo res summa loco, Panthu ? quam prendimus arcem?

which elicit many more words from Panthus. He gives a report on the present circumstances in his speech from 324-335.

Aeneas's reporting of his own discourse is given even shorter shrift in an exchange which we must assume took place with his father, Anchises, at 634f. :

> Atque ubi iam patriae perventum ad limina sedis
> antiquasque domos, genitor quam tollere in altos
> optabam primum montis primumque petebam,
> abnegat excisa vitam producere Troia
> exsiliumque pati.

Anchises's refusal, or part of it at least, is quoted (638-49):

> vos o quibus integer aevi
> sanguis ', ait 'solidaeque suo stant robore vires
> vos agitate fugam... 638-40

Anchises's reactions and words are thus cast into a much sharper relief - it is obvious from the *abnegat* (637) that the old man is turning down a suggestion Aeneas obviously made to him but which he does not bother to record.

There are two more examples we shall discuss of Aeneas recording his own discourse relatively tersely in order to throw emphasis on the words of his interlocutor. I shall take the exchange with Andromache (3.310-343) first. Andromache opens it with her pressing questions:

> verane te facies, verus mihi nuntius adfers
> nate dea? vivisne ? aut, si lux alma recessit,

Hector ubi est?' dixit, lacrimasque effudit et omnem
implevit clamore locum.

Aeneas says his reply is brief (*vix pauca furenti /subicio* 313-4) and quotes it - his words (315-19) also include questions of his own. This speech directs our attention to Andromache in replying to her questions and prompting her next, longer oration (321-343).

The other is found at 2.769f. Here we have the use of angled narration of speech:

ausus quin etiam voces iactare per umbram
implevi clamore vias maestusque Creusam
nequiquam ingeminans, iterumque iterumque vocavi 768-770

We get the point - iteratative o.m. is being used to show how often Aeneas called out his wife's name. The present participle *ingeminans* and *iterumque iterumque* emphasise this persisitence. Note incidentally, in this parallel passage how the underlined words come to be echoed by those underlined in the quotation describing Andromache's laments above. Her loss of Hector will be expressed by same kind of diction and expression that Aeneas uses to convey his loss of Creusa.

Aeneas then describes the apparition of Creusa's shade and at 776-789 we have her words to Aeneas in o.r.

One aspect of 769 merits comment. The form *Creusam ingeminans* is an instance of mimetic indirect discourse. We know that 'Creusa' was what Aeneas was calling out over and over again - *Creusam* though is the object of the participle form of the declarative verb *ingeminans*. This usage is appropriate enough for a speaker to employ when calling on his beloved: it is found frequently in love elegy and erotic narrative. I discuss the use of this form in more detail in the next section as it occurs in Georgic 4.526 with comparable passages.

Aeneas does use similar devices later in his account - but in passages of indirect speech which report the discourse of other speakers e.g. 3.128-9[133] :

nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor :
hortantur socii Cretam proavosque petamus.

and 3.523-4:

cum procul obscuros collis humulemque videmus
Italiam. Italiam primus conclamat Achates,
Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant.

Of the first passage Williams (ad loc.) offers a translation and comment:

'The crew all shout "Onward to Crete, the land of our ancestors".' *Socii* here is in its nautical sense, 'crew': the last three words are in *oratio recta*.'

I think the passage is one of those indeterminate ones - it could just as well

[133] Both these comparable instances of speech presentation occur within similar contexts in the story - sightings of what is regarded as the promised land. Another passage in Virgil the poet-narrator's narrative, as opposed to Aeneas's, which offers a similar form in a not too dissimilar context is 5.615: the cries of the Trojan women who object to setting sail yet again.

be mimetic o.o. following the declarative verb in the narrative present. Servius suggests in his note that the crew are uttering a *κέλευμα* - a calling of time for the rowers:

CRETAM PROAVOSQUE PETAMUS celeuma dicunt. et bene metro celeumatis usus est, id est anapaestico trimetro hypercatalecto. celeuma autem quasi praeceptum: inde Sallustius ait inpediebant iussa nautarum.[134]

None of the speech Aeneas presents in the second passage (3.523-4) appears to be in o.r., yet it is hard to imagine indirect speech being applied to a more dramatic effect. The first instance of *Italiam* of course is in direct speech - the direct speech of Aeneas's account itself in the narrative present as it is given to Dido and company. The second *Italiam* of Achates is reported - but the repetition gives this rendering a powerful emphasis which is reinforced still further when all the crew hail Italy.[135]

(ii) Thoughts.

Aeneas as a first person narrator involved in events described himself, unlike the poet narrator, cannot be expected to be omniscient, or to be able to give an account of the thought processes of others[136].

Only a couple of possible instances of his doing so can be found. The first is at 2.371 where Aeneas explains Androgeos's fatal mistake:

> Androgeos offert nobis, socia agmina credens

but such an ascription of the 'He did x because he thought that' type is naturally made to any observer in Androgeos's position. The second example can be explained in a similar way. At 3.180-1 Aeneas is attributing thoughts that would be appropriate to Anchises rather than affording himself the priveleged omniscience of a third person narrator:

> agnovit prolem ambiguam geminosque parentis,
> seque novo veterum deceptum errore locorum.
> tum memorat: 'nate, Iliacis exercite fatis...

Aeneas's presentation of his own thoughts is a more complicated matter. One effect of the use of the narrative present in a first person account can be to give the impression that the narrator is re-expressing thoughts as he had formulated them at the time. 3.10-12 provide an example:

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[134] An anapaestic trimeter hypercatalect would be *socii Cretam proavosque petamus.*

[135] Compare again Williams on 523-4 'The threefold repetition of the word *Italiam* gives the dramatic emphasis required, with a suggestion also of the word passing from lip to lip. The heavy pause in line 523 after the elision of the run-on word gives rhythmical emphasis to reinforce the emphasis of diction.' And Servius: *ITALIAM tautologia usus est ad exprimendum adfectum navigantum .* [On] *conclamat* [he glosses]*valde aut saepius clamat. SALUTANT quidam pro 'adorant' tradunt, ut'deos salutare'.*

[136] Overall it should be noted Virgil, as poet-narrator, keeps the presentation of characters' thoughts to a minimum - this seems to be characteristic of the narrative form of martial epic. See the conclusion to this chapter.

litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo
et campos ubi Troia. feror exsul in altum
cum sociis natoque, penatibus et magnis dis ...

The same could be argued for other remarks which could at first appear to be the exclusive property of the narrator as he is now, telling the tale e.g. 2.655-6:

rursus in arma feror mortemque miserrimus opto.
nam quod consilium aut quae iam fortuna dabatur?

If it were in a third person account, 656, taken alone would would read without doubt as f.i.d. - a blend of voices of character and narrator. But in this context, in which Aeneas is telling his own story, it seems that he is giving a narratorial comment rather than reformulating the thoughts he had at the time[137] . The latter would of course be more likely if the verb (*dabatur*) was in the present tense.

2.738-40 could also be regarded as some kind of rendering of Aeneas's thoughts at an earlier time :

heu misero coniunx fatone erepta Creusa
substitit, erravitne via seu lapsa resedit,
incertum ...

as could 2.745-6 (a kind of o.m.):

quem non incusavi amens hominumque deorumque
aut quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe?

But the discourse in both these passages seems best understood to me as the property of the present narrator.

The soliloquy in which Aeneas considers whether or not to kill Helen (2.577-588) raises a number of questions. If the part of the poem in which it appears (2.567-589) is genuine, it could provide an exceptional instance of Aeneas using o.r. to present his own private thoughts[138] . I shall quote the speech and its immediate context (2.575-589):

exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem
ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas
'scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenas
aspiciet, parto ibit regina triumpho?
coniugiumque domumque patris natosque videbit
Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris ?
occiderit ferro Priamus? Troia arserit igni?

[137] For further consideration (and examples) of f.i.d. in first person accounts see the discussion of some passages of Apuleius in Chapter 3 which is to follow.

[138] The authenticity of this passage has been doubtede.g. by Heinze - it is not in any of the early manuscripts of the poem. Since the passage is echoed by Lucan, it must date from before his time. On the question see Bruère 1964, Rowell 1966 and Austin ad loc & 1961 who defends the passage powerfully. An attack is supplied by Goold 1970 (who suggests Lucan himself wrote it). Most recently Mackie 1988, 52f. & 134f. has argued that any inconsistency of style this passage has is 'deliberate'.

> Dardanium totiens sudarit sanguine litus ?
> non ita. namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen
> feminea in poena est, habet haec victoria laudem;
> exstinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis
> laudabor poenas animumque explesse iuvabit
> talia iactabam et furiata mente ferebar ...

No expression here in 575, as we often find in Virgil, signals the o.r. before it comes. Instead the forceful *scilicet* followed by a deictic *haec* herald the opening of a quoted speech. It is not clear though whether Aeneas is supposed to have thought or actually spoken these words. 588 marks a return to the narrator's voice and perhaps indicates that they were uttered out loud;

> talia iactabam

But *Iactare* is used to mean 'waver', 'fluctuate', 'consider', as well as 'utter', 'propose', 'make threats' so the situation is not quite clear. The remaining part of 588 et *furiata mente ferebar* could support a case for 277-88 being an expression of the ideas Aeneas tossed around in his head. At least, if these words were uttered out loud it makes clear that what was said is equated with what was thought.

The *Aeneid* , speech presentation and genre.

As was noted in the Introduction to this survey (n.4), nearly 50% of the entire text of the *Aeneid* , including Aeneas's narrative, is given to o.r. There are just under thirty instances of o.o. in the whole poem. But in spite of the general propensity of epic poets to use direct speech copiously, it does seem likely that the historians' penchant for employing passages of sustained indirect discourse may have had some effect on Virgil's practice. Livy's account of the origins of Rome was clearly indispensable to a poet with the antiquarian bent of Virgil, and perhaps a style of speech presentation such as his influences Virgil's at certain points[139] .

Of roughly thirty instances of o.o. used in the *Aeneid* , it is notable that eighteen of them occur in books 7-12 - the part of the poem specifically concerned with the battle for Italy. These instances are often in the contexts of embassy scenes and news reports, which in Homer would be put in o.r.. There is a concentration of them at the beginning of *Aeneid* 7. Aeneas's orders to his hundred spokesmen are at 152-5, the messenger's report follows at 166-7 and then comes Latinus's invitation at 168. These o.o. renderings have a sober abruptness about them. This possible affectation of historical narrative within epic would seem to be an example of generic 'inclusion' - to use loosely Cairns's term.[140] It consists here in the means of speech presentation Virgil adopts. These embassy scenes in the *Aeneid* will be treated in detail at the end of the next chapter which deals with narrative poets' handling of 'messenger scenes' in general.

[139] For more on Livy's techniques of reporting speech and poetry see the next chapter. On Virgil's possible historical sources, see Horsfall 1990 and Simpson 1975.

[140] Cairns 1972, 158f.

2. Lucan[141]

Lucan is an interesting author to take for a second sample study: in many ways he is very much an exception among the Latin epic poets. In comparison with the other martial epic poems Lucan's use of some modes of presenting speech in the *De Bello Civili* is fairly limited, and offers a striking contrast.

The rarity of occasions on which o.o. is used to render the thoughts or spoken words of characters is even more notable than usual. It is not clear whether f.i.d. is employed at all, and even the use of o.m., which few narrators can avoid, is relatively rare here. O.m. is hardly ever used in an expansive or 'informative' way.

About one third of the text of Lucan's poem (31%) consists of the direct speech of the characters. This is not an unusual proportion. Lucan's use of o.r. and the nature of the speeches in the poem have been well reviewed elsewhere.[142] For a consideration of the poem's use of speech presentation as a narrative technique, we can look at the practices adopted in some different types of scene in which characters exchange words.

(i) Consultation scenes.

Four 'consultation' scenes in which major characters ask experts for specialist information deserve some attention. Nearly all of these are presented in o.r. and the conversation between Caesar and Amyclas at 5.520f. is no exception. At 521-3 Amyclas asks who is at the door; 532-7 gives Caesar's command in response; Amyclas's gloomy weather forecast follows at 540-559. Then during the voyage Amyclas offers to go back (568-576), but Caesar presses him to continue (578-593). This is not exactly quickfire dialogue: passages of narrative description of two verses at least come between the speeches. Nonetheless the effect of a conversational exchange as protracted as this is striking[143] .

Perhaps one explanation for this style here is that Lucan is anyway moving beyond the general bounds of epic. The nature of an episode like this resembles the divine epiphanies in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* , and more remotely this style recalls that of some Horatian satires in which a philosophical, culinary or some other kind of expert and a similar kind of direct speech exchange is involved.

Another passage comparable to this in the poem is to be found in Book 10. Caesar's consultation of Acoreus about the source of the Nile and Acoreus's long response are given in two pieces of direct speech (10.176-92, 194-331). Sextus Pompey's consultation of Erichtho and her reanimation of the corpse at the end of Book 6 should also be mentioned here: Pompey's request (6.589-603), Erichtho's

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[141] Useful commentaries: Haskins & Heitland 1887 (the whole text); Conte 1974 on 6.118-260; Barratt 1979 on 7; Mayer 1981 on 8. General studies: Marti 1945; Grimal 1960; Dilke 1961; Brisset 1964; Conte 1966 & 1970; Morford 1967; Ahl 1976;Williams 1978; Bramble 1982; Johnson 1987. On narrative techniques in particular: Eckhardt 1936; Rutz 1950; Piacentini 1963; Seitz 1965; Hübner 1975; Lebek 1976; Moretti 1984, Marti 1968 & 1975. Rutz 1964 & 1985 together supply a full and recent bibliography.

[142] See Basore 1904, Bonner 1966, 257-289; Tasler 1971 and Taster 1972, as well as Lipscomb 1909 cited earlier.

[143] Feeney 1983 was cited earlier for dialogue in the *Aeneid* . See Ahl 1976, 205 for bibliography on the Amyclas episode and commentary in Barratt 1979 *ad loc.* on Book 5. Marti 1975, at 81, considers the influence of satire on Lucan to explain the amount of narratorial invective and *sententiae* .

reply (605-23) and her subsequent speeches are all in o.r. In all these cases the narrator's voice usually takes up quite a number of verses between each utterance.

The treatment of Pompey's questions to the navigator at 8.167-170 is quite different:

> Saepe labor maestus curarum odiumque futuri
> proiecit fessos incerti pectoris aestus
> rectoremque ratis de cunctis consulit astris
> unde notet terras, quae sit mensura secandi
> aequoris in caelo, Syriam quo sidere servet
> aut quotus in plaustro Libyam bene derigat ignis. 8.165-70[144]

In 167 o.m. is employed for an iterative effect: Pompey asks about all the stars - he must have had several queries. *Unde notet terras* could qualify the question in 167 but this seems less likely. Rather the phrase seems to record an example of one of Pompey's numerous questions. Three more examples follow also in o.o..

This passage of indirect speech, always a novel device in Lucan, reinforces our general impression that Pompey's question are many and frequent, as he tries to distract himself from all his *curae* (161-6).

The navigator's response to all of Pompey's demands is given in o.r. at 172-86. He ends his speech by asking Pompey where he should sail. Pompey's next words are quoted directly (187-92).

So the a.n.d. is not sustained. Indeed the result of the variation in speech mode here is not that the steersman is thrown into sharp relief at Pompey's expense, (although that reward is usually supposed to fall to whichever interlocutor is directly quoted). Instead, our thoughts are all the time directed towards Pompey and his preoccupations. His rather topical questions are not quoted directly because they are not meant to overshadow the worries described in 161f. above. Verses 161-4 there do not represent any actual propositions that Pompey had formulated in his mind, but they do enumerate his concerns:

> Vigiles Pompei pectore curae
> nunc socias adeunt Romani foederis urbes
> et varias regum mentes, nunc invia mundi
> arva super nimios soles Austrumque iacentis.

These lines show how Lucan can use techniques other than speech presentation to show the thought of a character. Vivid and specific though this description may be, it renders Pompey's state of mind as it is regarded by the narrator - none of Pompey's own discourse spoken or thought is actually given.

Pompey's questions about navigation, by being presented indirectly, are made no more an object of our attention than they are of Pompey's. Yet the man himself and his problems remain the centre of our attention.

The steersman does have to answer these questions but the end of his

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[144] On the verses here, see Housman, 324.This passage recalls Iopas's reported poem about the cosmos at the end of *Aeneid* 1 mentioned in the previous section.The questions posed by Pallas to Aeneas when he is at the helm are similarly presented in *Aen.* 10.159-62:

> *hic magnus sedet Aeneas secumque volutat*
> *eventus belli varios, Pallasque sinistro*
> *adfixus lateri iam quaerit sidera opacae*
> *noctis iter, iam quae passus terraque marique.*

Cf. *Aen.* 3.716-7 & 12.110-1 mentioned above at 84

response will force Pompey back to the matter in hand:

> sed quo vela dari, quo nunc pede carbasa tendi
> nostra iubes?

And before the quotation of Pompey's reply we are once again reminded of his troubled state of mind:

> Dubio contra cui pectore Magnus 186.

(ii) The reported speeches of groups of characters

The reporting of utterances attributed to speakers in the third person plural often provides a context for indirect speech. Indirect renderings in o.o. can be found in such circumstances in Lucan at 1.386-7, 6.318-9, 9.546-8 and notably 7.52-7 treated below, but o.r. is the most frequent means by which Lucan gives expression to the sentiments of a group of people.[145] Thus the inner feelings of the inhabitants of Ariminum, which we are explicitly told were experienced in silence, are externalised into a direct speech of nine verses or so:

> Deriguere metu, gelidos pavor occupat artus
> et tacito mutos volvunt in pectore questus:
> ' o male vicinis haec moenia condita Gallis
> o tristi damnati loco.... 1.246f.

In Book 2, the *querellae* of the Romans going to war are also given in o.r. (2.45-63). This follows the o.r. speech of a mourning matron (2.38-42) who seems to speak for her whole group:

> Divisere deos et nullis defuit aris
> invidia factura parens. Quarum una madentes
> scisso genas planctu liventes atra lacertos:
> 'nunc' ait 'o miserae contundite pectora matres . . .

Elsewhere Lucan uses one specified representative to express in o.r. feelings clearly shared by a speaker's peers, and which we imagine would be expressed in the same way by any one of them.

We are told at 5.259-261 that the mutinous sentiments in the speech that is to follow belong to all the soldiers:

> Quippe ipsa metus exsolverat audax
> turba suos: quidquid multis peccatur inultum est.
> Effudere minas: 'Liceat discedere Caesar...

Yet at 295-6, it appears that a specific, if anonymous, individual was responsible for the speech:

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[145] In 8.663-7 & 9.477f., o.o. is used for subsequent testimonies and shared beliefs rather than for speeches given by any particular people involved in specific events. 5.46f., 5.51f., 5.450, 8.536 & 8.563-7(the Egyptians' ruse to lure Pompey ashore) are the examples of o.m. in which a party of people express a shared belief.

Haec fatus totis discurrere castris
coeperat infestoque ducem deposcere voltu.

The speech itself, like many of those considered here, shifts to and fro from the first person singular to the first person plural.

The spokesman from the crowd of soldiers who addresses Cato at 9.227-251 is singled out before and after the speech. Like the matron, he is someone who speaks for his group:[146]

In coetu motuque viros quorum unus aperta
mente fugae tali conpellat voce regentem... 225-6

Sic ille profectus
insiluit puppi iuvenum comitante tumultu... 251-2

The longest of all the speeches of this type constitutes an embedded narrative which relates the horrors of the previous civil strife between Marius and Sulla. Again an individual is introduced as the speaker:

oderuntque gravis vivacia fata senectae
servatosque iterum bellis civilibus annos.
Atque aliquis magno quaerens exempla timori
'Non alios" inquit 'motus tunc fata parabant... 2.65-8

But nearly 200 verses later when the speech closes, these sentiments are shown to be the property of all the *parentes* :

Sic maesta senectus
praeteritique memor flebat metuensque futuri... 2.232-3

In other passages like 1.248-257 and 2.45-63 considered above, o.r. speeches do seem to be ascribed to a kind of chorus of speakers: the words of the Phocaean warriors (3.307-355), the sentiments of Caesar's soldiers (5.682-689), the speech of the people of Lesbos (8.110-127) and the complaint of Cato's men in the desert (9.848-880).

Whether or not Lucan abides by our conventions of realism, by bothering to ascribe crowd speeches to a *quorum unus* or an *aliquis* , the general result is the same: there is a context for o.r. declamation which we do not find regularly exploited by the other poets.

The four passages of o.o. which are ascribed to crowd speakers in the poem, mentioned above, are notably much shorter. Usually there are just one or two verses to let us know only the general nature of what was said.

By contrast, historians are quite in the habit of having crowd speeches in o.o. which go on at some length. Tacitus's narrative of the Pannonian revolt (*Annales* 1.16f) provides one instance of the feelings of discontented soldiers

[146] cf. the standard Homeric practice e.g. *Iliad* 3.297, 3.302 and De Jong 1987 on 'τις speeches', 113, 177-9.

being presented in this fashion[147]

Lucan, in eschewing o.o. as a means of reporting characters' speeches not just in this context but in general, goes further than the other epic poets in appearing to avoid historiographical techniques of speech presentation, in spite of his relatively factual subject matter.

One significant exception to this general tendency in the poem is to be found at 7.52-7 when Pompey is being urged to fight by his troops and allies:

> segnis pavidusque vocatur
> ac nimium patiens soceri Pompeius, et orbis
> indulgens regno, qui tot simul undique gentes
> iuris habere sui vellet pacemque timeret
> nec non et reges populi queruntur Eoi
> bella trahi patriaque procul tellure teneri.

Lucan has passed by the opportunity of more than one passage of o.r. declamation here for a very good reason - Cicero is shortly to plead the soldiers' cause in 7.67-85. The words of the great orator would lose much impact if one or two versions of the case had already been heard from the soldiers and the allies.

As it is, 52-7 leave us in no doubt about the feelings of the men. The circumstances are right for Cicero to add his weight to the considerable pressure on Pompey to fight.

(iii) Lucan's use of o.m. and f.i.d.

Lucan's use of o.m. does not prompt much comment. As in the other epics, occasions of this are far more frequent than occasions of o.o.. Here in relation to o.r .though, the proportions of o.m. are fairly small - only 20 instances in the first five books. Occasionally there are passages of longer o.m., e.g. 8.563-7 which describes the Egyptians coaxing Pompey ashore:

> magnoque patere
> fingens regna Phari celsae de puppe carinae
> in parvam iubet ire ratem, litusque malignum
> incusat bimaremque vadis frangentibus aestum
> qui vetet externas terris adpellere classes

or 4.200-203, a description of soldiers in both armies resuming their friendship:

> iunctoque cubile
> extrahit insomnes bellorum fabula noctes
> quo primum steterint campo, qua lancea dextra
> exierit. Dum quae gesserunt fortia iactant
> et dum multa negant quod solum fata petebant...

There is a conspicuous lack of another form of reporting characters' discourse in

[147] Auerbach 1953, 33f. looks at this episode in Tacitus. It would be interesting to review Quintus Curtius's practices, as a rhetorical historian of Lucan's date. Helmreich 1927 treats his speeches specifically. Minissale 1988 and Zwierlein 1988 are concerned with the relation between Curtius's style and epic techniques. Other discussions of Curtius's literary form are Lindgren 1935 and Rutz 1965.

this poem - f.i.d.. The five possible instances of it are not so clearly identifiable as the examples to be found in Virgil (or Statius, Valerius Flaccus and Ovid for that matter, in all of whom f.i.d. is also explicitly signalled).

The first possible instance in this poem comes at 1.479-80 when the effect of the news of Caesar's advance is described:

> Nec qualem [Caesarem] meminere vident: maiorque ferusque
> mentibus occurrit victoque immanior hoste.

Maiorque...hoste could of course be taken on only one level, as the narrator's further elucidation of what he has just said - that Caesar is not now as the Italians remembered him and that he has returned bigger and more fearsome. But it might also be a rendering of a proposition that could be attributed to the Italians themselves.

Even if *occurrit* is to be taken as a present tense, it tells us nothing. It could either be a use of the narrative present by the narrator (cf. the other verbs in the narrative present nearby: *explicat* 474, *inlabitur* 475, *vident* 479). Or it could just as well be a rendering of the present tense used by one of the worried inhabitants of Italy at the time. The use of the accusative and infinitive without a declarative verb in the verses that follow (481-4) helps support the notion that this could be reported discourse.

A similar problem is to be found at 4.399-400:

> Hoc quoque securis oneris fortuna remisit,
> sollicitusque menti quod abest favor: ille salutis
> est auctor, dux illa fuit.

Again *ille...fuit*, which is the phrase possibly in f.i.d., could possibly qualify what is in the narrator's voice (*sollicitus...favor*), or it could be quoting or reproducing what is in the *mens* of the neutral inhabitants of Ilerda. These interpretations however still depend on how we regard the status of the general context of 4.382-401 - to what extent the moralising is the property of the narrator, to what extent it could be the reflections of the lucky soldiers. In trying to assess the functions or even existence of the f.i.d. the general narrative context can be more important than the language used.

3.56-8 is again ambiguous. Quoted in isolation *namque...timere* would seem to be indisputably the property of the narrator. But given the more general context, we may have a different impression: these words could be a rendering - even a quotation from - Caesar's thoughts:

> et litore solus
> dux stetit Hesperio, non illum gloria pulsi
> laetificat Magni: queritur, quod tuta per aequor
> terga ferant hostes. Neque enim iam sufficit ulla
> praecipiti fortuna viro, nec vincere tanti,
> ut bellum differet, erat. Tum pectore curas
> expulit armorum pacique intentus agebat,
> quoque modo vanos populi conciret amores,
> gnarus et irarum causas et summa favoris
> annona momenta trahi. Namque adserit urbes
> sola fames, emiturque metus cum segne potentes
> volgus alunt: nescit plebes ieiuna timere. 3.48-58

Namque et seq. elaborates on the previous observation which was Caesar's - a thought proposition dependent on *gnarus* . This could either be Caesar's elaboration or a *sententia* attached by the narrator. I tend to favour the latter.

Two less likely instances of the f.i.d. remain to be considered. These are probably indirect questions which are still governed by the narrator's voice, although they lack a declarative verb. These are at 6.586-7 (Erichtho's speculations):

> Hic ardor solusque labor quid corpore Magni
> proiecto rapiat, quos Caesaris involet artus

and at 9.46-7 when Cato's crew wonder whether the ships they are seeing carry friends or enemies:

> Cum procul ex alto tendentes vela carinae
> ancipites tenuere animos, sociosne malorum
> an veherent hostes...

Of course it is always doubtful whose voice is predominant in a passage of f.i.d.- whether it is that of the narrator or that of the character or characters whose discourse is being presented. But with the passages considered here the problem is more fundamental: is what we have f.i.d. at all? None of these examples in Lucan contain sufficient information to allow us any better idea of what is going on. There are no third person questions of the *quid agat?* type, such as we find in Virgil, to provide a clear marker. Nor, apart from the last two instances are there occasions for the subjunctive mood alone. Even if it is possible to read these passages as examples of f.i.d., there is no proof that they are.[148]

(iii) O.o. and characterisation in the *De Bello Civili* .

Further justification for regarding the passages treated above as exclusive property of the narrator can be found when we look at Lucan's methods of presenting or referring to his characters' thoughts in other contexts.

Generally the amount of sympathetic narration of characters' thoughts in martial epic is sparse. By sympathetic narration I mean the presentation of a character's silent thoughts, whether by f.i.d. or by usually extended o.o. propositions governed by declarative verbs of thinking.

More often, as was noted in the previous section, in Statius and Virgil particularly, mental operations tend to be described from an external viewpoint. Agencies like *pavor, ardor* and *amor* can act on a character,[149] or other imagery

[148] The difficulty of course is not unique to Lucan. A sentence like 'She loved him' can or cannot be read as the f.i.d., depending upon the context in which it is to be taken. If the proposition is provided by an 'exotopic' narrator, it is giving intimate information about the situation in the narrator's voice. Or if it is provided by an 'intrusive' narrator, it could be a presentation of something the character has thought or said to herself: 'She loved him. She was sure about that.' Thus we can view a scale of narratorial intrusion:

She told herself 'I love him.'(o.r.)
She told herself that she loved him (o.o.)
She loved him (f.i.d.).

[149] See e.g. 4.34-5 in this poem.

(similes perhaps) may convey the workings of a character's mind. Or else propositions governed by verbs like *videt* or *sensit* can present a character's focalization. These propositions are o.o. constructions in linguistic terms, but since they do not report spoken or thought discourse of any kind, they are not central to our enquiry.

Lucan goes even further than the other epic poets in eschewing sympathetic narration of characters' thoughts. Examples of accusative and infinitive constructions governed by declarative verbs of thinking, believing etc. are hard to come by. There seem to be only a few passages in the *De Bello Civili* which are worth taking into account:[150]

1) Pompey's idea of testing the mettle of his troops by deceiving them with a misleading speech:

> Magnus, ut inmixto firmaret robore partes
> iamque secuturo iussurus classica Phoebo
> temptandasque ratus moturi militis iras
> adloquitur... 2.527-530

2) The accounting for Caesar's rashness in crossing the Adriatic:

> Dum se desse deis ac non sibi numina credit
> sponte per incautas audet temptare tenebras
> quod iussi timuere fretum temeraria prono
> expertus cessisse deo, fluctusque verendos
> classibus exigua sperat superare carina... 5.499-503

3) The description of Amyclas's secure lifestyle:

> securus belli praedam civilibus armis
> scit non esse casas... 5.526-7

4) Caesar's reaction to the storm:

> ... credit iam digna pericula Caesar
> fatis esse suis. 5.653-4

5) Pompey's estimation of the value of his own life against Caesar's:

> seque memor fati tantae mercedis habere
> credit adhuc iugulum quantum pro Caesaris ipse
> avolsa cervice daret. 8.10-12

6) The ascription of a motive for Caesar's crocodile tears for Pompey:

> utque fidem vidit sceleris tutumque putavit
> iam bonus esse socer... 9.1037-8

It is interesting that even the simplest fictional literature can engender uses of language that offer meanings or conceptions which are beyond the range of ordinary spoken discourse in everyday life. An example of such a conception is

[150] Instances in which the verb of thinking is in the negative cannot be counted - they highlight what the narrator knows but the character does not e.g. *nondum vile sui pretium scit sanguinis esse* 8.9. Even affirmative o.o.propositions governed by *credit* or *scit* may not render thoughts a character himself will have formulated. They often record something which the narrator knows the character would have been aware of - that is something rather different, more akin to seeing, perceiving etc..

the description of the inner consciousness or the thoughts of a character by a third person narrator using o.o. or some other type of speech presentation[151]. Such thorough descriptions of another's thoughts could never be given legitimately by a real-life narrator of real-life events. Yet when people hear or read these descriptions in stories they are equipped with the 'competence' to interpret and accept them - perhaps because the linguistic facility for them is so easily granted.

In none of the six passages quoted on the previous page is this full potential of literary language exploited. Instead, Lucan really seems to be imputing thoughts beliefs or knowledge to his characters in the light of their words or behaviour. For example, Pompey's speech at 2.530 f. provides the basis for the thoughts ascribed to him just above. Caesar's speech at 5.654-71 seems to be logically prior to the ascription of his motive. With these uses of *ratus ,credit* etc., Lucan has not told us anything we could not have worked out anyway.

In none of these cases does the narrator give a more intimate account of the characters' motives than the characters can give of each other. Are Pothinus's snide words about Cleopatra any less informative than some of the sententious remarks of the poet-narrator himself:

> Quem non e nobis credit Cleopatram nocentem
> A quo casta fuit? 10.369-70

cf. 8.497-8 where Pothinus ascribes another thought to Pompey. All in all motivations in this poem are ascribed rather than fully described.

But the fact that Lucan has placed these restrictions upon himself does not mean that his characters are inadequately drawn. Other means of *ἠθοποιία* consistent with this behaviourist style of narration are at his disposal. O.r. soliloquies are used frequently and successfully to convey the thoughts of single characters as well as of the groups whom we have considered above.

At 2.522-525 we have Domitius's angry reply to Caesar which is clearly meant to be a private self-address (*Premit ille graves interritus iras/et secum...*). There is Pompey's soliloquy at 3.38-40, Curio's at 4.702-10, Caesar at 5.645-671, (Pompey's prayer at 7.659f. is spoken aloud). Most striking of all these is Pompey's o.r. soliloquy representing his thoughts at his death at 8.621-635. The fact that he is silent and outwardly impassive is emphasised by the narrator:

> Sed postquam mucrone latus funestus Achillas
> perfodit, nullo gemitu consensit ad ictum
> respexitque nefas, servatque immobile corpus
> seque probat moriens atque haec in pectore volvit... 8.618-21

A carefully constructed speech follows: Pompey considers future ages (perhaps implicitly future readers of this epic), resolves to die nobly, he expresses gratitude for his death and confidence in the esteem of his wife and son. The content of these thoughts as well as his behaviour exhibit the extent of Pompey's self-control:

[151] Forster 1964, 55-6 regards the use of this type of description as the duty of the novelist 'to reveal the hidden life at its source: to tell us more about Queen Victoria than could be known, and thus to produce a character who is not the Queen Victoria of history'. Lucan conversely, writing about historical characters keeps to modern conventions of history better than many of our historians by refraining from this. Banfield 1982 argues that some expressions used in literature are completely 'unspeakable' in everyday life (see Introduction n. 44).

Talis custodia Magno
mentis erat, ius hoc animi morientis habebat. 8.635-6

Even if the discourse of his characters is not much rendered apart from in o.r., Lucan compensates for this by presenting the focalizations of various personages. Their perceptions and situations are brought before us so that we can see the nature or state of their minds, even if we do not always have access to the expression of their thoughts. Examples of the presentation of 'point of view' when discourse is not recorded are to be found at 2.394f., 3.49-50, 5.174-82, 5.409-11, 6.577f., 6.725, 7.85-6, 7.337f. 7.647-648, 7.669f., 8.327-8, 9.371f.

Apostrophe is another way of bringing characters to life. It is certainly an appropriate technique for a narrator omniscient of events but who continues to stand outside his characters; since his voice never merges with theirs he has all the more right to address them as distinct personages.[152] Examples of apostrophe are too frequent to count - there are at least a dozen instances in each book.

In another way too, apostrophe is consistent with an epic which relies a great deal on direct speech. Apostrophe would not, as many have argued,[153] destroy realism in a work which might well have been composed for live performance. For any witnesses of a recitation, the narrator/*recitator* would have a body and a voice. If anything, to deny that presence would be unrealistic for a live audience.

Lucan's narrator, to a greater degree than those of other epic poets, is clearly independent of the characters he presents. He can bring their situations and perceptions before us , but the borders which mark or define his personality as well as the personalities of his characters are usually clearly delineated. It is feasible that other Latin epics were conceived for declamation, but the *De Bello Civile* is more pointedly dramatic than most. The techniques of speech presentation employed within it help to show this.

They offer another implication. If we return to an issue that opened this chapter, we might see *De Bello Civili* as a poem which is more 'epic' than the *Aeneid* according to the traditional sense.of epic as an 'objective' form of narration.

Speech presentation in Martial Epic - some conclusions

The poems of Virgil and Lucan clearly differ from each other in some the ways in which they report characters' discourse. The *Aeneid* contains many more instances of indirect speech - whether o.o. or f.i.d. - than *De Bello Civili* . There are also speeches in embedded narratives recounted by characters, notably Aeneas and Sinon. In Lucan we find o.r. almost exclusively and a high proportion of occasions

[152] It should be noted though that Lucan has chosen to be so consistent - apostrophe is not the exclusive property of a behaviourist narrator. Ovid in the *Fasti* is liberal in his use of apostrophe and f.i.d.. Johnson 1987 assembles bibliography on Lucan's use of apostrophe. Ende 1905 looks at all kinds of apostrophe in epic, including those from characters.

[153] Haskins 1887 vehemently objects to Lucan's use of apostrophe in his introduction to Heitland's commentary. Compare Duff 1928, viii who thus ends his introduction to his translation of *D.B.C.* : 'In Latin, apostrophe is often a metrical device, and often a meaningless convention... here I believe more is gained than lost, if it is generally ignored in the translation. The combination of apostrophe and plain statement, common in Lucan is hardly endurable in English; and also the reader [note 'reader'] is puzzled and confused when Lucan addresses his rhetorical appeal to two or three different persons in plainly the same paragraph.'

in which it is clear that speech is exchanged between characters in the 'consultation scenes'. In spite of the historical theme of *De Bello Civili* , there is no sign of the historiographical techniques of speech presentation we might discern in Virgil.

However, there are some features the poems share - and these are also shared by the other martial epic poets I have taken into consideration. Although the narrator of the *Aeneid* does present the thought discourse of characters using modes of indirect speech, it must be emphasised that this is not a frequent practice in the poem as a whole (I have to some extent concentrated on the untypical features of Virgil's narrative, because they are more interesting and less well documented). The paucity of this in Lucan has been noted above.[154]

Another tendency common to all martial epic is not so obvious until we consider other genres. Speeches in o.r. are barely ever less than one verse in length. When o.r. utterances are brief (say 2-4 verses) we never find them directly alternated with the reporting (direct or indirect) of an utterance from another speaker. There is no such thing as *stichomythia* in epic, let alone a line of verse divided between two speakers as we may find in satire. The *rhesis* is the major means of reporting speech in battle scenes from Homer onwards. In our own times it is not much used in representations of combat, or life and death situations. This alone supports my claim that in martial epic all o.r. can be regarded as f.d.d.: we are not dealing with a form of literature which is 'realistic' in our terms.

[154] The *Thebaid* does use indirect discourse to present thoughts, but instances of it tend to be quite brief e.g. 3.7, 9.323, 11.206, 11.418, 11.666. F.i.d. is used in the second half of the poem when battle is underway, again in flight and fright situations: 9.490-1, 495; 9.526; 9.838; 10.70, (10.260); 11.148; 12.472.

2. Speech presentation in poetic narrative: 'Epyllion' narrative; stylistic comparisons.

There will not be any attempt at a comprehensive study of all the texts in this chapter (although the relative brevity of Catullus 64 and the excerpt taken from Virgil's Fourth *Georgic* do allow a complete treatment of speech presentation in those texts). The main intention is to pursue the examination of speech presentation techniques as way of understanding identity and genre of texts in greater detail using a broader range of authors.

It is hoped it can be shown in this chapter that our study not only teaches us about narrative techniques of particular texts, but also about how to distinguish between genres of poetic narrative. After the treatment of of 'epyllion', there will be a consideration of Ovid's narrative in the *Metamorphoses* . This will be followed by a comparison of speech presentation techniques used in the *Fasti* with those employed in the narration of the corresponding episodes in Livy. Finally, the treatment of 'messenger scenes' in four different poets seeks to show how a review of speech presentation can point out the stylistic differences between authors relating similar material in similar or identical genres.

(i) Catullus 64

The complexity of the narrative of this poem has been the object of much critical attention[1]. Techniques of speech presentation are in part responsible for that complexity. Speech presentation is also worth studying in this poem in particular, because 64 is the earliest example we have of 'epyllion' type poetry in Latin literature.

It is not the place here to provide a definition or account of the literary genealogy of 'epyllion'[2]. However, in the conclusion of this section, an account will be given of the ways in which speech presentation can serve as a generic marker, distinguishing the poetry we call epyllion from epic verse.

All the instances of of spoken or thought discourse in the poem (and the modes in which they are presented) are listed on the table on the following page. As well as facilitating our appraisal of those instances, the table helps provide some idea of the general structure of the poem.

A large number of the entries listed are followed by question marks: this is to show that the categorisations I have arrived should not be regarded as conclusive. At certain points in the text it is very difficult to establish whether what we have is purely the narrator's discourse, or whether it is partly the property of a named character,

[1] See especially Bramble 1970. Perutelli 1978 looks at, among other things, how the world of the ecphrastic inset, in 64 and other poems, relates to the presentation of the world that encloses it. The commentaries in Ellis 1889, Munro 1905, Kroll 1923 and Fordyce 1961 are also helpful for appreciation of the formal qualities of the poem. Prominent general studies of 64 include Jenkyns 1982 and Putnam 1962 . Narrative techniques in the poem are discussed in the following studies: Friedländer 1912 (discussing ecphrasis), Pasquali 1920, Murley 1937, Richardson 1944, Boucher 1956, Klingner 1956, Webster 1966, Giangrande 1977, Wiseman 1977, Traill 1981. Holoka 1985, 210-222 provides a thorough bibliography on the poem in general.

[2] See Allen 1940 and 1958, Reilly 1953, Most 1982, Kroll 1924, Vessey 1970 for discussions of the term 'epyllion'. For remarks on the actual form of this kind of poetry, see Crump 1931, May 1910, Perutelli 1979, Thill 1979. The term was first used in this technical sense in 1855 by Haupt in a lecture given on this poem specifically, (Haupt 1875, 67f.).

basically Ariadne. The question of the number and identity of principal narrators is also important for our interpretation of particular passages. This will be considered first, as, taking the poem in three parts, we discuss the relationship between the second part (the ecphrastic inset) and the rest of the work.

Reported discourse in Catullus 64

2	Anonymous tradition: *dicuntur*
19	Anon. trad.: *fertur*
21	O.m?: *tum Thetidi pater ipse iugandum Pelea sensit*
22-4	Apostrophe from narrator to *heroes*
25-30	Apostrophe from narrator to Peleus
50-1	Possible declarative use of *indicat* ?
52-266	The scene disclosed by the *vestis* : Change of narrator's voice?
55	O.o.? presenting Ariadne's thoughts
56-7	O.o. continued or Ariadne's focalization?
58-9	O.r. presenting Ariadne's thoughts?(cf. 139, 142)/ or f.i.d. or pure narrative of narrator?
61	O.r. exclamation from Ariadne?: *eheu* /or apostrophe from narrator?
76-9	O.o. anon. trad.: *perhibent*
95-102	Apostrophe to Cupid and Venus
104	O.m. for Ariadne's prayer
116-23	Intrusive apostrophe from narrator: *sed quid ego* ... with Ariadne's focalization cf. 164 in her speech below.
124-31	O.o. anon. trad.: *perhibent* , so that
132-201	O.r. of Ariadne is enclosed within the o.o. anon. trad. This means it could be read as f.d.d.?
140	Iterative o.m. attributed to Theseus by Ariadne.
212f.	O.o. anon. trad.: *ferunt* so that
215-37	O.r. of Theseus is enclosed within the o.o. anon. trad.. This means it too could be read as f.d.d., (cf. 132-201 above)?
253	Apostrophe from narrator to Ariadne, simultaneously presenting discourse of Iacchus in o.r.?
265-6	Marks end of scene from *vestis* . Reversion to original narrative and/or narrator.
299-302	Apostrophe from narrator to Phoebus
306	O.m.: beginning of *cantus* of Parcae
323-81	O.r. song of Parcae
382-408	Narrator's discourse takes us to the end of the poem.

Speech presentation in the three sections of 64 (1-51, 52-264, 265-408)

(i) 1-51

There is no o.r. from any specific character in this part of the poem. There is one possible instance of indirect presentation. We have what might be regarded as an o.m. presentation of Jupiter's discourse in 21:

tum Thetidi pater ipse iugandum Pelea sensit

Sensit might be translated as 'acknowledged'; this would not necessarily impute the content of the proposition to Jupiter as his discourse. If, on the other hand, we take it as 'judged', *sensit* becomes a speech act verb: *Thetidi ... iugandum Pelea* would then be a rendering of an utterance that was actually spoken. [3]

There are two o.o. constructions in 1-51 which present discourse other than the narrator's. The first opens the poem:

> Peliaco quondam prognatae vertice pinus
> dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas
> Phasidos ad fluctus et fines Aeeteos,
> cum lecti iuvenes ...

The narrator, at the outset, is attributing his story to a prior anonymous testimony: 'the pines borne from the peak of Pelion are said to have swum etc.' The infinitive *nasse* after *dicuntur* distances us from the picture which is being conjured up. The mythological narrative is very much in the past, and reported. However the following *cum* clause is in the indicative. Syntactically all that follows is clearly independent of the declarative verb *dicuntur* : we might assume then that the remaining account of the Argonauts' voyage is in o.r. and should be regarded as being unquestionably the property of the narrator.

At 19 we find another citation of an anonymous tradition[4] :

> illa, atque <haud> alia, viderunt luce marinas
> mortales oculis nudato corpore Nymphas
> nutricum tenus exstantes e gurgite cano.
> tum Thetidis Peleus incensus fertur amore ,
> tum Thetis humanos non despexit hymenaeos,
> tum Thetidi pater ipse iugandum Pela sensit. 16-21

After such precise visual detail and relative temporal detail ('It was at that moment and no other... it was *then* (*tum*) that Peleus is said to have been stricken with love...') makes the attribution of all this to some other report look amusingly implausible. A consideration of the syntax of 19 would seem to make us view the anonymous testimony as terse o.m., referring only to the fact that Peleus was at that moment stricken with love. The verses following, then, appear to be the narrator's expansion on the implications of that testimony.

However the emphatic anaphora in 19-21 (*Tum Thetidis ... tum Thetis ... tum Thetidi*) gives pause for thought. *Fertur* has some force as the main verb in 19 - might some of its force not carry over into the two remaining clauses of the anaphora? If 19-21 are all to be considered as being somehow part of the anonymous testimony, there could be implications for the anonymous tradition we considered in verses 1-3f..

The posited assumption that the remaining account of the Argonauts' voyage is

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[3] Fordyce 1961, 281 recommends the latter translation: he cites *sentire* being used in the same sense in Horace *Carmen Saeculare* 73:

> *haec Iovem sentire deosque cunctos*
> *spem bonam certamque domum reporto*
> *doctus et Phoebi chorus et Dianae*
> *dicere laudes.*

However, there its use is only remotely declarative, if at all. See 76, n. 107 above.

[4] Politian's *Ambra* 213-32 (ed. Del Lungo 1926) which contains many echoes of this poem, sends up the convention of anonymous traditions by employing them excessively, and in amusing contexts. We have already seen this in the *Aeneid*. See n.19 below.

in o.r. and should be regarded as being unquestionably the property of the narrator after *cum* (4) could be challenged. The clauses that follow could all be in a f.i.d., influenced by the opening o.o. construction, but syntactically independent of it. The purpose of *fertur* might be to remind us that <u>all</u> the narrative presented is hearsay rather than to indicate the appearance of a second independent citation.

There may be one more instance of speech presentation to be discussed which comes right at the end of this section of the poem, and which has a significant bearing on how it relates to the section that follows. *Indicat* in 52 seems generally to function as a declarative verb, even though it may at first appear odd that its subject is the word *vestis* :

> haec vestis priscis hominum variata figuris
> heroum mira virtutes indicat arte 51-2

I argue elsewhere that there is a *double-entendre* in these lines and in 265-6: they play idly with words in Latin rhetorical terminology: *ars , variatio, decoratio , amplificatio , figura* and even *vestis* . The word *indicat* seems to be more directly concerned with speech. It should not be translated 'outlines' or 'depicts'. Even 'indicates' is misleading. Its general sense is 'to make known' or 'point out'. It is most often a declarative verb of speaking followed by an o.o. construction.[5] When it has the sense of 'to reveal' or 'show', I have not found any occasions apart from this one, where the verb is used in the context of an ecphrasis (in the broader ancient sense).

The ecphrastic inset could be regarded as a kind of speech - a speech from the coverlet itself.[6] The way the inset is closed at 265 (*talibus amplifice decorata figuris*) might support this reading, if we compare this to the similar manner in which the song of the Parcae (which is demonstrably o.r.) is opened and closed by the principal narrator (see discussion of 265-408 below). A second indication that the *vestis* might itself be the speaker comes from within that second part of the poem:

> sed quid ego a primo digressus carmine plura
> commemorem, ut linquens genitoris filia vultum,
> ut consanguineae complexum, ut denique matris,
> quae misera in gnata deperdita <laetabatur> ,
> omnibus his Thesei dulcem praeoptarit amorem:
> aut ut vecta rati spumosa ad litora Diae
> <venerit,> aut ut eam devinctam lumina somno
> liquerit immemori discedens pectore coniunx? 116-22

The narrator uses *praeteritio* (117-22) to enumerate the *plura* that he is not going to recount, as he returns to the *primum carmen* from which he has digressed. *A primo carmine* , in my view, means what it says: 'from my first song' and not, as it is often translated, 'from my true theme'. The latter translation/interpretation has come about because readers naturally recall that the 'first song' in the poem is about the voyage of the Argonauts, or if not that, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. The predicament of

[5] The O.L.D. article on *indicat* , section 2 may explain in part the problem of *virtutes indicat* which baffles Quinn 19 in his commentary ad loc. The verb can mean 'to disclose (something secret or confidential esp. of an incriminating nature); divulge, betray...' Thus the *vestis* could be exposing the flaws of Theseus et al., rather than celebrating heroic qualities.

[6] This is not so far-fetched if we compare the numerous parallels and precedents for this kind of thing: after all Catullus 66 is a translation of Callimachus frag. 110 (Pfeiffer 1949) in which a lock of hair speaks. The examples of speaking texts and books, conveniently collected and discussed in Harrison 1990 may be especially pertinent, if we accept that there may be a play on *vestis - textum -oratio*.

Ariadne is itself a digression from that. The only way that *quid ego a primo digressus carmine* taken literally can square with the sequence of events presented in this text is if we take it to be the discourse of a narrator other than the one who speaks in 1-51: the *vestis* could provide the identity of that narrator.

I do not wish to offer this as a conclusive reading: the narratives of 1-51 and 52-265 have a similar tone and some stylistic characteristics strikingly in common, namely apostrophes to characters in the stories (22-4, 25-30 and 95-102, 253-5) and the citation of anonymous traditions (2,19, and 76-9,124-31, 212f.). However, it should be noted that my mention of the 'narrator' in the discussion of 52-264 below, could be taken to signify a narrator distinct from the 'principal narrator' of the poem.

(ii) 52-264

There are two extensive speeches in this section, which are apparently in o.r.. They are introduced in a similar way: both speeches are strictly inside o.o. constructions which again convey the testimonies of anonymous tradition.

The first quoted speech is the lament from Ariadne at 132-201. This is how it is heralded (over a number of verses, 124-32):

> saepe illam perhibent ardenti corde furentem
> clarisonas imo fudisse e pectore voces,
> ac tum praeruptos tristem conscendere montes,
> unde aciem <in> pelagi vastos protenderet aestus,
> tum tremuli salis adversas procurrere in undas
> mollia nudatae tollentem tegmina surae,
> atque haec extremis maestam dixisse querellis,
> frigidulos udo singultus ore cientem: ...

The o.o. is declared by *perhibent .Haec* (130) indicates that there is something to follow - it refers to 132-201. So the content of the speech is, perhaps again somewhat implausibly (cf. the remarks on 16-21 above), actually part of the anonymous tradition.[7]

Verse 125 here is picked up at the end of Ariadne's speech, at 202:

> has postquam maesto profudit pectore voces

This verse marks for the end of the speech for the audience; possibly the repetition of the earlier diction serves to remind us that all we have heard is what people have been handing down. It is left open whether or not these are exactly the words uttered by this fictional character. When a text gives such cause for doubt, we are led to categorise such an utterance as f.d.d..

The lead-in to the second and last quoted speech in this portion of the poem has the same characteristics. After the close of Ariadne's lament, a narration of succeeding events is provided in a 'prolepsis'.[8] Jupiter responds to Ariadne's request and Theseus is caused to forget his father's instructions. Before the (apparent) verbatim rendering of them, there is again an indirect speech construction (212f.) which introduces the *mandata* in almost exactly the same as way as Ariadne's *voces* :

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[7] *Saepe* does not go with *perhibent*, but implies that Ariadne repeatedly went through the motions and words presented. This might be picked up by the parody in Ovid *Fasti* 3.471f. - Ariadne has there been rejected by Bacchus too :

> *'en iterum, fluctus, similis audite, querellas!*
> *en iterum lacrimas accipe, harena, meas!*
> *dicebam, memini, 'periure et perfide Theseu!'*
> *ille abiit; eadem crimina Bacchus habet!*

[8] Genette 1980, 40 & *passim*.

namque ferunt olim, classi cum moenia divae
linquentem gnatum ventis concrederet Aegeus,
talia complexum iuveni mandata dedisse:
'gnate mihi ego quem in dubius cogor dimittere casus...

The occurrence of *olim* here, presents a contrast with *saepe* at 124.

These instances of anonymous tradition are clearly not serving to hurry on the words of any particular character. Rather they seem to draw out the instances of speech presentation where Ariadne is concerned. We are teased twice into thinking we have left Ariadne without her speech (71 and 125) before her actual lament at 132.

Apart from its being addressed to Theseus when he is on the point of a sea voyage, the speech of Aegeus has other things in common with Ariadne's. Both in different ways harp on Theseus's forgetfulness.[9] Just as *voces* came immediately before and immediately after Ariadne's words, so we find the narrator using *mandata* at 238 as well as at 214.

Ariadne's discourse is presented elsewhere in this section. As well as the record in o.m. of her earlier prayers for Theseus's safety at 104 (*promittens tacito succepit vota labello*), there is the more significant, if complex, presentation of her thoughts at the beginning of this inset 54-62:

indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores ,
necdum etiam sese quae visit visere credit,
utpote fallaci quae tum primum excita somno
desertam in sola miseram se cernat harena.
immemor at iuvenis fugiens pellit vada remis,
irrita ventosae linquens promissa procellae.
quem procul ex alga maestis Minois ocellis ,
saxea ut effigies bacchantis, prospicit, eheu,
prospicit...

54 is clearly an exotopic description - it is not quite clear whether 55 sustains this, or represents a propositional thought 'I don't believe what I see'). 57 could be Ariadne's focalization as much as the narrator's. *Immemor ... procellae* (58-9) could even be in f.i.d., if it is not the discourse of the narrator. The resemblance of the diction here to that of 139 and 142 in Ariadne's actual o.r. soliloquy below might add some weight to the case for this being f.i.d..

Given that there is the possibility of focalization through Ariadne (or of presentation of her thoughts in f.i.d.) in these lines, the suggestion that *eheu* (61) could be partly her discourse (either o.r. or f.i.d.) may not be unfounded. It is interesting that *eheu* comes here in the Maenad simile, when we look at 255-6:

quae tum alacres passim lymphata mente furebant
euhoe Bacchantes , euhoe capita inflectentes

Both the earlier *eheu* and the *euhoe* in this instance could be understood as or., mimetic o.o., f.i.d., or the narrator's apostrophic discourse.

Finally we should consider 253, separated from the passage just quoted by a lacuna:

...florens volitabat Iacchus
cum thiaso Satyrorum et Nysigenis Silenis
te quarens Ariadne, tuoque incensus amore 251-3

[9] Ariadne: *immemor !* 135; 201-1. Aegeus: 200-1; cf. 247-8.

This might first appear to be apostrophe from the narrator to Ariadne, but there is also the possibility that 253 simultaneously presents the thought or spoken discourse of Iacchus in a kind of o.r.[10]

(iii) 265-408.

There are fewer examples of speech presentation in this section of the poem than in the previous one. 265-6 marks the end of scene on the *vestis* and an apparent reversion to the original level of narrative.

At 306 the beginning of the *cantus* of the Parcae is presented in o.m.:

> cum interea infirmo quatientes corpora motu
> veridicos Parcae coeperunt edere cantus.
> his corpus tremulum complectens undique vestis
> candida purpurea talos incinxerat ora... 305-8

Note the recurrence of *vestis* in this context. The description continues until the opening of the song of the Parcae is indicated by 320-2:

> haec tum clarisona pellentes vellera voce
> talia divino fuderunt carmine fata,
> carmine, perfidiae quod post nulla arguet aetas.

Ariadne alone had *clarisonas voces* at 125; the three Parcae have a *clarisona voce* , but an association is to be made. Perhaps both are voices of doom: Ariadne cursing Theseus and the Parcae warning of Achilles's death. Perhaps also 322 picks up 232 (*haec vigeant mandata, nec ulla oblitteret aetas*). Time will show the predictions of the Parcae will not be forgotten. The grim goddesses synthesise the femininity of Ariadne (and possibly her disruptiveness - their interruption jars an otherwise virtually idyllic wedding ceremony) with the authority of the aged Aegeus. Aegeus and Ariadne are the only speaking personages, excluding the *vestis* , introduced in the poem.

As in 130, *haec* in 320 marks the speech to come: 382-3 indicate its end, cf. 202 (*has postquam maesto profudit pectore voces*) as well as verses 320-2 quoted above:

> talia praefantes quondam felicia Pelei
> carmina divino cecinerunt pectore Parcae.

In Catullus, *quondam* nearly always looks back, not just to the past but to a happy past (cf. 8.3, 64.1, 64.139, 66.77, 68.73, 72.1). Here at the beginning of the conclusion it might serve to recall specifically the instance of *quondam* in the first verse of this poem. Not only is the song brought to an end, but the story of the wedding as a whole.

Speech and ecphrasis in 64.

It is worth noting here that the attribution of any speech to a character in an

[10] Mention of Bacchus or the Bacchic cult elsewhere provides a cue for apostrophe and/ or eccentric forms of speech presentation in narrative poetry cf. Wiseman 1977, Danielewicz 1990, and the discussion of *Aen.* 7.389 & n. 95 at 67 above.

ecphrasis of a visual work of art is a rarity in ancient literature[11] . The attribution of any form of direct discourse, whether o.r. or f.d.d., to a character in an ecphrasis is not found anywhere except in this poem. The general exclusion seems natural enough - people depicted on tapestries or shields, or in paintings and sculpture, are not able to talk, or at least not in such a way that we should be able to hear what they are saying.

It is a particularly fascinating feature of this poem that it seems to play on the incongruity of a depicted figure speaking. Ariadne's quality as a depicted figure is emphasised still more by the simile comparing her to a stone effigy of a Maenad (61-2):

> saxea ut effigies bacchantis, prospicit, eheu
> prospicit

A close examination of the language in this simile reveals something else. *Bacchantis* is not the genitive of a noun *Bacchante* as it is usually translated, but of the present participle *bacchans* . The verb *bacchari* means to rave, rant, or as Lewis & Short put it 'to cry Euhoe in the orgies' - basically to make a lot of noise. There is then something interesting about the juxtaposition with *effigies* . We are made to contemplate a plastic image of someone making a sound. This conceit casts light on *eheu* at the end of the verse. *Eheu* could be a live rendition of the frozen Maenad crying 'Euhoe', not necessarily an exclamation of sympathy on the part of the poet.

The incongruity of that depicted figure speaking seems to be further brought out by Ariadne's own words at 162-70:

> candida permulcens liquidis vestigia lymphis,
> purpureaue tum consternens veste cubile.
> sed quid ego ignaris nequiquam conquerar auris,
> externata malo, quae nullis sensibus auctae
> nec missas audire queunt nec reddere voces ?
> ille autem prope iam mediis versatur in undis,
> nec quisquam apparet vacua mortalis in alga.

[11] Homer's account of the forging of Achilles's shield in *Iliad* 18 reports speech or else mentions speech acts of some kind along with various other sounds and movements - of combat, farming, dancing and so on. For example we are told of a bridal song (18.493) and the Linos-song (18.570). There is an argument about the blood price of a murdered man (497-508) - the case of each opponent is rendered briefly in indirect speech - followed by the cheers of a crowd and the elders' judgment given in turn (ἀμοιβηδὶς δὲ δίκαζον 506). More discourse of an agonistic nature is related as two armies consider two alternatives for the city they are sieging (509f.) - it must share its wealth or be devastated. In spite of the fact that the use of o.r. is by far the most prevalent mode of reporting speech in the *Iliad* , Homer prefers to keep his nameless characters in the distance by avoiding it here: we cannot say this is exactly for the sake of realism because we only see carved figures speak, since Homer's shield is divinely made (so the figures it contains may well move and make noises). Rather it is for the sake of maintaining a different level of reality: events and stories described on the shield are of a different order from those of the world in which the shield appears. Cf. Theocritus 1.29-56 and Apollonius 1.720-67. Aeschylus, though, does find a way around this stricture. Three of the shield ecphrases given by the messenger in the *Septem* actually present the speech of the figure they depict - not just indirectly (as with Eteocles's shield 465-9), but also in o.r. as with the shields of Capaneus (432-4) and Polyneices (642-8). This can be done because we are told in every case that the words of the depicted warrior are written in captions embossed on each shield. The messenger also tells us what they say . So these illustrated figures come to life because they do speak after a fashion - yet the conventions of realism inherited from Homer - that only indirect speech should be employed in ecphrases if any speech at all - have not yet been broken. The effect Aeschylus has produced is interesting not only as a singular technique; it is important because it indicates again that there must have been some preoccupation with how speech should be presented in these contexts. See Hutchinson 1985 ad loc. & Zeitlin 1982.

sic nimis insultans extremo tempore saeva
fors etiam nostris invidit questibus auris.

The resemblance these words have to Palaestra's soliloquy in Plautus's *Rudens* 185f. has often been remarked upon.[12] When a character in drama, like Palaestra, laments that she is alone and complains that noone will see or find her (*Ita hic sola solis locis conpotita ... Nec mi obviam homo quisquam*), there is an element of irony. This irony is meta-theatrical: Palaestra is on stage, before the gaze of an audience. A similar effect is achieved for Ariadne in this passage here.

Ariadne's particular way of expressing her complaint here is that she cannot be heard. Of course she is heard, in a sense, by the poem's audience. But there is another level of irony - and perhaps this is why the point is made twice at 166 and 170 - Ariadne may be dwelling on the fact that she cannot be heard or addressed because she is in a picture.

Two echoes of language used earlier in the poem occur in the passage quoted above - and these serve to support the case for meta-literary significance here. First, *Sed quid ego ... conquerar* (164) recalls *sed quid ego a primo digressus carmine /plura commemorem* above at 115-6.

Secondly, it has been noted often enough that 163 reminds us of the *vestis* on which Ariadne herself appears. The purpose of this reminder then must be to draw attention to the point that it is a depicted Ariadne who is speaking and complaining that she cannot be heard.

I hope that these these observations help show that a consideration of speech presentation in this poem reveals a good deal more than we may first have imagined.

(ii) The Aristaeus episode in *Georgic* 4[13]

The story of Aristaeus (G. 4.310-558) shows many features characteristic of what is called 'epyllion'[14]: a sophisticated structure, a syncopated narrative[15] and a plethora of allusion. Catullus 64 as well as the example we are now considering contains a 'digression' or embedded narrative which treats a tragic love story in contrast to a generally optimistic opening narrative. But in Virgil the digression is enclosed explicitly in a speech rather than an ecphrasis.

These 250 or so verses display a variety of ways of presenting characters' discourse. Altogether there are 11 o.r. *rheses* , 8 instances of o.m., one of o.o. and two or possibly three occasions of f.i.d. (see statistics below). It is worth noting that this full range of modes is only to be found in Proteus's narrative, and not in the account which encloses it. The adoption of f.i.d. (491, 504-6, and ?526), along with the use of apostrophe (464-6, possibly 491) and simile (511-15) (which are not in the outer narrative either) give

[12] e.g. Ellis 1889 ad loc.

[13] The commentaries of Thomas 1988 and Mynors 1990 are useful. The following contain material narrative techniques in the Aristaeus episode in particular: Burck 1929, Anderson 1933, Norden 1966, Bowra 1952, Händel 1962, Coleman 1962, Segal 1966, Perutelli 1980.

[14] See n.1 on page 107 above. Markedly syncopated narration of events has always been conspicuous, but the syncopated narrative of discourse so widespread in Latin poetry in general, through the use of indirect modes of reporting speech, is barely ever noted.

[15] Otis 1964, 193f. has much to say about the the difference of tone between Aristaeus and Orpheus episodes which he calls 'objective' and 'subjective' respectively (at 200). In showing how the Orpheus narrative is 'empathetic-sympathetic' he assembles and quotes 470, 488, 489, 501, 504, 512, 527. In this assembly deviant focalisation or partiality of the narrator is not distinguished from the reporting of discourse, but his general point still stands.

the story told by Proteus a peculiar richness and complexity.[16]

Modes of reporting discourse in *Georgic* 4

42	Anonymous tradition: *si vera est fama.*
119-24	*praeteritio* presented in o.m. (cf. 148 *praetereo atque aliis...*)
220-1	Anon. trad.: *esse... dixere.*
315f.	Epyllion section begins with direct questions to Muses.
318	Anon. trad.: *ut fama.*
320	O.m.: *multa querens* .
321-332	Iterative o.r. : therefore f.d.d.
345-7	O.m.: reported poem.
349-50	O.m.: *luctus* of Aristaeus.
353-6	O.r. speech of Arethusa containing at
356	O.o. report of Aristaeus's words.
358-9	O.r. of Cyrene.
359-60	O.m. indirect command of Cyrene.
375	Implied o.m. for Aristaeus's story: *nati fletus cognovit inanis.*
380-1	O.r. for Cyrene's libation.
381-2	O.m. for her prayer.
387-414	O.r. speech of Cyrene including
396-7	O.m. summary of what Proteus should tell.
436	O.m. for Proteus: *numerum recenset.*
445-6	O.r. for Proteus.
447-9	O.r. for Aristeus's question cf. Cyrene's speech 396-7
452-527	O.r. speech of Proteus including Orpheus narrative
456	O.m. of Orpheus: *saevit pro coniuge rapta*
464-6	Mimetic o.m./o.o. in apostrophe to Eurydice.
491	Apostrophe or f.i.d.
494-8	O.r. of Eurydice.
504-5	f.i.d. for Orpheus.
506	Deviant focalization to Orpheus or rendering of thought in f.i.d..
507f.	Anon. trad.: *perhibent*
509	Iterative o.m. for Orpheus's renderings his fortunes.
525-7	Iterative f.i.d. or o.r. for Orpheus.
531-47	O.r. of Cyrene

Proteus's account

The poet's attribution of a more more vivid and dramatic narration to a creature as protean as Proteus may not be accidental: if the seer can transform himself into *omnia miracula rerum* we might well expect from him a more than lively rendering of the story of Orpheus.

The apostrophe to Eurydice at 464-6 has a number of functions:

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[16] cf. Quintilian 9.2.38: *Aversus quoque a iudice sermo qui dicitur ἀποστροφή mire movet sive adversarios invadimus ...sive ad invocationem aliquam convertimur.*

ipse [Orpheus] cava solans aegrum testudine amorem
te, dulcis coniunx, te solo in litore secum,
te veniente die, te decedente canebat.

Primarily there is a rhetorical purpose as it puts Eurydice before Aristaeus and the audience in order to move them[17]. The anaphora with *te* for Eurydice here is perhaps more poignant after Proteus's less concentrated repetitions of *te* (452) *tibi* (454) and *te* (457) to his addressee a few lines above. Those repetitions were to bring out Aristaeus's culpability for Eurydice's death.

But Proteus's use of the figure of apostrophe in these verses also serves to record Orpheus's singing in a rather unusual way. This is another example of the iterative function of o.o.: the present participle *solans* and the imperfect *canebat* suggest that Orpheus's singing and attempts at self-consolation were habitual, if not absolutely continuous (cf. 523-7 in which Orpheus, decapitated and *anima fugiente* is still singing away).

At the same time this is mimetic o.o. - the type of indirect speech in which the diction tends to be more the property of the original speaker. Here *te dulcis coniunx (te)* reproduce the words Orpheus would have sung to himself without being a formal quotation.

On the other hand, it could be maintained against this that all the words in 466 belong to Proteus, the narrator, since the use of the second person is found in his mention of daybreak and dusk which definitely constitutes pure διήγησις rather than μιμησις. Thus 465 which has *te* repeated should too be counted as 'telling' rather than 'showing'. Even if Proteus qualifies *te* with *dulcis coniunx*, these words can still be seen as his own judgement in his own apostrophe: Eurydice in his opinion is, or would have been, a sweet wife to Orpheus[18].

Something that might support the interpretation of 465 as mimetic o.o. is the appearance of *coniuge* at 504 in the passage of f.i.d. at 504-6. After we count the sentence ending *immemor heu* at 491 - which could be apostrophe or a simple exclamation of Proteus, if it is not f.i.d. - 504 is the next occasion on which any discourse of Orpheus is presented. These are his thoughts:

quid faceret ? quo se rapta bis coniuge ferret ?

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[17] If this interpretation were to be right however, it would present no ultimate case against Orpheus's claim to be a speaker or part speaker, on some level, of *dulcis coniunx*. Those two words could be in f.i.d. inside Proteus's apostrophe.

[18] Thomas 1988 compares 527 to *Eclogue* 1.5 and notes the elegant word order common to both these verses. 525-7 here have another feature in common with Eclogue 1.5: *formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas* . Here too, the accusative governed by a declarative verb has a partly mimetic effect - it is suggested that the words *formosam* and *Amaryllidam* were echoed in the woods. We may also compare Theocritus 3.6, Longus 2.7.6 and Propertius 1.18.31:

sed qualiscumque es resonent mihi 'Cynthia' silvae,
nec deserta tuo nomine saxa vocant.

Fedeli 1980 on Propertius gives a list of further parallels. One parallel we might note in particular is Sophocles's *Electra* 147-8 ἀλλ' ἐμε γ' ἁ στονοεσσ' ἄραρέ φρένας
᾽ἄ Ἴτυν, αἰεν Ἴτὺν ὀλοφύρεται
ὄρνις ἀτυζομένα, Διος ἄγγελος.

We might call this effect 'mimetic o.m.'; the Ἴτυν here could even suggest direct quotation. Jebb notes that the bird is Philomela the nightingale - the bird to which Orpheus has been compared in Virgil's simile just above at 511. Orpheus is shown crying for Eurydice in a similar way to Philomela. See Thomas on 511-15 which compares *Od.*19.518-23, 16.216-8,and Georgic 2.207-11. The same allusion and the same repeated device are to be found in *Culex* 251-2:

iam Pandionias miseranda prole puellas
quarum vox Ityn edit Ityn...

quo fletu manis, quae numina voce moveret ? 504-5

The verse that follows goes on to show what Orpheus sees, as opposed to what he says - the *quidem* combined with the change of mood in *nabat* distinguish it from this passage of f.i.d.:

illa quidem Stygia nabat iam frigida cumba

Here, anyway, a form of *coniunx* is again used when Eurydice is presented as Orpheus thinks of her (cf. 456 above *et rapta graviter pro coniuge saevit*).

F.i.d. may be used to render Orpheus's words or thoughts at 525-6:

Eurydicen vox ipsa et frigida lingua
a miseram Eurydicen ! anima fugiente vocabat...

The first *Eurydicen* is clearly in the accusative as the object of *vocabat*. This seems at first to be an unquestionable instance of o.m., but *miseram Eurydicen* in tandem with it in 526 could more obviously be an accusative of exclamation. We could read these words (as well as the echo in 527) thus, as o.r. belonging to Orpheus:

'Eurydicen' vox ipsa et frigida lingua,
'a miseram Eurydicen !' anima fugiente vocabat:
'Eurydicen' toto referebant flumine ripae.

The appearance and functions of o.r. and o.m. are combined in this phrasing. This ambiguous use of the accusative object of a declarative verb to render direct speech will be found, along with similar devices, in the Ovidian narratives treated below.

The singing of Orpheus, or at least its effect, is narrated as o.m. at 507-10 inside an o.o. clause governed by *perhibent* suggesting an anonymous tradition:

perhibent ex ordine mensis
rupe sub aëria deserti ad Strymonis undam
flesse sibi, et gelidis haec evoluisse sub antris
mulcentem tigris et agentem carmine quercus...

504 noted above gives us another possible instance of o.m. If we count 525-6 as o.r., we can say that Proteus has used every single mode of speech available to a Latin narrator to present the words and thoughts of Orpheus. Even if we do not have a completely unequivocal example of a direct speech from Orpheus, he and his sentiments are very much present before us, throughout Proteus's account.

Eurydice speaks in o.r. at 494-8:

illa 'quis et me ' inquit ' miseram et te perdidit, Orpheu,
quis tantus furor ? en iterum crudelia retro
fata vocant, conditque natantia lumina somnus.
iamque vale : feror ingenti circumdata nocte
invalidasque tibi tendens, heu non tua palmas'...

Her words carry the narrative forward: the description of Eurydice being swept away and reaching out in vain for her husband's hands comes from Eurydice herself.

Proteus's narrative is syncopated in part. This is mainly in the lack of detailed treatment of the successful stage of Orpheus's retrieval of Eurydice from Hades (467-484):

we are not told how it occurred. However, all in all, the handling is more detailed and psychologically richer than the treatment of Aristaeus, to which I now turn.

The Aristaeus Section

Apart from one instance of o.o. in Arethusa's speech at 356, our principal narrator in this enclosing account confines his range of speech modes to o.r. and o.m. (see table above). Even so this outer narrative does have distinctive features of its own.

At 318 shortly after our excerpt begins the words *ut fama* serve to ascribe the story about to be told to an anonymous tradition.[19] This is a feature typical of the 'epyllion' style poems we have in Latin (cf. the *perhibent* and*si vera est fama* at 42 and *esse...dixere* in 220-1, and the instances in Catullus 64 just discussed).

Expressions like this constitute speech presentation of a kind: by using them the narrator, however trivially, refers to a voice other than his own. Just as the uses of o.o. for reporting speech for can put a distance between what we are to imagine was said and what we as the audience hear, so expressions like *ut fama* distance us from the actual events described.

The narration in this section operates at a more uneven pace than in the part that follows. O.r. here is given more prominence - 51 verses out of 135. We are carried from one direct speech to the next; the speeches form the major building blocks in the account.

This results in a fluctuating and occasionally uneven relation between narrative time and story time[20] in the Aristaeus section.

When a speech is quoted here, as in any narrative text, we conceive the duration of its narration to be the same as the duration of the actual event related (i.e. the

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[19] Cf. Thomas 1988 on 318: *'ut fama* a virtual footnote suggesting a prior version:... In fact [*sic*] the story is almost certainly V's own invention, but the phrase by implying a tradition creates credibility.' Thomas refers to the discussion in Norden 1970 of such devices in the note to *Aeneid* 6.14. Norden categorises these types of phrase for Latin literature, along with their Greek roots, according to their varying degrees of *'diffidentia'*. However the function in a narrative for all these forms seems to me to be basically equivalent. See also Stinton 1976, although this article does not really discuss the implication of such expressions for questions of distancing, narrative voice etc.. Horsfall 1990 examines these 'footnotes' in the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics*. As remarked above these are typical of epyllion narrative - see footnote 33 below.

[20] Notions of 'narrative time' and 'story time' may need to be adjusted for consideration of a literature which may in fact have been recited. Like the audience at a play, an audience at a recitation will hear a quoted direct speech of a character. The speech will have a duration of however many minutes or seconds which could feasibly be measured and agreed upon by all present, performers and audience. Though obviously these statistics would be different for each performance, they at least could be collected: no amount of silent readings, unless under unnaturally controlled conditions, could yield them. (See Oliver 1989 passim) In the event of a *recitatio*, the narrative time of a direct speech is tantamount to dramatic time. Of course there is also a divergence between dramatic narrative time and dramatic story time - but this is only conspicuous in changes of scenes or acts: the exchanges of speech between characters in their world are supposed to take the same time as the presentation of them to us in the theatre.

For an audience hearing a literary text recited, the difference between narrative time and story time diminishes altogether when characters' direct speeches are declaimed. When a section of pure narrative without o.r. is recited, the distinction between narrative time and story time is far more noticeable than it is in a silent reading. My point here is that for any audience of a syncopated narrative such as we find in this poem, the contrast in temporality between o.r. utterances and 'pure narration' might be quite striking.

utterance) for those present in the story.[21]

Yet the connecting verses of pure narrative rush over what they present, and give what is evidently a summary description:

> pastor Aristaeus fugiens Peneia Tempe,
> amissis, ut fama, apibus morboque fameque,
> tristis ad extremi sacrum caput astitit amnis
> multa querens, atque hac adfatus voce parentem 317-20

These verses economically relate Aristaeus's flight from Peneian Tempe after the loss of his bees. None of this can be known for sure - it is all as the story goes (*ut fama*). Yet when he sits by a river to complain to his mother we hear for eleven verses the actual words he says to her. *Hac voce* can be translated 'with this utterance' or 'with these words.'

Then we cut to the description[22] of Cyrene and her companions. The narrator presents us not with more events but with a scene of some visual depth. Then come Arethusa's words at 353-6 - and so the speeches continue.

Not only do the direct speeches offer a more detailed focus on characters and the story at certain points. Their contents can also be of integral importance for explaining the progress of events and carrying the narrative forward.

For example we know at 333-4 that Cyrene has heard her son's cries:

> At mater sonitum thalamo sub fluminis alti
> sensit...

But it is her sister Arethusa who sticks her head out above sea level to see and hear what Aristaeus was doing and saying. She then shouts her discovery back to Cyrene who is still underwater:

> sed ante alias Arethusa sorores
> prospiciens summa flavum caput extulit unda
> et procul 'o gemitu non frustra exterrita tanto
> Cyrene soror, ipse tibi, tua maxima cura,
> tristis Aristaeus Penei genitoris ad undam
> stat lacrimans, et te crudelem nomine dicit.' 351-6

Arethusa here performs the function of a messenger, (see section (iv) of this chapter), albeit a non-commissioned one. This is a kind of delivery speech and we can now look back to Aristaeus's words in o.r. at 321-332 as a kind of dictation.

The nymph must have heard at least some of these words: the iterative o.m. *multa querens* and the participle *adfatus* (320) imply that the bee-keeper's words which follow were uttered a number of times[23]. Yet what she reports in o.o. (*et te nomine crudelem dicit*) is certainly not something we heard Aristaeus say as such. He may have

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[21] Descriptions, ecphrases etc. are inevitably selective - unless spoken by a character in the story they cannot, as some critics have thought, be considered as 'showing' or 'mimesis', like direct speech. cf. Hamon 1982 & Introduction at 9 n.13 above.

[22] Iterative o.r. speeches (i.e. those which we are told were repeated in the form we have them quoted) especially when they are as long as this, could be regarded as a subcategory of the free direct style. It is hard to imagine Aristaeus stating the precise content of 321-332 over and over again. Instead we are to understand that the things he repeated were something like what is given in this passage of o.r.. This f.d.d. indicates that we are offered a specimen sample of the character's words rather than something we are to believe was uttered at any one time.

[23] Cf. Genette 1980, 113f. on 'frequency.'

said this without the narrator informing us. Or this could be Arethusa's terser rendition of what we have heard: the charge of cruelty is what the beekeeper's complaints and reproaches at 323f. really come down to.

It is more demonstrable though that the picture Arethusa gives of Aristaeus in her speech is consistent with what we have already. She has seen very much what the narrator has shown us and 355-6 resemble 317-20 in diction and metrical arrangement.

A second example of a piece of o.r. which has an important function in the presentation of events to the audience is the long speech of Cyrene in 387-414. In it we are told, as Aristaeus is told, of the whereabouts, attributes, and daily habits of Proteus (387-395). Then (396-414) Aristaeus is instructed about how to apprehend the seer and he is warned of all the transformations he may attempt:

> tum variae eludent species atque ora ferarum.
> fiet enim subito sus horridus atraque tigris
> squamosusque draco et fulva cervice leaena,
> aut acrem flammae sonitum dabit atque ita vinclis
> excidet, aut in aquas tenuis dilapsus abibit. 406-10.

This description is longer than the one given by the poet-narrator himself when Aristaeus actually gets down to the job at 440-2:

> ille suae contra non immemor artis
> omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum,
> ignemque horribilemque feram fluviumque liquentem.

<u>Omnia</u>...*miracula rerum* indicate that the list in 442 is not meant to be exhaustive. The richer detail of these transformations earlier in Cyrene's speech has served as a kind of 'flash forward' or 'prolepsis'. The principal narrator could have given us these details, as he could even have given us some of the other information about Proteus, in his own voice. The use of Cyrene's description affords more variation.

It is interesting that a similar shift of mode occurs in the first two speeches Cyrene gives. After she has heard Arethusa's report her first response is given in o.r.. This is followed by an indirect command in o.m. (narrator's focalization):

> 'duc, age, duc ad nos; fas illi limina divum
> tangere' ait. simul alta iubet discedere late
> flumina, qua iuvenis ingressus inferret. 358-60

The same shift occurs again when Cyrene pours a libation. Her words as she does this are quoted; those of her petitionary prayer (this time Cyrene's focalization and in mimetic o.o.) are not:

> et mater 'cape Maeonii carchesia Bacchi:
> Oceano libemus' ait. simul ipsa precatur
> Oceanumque patrem rerum Nymphasque sorores,
> centum quae silvas, centum quae flumina servant. 380-3

The fact that all this is o.o. may well be disputed: relative clauses in o.o. do not usually have verbs in the indicative. The appearance of *servant* gives ground for holding that 383 is in the narrator's voice, so that 381-2 are clearly o.m..

On the other hand it would be quite feasible for Cyrene to have voiced 382-3 herself after a speech act verb like *precor*. Thus the accusatives and relatives following *precatur* are a vivid imitation in o.o. of what she said. More daringly one could argue

that 382-3 are in o.r. or f.d.d.. It is important to remember that relative clauses mentioning attributes of the deities invoked are a common form in prayers. In the end establishing a firm category for these verses is not so important as simply noting the lively quality they can have. A *recitator* who wished to accentuate their mimetic as opposed to diegetic function could do so with ease.

The use of o.m. for the sake of economy in this more syncopated narrative has been hinted at already. There are more examples of this speech mode in this part than there are in Proteus's account: the *luctus* of Aristaeus (349-50), Cyrene's indirect command (359-60), Aristaeus's account heard by Cyrene (375) and, most importantly, Clymene's reported poem:

> inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem
> Volcani, Martisque dolos et dulcia furta,
> aque Chao densos divum numerabat amores. 345-7

This embedded narrative in indirect speech complements Proteus's forthcoming tale which will be presented in o.r.. As is the case with reported poems we have already seen[24] , whether in direct or indirect speech, there are evident links with the enclosing narrative. *Curam...inanem* can be compared with the *fletus inanis* of Aristaeus at 375. 'Pointless' or 'to no end' could be used to translate this adjective in both contexts - see Thomas's note to 345; if the summary of the song implies that Vulcan's love for Venus is unrequited, the story here is more reminiscent of that of Orpheus. One might imagine that Orpheus and Eurydice could be included in Clymene's comprehensive erotology in 347.

A comparison of techniques of reporting speech in Georgic 4 with related accounts.

A consideration of a passage even so brief as 345-7 shows how important it is to review this poem in the light of the passages imitated or alluded to by Virgil. These three verses recall Homer (the tale of Ares and Aphrodite is recounted as a reported poem in o.r. to the Phaeacians in *Od.*8 - another audience who have marine connections) and Catullus. Very generally speaking, the pattern of Homer providing a source for the story situation and of Catullus supplying diction is sustained throughout this piece of Virgil, although these two types of influence are bound to overlap to some extent.

I shall deal with the Homeric echoes first. At *Iliad* 1.347f. Achilles looks out to sea and prays to his mother, as Aristaeus does near the source of the river. Achilles's prayer like Aristaeus's is given in o.r.; he also makes the point reprovingly that his divine parentage has won him nothing.

Thetis hears her son's words immediately however. She appears before Achilles and asks him (in direct speech) what is wrong at *Il.* 1.362-3. The first line of his reply is:

> οἶσθα. τί ἦ τοι ταῦτα ἰδυίῃ παντ' ἀγορεύω;

(cf. *Geo.*4.447, and *Od.*4.464 referred to below). Achilles then relates his whole story. Thetis says she will go to seek Zeus's help. Their whole conversation is explicitly rendered in copious o.r.. Such a protracted exchange in direct speech is not adopted by Virgil in our passage, nor is this feature, so common in Homeric epic, generally adopted elsewhere in Latin narrative poetry.

It is still more obvious that *Iliad* 18.35f. has helped shape circumstances and

[24] cf. Chapter1, 77f. above and Introduction n.49.

details in the Aristeus narrative. The groans of Achilles at Patroclus's death are heard by Thetis who gives a cry at 18.37 (κωκυσεν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα), although she does not at this point know what is wrong. She goes to Achilles again and there follows another exchange of o.r. between them (18.73-137).

In these two cases the main point of resemblance to our poem here is that the complaints of son to mother are rendered in o.r.. Another parallel which diverges from this pattern should however be noted: at *Odyssey* 5.151, Odysseus looks out to sea and weeps (without speaking) until Calypso comes up to speak to him. The speech is given in o.r. 5.160-70. A longer exchange of direct speech alternated with pure narrative follows.

A final episode we may consider from Homer is Menelaus's account of his consultation with Proteus. He seeks the advice of the god's daughter Eidothea (4.363f.) as he wants to know how he and his men may leave the island of Pharos. Her reply at 4.384f. is similar to the opening of Cyrene's speech at *Geo.* 4.387:

> πωλεῖταί τις δεῦρο γέρων ἅλιος νημερτὴς
> ἀθάνατος Πρωτεὺς Αἰγύπτιος, ὅς τε θαλάσσης
> πάσης βένθεα οἶδε

Menelaus asks how he should apprehend the god (4.395-7). Eidothea describes Proteus's habits and tells him to hold down the god regardless of his transformations - these are not enumerated until the poet-narrator recounts what happens when Menelaus has actually got to grips with Proteus:

> οὐδ' ὁ γέρων δολίης ἐπιλήθετο τέχνης,
> ἀλλ' ἦ τοι πρώτιστα λέων γένετ' ἠυγένειος
> αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα δράκων καὶ πάρδαλις ἠδε μεγας σῦς·
> γίγνετο δ' ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον· 4.455-8

Hereafter, until the substance of Proteus's explanatory narrative diverges, the Homeric (*Od.* 4.460-72) and Virgilian (*Geo.* 4.443-53) accounts are strikingly similar in content and in form of speech presentation:

> ἀλλ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἀνιαζ ὁ γέρων ὀλοφώια εἰδώς,
> καὶ τότε δή μ' ἐπέεσσιν ἀνειρόμενος προσέειπε·
> Τίς νύ τοι, Ἀτρέος υἱέ, θεῶν συμφράσσατο βουλάς,
> ὄφρα μ' ἕλοις ἀέκοντα λοχησάμενος,· τέο σε χρή·,
> Ὣς ἔφατ', αὐτὰρ ἐγώ μιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπε·
> '' Οἶσθα, γέρον, τί με ταῦτα παρατροπέων ἐρεείνες·,
> ὡς δὴ δήθ' ἐνὶ νήσῳ ἐρύκομαι, οὐδέ τι τέκμωρ
> εὑρέμεναι δύναμαι, μινύθει δέ μοι ἔνδοθεν ἦτορ.
> ἀλλὰ σύ πέρ μοι εἰπέ, θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα ἴσασιν,
> ὅς τίς μ' ἀθανάτων πεδάᾳ καὶ ἔδησε κελεύθου,
> ἴνόστον θ', ὡς ἐπὶ πόντον ἐλεύσομαι ἰχθυόεντα.'
> ˇˇΩς ἐφάμην, ὁ δέ μ' αὐτίκ' ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν·
> ' Ἀλλὰ μάλ' ὤφελλες Διί τ' ἄλλοισίν τε θεοῖσι
> ῥέξας ἱερὰ κάλ' ἀναβαινέμεν. . .

verum ubi nulla fugam reperit fallacia, victus
in sese redit atque hominis tandem ore locutus
'nam quis te, iuvenum confidentissime, nostras
iussit adire domos? quidve hinc petis?' inquit. at ille:
'scis, Proteu, scis ipse, neque est te fallere quicquam:
sed tu desine velle. deum praecepta secuti
venimus hinc lassis quaesitum oracula rebus.'
tantum effatus. ad haec vates vi denique multa
ardentis oculos intorsit lumine glauco,

et graviter frendens sic fatis ora resolvit:
'Non te nullis exercent numinis irae...

Crabbe 1977 has a useful list of the passages which contain diction common to Catullus 64 and *Georgic* 4. Many of the passages are very much concerned with characters' speeches - either quotations or summary descriptions of them. I shall not discuss these at length, but merely give a brief list to show how speech presentation is important in many of them:

1.*quid me caelum sperare iubebas ?* Geo.4.325. - Aristaeus's sorrowful prayer to his absent mother.
Compare *non haec miserae sperare iubebas* Catull. 64.140 - Ariadne's protest to the absent Theseus.

2.*te dulcis coniunx te solo in litore secum... Geo.* 4.465 - Apostrophe to Eurydice shared by narrator and Orpheus and*deserti ad Strymonis undam* 4.508 - Proteus the narrator's description of Orpheus bereaved a second time.
Compare:*sicine me... perfide deserto liquisti in litore Theseu* 64.132-3 of Ariadne.

3.*septem illum totos perhibent ex ordine mensis* 4.507
Compare*saepe illum perhibent ardenti corde furentem* 64.124. Both attribute the accounts of the forlorn lovers to anonymous traditions.

4. Proteus at 4.515 attributes *maestis questibus* to Orpheus
Compare Catullus at 64.130 describes Ariadne as *maestam...querellis.*

5. *Immemor* in f.i.d. shared by Orpheus and Proteus at 4.491: *Immemor heu! victusque animi respexit,*
Compare Ariadne's cry to Theseus in o.r. at 64.135 [25]*immemor a! devota domum periuria portas...*

6. Orpheus's inarticulacy is described by Proteus at 4.500-2 and followed by deliberative questions in f.i.d. 504-5:

neque illum
prensantem nequiquam umbras et multa volentem
dicere praeterea vidit; ...
quid faceret ? quo se rapta bis coniuge ferret ?
quo fletu Manis, quae numina voce moveret ?
illa quidem Stygia nabat iam frigida cumba.

Compare Ariadne's inability to communicate described in 64.164-7:

sed quid ego ignaris nequiquam conquerar auris
externata malo, quae nullis sensibus aucta
nec missus audire queunt nec reddere voces ?
ille autem prope iam mediis versatur in undis

She poses rhetorical questions which Theseus cannot hear, both here and below at 177-9

[25]Crabbe remarks: 'At the very moment of Eurydice's loss, the poet unmistakably signals his debt to Catullus: *immemor heu!* although the implications are diametrically opposed to those of Ariadne's complaint. Theseus had forgotten Ariadne because he did not care for her. Orpheus forgets the injunctions of Persephone precisely because he cares too much for Eurydice.'

and 182-3. [26]

Catullus 64 and *Georgic* 4, which we have considered as two major examples of the 'epyllion' form not only share characteristic modes of reporting speech. They also share common themes and diction in which a community of speech presentation techniques is also exhibited.

Ovid's *Metamorphoses* [27]

There is an extremely wide variety of techniques of speech presentation in the *Metamorphoses* (*Met.*) and, often, considerable sophistication in the manner in which these techniques are employed. As we have seen occasionally in the 'epyllia' of Catullus and Virgil discussed above, there are several places where the particular form of speech presentation employed in the narrative has a conspicuous bearing on the content of the story: in the exemplary passages we shall consider, the issue of speech itself has some bearing on the plot.

A really adequate account of these aspects of the *Met.* would require a full and comprehensive survey which would constitute another enquiry at least the length of this one[28] . Constraints of space restrict me to three episodes from the first half of the poem, followed by some general observations.

(i) The story of Phaethon (1.750 - 2.400)

The story begins at the end of Book 1 with three pieces of direct speech. The first is Epaphus's taunt (753-4) which is prompted by Phaëthon's boasting (rendered in o.m 751):

> quem quondam magna loquentem
> nec sibi cedentem Phoeboque parente superbum
> non tulit Inachides 'matri' que ait 'omnia demens
> credis et es tumidus genitoris imagine falsi.'

The use of *que* effectively to mark the opening of a passage of direct speech is common in Ovid[29] . We find it again linking speech to the narrative, in the second instance of o.r. in this episode given by Phaëthon to his mother:

> et tulit ad Clymenen Epaphi convicia matrem
> 'quo' que 'magis doleas, genetrix,' ait 'ille ego liber,
> ille ferox tacui. pudet haec opprobria nobis
> et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli; ...' 756-9

Clymene's response is the final speech in the book: in o.r. she swears an oath on the sun that Phaethon is the sun's offspring.

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[26] Crabbe again makes an apposite observation: 'The answer to this set of rhetorical questions comes back with a deadly irony when we remember those [sic] of Ariadne to her own. For Eurydice like Theseus, is afloat albeit on very different waters.'

[27] See for commentaries: Böhmer 1969-86 (6 volumes), Lee 1953 (on 1), and Hollis 1970 (on 8), Anderson 1972 (6-10). The most recent systematic bibliography is Hofmann 1981. In addition to material cited below the following studies have been useful: Heinze 1960, Von Albrecht 1964, Otis 1966, Sceglov 1969, Kenney 1973, Galinsky 1975, Crabbe 1981, Lyne 1984, Knox 1986, Hinds 1987.

[28] See Avery 1936 - a very useful assembly and interpretation of information. Other sections of the *Met.* are discussed later on in this chapter in the section on 'messenger scenes.'

[29] Cf. Hollis, Bömer ad loc. & Von Albrecht 1964.

The drama continues from 2.33 with an exchange between the father and son in o.r.. Phoebus hails Phaëthon with a speech which alone should be enough to dispel any doubt about his paternity (33-4):

> 'quae' que 'viae tibi causa? quid hac' ait 'arce petisti
> progenies, Phaethon, haud infitianda parenti?'

Phaëthon explains that he wants proof that he is his son - that Clymene is not using the claim of divine parentage as a false pretext for a wrong she committed. The diction *falsa culpam sub imagine celat* recalls the expression Phaëthon heard Epaphus use at 1.754 - *genitoris imagine falsi* .

Phoebus's first response, given in o.m., is to order his son to approach him (*propiusque accedere iussit* 2.41). His next words, like Clymene's above, contain an oath to reassure the boy (2.42-6). They also follow an embrace (cf. 1.762 *inplicuit materno bracchia collo*):

> amplexuque dato 'nec tu meus esse negari
> dignus es, et Clymene veros' ait 'edidit ortus
> quoque minus dubites, quodvis pete munus, ut illud
> me tribuente feras. promissis testis adesto
> dis iuranda palus oculis incognita nostris.'

Just as Clymene swore by an entity greater than herself, so Phoebus swears by a mightier power - the Stygian marsh - as he promises Phaëthon any favour he would like.

The boy's response is quick off the mark at 2.47-8:

> vix bene desierat, currus rogat ille paternos
> inque diem alipedum ius et moderamen equorum.

The rendering in o.o. has an unusually striking effect - the magnitude of the request seems to stand in contrast to the brief summary of its import. This is the pivot point of the conversation - and of the whole story.

It is clear that the word order serves to achieve a maximum effect: *currus* is the emphatically placed first word of the o.o. clause followed by *rogat* - the rash request has been revealed suddenly in two words. The juxtaposition of *ille* and *paternos* is also telling - it brings home the fact that the boy is requesting something that is really in his father's province.

A long o.r. speech is prompted from Phoebus in response (2.50-102) outlining all the risks involved in such a venture. But the speech has had no effect even by verse 100 as we can deduce from Phoebus's own words (99-100):

> non honor est: poenam, Phaethon, pro munere poscis.
> quid mea colla tenes blandis, ignare, lacertis ?

At 104 when Phoebus has stopped speaking, it is even more clear that his son is persisting with his request:

> Finierat monitus, dictis tamen ille repugnat
> propositumque premit flagratque cupidine currus

The indirect discourse has a distancing effect: we have less sympathy for Phaëthon than we do for Phoebus. The god is given another speech in o.r. in which, expressing further anxiety, he gives instructions to his son about how to drive the chariot (2.126-49). Again indirect discourse (o.m.) is used to convey Phaëthon's speech of gratitude in 152:

Occupat ille levem iuvenali corpore currum
statque super manibusque leves contingere habenas
gaudet et invito grates agit inde parenti. 2.150-2

The use of this indirect speech mode here makes the expression of thanks less vivid than it might be - what comes over most strongly is the youth's impatience to get into the driving seat. Note the force of the position of *inde* : it is actually from that driving seat that he gives thanks to his reluctant father. There has not been a quoted word from him since 2.39.

There is an exotopic presentation of Phaëthon's panic and incompetence at 169-70:

ipse pavet, nec qua commissas flectat habenas,
nec scit qua sit iter, nec, si sciat, imperet illis

but it is not until 2.178f. after things have started to go wrong that we get an inside view of his feelings:

ut vero summo despexit ab aethere terras
infelix Phaethon penitus penitusque iacentes,
palluit et subito genua intremuere timore, 180
suntque oculis tenebrae per tantum lumen obortae,
et iam mallet equos numquam tetigisse paternos,
iam cognosse genus piget et valuisse rogando;
iam Meropis dici cupiens ita fertur, ut acta
praecipiti pinus borea, cui victa remisit
frena suis rector, quam dis votisque reliquit.
quid faciat? multum caeli post terga relictum,
ante oculos plus est. animo metitur utrumque;
et modo, quos illi fatum contingere non est,
prospicit occasus, interdum respicit ortus: 190
quidque agat, ignarus stupet et nec frena remittit
nec retinere valet nec nomina equorum. 2.178-93

The descriptions of what Phaëthon sees, and of his physical sensations are quite intimate (178-81) - the weakening of his knees and the darkening of his vision could not be discerned from outside. The expressions of regret in 182-3 verge on being or could be free indirect discourse. *Quid faciat?* is definitely f.i.d. - followed by a presentation of Phaëthon's situation very much from his perspective. There is, though, an ironic intrusion from what is most obviously the narrator's perspective in 189-90. The *quidque agat* seems to be more part of an exotopic description of Phaëthon's quandary than it is presentation of his discourse. The latter possibility cannot be completely ruled out: 192 too could be read as f.i.d. - for instance it is possible that Phaëthon anxiously reflects to himself at this point that he does not even know the horses' names. This quoted passage, then, at once describes what is happening, the youth's reaction to these events, and hints at the grim end in store for him.

Overall, the whole account is comparable with that given by Ovid (at 3.288 in the *Met.*) of the request made to Jupiter by Semele. This is prompted by a similar challenge to Epaphus's, from Juno-Beroe:

talibus ignaram Iuno Cadmeida dictis
formaret: rogat illa Iovem sine nomine munus.
cui deus 'elige' ait, 'nullam patiere repulsam ,
quoque magis credas, Stygii quoque conscia sunto

numina torrentis; timor et deus ille deorum est.'

There is obviously an echo of diction and theme from 2.42-6 (*quoque minus dubites, quodvis pete munus, ut illud /me tribuente feras. promissis testis adesto / dis iuranda palus oculis incognita nostris.* '). Semele's request is then also given, unlike Phaëthon's, in direct discourse: that Jupiter reveal himself to her as he does to Juno, when he is embracing her. The god has no chance of dissuading her here; her fate has already been sealed. We should note that in the *Met.* it is partly the deployment of speech modes that accomplishes narratival variation in stories that have parallel themes e.g. the treatments of Medea, Scylla, and Althaea mentioned below in section (iii) on the *Met.*.

(ii) Tereus, Procne, Philomela (6.423-74)

The story of Tereus, Procne and Philomela is of special interest where the uses of direct and indirect speech modes help convey contrasts between inner feelings of characters and the outward expressions of them, whether honest or deceitful. In the first part of this account, before Philomela's revenge, the emphasis is particularly on concealed emotions.

The first significant utterance here is the speech Procne makes to her husband Tereus (6.440-444):

cum blandita viro Procne 'si gratia' dixit
'ulla mea est, vel me visendam mitte sorori,
vel soror huc veniat! redituram tempore parvo
promittes socero; magni mihi muneris instar
germanam vidisse dabis.'

The full quotation here means that it is unnecessary for the narrator to repeat the content of this utterance when Tereus arrives at Athens to request from Pandion the visit of his sister-in-law (6.449-50):

coeperat adventus causam, mandata referre
coniugis et celeres missae spondere recursus

Again we find emphasis on the plan for Philomela's swift return - Procne perhaps anticipated the anxiety that Pandion will soon display about the girl's departure. As Tereus is speaking, Philomela appears: *ecce venit* in 451 marks her entry, and interrupting the narration of Tereus's speech, helps convey the impact of her appearance upon him.

Tereus's passion is described at 455-60. The various evil courses of action that occur to him are then explained (461-6):

inpetus est illi comitum corrumpere curam
nutricisque fidem nec non ingentibus ipsam
sollicitare datis totumque inpendere regnum,
aut rapere et saevo raptam defendere bello.
et nihil est, quod non effreno captus amore
ausit, nec capiunt inclusas pectora flammas.

This inner scheming is set in contrast to Tereus's external behaviour. It is more worthwhile for the narrator to concentrate on Tereus's thoughts than his words, for his duplicity to be emphasised. Thus in 467-71:

iamque moras male fert cupidoque revertitur ore
ad mandata Procnes et agit sua vota sub illa .
facundum faciebat amor, quotiensque rogabat
ulterius iusto, Procnen ita velle ferebat
addidit et lacrimas, tamquam mandasset et illas.

We are not so much given a rendering of what was said here as an account of how it was said, how often, with what feelings, under what guise and to what end. The imperfect tenses (*ferebat* , *rogabat*) emphasise Tereus's persistence. Later on 6.565-6 blend compactly in a similar way the content and histrionic nature of Tereus's delivery of the false news to Procne of Philomela's death after he has kidnapped, raped and mutilated her:

dat gemitus fictos commentaque narrat;
et lacrimae fecere fidem.

Such a contrast between private thoughts and outward behaviour is brought out not only for Tereus (465-74, also 478-83) but also for Pandion at 509-10:

supremumque vale pleno singultibus ore
vix dixit timuitque suae praesagia mentis.

Philomela's urges too, are contrasted with their unfortunate consequence whenever they are expressed:

quid quod idem Philomela cupit patriosque lacertis
blanda tenens umeros, ut eat visura sororem,
perque suam contraque suam petit ipsa salutem. 6.475-7

gaudet agitque
illa patri grates et successisse duabus
id putat infelix, quod erit lugubre duabus. 6.484-6

The first externalisation of Tereus's inner sentiments in direct discourse occurs at 513 when he is on the ship soon (in the narrative) after Pandion's farewell speech and the narrator's description of his misgivings (496-510):

'vicimus!' exclamat 'mecum mea vota feruntur!'

This is what happens when they dock:

puppibus exierant, cum rex Pandione natam
in stabula alta trahit silvis obscura vetustis
atque ibi pallentem trepidamque et cuncta timentem
et iam cum lacrimis, ubi sit germana, rogantem
includit fassusque nefas et virginem et unam
vi superat frustra clamato saepe parente,
saepe sorore sua, magnis super omnia divis 522-6

The use of indirect discourse here increases the pace of the narrative. It also highlights Philomela's helplessness - the words conveying it are juxtaposed with those which are indicative of Tereus's cruelty: e.g. *vi superat* preceding the ablative absolute *frustra clamato saepe ...* ; the accusatives *pallentem , trepidam , cuncta timentem* and even the o.o. rendering governed by *rogantem* all form a *zeugma* governed by *includit* . An

advantage of Philomela's protestations not being expressed in o.r. is that more impact is saved for her imminent speech at 533-48 which will be in direct discourse.

555-7 also have o.o. in which the declarative participles are in the accusative governed by a verb of which, again Tereus (*ille*) is the subject:

> ille indignantem et nomen patris usque vocantem
> luctantemque loqui conprensam forcipe linguam
> abstulit ense fero...

Until the last two words of 556 provide us with the grim information, we might expect *puellam* or *illam* to be the sort of word predicated by *indignantem* , *vocantem* , *luctantem* and even *comprensam* . In fact, it turns out to be *linguam* . There is indeed an identification suggested between the tongue and the formerly loquacious girl: it is described as *tremens* . Earlier Philomela trembles (*tremit*) at 527.

Procne is silenced in a different way - with grief. It cannot be coincidence that very similar diction is used for her predicament in 583-5 when she eventually discovers what happened:

> et (mirum potuisse) silet: dolor ora repressit,
> verba quaerenti satis indignantia linguae
> defuerunt, nec flere vacat...

Here it is interesting to see that silence, not speech, is what belies this character's inner feelings.

Given that she no longer has a tongue in her head, f.i.d. seems to be an appropriate way to convey both the height and nature of Philomela's dilemma earlier, at 572-4:

> *q*uid faciat Philomela? fugam custodia claudit,
> structa rigent solido stabulorum moenia saxo,
> os mutum facti caret indice.

Her mouth lacks the *facti index* , but in the end an alternative *indicium sceleris* is produced by the purple and white threads of her embroidered *vestes* (576-81).[30] Once Philomela is rescued by Procne it is of course again appropriate that indirect discourse be used to present her account of what happened - an account which can only be given by manual gestures (607-9):

> deiectoque in humum vultu iurare volenti
> testarique deos, per vim sibi dedecus illud
> inlatum, pro voce manus fuit.

The speech this prompts from Procne is the first we have had quoted directly since Philomela's o.r. *rhesis* earlier at 535-47 addressed to Tereus after he raped her, in which she vowed he would be punished for the deed (542-4):

> si tamen haec superi cernunt, si numina divum
> sunt aliquid, si non perierunt omnia mecum,

[30] The imagery and diction here seems to bear a more than passing resemblance to some language and themes in Catullus 64. Both tapestries juxtapose purple and white (cf. 64.48-9 &308) and both contain incriminating narratives about disrupted and illegitimate relationships - Catullus's *vestis* may speak (*indicat* - if my reading is correct); Ovid's *vestes* speak on behalf of Philomela (*indicium sceleris*). Another link might be found in Sophocles's *Tereus* : the metaphor κερκίδος φωνή (Aristotle *Poetics* 1454b= Sophocles fr.595). A synopsis of the *Tereus* is in Parsons 1974, xlii.

quandocumque mihi poenas dabis.

Procne's words show that now the time has come for Tereus to be punished - the only doubt is what that punishment will be. Just as there was nothing Tereus would not have dared to overcome Philomela (*et nihil est, quod non effreno captus amore / ausit* 465-6), so now Procne will stop at nothing to get her revenge (611-22):

'non est lacrimis hoc' inquit ' agendum,
sed ferro, sed siquid habes, quod vincere ferrum
possit. in omne nefas ego me, germana, paravi :
aut ego, cum facibus regalia tecta cremabo ,
artificem mediis inmittam Terea flammis,
aut linguam aut oculos, et quae tibi membra pudorem
abstulerunt, ferro rapiam aut per vulnera mille
sontem animam expellam. magnum quodcumque paravi:
quid sit, adhuc dubito.

At this point Itys approaches:

peragit dum talia Procne,
ad matrem veniebat Itys: quid possit, ab illo
admonita est oculisque tuens inmitibus 'a, quam
es similis patri!' dixit nec plura locuta
triste parat facinus tacitaque exaestuat ira . 619-23

The *quid possit* here picks up *quod vincere ferrum possit* in Procne's speech above: the sight of her son gives her the idea that beats simple revenge by the sword. The o.r. utterance *'a, quam es similis patri* ' is normally a sentimental platitude. Here with Procne's merciless expression that platitude becomes very sinister. Again her silence conceals, albeit thinly, her real thoughts (cf. *tacita ira* in the next verse). *Parat* picks up *paravi* which occurred twice in the previous speech.

Procne's wavering is described in 624-30. This is conveyed exotopically - not by presentation of any spoken or thought discourse.[31] Her firm resolve is expressed in the o.r. self-address in 631-5.

Two further subtle parallels between Tereus's atrocity and Procne's revenge are drawn by the manner in which the narrator recounts the despatching of Itys. The first is a stylistic echo involving speech presentation:

nec mora, traxit Ityn,...
tendentemque manus et iam sua fata videntem
et 'mater mater' clamantem et colla petentem
ense ferit Procne 636, 639-41

Here we find a very similar structure indeed to the one employed at verses 555-7 examined earlier. There a group of present participles were governed by *abstulit ense fero. Ense ferit* syntactically parallel here provides a mild sonic echo of that phrase. In 555-7 the victim (Philomela's tongue) there tried to call on her absent father in o.m. (*nomen patris usque vocantem*); here the victim calls on his mother in o.r.. The contrast in speech modes suits the contrasting situation: the parent here is the killer.

The second parallel is that the parts of Itys's body, like Philomela's excised tongue, preserve, for a little while, a vestigial life of their own (644-6):

[31] For parallel situations in which women hesitate before undertaking impious deeds, see the end of the discussion of the Scylla episode that follows.

vivaque adhuc animaeque aliquid retinentia membra
dilaniant: pars inde cavis exsultat aenis
pars veribus stridunt...

The ruse by which Tereus is persuaded to eat his sons's flesh again shows that indirect speech modes in this account serve to report deceptive speech. O.m. and o.o. are employed for Procne's words in 647-9:

his adhibet coniunx ignarum Terea mensis
et patrii moris sacrum mentita, quod uni
fas sit adire viro, comites famulosque removit.

The original words presented in the o.o. themselves would have presented some kind of reported discourse: Procne would have quoted or cited the content of the law she invented. *Removit* suggests a verbal request for associates and slaves to leave might have been made.

The beginning of the denouement is conveyed dramatically in o.r. (652-5):

'Ityn huc accersite' dixit.
dissimulare nequit crudelia gaudia Procne
iamque suae cupiens exsistere nuntia cladis
'intus habes, quem poscis' ait.

Tereus still has not worked this out (655-6):

circumspicit ille
atque, ubi sit, quaerit: quaerenti iterumque vocanti

The repetition *quaerit quaerenti* shows that the indirect question is iterative. The elision of *quaerenti iterumque* in the fourth foot of 656 is interesting: it perhaps serves to highlight a sonic wordplay: *quaerenti Ityn* might have been the diction expected by the audience. More curiously, the word *Ityn* in passages of indirect speech is itself often reiterated - see note 18 on *Georgic* 4.526 above.

There is no more direct speech for the rest of this episode. Accounts of the feelings of Philomela and Tereus are expressed in a different way: Philomela is tongueless, and Tereus is distracted (661-5). His wish to disgorge his son's remains is a notion attributed to him by the narrator, not one he can coherently express himself. However the declaration that he is his son's tomb is articulated and presented in indirect speech:

Thracius ingenti mensas clamore repellit
vipereasque ciet Stygia de valle sorores
et modo, si posset, reserato pectore diras
egerere inde dapes inmersaque viscera gestit
flet modo seque vocat bustum miserabile nati ...

(iii) Scylla (8.11f.)

We shall first concentrate on the account of Scylla's infatuation for Minos at 8.11-44. This allows us to consider some aspects of the role speech presentation has in

presenting inner thoughts and feelings in the *Met.*. Here I am particularly interested in examining the interaction between the character's thought and spoken discourse and the discourse of the narrator. Translations of certain portions of the passage are provided to clarify, or at least help us interpret, the nature of that interaction:

Sexta resurgebant orientis cornua lunae,
et pendebat adhuc belli fortuna, diuque
inter utrumque volat dubiis Victoria pennis.
regia turris erat vocalibus addita muris,
in quibus auratam proles Letoia fertur
deposuisse lyram: saxo sonus eius inhaesit;
saepe illuc solita est adscendere filia Nisi
et petere exiguo resonantia saxa lapillo,
tum cum pax esset; bello quoque saepe solebat
spectare ex illa rigidi certamina Martis;
iamque mora belli procerum quoque nomina norat,
armaque equosque habitusque Cydonaeasque pharetras.
noverat ante alios faciem ducis Europaei,
plus etiam, quam nosse sat est. hac iudice Minos,
seu caput abdiderat cristata casside pennis,
in galea formosus erat; seu sumpserat aere
fulgentem clipeum, clipeum sumpsisse decebat;
torserat adductis hastilia lenta lacertis:
laudabat virgo iunctum cum viribus artem;
inposito calamo patulos sinuaverat arcus:
sic Phoebum sumptis iurabat stare sagittis;
cum vero faciem dempto nudaverat aere
purpureusque albi stratis insignia pictis
terga premebat equi spumantiaque ora regebat,
vix sua, vix sanae virgo Niseia compos
mentis erat: felix iaculum, quod tangeret ille,
quaeque manu premeret, felicia frena vocabat.
impetus est illi, liceat modo, ferre per agmen
virgi . hostile gradus, est impetus illi
turribus e summis in Gnosia mittere corpus
castra vel aeratas hosti recludere portas,
vel siquid Minos aliud velit. utque sedebat
candida Dictaei spectans tentoria regis,
'laeter' ait ' doleamne geri lacrimabile bellum. . .

The situation of the siege of Nisus's city has been described before this excerpt. Verses 11-13 make it clear that for six months victory has hung completely in the balance. Then the scene is set in a more specific way in 14-16: we are told there was a royal tower with walls that made musical sounds. We hear Nisus's daughter used to climb up there to hear the music in peace and watch the battles, in true *teichoscopia* fashion, in wartime. The location which is first described objectively and in its own right turns out to have special relevance to a particular character. The voice we hear until *hac iudice Minos* at 24 is unambiguously that of the poet as narrator, but already the narrative has begun to concentrate on the girl.

After verse 24 there is another development: the story is now told from her point of view:

In her judgement, Minos, if he had concealed his head in a helmet crested with feathers, looked nice; or if he had picked up a bronze gleaming shield, it suited him to pick up the shield;

In these verses (25-7) it is hard to see exactly what is going on - which observations are the narrator's, and which observations, however indirectly summarised, belong to Scylla. 25-7 could all be read as a type of f.i.d.. We might be supposed to believe Scylla said or thought to herself something like this:

'In my judgement, Minos, if he's concealed his head in a helmet crested with feathers, looks nice; or if he's picked up a bronze gleaming shield, it suits him to pick up the shield;

Or all this, diction and content, could be the property of the narrator instead; in which case he is just imagining the type of thing that was arousing Scylla, and the type of reaction she had. Or again, it could be a combination of the two; part of this discourse is the narrator's, part a rendering of Scylla's. The most obvious way to read this is to ascribe the *seu* clauses to the narrator as he sets up the situation, and to ascribe the sentiments in the apodoses to Scylla, as her reactions are in f.i.d. with the diction being more hers than the narrator's.

A new development takes place from 29:

if he hurled firm spears from his taut shoulders, the maiden would praise his skill combined with strength.

28 is again of dubious voice but 29 (*laudabat virgo iunctum cum viribus artem*) could be read either as a simple description of a speech act of praise given in o.m., with *iunctum cum viribus artem* given by the narrator as the object of her praise. Or it could be an actual rendering of Scylla's words in o.o., however brief: Scylla actually comments to herself on Minos's *artem*. Whichever it is, 29 marks a change because we are definitely told by *laudabat* that the girl articulated something, vocally or mentally. There might be a progression throughout this passage as narrator and character take turns, producing a *rondo* effect; until we reach what is unequivocally a direct speech utterance at 44.

Verse 30 (*If, with an arrow in place, he bent his spreading bow*) is again part of the ambiguous side of the refrain. The next stage in our progression is marked by 31:

thus Phoebus himself , she swore, would stand with his ready arrows

This is o.o.; the words *sic Phoebum* show that this is on the verge of being mimetic o.o., imitating what Scylla said. Then we are back to a description which is more definitely the narrator's:

when he actually removed the bronze and bared his face, and in purple weighed down the back of his white horse resplendent with tapestries, Nisus's daughter was only just, only just in control of a sound mind.

This is followed by a rendering of exclamations which are more and more the property of Scylla but still, tantalisingly, not quite yet in o.r.:

felix iaculum, quod tangeret ille,
quaeque manu premeret, felicia frena vocabat. 36-7

Felix iaculum itself could constitute an exclamation, yet the relative and subjunctive show that it is inside an o.o. clause. This effect of an exclamation in indirect speech, which still has an active and vivid emotive quality in the narrator's voice is not so easily achieved in English. If we translate these lines using o.o. that quality is lost:

She called the javelin he touched happy, and happy the reins he squeezed in his hands.

or somehow we have to liberate the exclamation from the o.o. construction that contains it by using f.i.d. or o.r.. Even in the Latin this effect is not always possible - here we are dependent on *iaculum* and *frena* being the same in their nominative and accusative forms.

38 marks a return to the narrator's voice: Scylla's mental processes are described exotopically: the *impetus* is an external force acting on her. The partiality in *liceat modo* ('should it only be permitted') however shows the interplay of voices, or at least of the consideration of interests, is still at work. The *rondo* culminates in a direct clash at 44 where the narrator's voice (with*ait*) intrudes on Scylla's first real words, not quite dampening the juxtaposition of *laeter* and *doleam*:

> Should I rejoice, she said, or grieve?

A first person form in Scylla's very first word for once makes sure that the audience know exactly where they are. The o.r. soliloquy this verse heralds continues until 80.

We can compare this presentation of a crisis of decision with other similar story situations in the *Met.* - notably Procne at 6.624f. considered above, Medea's agonising externalised in a long o.r. *rhesis* (7.11-72) and Althaea in 8.445f. Althaea's indecision is first conveyed by exotopic description of her conflicting thoughts and behaviour. The same conflict of choice is then expressed in an o.r. soliloquy (477-511)[32] .

After surveying all this, it would take some presumption to say that the narrator of the *Metamorphoses* shows a detachment similar to that of an epic narrator. In this passage the voices of poet and character are on the verge of being identified, and the close relation is sustained for some 20 verses. Maybe we find less overt narratorial intervention in the *Metamorphoses* than the *Fasti*. But in comparison to Virgilian epic, or even the comparable narratives of *Georgic* 4 and Catullus, the amount of intrusion by the narrator's voice is striking.

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[32] See again Fowler 1987; Bömer & Hollis ad loc. list literary precedents and parallels to these scenes. The *Ciris* provides no real parallel: Scylla there seems to have decided on her wicked deed from the outset - the narrator from 129f. explains her action in terms of superhuman forces acting upon her - her sentiments are only actually voiced by her in a speech to the nurse Carme (257-282). The speech may seem eccentric (see Lyne 1978 on 257f.) because it falls between two stools: presentation of M's psychology and a dramatic function in the story.

Medea's predicament of love is narrated in Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica* 7.305f. in a manner strikingly different from these other accounts. It provides the most sustained passage of indirect discourse in V.'s poem. The external influenes of *saevus amor* and Jason's danger conflicting with her preconceptions prompt f.i.d. in 309 (*heu quid agat?*) Thereafter it is hard to distinguish presentation of M.'s discourse from her focalization: she considers the crime and the reputation that would follow it. She complains to heaven and hell, beats the ground, calls on the *noctis eram* and Dis, rails against Pelias, resolves to help Jason, changes her mind etc., until a *numen* draws her out of her chamber (323-5). The shifts in style between narration of M's actions and the indirect renderings of her words and feelings convey the shifts in her behaviour. The effect of an o.r. utterance after all this (331-3) has a great impact. We are compelled to view this threat of suicide as decisive after all this wavering - yet 336-7 shows this option has been abandoned already:

> *o nimium iucunda dies, quam cara sub ipsa*
> *morte magis! stetit et sese mirata furentem est.*

336 could be M's discourse, or the narrator's apostrophe. An o.r. *rhesis* (338-49) with self-address follows. At last we know her real decision. This is a presentation of thought as dexterous as any in the *Met.* , but quite distinct from the sort of thing we find in Ovid. Here no attention is drawn to the poetic medium by wordplay or other reflexive devices -the result is a powerful, realistic portrayal.

Medea, from Euripides onwards, was obviously a popular subject for 'hesitation discourse': note too how her hesitation is reproduced summarily and retrospectively in letter form, in *Heroides* 12.61-66.

According to my criteria based on speech presentation, this and many other parts of the *Metamorphoses* display the characteristics of epyllion and elegiac narrative as much as epic. There are long speeches in it, yet we also find a great deal of o.o. being used for literary effect: the first two books contain as many instances as the whole of the *Aeneid*. There are far more numerous instances of a.n.d., f.i.d. and apostrophe[33] . This goes to show how the poem contains a mixture of genres.[34]

No one set of criteria like metre, nature of plot or content can alone establish the genre of a poem. Even when we do have many bases for doing so, together they are hardly ever completely definitive. All works will trespass beyond their own generic bounds into others to a greater or lesser extent. Bakhtin, in an essay about the genres of everyday speech makes a remark which seems appropriate to literature too:

> Where there is style there is genre. The transfer of style from one genre to another not only alters the way a style sounds, under conditions of a genre unnatural to it , but also violates or renews the given genre.[35]

The useful notion is that of genres being violated and renewed at the same time when generic cross-fertilisation occurs. The point is that something like the adoption of, say, historiographical techniques of speech presentation in elegy does not so much serve to question a poem's position in the elegiac genre, as to expand the range of elegy. (Similarly if an elegiac work like the *Fasti* contains historical themes one can just as well say that the genre of elegy has grown, as say, that history is being subverted, though that might possibly be regarded as the case too.)

(iv) Ovid's *Fasti* and Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* [36]

History, myth, astronomy and religion are interwoven in the *Fasti* . No indication of specific sources is given in the poem - the playful remarks *annalibis eruta priscis* (1.7, 4.11) is all we have to go on.[37]

Nonetheless there is an obvious community with a number of passages in the early books of *Ab Urbe Condita* (*A.U.C.*) which cannot be questioned. Not all these

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[33] Another minor feature the *Met.* shares with the 'epyllion' type narratives considered is its use of anonymous traditions which can be applied quite densely: e.g. 2.235, 2.452, 2.684, 3.318, 3.252, 3.334, 4.266-7, 5.49, 5.539, 6.403, 6.408, 6.561. These *dicitur* type expressions often govern an accusative & infinitive construction. They are obviously for rhetorical effect, given the fantastic nature of Ovid's stories and cannot be regarded as historical 'footnotes' as Horsfall argues for Virgil. Our treatment of the *Fasti* passages below shows that this device is not employed in passages for which there are historical sources.

[34] See the argument in the preface to Galinsky 1975. Solodow 1988, 17-25 (and passim) argues the obvious point that the poem includes all the genres available to Ovid.

[35] Bakhtin 1986, 66.

[36] Frazer 1929 & Bömer 1957-1958 provide commentaries on the *Fasti*. Extensive general bibliography is supplied by Braun 1981. There is little on the narrative techniques in the parts of the poem treated here. As well as works cited below cf. Pfeiffer 1952. For our passages of Livy, see Ogilvie 1965. The largest bibliography on the first pentad is Phillips 1982 Dorey 1971 and Walsh 1961 offer general studies. In addition to Bornecque 1933, see Burck 1964 for Livy's narrative techniques.

[37] Wilkinson 1955 speculates that the poet may have used the pontifical *Annales* , the *Fasti Triumphales* , Fabius Pictor, Ennius and Cato, as well as the more recent works of Varro, Verreius Flaccus, Hyginus and and Livy.

examples (listed by Bömer and Sofer)[38] are significant for a comparative examination of speech presentation, but they all serve to show that there is more common to these parallel passages than the mere content of the episodes they recount[39] .

The purpose of this section is not really to see the techniques of speech presention of the passages considered in *A.U.C.* and the *Fasti* in terms of Livy's 'influence' on Ovid. Rather it is to consider them as highlighting the different style each work has. The benefits of this comparison should be an obvious counter to any objection that *A.U.C.* should have no place in this enquiry because it is not strictly a fictional narrative. Another defence is that these particular excerpts from the prose text would strike most modern readers as fictional in tone and manner of narration anyway as I stated earlier, the category of 'fictional narrative' in my title finds no ancient equivalent.

I am using the word 'style' in a modern sense, to mean the use of language and narrative technique which differentiates one text or author from another - potentially this is a finer distinction than that of genre. But if we detect differences of style, genre is nearly always involved too - provided our conception of it is sufficiently relaxed to admit generic mixing or inclusion[40] . The fact that Horace's discussion of generic propriety can so closely draw from Aristotle's treatment of prose style, as we have seen, shows how close these notions are[41]. Livy and Ovid do have their individual styles within their respective genres; but where speech presentation is concerned at least, the differences between individual styles often come down to the genres in which the authors operate.

The first episode to be considered is the story of the condemnation and subsequent rescue of the twins Romulus and Remus, born illegitimately to an erstwhile vestal virgin, named by Ovid in both his renderings in the *Fasti* as Silvia. The first of his two accounts begins at 2.383f.

> Silvia Vestalis caelestia semina partu
> ediderat patruo regna tenente suo.
> is iubet auferri parvos et in amne necari:
> quid facis? ex istis Romulus alter erit.

Livy's version opens thus (*A.U.C.* 1.4.2f.):

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[38] Bömer lists the excerpts from *A.U.C.* which have a bearing on the poem: *A.U.C.* 1.4, *F.* 2.383, 3.38f.; *A.U.C.* 1.8.4 ff. *F.* 3.179f.; *A.U.C.* 1.46.2- 1.48.8, *F.* 6.587f.; *A.U.C.* 1.53.4, 1.56.4- 1.60, *F.* 2.685-852 (possible additional sources: Accius, Ennius et al.); *A.U.C.* 1.55.3 *F.* 2.639,667f.; *A.U.C.* 2.48.5- 2.50 *F.* 2.195-242; *A.U. C.* 4.20.7 *F.* 2.63; *A.U.C.* 9.30.5f. *F.* 6.657-710; *A.U.C.* 29.10.4 f., 29.14.10f. *F.* 4.247-345 (the expression *scaena testificata* at 4.326 has suggested drama as an extra source). See also Sofer 1906 on Ovid's sources. In adddition, the killing of Remus at *F.* 4.837f., though different from Livy's account in many ways, at least recalls it when Romulus says at 4.848: *'sic' que 'meos muros transeat hostis' ait* . Cf. *A.U.C.* 1.7.2: *sic deinde, quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea.*

[39] For example, the details of Ovid's version of the destruction of the Fabii at 2.193f. closely resemble Livy's, without the speeches of any character being rendered. The o.r. speech of the consul who offers the service of the Fabii, and even the cries of well-wishers presented by Livy in indirect discourse are not found in the poem. Ovid's account is instead coloured by apostrophe (2.201-2,229-30, 241-2).

[40] 'Inclusion' is my loose use of the term in Cairns 1972, 158f. See also Derrida 1981, 51f. on 'mixing' of genres and Bakhtin 1986 quoted on the previous page (crucial for this argument).

[41] *Ars Poetica* 92-6 modifies Aristotle's sterner prescriptions in *Rhetoric* 3.7. The Horace passsage is quoted in the Introduction n. 26.

Vi compressa Vestalis, cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat, Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dii nec homines aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia vindicant: sacerdos vincta in custodiam data : pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet.

While Ovid accepts uncritically the divine paternity, Livy sees it in terms of the Vestal's allegation, presented in o.m. (*Martem nuncupat*), attributing two other possible motivations for her claim. Livy's use of speech and thought presentation here reflects the rhetoric of a historian as much as any professional conjecturing about Silvia's motives or professional balancing of any sources that might have existed. I do not mean to exclude the possibility of the motives or sources Livy finds - only to emphasise that for us, whether they existed or not, they mainly serve to contribute to Livy's stylistic repertoire.

Ovid's second account actually relates the encounter between Mars and Silvia at 3.11f.. She was asleep when Mars took possession of her, and delivers an o.r. soliloquy when she wakens, recounting the symbolic dream she had. In this account the virgin's uncle is named, and his prescription is yet again rendered as an indirect command (3.49-51):

> hoc ubi cognovit contemptor Amulius aequi
> (nam raptas fratri victor habebat opes) ,[42]
> amne iubet mergi geminos.

Both of Ovid's accounts are enlivened with direct discourse: as well as Silvia's speech just mentioned at 3.27-38, the words of one of the servants sent to drown the boys are quoted at 2.395-404. They are also embellished with direct apostrophic exclamations and addresses from the narrator which we do not find in Livy e.g. *quid facis* (at 2.386 quoted above) *heu quantum fati tabella parva tabella tulit!* (2.408), *mirum!* (2.413), *quis credat pueris non nocuisse feram?* (2.414), *quid enim vetat inde moveri?* (3.11), and especially 3.53-7:

> lacte quis infantes nescit crevisse ferino,
> et picum expositis saepe tulisse cibos?
> non ego te, tantae nutrix Larentia gentis,
> nec taceam vestras, Faustule pauper, opes.

There are three sustained narratives in *Fasti* 2.685-852 which treat episodes also to be found in *A.U.C.* . The first (2.687-710) recounts the deceit practised by Tarquin's son Sextus in order to overthrow Gabii. This is a briefer but more colourful account. In Livy the lengthy appeal made by Sextus to the Gabini, rendered in (largely mimetic) o.o. (*A.U.C.* 1.53.5-9), does not occur in any particular time, place or context. The Ovidian version has more *enargeia* - the young man encounters the unsheathed swords of the enemy in the middle of the night. His appeal is rendered in o.r. at 2.693-5:

> nudarant gladios: 'occidite' dixit 'inermem:
> hoc cupiant fratres Tarquiniusque pater,
> qui mea crudeli laceravit verbere terga.'

The concrete detail in Ovid's description supports the claim: the whiplashes are clearly visible in the moonlight. The plea of Ovid's prince works by sheer pathos; of Livy's by an element of pathos tempered with rational appeal. Correspondingly the reaction of the Gabian soldiers in the *Fasti* is more emotional (2.699-700):

[42] cf. *A.U.C.* 1.3.11: *pulso fratre Amulius regnat.*

flent quoque, et ut secum tueatur bella precantur.
Callidus ignaris adnuit ille viris

In Livy, though the response is sympathetic, it is a sober reaction to a more sober appeal (1.53.10-11):

Vetant mirari si, qualis in cives, qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset; in se ipsum postremo saeviturum, si alia desint. sibi vero gratum adventum eius esse, futurumque credere brevi ut illo adiuvante a portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.

In the first part of the next chapter (1.54.1-4) of *A.U.C.* , there is a detailed account of how the young Tarquin rose to power among his enemies, before he finally sent a messenger to consult his father. This is bypassed in the *Fasti* . We are told that when Tarquin sent for his father he was *iamque potens* (2.701) - a phrase which seems to pick up *A.U.C.* 1.34.4: *ut non pater Tarquinius potentior Romae quam filius Gabiis esset.*

Both accounts describe the father's response - he said nothing but cut off the heads of the flowers in his garden with a stick. The scene of this little episode is rendered sensuously in the poem leading to an exclamation from the younger Tarquin in o.r. - his second piece of direct speech in Ovid's version of this story (2.703-8):

hortus odoratis suberat cultissimus herbis
sectus humum rivo lene sonantis aquae:
illic Tarquinius mandata latentia nati
accipit et virga lilia summa metit .
nuntius ut rediit decussaque lilia dixit,
filius 'agnosco iussa parentis' ait.

The prose account (1.53.6-9) is preoccupied with the curious nature of the king's answer: the messenger's rendition of it is given in mimetic o.r.. No verbal response from Sextus is presented:

Huic nuntio quia, credo, dubiae fidei videbatur, nihil voce responsum est; rex velut deliberandus in hortum aedium transit sequente nuntio filii; ibi inambulans tacitus summa papaverum capita dicitur baculo decussisse. Interrogando exspectandoque responsum nuntius fessus, ut re imperfecta, redit Gabios; quae dixerit ipse quaeque dixerit refert: seu ira, seu odio, seu superbia insita ingenio nullum eum vocem emisisse. Sexto ubi quid vellet parens quidve praeciperet tacitis ambagibus patuit, primores civitatis ... interemit.

The verse narrative is given a more vivid quality by the use of direct discourse in conjunction with richer physical description, though it is less copious and precise than the prose account.

The anecdote that follows in the *Fasti* (2.711-20) is related still more briefly than the corresponding version in *A.U.C.* (1.56.4-13), although both present the oracular responses in o.r. (*A.U.C.* 1.56.10, *Fasti* 2.713-4). These are worth comparing:

'Imperium summum Romae habebit, qui vestrum primus, o iuvenes, osculum matri tulerit.'

'matri
qui dederit princeps oscula, victor erit.'

Ovid's utterance is briefer with a pun on *princeps*.

The ample character portrait of Brutus, achieved in a narration of his tactics, in Livy (1.56.7-10) finds its equivalent in only two verses (*Fasti* 2.717-18).

The final episode in Ovid's triad - which serves to explain the *Regifugium* itself (2.721-852) - perhaps yields most to interpretation when the speech presentation used there is compared to that of the narrative in *A.U.C.* (1.57.1-1.59.13).[43]

The banquet given by Sextus Tarquinius is described in both our texts. In *A.U.C.* 1.57.6 the subject of the men's wives is not raised by anyone in particular:

> incidit de uxoribus mentio. Suam quisque laudare miris modis.

In the *Fasti* it is the young Tarquin himself who has the idea (2.726-31):

> ex illis rege creatus ait:
> dum nos sollicitos pigro tenet Ardea bello
> nec sinit ad patrios arma referre deos,
> ecquid in officio torus est socialis ? et ecquid
> coniugibus nostris mutua cura sumus?'
> quisque suam laudat...

The last three words quoted here echo the passage quoted above, but this extra insight Ovid offers is significant. The speech reveals that from the start Tarquin is the one who has a conspicuous interest in marital fidelity, which seems to be inconsistent with the perverse desire he is shown to feel a few verses later (2.765-6):

> verba placent et vox et quod corrumpere non est;
> quoque minor spes est, hoc magis ille cupit.

In both versions it is Collatinus who gives the challenge. Here his words are rendered in o.r. (734-6):

> 'non opus est verbis, credite rebus' ait
> 'nox superest: tollamur equis urbemque petamus'
> dicta placent...

The appeal to deeds rather than words is a cliché, but it contributes something to the characterisation of a military man. The speech of Collatinus in *AU.C.* 1.57.7 rendered in o.o. has a similar content, before the challenge is expressly renderd in o.r. (This shift in mode from o.o. to o.r. at the culmination of a speech is more generally characteristic of

[43] There are other sources for the story of the rape of Lucretia in the *Antiquitates Romanae* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (contemporary with Livy) at 4.64f. and later in Cassius Dio, fr. 11.13-9. Dionysius's story is rather different from the narratives discussed: there are more changes of scene. The characters exchange more formal *rheses*. The speech presentation in Livy and Ovid is by comparison more dramatic. Burck 1964 , 170f. compares the two accounts showing how more emphasis is given to Lucretia in Livy.

Dio's account is wholly in indirect speech. Ogilvie 1965, 220 lists further later accounts of the Lucretia story. He also notes the parallel in *A.U.C.* 38.24.3: the story of Ortiagon's wife derived from Valerius Antias.

Livy than the poets, who favour indirect discourse less in general)[44]:

> Collatinus negat verbis opus esse; paucis id quidem horis posse sciri , quantum ceteris praestet Lucretia sua. 'Quin, si vigor iuventae inest, conscendimus equos invisimusque praesentes nostrarum ingenia? Id cuique spectatissimum sit quod necopinato viri adventu occurrerit oculis.' Incaluerant vino; 'Age sane!' omnes...

In *A.U.C.* then, this curiosity is a quality of Collatinus. The *Fasti* narrative, on the other hand, prepares us for Tarquin's lust: the speculation about what the wives do when their husbands are absent is all his. Collatinus merely proposes the experiment that such a speculation might prompt.

In both narratives, the knights find the royal daughters-in-law feasting and drinking, while Lucretia is dutifully weaving. Neither text really needs to report in any form of discourse the men's verdict, though Livy notes at 1.57.9:

> muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit.

Livy does not give any discourse to Lucretia until he has her send a message (rendered in o.o.) to her husband and father after the rape at 1.58.5-6. Ovid's account turns out to be much more of a drama with all the characters expressing themselves in direct discourse to some extent. Thus in the *Fasti* Lucretia is uttering a pathetic speech to her handmaidens *tenui sono* , when the men discover her (2.745-54).

Ovid emphasises at once the appeal of her beauty and piety (2.755-9), so that altogether the effect of Lucretia's charms on Tarquin is easier to anticipate than it is in *A.U.C.* The prince's obsession for Lucretia is described in Ovid from 761. A description of her beauty and attributes (*forma placet niveusque color* etc.) account for this *caeco amore*. The description is pretty much from Tarquin's point of view - indeed we could almost imagine 763-5 to be his own words:

> forma placet niveusque color flavique capilli
> quique aderat nulla factus ab arte decor:
> verba placent et vox et quod corrumpere non est;
> quoque minor spes est, hoc magis ille cupit.

But the *ille* at 765 indicating reference to a third person puts an end to any notion that this could be an actual speech given by Tarquin himself. Nonetheless we are brought closer and closer to an actual utterance from him in direct speech. Verses 771-4 break into either what is either more f.i.d., or else o.r.. It is hard to establish which, but the

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[44] On this 'shift' in general see the discussion of *De Sublimitate* 27.1 in the Introduction. In Livy's first pentad, contrary to Longinus's (re?)commendation in the discussion of *Iliad* 15.346, the transition is often marked after the change to o.r. by *inquit* e.g. 1.41.3, 2.2.7, 2.7.9, 2.29.9, 2.56.9, 4.37.3. As with this Collatinus example, the o.r. perorations can be used for specific practical instructions, whilst the o.o. section narrates the speaker's attempts to his audience into a frame of mind to receive them. Cf. Brutus's command to L.Tarquinius to give up the consulship (2.2.7); Appius Claudius proposes the appointment of a dictator (o.r.) after analysing the popular discord in o.o.; Valerius's speech to the men fighting the Volsci (3.61.1-7); Duillius laying down the law (3.64.9-10). Otherwise nearly always some kind of appeal is involved: e.g the Sabine women (1.13.2f.), Tanaquil at 1.42.2-3, the challenge of Horatius's father (1.26.10-12), Publius Valerius's offer to move house so the *plebs* will trust him (2.7.9-12). The effects of the technique are various: the actions, words and their effects can be presented more simultaneously (e.g. Tanaquil and the Sabines - see especially the compression in one *cum* clause in Tempanius's appeal to the cavalry at 4.38.3). For discussion of other examples of the use of this shift in Livy as a whole, see Ogilvie 1965 on 3.9.11: 6.6.12, 15.9, 8.34.11, 24.22.17. There is a reversal of the trend at 3.17.3-9 - a peroration in o.o. after a speech in o.r..

ambiguity should not trouble us:

> Sic sedit, sic culta fuit, sic stamina nevit,
> iniectae collo sic iacuere comae,
> hos habuit voltus, haec illi verba fuerunt
> hic color, haec facies, hic decor oris erat.

The repetitions in the narrative of *color, decor, verba* and so on, only need to occur once to convey the prince's infatuation.[45]

It is is quite typical for f.i.d. to break out into what is unequivocally direct speech. No declarative verb of saying or thinking governed 771-4. But at 781 with *dixit* and *talia fatus*, it is clear that Sextus does pronounce aloud to himself his consequent resolution:

> exitus in dubio est: audebimus ultima! dixit,
> viderit! audentes forsque deusque iuvat.

This is how Ovid, by his description of Lucretia's charms, makes it easier to anticipate their effect on Tarquin from his account than Livy's - and indeed it is easier to anticipate his wicked deed.

Tarquin's next words are to his victim (795-6):

> ...ferrum, Lucretia, mecum est.
> natus ait regis Tarquiniusque loquor!

This closely resembles the corresponding utterance given in Livy (1.58.2)[46] :

Tace, Lucretia, inquit. Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est; moriere si emiseris vocem

It is worth noting how Ovid's choice of the emphatic *loquor* makes a contrast with Lucretia's predicament in the following line: she can't speak at all. Lucretia is silent, but her thoughts too are presented in the f.i.d. opened by *quid faciat?* [47] Three possible

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[45] Bömer ad loc. here cites and quotes Apollonius 3.453f. The account of Scylla's adoration for Minos in *Met.* 8 which we considered above is similar in some respects. It too uses something like the f.i.d. to provide an even more complicated series of shifts of voice between narrator and character to portray similar feelings.

[46] In both accounts, *ferrum* seems to have a more than idle phallic significance. In the *Fasti* erotic insinuations have already been sown twice into the preceding narrative to prepare the way for this *double-entendre* in Tarquin's speech: *accipit aerata iuvenem Collatia porta* (2.785); *hostis ut hospes init penetralia Collatini* (2.787); as well as in the immediate context(2.793-5):

> *Surgit et aurata vagina liberat ensem*
> *et venit in thalamos, nupta pudica, tuos*
> *utque torum pressit ...*

Ovid *Met.* 6.551 (in the Philomela-Tereus-Procne episode treated above) also has *vagina liberat ensem* in a very similar context. As we have seen there is an even more complex and sustained play of words and ideas running through that narrative. There are some other conspicuous interconnections between narration and speech presentation of Ovid's Philomela story and his version of the Lucretia story here. These will be pointed out in some of the notes to follow.

It is also interesting to see that in Servius's account of the incident (ad loc. on *Aen.* 8.646), Tarquin is the only one to speak - again he is quoted in o.r.: *per noctem stricto gladio eius ingressus cubiculum cum Aethiope, hac arte egit ut secum coiret, dicens 'nisi mecum concubueris, Aethiopem tecum interimo, tamquam in adulterio deprehenderim.'* (Lucretia's reactions are then described exotopically)

[47] Compare *quid faciat Philomela? Met.* 6.572

courses of action are proposed in the next three deliberative questions at 801-3:

> pugnet? . . . clamet? . . . effugiat?

All of them are shown to be futile. The response to *clamet?* at 802 again emphasises Lucretia's enforced silence: in his right hand was a sword to forbid her.

The response to *effugiat?* (803-4):

> ...positis urgentur pectora palmis,
> tunc primum externa pectora tacta manu

and the observation it contains, that this is the first time the hand of another man has touched her breasts marks a hinge point - the narrator's voice again takes the floor. In the next couplet (805-6) Tarquin's repeated appeals are given in *oratio memorata* as in *A.U.C.* :

> instat amans hostis precibus pretioque minisque:
> nec prece nec pretio nec movet ille minis.

Iterative indirect speech (o.m.) is used in conjunction with the repetition to convey his persistence.

His final effective ploy is given in o.o. in *A.U.C.* (1.58.4):

> addit ad metum dedecus: cum mortua iugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur...

The word *sordido* brings home to the audience the heinous shame that would be involved in this for Lucretia. As we might expect, Tarquin's corresponding proposition in the *Fasti* is presented in o.r.. The direct discourse allows the villain to celebrate his own villainy: the word order makes an irony of the distinction (less pronounced in *A.U.C.*) between Tarquin's rape and the set-up he threatens as an alternative (2.807-9):

> 'nil agis: eripiam' dixit 'per crimina vitam:
> falsus adulterii testis adulter ero:
> interimam famulum, cum quo deprensa fereris.

Lucretia's feelings, as we saw, have been expressed in free indirect style, but she has no *oratio recta* utterances in this scene so that Tarquin is spotlighted.

In *A.U.C.* the content of Lucretia's message to her husband and father is given in o.o.. This is not relayed in the *Fasti* - the detail that they should come *cum singulis amicis* (*A.U.C.* 1.58.5) is thus omitted. Such an ellipse is characteristic of the 'syncopated' narration in Hellenistic poetry[48] . Here the technique achieves some impact with the sudden, if unaccountable, entry of Brutus at 2.837.

The version of the kinsmen's arrival in *A.U.C.* 1.58.7-11 employs angled

[48] Compare our observations on Georgic 4 earlier in this chapter.

narration of dialogue[49] :

quaerentique viro 'Satin salve?' 'Minime' inquit; 'quid enim salvi est mulieri amissa pudicitia? Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo; ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons; mors testis erit. Sed date dexteras fidemque haud impune adultero fore. Sex. est Tarquinius, qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte vi armatus mihi sibique, si vos viri estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium.' Dant ordine omnes fidem; consolantur aegram animi avertendo noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti: mentem peccare, non corpus, et unde consilium afuerit, culpam abesse. 'Vos,' inquit, 'videritis, quid illi debeatur: ego me etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non libero; nec ulla deinde inpudica Lucretia exemplo vivet.'

With her first speech in o.r. the personality of Lucretia comes into its own. She answers her husband's question bitterly, describes what has happened and urges revenge. The consolation she receives is less prominent to the audience for being in o.o.: the focus is all the time on the woman[50] . Lucretia's next utterance gives her an almost tragic stature as it is proclaimed, in her voice not the narrator's, that her ensuing action is to be a moral *exemplum* for future women of Rome[51] .

The medium of a poem like the *Fasti* would be an appropriate one for an imitation of the elegiac language of Livy's heroine, but this does not occur[52] . Ovid's portrayal of Lucretia at the point her husband and father encounter her is much more consistent with her behaviour in the rape episode. She still cannot speak. The questions and consolations of her husband and father, again in indirect discourse, again seem faint and ineffectual (2.817-9):

...quae luctus causa requirunt
cui paret exsequias quoque sit icta malo.
illa diu reticet.

The sustained o.o. however does make this first enquiry more tender than it is in the *A.U.C.* account. They continue to press her: *orant indicet* (821-2) until with much reluctance she speaks (2.823-7):

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[49] In *A.U.C.* , a.n.d. is common - often employed in the context of council or embassy scenes, perhaps partly because one of the parties tends to be a group (whose discourse is inevitably presented indirectly) e.g. the meeting of Tullus Hostilius and the envoys in 1.22 and the dispute between Cincinnatus and the tribunes (3.20.3f.). A rather striking example of a.n.d. occurs in the narration of Verginia's kidnap (3.44): the false claim of Appius's *cliens* , the cries of the nurse, the explanations to the crowd and to the court, the case of the girl's *advocati* , Appius's decree and the announcement of the lictor are all presented in indirect discourse. The opening of Icilius's speech in o.r. provides a strong contrast - the words have impact both on the audiences both in and of the story. Examples of a.n.d. in one-to-one exchanges include 1.48.1 (Tarquin's o.o. harangue followed by Sextus's o.r.) and the Mucius episode in 2.12. On Livy's use of silence, a related point, see the note on Livy to the section on 'Silence as a significant response' in the discussion of Virgil in Chapter 1.

[50] Their consolation is perhaps meant to sound ineffectual: *mentem peccare non corpus* is by no means a legal formula,but as Ogilvie points out *ad loc.* , a Latin version of a Greek subtlety like ὁμωμοχη δὲ φρην ἀνωμοτος

[51] See the Preface to *A.U.C.* 9f. Lucretia's last words here have a quality similar to several o.r. utterances in the first pentad, that could be called formulaic: a frequent context for brief o.r. is the pronouncement of prayers, oaths, prophecies and other statements of historical import e.g. Romulus's avowal at 1.7.3: *sic deinde quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea* cf. Horatius's declaration *Sic eat quaecumque Romana lugebit hostem* at 1.26.4-5; Evander's dedication of the Ara Maxima 1.7.10;1.17.10(see Ogilvie ad loc.); 1.28.6, 1.28.9; 1.32.6-14; 1.25.12; 1.56.10; 3.25.8; 3.48.5; 3.54.8-10; 3.56.3-5; 3.64.10.

[52] See Ogilvie on the phrase *vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo* . He compares Propertius 2.9.45, Tibullus 1.9.57 etc.

ter conata loqui ter destitit ausaque quarto
non oculos ideo sustulit illa suos
'hoc quoque Tarquinio debebimus? eloquar,' inquit
'eloquar infelix dedecus ipsa meum.'
quaeque potest, narrat; restabant ultima: flevit...

The repetition of *eloquar* and the interruption of her discourse by *inquit* convey the agitation in her speech, as though it were broken by sobs. She can only relate part of her misfortune before breaking down altogether. The men pardon her (829) - again their discourse is presented indirectly, in o.m. . Lucretia's final words are again in o.r. and come more easily; she refuses to accept the pardon her father and husband offer her.
The pattern of speech presentation here is very similar to the a.n.d. in *A.U.C.*. The men's questions and consolations are in o.o. and Lucretia's responses in o.r. But for all that she is still portrayed differently. She is more timid than Livy's creation - pathetic and barely articulate, silenced first by the force of Tarquin, then by the gravity of her misfortune.[53]

In *A.U.C.* Brutus's speech in response to Lucretia's suicide takes the form of a legalistic oath (1.59.1):

per hunc' inquit 'castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro, vosque di, testes facio

In the *Fasti* 2.841-2 this is compressed. Brutus invokes the *manes* of Lucretia instead of the gods[54] :

per tibi ego hunc iuro fortem castumque cruorem,
perque tuos manes, qui mihi numen erunt

The last verse (2.844) of Brutus's speech saves the narrator of the *Fasti* bothering to mention the transformation of his personality and the amazement of those present at his sudden change of character (it was mentioned in Livy):

iam satis est virtus dissimulata diu

Again the syncopated quality of the Ovidian narrative is indicated clearly by comparison with the historical account: any description of the amazement of the onlookers is eschewed so that a comment on the transformation actually comes out of Brutus's own mouth, packing power into his speech. The response we do have in Ovid to Brutus's words is somewhat baroque: the eyes of Lucretia's corpse register the words and a movement of the dead woman's hair communicates approval. In *A.U.C.* Brutus makes a rabble-rousing speech, presented at length by Livy in o.o. and o.m. (1.59.8-10). The *Fasti* provides a briefer account of his words, summarised in o.m. (2.849-50)

The next instance of speech presentation in the poem which has a parallel in the historian's account occurs at 3.207f. when Mars is explaining to the poet why the

[53] Yet again this, as well as the wolf and the lamb simile in the narration of the rape (2.799-800 cf. *Met.* 6.527-8) and the silencing power of Tarquin's sword (at 2.793, 802 cf. *Met.* 6.551), bring to mind Ovid's account of the tragedy of Philomela. It is not just because February is a cold month and too early for swallows (*Fasti* 2.853-6) that Procne and Tereus are mentioned right after this episode in the next calendar entry.

[54] This kind of compression is similar to the type which Demosthenes uses in the oath praised by 'Longinus' in *De Sublimitate* 16.2: 'By those who risked their lives at Marathon, you have done no wrong!' 'Longinus' notes that D. swears by his audience's ancestors as though they were gods.

matrons celebrate his festival instead of the men. In *A.U.C.* 1.13 it is described how the Sabine women put a stop to the battle between the Romans and the Sabines which was to be fought on their account: their appeals are given first in o.o. (1.13.2) which shifts to o.r (1.13.2). We find some similar diction (e.g. *hinc patres, hinc viros orantes ... melius peribimus quam sine alteris vestrum viduae aut orbae vivemus* 1.13.2-4) recurring (*Fasti* 210-12), but put into the mouth of Romulus's wife as o.r.:

> ... hinc coniunx, hinc pater arma tenet.
> quaerendum est, viduae fieri malitis an orbae:
> consilium vobis forte piumque dabo.'

Her speech is not addressed to the soldiers, but to the other women, exhorting them to act and telling them what to do. Here Mars is giving some inside information to the poet-narrator about how the intervention of the Sabine women was brought about by his daughter-in-law.

The general tendency in the *Fasti* for direct discourse to be used is displayed in the account of the reception of the Cybele into Rome. This can be seen as an account which serves an alternative one to that give in *A.U.C.* - it does not resemble Livy's[55] . In the poem, both oracles consulted - the Sibylline books and Apollo - are given in o.r.. Not only the speech mode employed varies from the practice in *A.U.C.* : the nature of what the oracles have to say is quite different too. Nor do we have in Livy any account of the dispute with Attalus, of the consequent miracles, or of Claudia Quinta's speech, which is given in o.r. in the *Fasti* (4.319-24).

The story of the flute-players (6.657-92) is the last of those in the *Fasti* to converge with an episode in *A.U.C.* . But the involvement of another source (Plutarch *Questiones Romanae* 55) restricts detailed comparison of our two texts in terms of speech presentation. In Ovid's version there are two brief speeches in o.r. - in Livy there are none. It is interesting to note that the last three stories from the *Fasti* mentioned here are presented as direct speeches of gods by the poet (Mars, Erato, Minervae). Historiography is not so liberal in allowing the principal narrator to use voices other than his own to recount events.

Considering the passages we have reviewed and compared altogether, we find much is common in form and content. The two versions of the Lucretia episode which are very similar indeed help show up the more the differences of style and technique between the *Fasti* and *A.U.C.* .

Where speech presentation is concerned, the contexts for speeches (i.e. who says what to whom) and the significance of what is said can be virtually identical between the two accounts. The differences between our texts tend to lie in the particular speech modes employed to present the character's/s' discourse in the narrative.

In all the examples we have seen there has been a conspicuous tendency to employ direct discourse in the *Fasti* . Some speeches are presented by Livy in long passages of indirect discourse. In corresponding contexts Ovid tends to use o.r. and make the utterances shorter. In this story, the utterances of Ovid's characters can be striking in their brevity.

We do find some instances of indirect discourse in the *Fasti* corresponding to occasions when it is used in *A.U.C.* - but on occasions where the rendering might seem laboured if it were absent. Examples are the despatching of Sextus Tarquin's message to his father from Gabii (in o.o.), Lucretia's message to her husband and father (o.m.) and

[55] It has been suggested on the basis of 4.326 (*mira, sed et scaena testificata loquor*) that Ovid's sources here are from drama. See Frazer 1929 Volume 3 ad loc., 241.

their joint enquiries about what is wrong. As we have seen before, indirect speech is nearly always used to present the utterance of a group of people saying the same thing.

One particular type of speech mode is used in these passages in Ovid when there is no corresponding discourse presented at all in Livy: this is f.i.d.. As usual the mode is used to convey the thoughts of characters in a state of agitation (e.g. Lucretia at 2.801f.)

The treatment of the Lucretia episode in *A.U.C.* , once the heroine herself becomes involved, is largely angled from her point of view[56] . Not only is Lucretia the object of the historian's focus: with her lengthy and composed speech she is made to seem larger than life - a talking exemplum. The handling in the *Fasti* provides a different, more psychological portrayal. Lucretia appears quiet and shy throughout: she can say little at the the tragic climax.

But here we are also told more about Tarquin. His soliloquy and the descriptions at 2.765f. make him appear more sympathetically than he does in Livy. The use of apostrophe too (2.811-12), shows that this narrative is oriented around him as well as her. This is necessary for a larger poetic design: one point of this whole account is that it is supposed to explain the *regifugium* . We might be moved by Lucretia's tragedy, but we are not to lose sight of the Tarquins who supply the theme linking these stories.

One critic's conception of the difference between the verse and prose versions of the Lucretia episode seems to be underlined by our more specific enquiry into its speech presentation:

> His [Livy's] version is well done and fine of its kind; despite a certain lack of conviction it suits the content of his history admirably, but it conveys an impression of rigidity and of the statuesque. Ovid, on the other hand, careless of any lesson to be drawn from the tale, tells it with imaginative simplicity in the most moving way[57] .

The different functions of the genres of poetry and historiography are partly responsible for the different stylistic features observed here. Avoiding value judgments between poetry and history, the distinctions quoted above could be applied to identify some of the differences between the other passages parallel in the*A.U.C.* and *Fasti* which we have seen. The interplay between direct and indirect speech adds emotive power to Ovid's stories; 'factual' detail and the different sense of verisimilitude that a historian might achieve have to be sacrificed.

(v) The presentation of speech in 'messenger scenes'.[58]

One of the principal aims of this research is to show how authors working with fairly similar material can exhibit quite different stylistic techniques. Some close comparative analysis is necessary to show the extent to which this is so.

This section will therefore look in detail at how speech is narrated in messenger scenes in four Latin epic poems mainly to this end, although some other observations arising from these examinations of reported speeches will be made. This choice of motif

[56] Cf. Burcke 1964 cited above.

[57] Lee 1958, 260

[58] De Jong 1987 and 1992 are two important studies which have appeared since this section was first conceived. De Jong 1991 deals with the messenger speech in Euripidean drama as a first-person narrative form. Particularly pertinent here are the section 'From presentation to reception', 103f. and the Appendix H on direct and indirect speech(199-203). De Jong 1987 has an Appendix entitled 'repeated speech in the *Iliad* ' at 240-5, which obviously includes messenger speeches, but speech modes characters use are not identified . My statistics from the *Iliad* on the table have obviously been compiled for a different end - for comparison with the practices of the Latin poets.

is an especially useful one, because the repetition of material involved in relating the progress of a message entails a proliferation of speeches and invites variations in narrative technique even within the relation of a single episode.

There are usually two types of messenger scene: first, those in which a god or goddess commissions a divine messenger like Iris or Mercury, to relay information or a command to a particular mortal or earthbound character; and secondly messages or embassies which are dictated and delivered only on the mortal plane to one or many addressees.

It is interesting that this consideration shows Lucan, the poet examined in the previous section, to be an exception in another respect: the *De Bello Civile* unlike all the other Roman epics contains no messenger scenes. This of course is partly because the poem does not have an Olympian scenario, but it is curious that a martial poem can have no embassy scenes at all. So the poems here examined are Virgil's *Aeneid*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Statius's *Thebaid* and Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica*. The poems will be treated in the chronological order in which they appeared because even though the *Metamorphoses* is in many ways the black sheep of this group, it will be seen to influence some of Statius's practices in the *Thebaid*.

For each poem this examination of messages will begin with those sent by gods, because for these there are more identifiable first precedents in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey* than there are for messages dictated on the mortal plane. I shall preface the treatment of the Latin poets with a brief discussion of these clear Homeric precedents.

(i) Divine Messenger Scenes in Homer[59]

The table overleaf summmarises the occasions in which messages between gods and men are transmitted in the *Iliad* and the speech modes employed by the narrator and characters. There is much variation as the tables show: no one particular method of handling the motif recurs.

However, obvious trends can be discerned. All the dictations are narrated in o.r. except Achilles's prayer 23.192 and Zeus's commissioning of Iris-Polites (2.786f.). All deliveries except Hera's to Iris and Apollo are given in o.r.. This is obviously the preferred medium for the narrator in such scenes. Within the speeches there is more variation with a considerable amount of o.o.. It is interesting that the messenger is not just a funnel through whom speeches are reproduced. On several occasions Iris, along with Apollo and Thetis is endowed with ἦθος, adding comments of her own to the official dictation.

The repetition of messages is clearly connected with the oral culture in which the Homeric poems were composed.

Odyssey 5 contains quite a different example of message transmission from those which we find in the *Iliad*. Hermes seems to replace Iris, and Zeus addresses him thus at 5.29:

Ἑρμεια σὺ γὰρ αὖτε τά τ' ἄλλα περ ἄγγελος ἐσσι

The dictation of the message to Calypso follows in direct speech: his resolve is the return of Odysseus. We are under the impression that this is the message that will be given to Calypso. When Hermes arrives, Calypso is in fact the first to speak, and it is not until he has finished his meal that Hermes replies to her question. The lack of urgency is because one god is speaking to another, and perhaps because Hermes needs to be tactful. His o.r. delivery of Zeus's words is at first roundabout. He insists the mission is against his will

[59] De Jong 1987, 168f. deals with messages sent and received on the mortal plane as well as divinely commissioned messages in depth.

PASSAGE	DICTATOR	MESSENGER	RECIPIENT	Speech mode of dictation given by narrator	Speech modes employed by dictator in his words	Speech mode of delivery as rendered by narrator	Speech modes employed by messenger inhis or her speech	Messenger character enhanced by own words?
1.407f.	Achilles	Thetis	Zeus	O.R.	O.R. 1.503f.	O.R.	O.R. (nocorrespondence to dictation)	no
2.786f.	Zeus	Iris as Polites	Trojans	O.M.	n.a.	O.R. (796f.)	O.R.	no
3.121f.	?	Iris as Laodike	Helen	n.a.	n.a.	O.R.	O.R.	no
8.397f.	Zeus	Iris	Athene & Hera	O.R.	O.R.	O.R.	[O.R. 413-15] O.O. 415-18 ≈ 402-4 O.R. 419-22 ≈ 405-8	yes
11.185f.	Zeus	Iris	Hector	O.R.	O.R.	O.R.	[O.R. 200-1] O.R.202-209 ≈ 187-194	no
15.49f.	Zeus	Hera	Iris & Apollo	O.R.	O.R. O.O. 57-8	O.M. 143-5 O.O. 146-8	n.a.	no
15.158f.	Zeus	Iris	Poseidon	O.R.	O.R. except O.O.160-1	O.R.	[O.R. 174-5] O.O. 176-7 ≈ 160-1 O.R. 178 O.O. 179-82 O.R. 182-3 ≈ 166-7	no
15.220f.	Zeus	Apollo	Hector	O.R.	O.R.	O.R.	No cor. todictation	yes
23.192f.	Achilles (prayer)	Iris	Boreas& Zephyr	O.M.	n.a.	O.R.	O.R., O. M. 208-9	yes
24.74f.	Zeus	Iris	Thetis	O.R.	O.R.	O.R.	OR. no cor. to dictation	no
24.104f.	Zeus	Thetis	Achilles	O.R	O.R. 104f. O.O. 113-5 O.R. 116	O.R.	O.R. O.O. 134-6 ≈ 113-5 O.R. 137	yes
24.144	Zeus	Iris	Priam	O.R.	O.R. 144 O.O. 145-8 O.R. 149-158	O.R.	O.R. 171-4 O.O.175-7 ≈ 146-8 O.R. 178-87 ≈ 149-58	yes

Tabular Representation of Speech Modes used in Divine Messenger Scenes in the *Iliad*

PASSAGE	DICTATOR	MESSENGER	RECIPIENT	Speech mode of dictation given by narrator	Speech modes employed by dictator in his words	Speech mode of delivery as rendered by narrator	Speech modes employed by messenger inhis or her speech	Messenge characte enhance by own words?
24.287	Hecuba	Priam (prayer)	Zeus	O.R.	O.O.	O.R.	O.R. 310-13 ≈ 292-5	n.a.
24.332	Zeus	Hermes (guide)	Priam	O.R.	O.R.	Extended dialogue in O.R. No specific message to deliver.		yes

Tabular Representation of Speech Modes used in Divine Messenger Scenes in the *Iliad*

(cf. Iris to Boreas and Zephyr, *Il.*23.200f.). Zeus's request is presented in two pieces of o.o. (105,112) separated by a digressive passage relating Odysseus's fortunes. Apart from the basic request there is little resembling Zeus's actual order and much that is new. There is a far looser connection between the dictation and delivery of this message than there is in the examples from the *Iliad* .

(ii) Messenger scenes in the *Aeneid*.

There are five occasions in the poem when Iris or Mercury is sent down to earth under the specific direction of Juno or Jupiter: 1.297f., 4.219f. (Mercury), 4.694f., 5.606 = 9.2 (Iris).

The longest scene is that of the transmission of Jupiter's message to Aeneas at 4.219ff:

Talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem [Iarban]
audiit Omnipotens, oculosque ad moenia torsit
regia et oblitos famae melioris amantis.
tum sic Mercurium adloquitur ac talia mandat:
'vade age, nate, voca Zephyros et labere pennis
Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Karthagine qui nunc
exspectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes,
adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras.
non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem
promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis;
sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri
proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.
si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum
nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem,
Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?
quid struit ? aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur
nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva ?
naviget ! haec summa est, hic nostri nuntius esto.'
Dixerat. ille patris magni parere parabat
imperio; et primum pedibus talaria nectit
aurea, quae sublimem alis sive aequora supra
seu terram rapido pariter cum flamine portant.
tum virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat Orco
pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit,
dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat.
illa fretus agit ventos et turbida tranat
nubila... 219-246
...ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis,
Aenean fundantem arces et tecta novantem
conspicit. atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva
ensis erat Tyrioque ardebat murice laena
demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido
fecerat, et tenui telas discreverat auro.
continuo invadit: 'tu nunc Karthaginis altae
fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem
exstruis ? heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum !
ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo
regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet,
ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras:
quid struis ? aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris ?

si te nulla movet tanta gloria rerum
[nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem,]
Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
debetur.' 259-76

This is all described in rich detail: as in Homer the deity does not communicate with mortals directly, but instead uses omens, or as here, messengers. This seems especially fitting after the elegant illustration of Jupiter's faculties as *omnipotens* at 219-21. He hears, sees and controls, but does not run errands.[60]

All his words to Mercury in 223-237 are given in o.r. 223-226 are for the messenger himself. *Vade age* recalls Zeus's words to Iris in the *Iliad* e.g. 11.186 and 24.144: βάσκ' ἰθι Ἶρι ταχεῖα... The idea of speed is also suggested in Virgil - not only in the diction of the rest of the line, but also in its modulation, as Conington points out. 224-5 specify the whereabouts of the *Dardanium ducem* - the kind of touch not found in Homer - and also contain a criticism of Aeneas's neglect.

The content of the message (*mea dicta*) to be delivered is in 227f.; Jupiter does not use any formal o.o. constructions, but the words are certainly not given in the form in which they would be pronounced to Aeneas: as in Homer, the god reasonably speaks of the recipient of the message in the third person. It is easy to imagine similar words spoken to Aeneas if the second person were substituted for the third here[61] .

However Jupiter is not giving a strict dictation. The arrangement here shows he is irritated. The *dicta* begin with his view of the situation (227-31), followed by ever sharper rhetorical questions (233-37), and culminate in an exhortation: *naviget!* (237). In the rest of the verse the god indicates that this is the substance of his message.

Dixerat (238) marks the end of the speech. Commentators point out how much the passage that follows, which describes Mercury dressing and equipping himself, resembles the description of Hermes dressing himself in *Odyssey* 5.43f.. *Aeneid* 4.228 here also resembles *Odyssey* 5.43 (=*Iliad* 24.339).

The entire narration of Mercury's delivery in o.r. certainly brings to mind Homeric practice.

The similarity and function in the story of Mercury's journey to that of Hermes in the Circe episode in the *Odyssey* has led to this comparison being applied to the whole episode[62]. But as Conington remarks ad loc., 'there is little or no resemblance between the two speeches [of Hermes and Mercury here]'. The nature of the actual dictation and delivery of the message in this scene in the *Aeneid* follows more closely the pattern of the Iris episodes in the *Iliad*.

First, there is the prompt efficiency and directness with which he gives his message (Hermes in *Odyssey* 5 and *Iliad* 24 takes a long time to come to the point). Secondly he follows the Iliadic Iris in that the content of the message delivered resembles the one dictated fairly closely. There are subtle variations - Jupiter's words are reformulated, and Aeneas is addressed in the second person. As is sometimes the case with Homer's Iris (*Iliad* 8.413-4, 24.172-3), the opening words are not from the sender of the message.

Nonetheless the speech from 265-76 is very much Mercury's own, and though the Homeric Iris is not without ἦθος, the portrait of Mercury is much fuller. His personal rebuke (265-7) picks up Jupiter's words at 224, by setting Carthage in contrast to the cities he should look after. Although this is not technically part of the message, Mercury

[60] [Aristotle] *De Mundo* 398, remarks that God is bound to be even less prone than a mortal king to run any of his errands himself.

[61] Cf. n. 131 in Chapter 1, above.

[62] For a list of parallel descriptions of Mercury, see Pease on *Aeneid* 4 *ad loc.*

implicitly sets *Karthaginis altae fundamenta* against Aeneas's real responsibilities (*rerum tuarum*).

Mercury's words in 266 also look back to the observations he made on his journey at 260f.: *fundamenta locas* recalls *fundantem arces*. Furthermore, his sighting of Aeneas with the cloak and sword Dido gave him could have prompted his snide use of the word *uxorius* : the queen's gifts could be mildly symbolic of a dowry.[63] *Exstruis* delicately recalls Jupiter's *quid struit?*, which will be echoed specifically in the actual delivery of the message. This use of the compound word could add the sense of 'building' to the notion of scheming which is primary in the simple verb later on (cf. Pease on 235). The narrator described Aeneas and Dido as *oblitos* above: here (267) the observation is Mercury's own. Lastly, Jupiter's command at 226 (*celeris defer mea dicta per auras*) is echoed slightly at 270.

These details contribute to a subtle but effective characterisation of Mercury. Like a Homeric messenger, Mercury then validates what is to come by saying who sent him (e.g. Ζεύς με πατὴρ προέηκε τεὴν τάδε μυθήσασθαι *Iliad* 11.201, cf. ibid. 15.175, 24.133, 24.173). Even with this functional seal of authenticity, there is an element of ἠθοποιία: in 268-70, Mercury can emphasise by the repetition of *ipse* (an appropriate pronoun) the important fact that the command comes from Jupiter himself. This major feature of the original speech could not of course be part of the content Jupiter gave to be transmitted. Jupiter's attribute of governing heaven and earth mentioned at 269 would indeed be significant to one who has just flown between them.

Then comes the rendering of the message itself at 271-6. This might be meant to strike Aeneas as a direct quotation of the god's words. It does follow them reasonably closely, without having the quality of the perfectly memorised dispatch that we find in Homer. Mercury starts with the *summa* cf. 237. Jupiter's remark about Venus having protected him unnecessarily is omitted altogether.

Mercury goes straight to the rhetorical questions originally posed by Jupiter. They are in a different order, with slight changes in diction. Virgil is affecting Iliadic practice with mild elaboration in his treatment of the message's transmission.

The rendering ends with an appeal for Ascanius's future sovereignty over Italy to be considered[64]. The whole speech of Mercury ends with mention of Italy as it began with Carthage - the same two features apply to Jupiter's words taken in all.

Thus in this passage, the general Iliadic pattern of message transmission is followed with the dictation and delivery speeches being narrated in o.r.. Jupiter's reference to the recipient of the message in the third person, and the adaptation to the second person in the delivery are also characteristic though not inevitable traits of the *Iliad*.

However, Virgil adorns this schema with variations to sustain the reader's attention. Stronger impressions of Mercury's character and of Jupiter's status are achieved, yet the audience still have the feeling that the messenger is closely following the god's words.

A consideration of which speech modes are employed for which personages can shed further light on Virgil's narrative and ἠθοποιία.

There would seem to be no necessity either for the narrator to treat so fully the transmission of a message, or in doing so, to imitate the Iliadic model (as opposed to having Jupiter dictating, or Mercury delivering in o.r. or o.m.). That model is not followed when Jupiter commissions Mercury in 1.297 to prepare the Carthaginians for

[63] Cf. Lyne 1989, 43 f. who discusses the occurrences of the word (it is usually found in prose). 46f. looks at its significance in this scene.

[64] It is interesting that in his delivery Mercury uses the phrase *spes heredis Iuli* in tandem with *Ascanium*: critics have made the point that the name 'Iulus' is meant to have a more emotional connotation for Aeneas (and thus the audience) which 'Ascanius' as a more official name does not.

the Trojans' arrival or in the scenes when Juno sends down Iris at 4.693 and 9.1f.. (The manifestation of Anchises at 5.726, and Mercury's second appearance to Aeneas in a dream at 4.556f. does not seem to be prompted by Jupiter.)

A reason for presenting the words of sender and messenger in *o.r.* in this passage may emerge when we see how Mercury and Fama are paralleled and contrasted in this part of the book. Mercury acts in response to Jupiter's command, as Fama swiftly responds to the prompting of events. Both go to Libya (173, 257); both fly (e.g. 176-7, 223, 226, 241, 246) and make their flight between heaven and earth (184, 256); both are compared to birds. But they are opposite forces. Fama can spread truth and untruth on earth (188-90); Mercury is the true messenger of heaven. Fama never closes her numerous eyes to sleep (185); Mercury gives and takes away sleep, and closes the eyes of the dead.

The contrasting qualities of the two agents are enumerated fully by Hardie 1986, 278. He sums up thus:

> Finally the ancient allegorical tradition may help us to a full evaluation of the contrast between Fama and Mercury. Fama is a divinity of perverted speech; one of the most consistent allegorical identifications of Mercury is as Logos, Ratio, the unperverted word. More particularly the Homeric scene of the equipping of Hermes was allegorised with reference to the descent of the divine Logos from heaven to earth[65].

In Virgil, as in subsequent Latin poets, o.o. is applied to a personification of Rumour. Thus it is only appropriate that the words of Mercury, whose message is true should be given in o.r.. While part of Fama's message is rooted in events in the story, the evaluative words so necessary to scandalous report (*pulchra, luxu, turpique cupidine captos* 193-4) are not. Fama does not have a direct source.

Since Mercury does have a direct source (namely Jupiter's command), it is important for the narrator to quote it directly, so that the audience can see for themselves how faithful he is in reproducing it. By this variation in techniques of narrating speech, the essential contrast between the nature of the two messengers is enhanced.

As indicated above, there is no one pattern in the *Aeneid* for the narration of episodes involving divine messengers. In 1.297-302 the mission is mentioned without reference to any specific words spoken by Jupiter or Mercury:

> Haec ait et Maia genitum demittit ab alto,
> ut terrae utque novae pateant Karthaginis arces
> hospitio Teucris, ne fati nescia Dido
> finibus arceret. volat ille per aëra magnum
> remigio alarum ac Libyae citus astitit oris.
> et iam iussa facit...

That instance serves to provide a means of changing scene from Olympus to Carthage.

When Jupiter sends Iris to Juno at 9.803-5, there is the same technique: everything is in an indirect command. The whole incident is enclosed in three verses, so that we are not taken away from the action of the fighting for long:

> ... aëriam caelo nam Iuppiter Irim
> demisit germanae haud mollia iussa ferentem,
> ni Turnus cedat Teucrorum moenibus altis.

65 The best assembly of evidence for Hermes as an embodiment of λόγος or λογισμός is in Buffière, 1956, 289-96; cf. the ancient commentators on *Od*. 5.45f., *Iliad* 24.343 etc.

The divine theatre enlarges the significance of the battle without distracting us from it.

The scenes in which Juno sends down Iris (4.693, 9.1f.) refer only to Iris's words on her arrival. In these cases her words are always rendered in o.r.. Iris also addresses the Trojan women at Juno's direction (5.606) in the form of Beroe. The sequence of speech modes here follows that of the Polites scene in *Iliad* 2.786, which this scene recalls: Iris is again disguising herself for the purpose of her mission. The dictation is mentioned, but not rendered in o.o. or o.r. , and the audience hears her speech delivered in o.r.. Juno is not referred to in any of these three speeches of Iris. There is never any use of o.o., as opposed to o.m., by the narrator in these divine messenger scenes.

Juturna does not really count as a divine messenger in the poem: although she acts at Juno's prompting, the part she plays in 12 is one of active intervention, unlike Thetis in the *Iliad* whose role is more or less one of transmitting messages and prayers.

To sum up, Virgil on the whole avoids reduplication of speech mode and of content between dictation and delivery scenes. The narration is accelerated by the recounting of either the dictation or the whole transmission of the message in o.m.. The narrative technique of episodes in the *Iliad* which have similar contexts is not usually followed.In the long passage at 4.219f., the Iliadic method of narration is consciously affected, rather than closely imitated[66].

Although o.o. is only employed rarely in divine messenger scenes (in the indirect commands in the narrator's voice for dictation scenes at 1.297 and 9.803), it is used several times for the delivery of messages on the mortal plane - even if the original event or dictation is not recorded.

It remains to look in more detail at how speech in these scenes is rendered. The transmission of messages sent by mortals, which are nearly always diplomatic, is not usually shown completely.

At 7.153-5, Aeneas's order to his hundred spokesmen to take gifts to the Latin king and to demand a pact is given in an indirect command:

> centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis
> ire iubet, ramis velatos Palladis omnis,
> donaque ferre viro pacemque exposcere Teucris.

This is mainly for compression - the order is just one of many actions (cf. 157-9), and the brief treatment allows the o.r. pronouncement to stand out. The instructions are obeyed, as Ilioneus's speech in o.r. (213-48) shows; but with only the briefest summary of Aeneas's commands, the audience have no idea of how far the speaker's words follow Aeneas's dictation.

The report of the *nuntius* about the appearance of the Trojan envoys to Latinus (166-8) is in o.o., as well as the king's order to have them summoned. There is a concise

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[66] I have found this observant comment from Coluccio Salutati on the divergent techniques of Virgil and Homer for narrating speeches in *De Laboribus Herculis* 1.2.7 (ed. Ullman 1951):

Orationem autem pro oratione posuit Maro. Nam cum Iupiter Mercurio precepisset quod Eneam deberet admonere, per hec verba videlicet, 'Quid struit? aut qua spe inmica in gente moratur?' Mercurium postea mandata peragentem inducit orationem hanc taliter immutare: 'Quid struis? aut spe Libicis teris otia terris.' Hoc ferme nusquam fecit Homerus sed eisdem ubique verbis commissionis formulam repetebat. Sed noluit excultissimus Latinorum vates taliter Homerum servatis omnibus persequi quod non ostenderet quam late poetica facultas valeat ampliari.

The commission of Mercury in *Aeneid* 4 has enjoyed a rich afterlife. Sannazaro echoes the descriptive quality and exactly the same pattern of speech modes for his annunciation scene in *De Partu Virginis* 1.55f. (ed. Fantazzi & Perosa 1988). Compare the commission of Raphael in *Paradise Lost* 5.220f.

but dramatically convincing sequence of ideas in the expression of the messenger's reported utterance: the size, the foreign dress and the arrival of the strangers are relayed in that order[67]:

> nuntius ingentis ignota in veste reportat
> advenisse viros.

There has been a lot of action on the day the Trojans arrive in Latium - the narrator uses indirect speech to hurry his audience on to a deliberately lengthy description of the Laurentine court.

The king's private reactions to Ilioneus's words are given (7.249-58f.)[68], which show his speech of welcome given in o.r. at 259f. is sincere. He accepts the gifts, and grants the request for settling rights and peace. He then asks his own *mandata* (266), concerning the omens boding the marriage of Lavinia, to be taken back to the Trojan leader. The return of the envoys to Aeneas is described in the narrative present. This is a delicate touch: Aeneas's reception of the reply is not related at all, not even in o.m. If it had been, the audience would have been given too firm a picture of the treaty being effected; the subsequent turn of events would then have seemed more cumbersome, if not slightly less credible.

This observation might be supported by a consideration of the different manner in which the alliance with Evander is conducted. As Aeneas points out (8.143-5), in this case there are no third parties; he has responded to Pallas's challenge and speaks to Evander himself, establishing a common lineage. It is fitting that Mercury and Atlas, paired in 4.246 above should here again be associated with frank, truthful speech, in contrast to dissimulation: *fretus his* suggests not merely that Aeneas is appealing to a shared ancestry, but that the significance of these particular ancestors is important too[69]. A more obvious contrast to the Latin embassy scene is that Evander looks straight at Aeneas as he talks (8.152-3) unlike Latinus who looked at the ground (7.249-51)[70] .

Aeneas's embassy to the Etruscan king is narrated in o.o. (10.149-53), but since the commander of the Trojans delivers it himself, it cannot be counted as a message.

More appropriate is the episode of the reception of the Latin envoys in 11.100f.. This is reported in o.o.:

> Iamque oratores aderant ex urbe Latina
> velati ramis oleae veniamque rogantes:
> corpora, per campos ferro quae fusa iacebant,
> redderet ac tumulo sineret succedere terrae;
> nullum cum victis certamen et aethere cassis;
> parceret hospitibus quondam socerisque vocatis.

Here again (cf. 7.213-48), no comparison with a dictation speech can be made since none was narrated, but there is no doubt that one took place.

The request is based on *Iliad* 7.394f.: Idaeus the herald has been sent by Priam (whose is the previous speech) to pass on to the Atreids a request for a truce under which the dead can be burned. In Homer, Idaeus speaks in o.r.; but the words of Priam

[67] Servius notes on 167: *INGENTES ex stupore nuntii laus ostenditur Troianorum. et bene novitatis ostendit opinionem: ingentes enim esse quos primum videmus opinamur.*

[68] These lines begin by presenting Latinus's point of view rather than his actual thoughts, but the quotation of the sors given in o.o. (255-8) by the narrator could almost be a rendering of the king's actual musings.

[69] The qualities of endurance and Providence (cf. ancient commentators on *Od*.1.52, Buffière p. 579) symbolised by Atlas are appropriate ones to have in mind at the forging of an alliance.

[70] See Heuzé 1985, 564

are repeated formulaically, with only the substitution of καὶ δὲ τόδ' ἠνώγεον εἰπεῖν ἐπός (394) for καὶ δὲ τόδ' εἰπέμεναι πυκινὸν ἔπος (375).

Diomede and Agamemnon then reply in o.r., but inevitably their words have more impact than the herald's, because Idaeus only repeated what the audience had already heard.

Virgil also accentuates the response to an embassy, but by a different means. The request of the *oratores* is couched in o.o., so that Aeneas's words, largely in o.r., are given more emphasis.

Another reason for the employment of o.o. in 11.102-5, is that these words are attributed to a group: o.o. or o.m. is nearly always used in these situations (cf. 1.518-9). Of course, another realistic alternative, would be to have one spokesman for the group whose words are narrated in o.r., cf. Ilioneus's role at 1.522f. and 7.213f.. Drances's speech below (124-131) reflects his own opinions and intentions, which then hold sway over his colleagues, as opposed to the official view of the embassy party. The o.o. at 102-5 gives the correct impression of the announcement being made collectively, rather than forcing attention on any particular speaker.

Line 102 marks the intrusion of the narrator's voice into the o.o. construction with *iacebant* as an aside. The brief image illustrates the extent of the carnage. Finally, positive effects are gained from the word order of this passage: *Corpora, Redderet, Nullum, Parceret* are all emphasised at the beginnings of verses.

In his response to the envoys, Aeneas expresses his peaceful intentions: he also remarks (116-8) that if Turnus had wanted to drive out the Trojans, he should have met him in single combat. However there is no phrase like *mea dicta referte* phrasing a formal challenge. Still, Drances in his speech assures Aeneas at 127 that his words will be taken back to the city. Later, the protests of the grieving Latins are narrated in indirect speech at 218-9, as they call for Turnus to fight it out:

> ipsum armis ipsumque iubent decernere ferro,
> qui regnum Italiae et primos sibi poscat honores.

Drances too is described, demanding the same thing in a similar way:

> .. solumque vocari
> testatur solum posci in certamina Turnum. 220-1

(cf. *ipsum ... ipsumque* 218-19). The issue is raised by Drances again during his o.r. speech in the council (11.343-375).

That council meeting is prompted by the *responsa* brought to Latinus from Diomede by the Latin envoys. Again (cf. 102-5), the fact and import of the message at this point is more important than what was actually said. This compression serves to let the poem's audience know the immediate result, so that along with the Latins, they can subsequently hear the details from Venulus's own mouth (243-295). For once, the narration of a delivery speech (in o.o.) precedes that of a dictation which is given in o.r. embedded within an o.r. speech.

The details are presented of Diomedes's rejection of the gifts (281-2), and of his reasons for suggesting the Latins make peace (283f.), with a good deal more besides. Diomedes speaks informally to the envoys: he does not dictate a message to be transmitted in return. Perhaps it is for this very reason his words end up being quoted in full.

Another kind of message is dictated by Turnus at 10.491-5, after he has killed Pallas, for the Arcadians to take back to Evander. It is no surprise that his unsympathetic words are not passed on. (The first news of Pallas's death is conveyed by *Fama volans* , narrated in o.m. at 11.139.) Nonetheless, it is interesting that the words of the grieving

father respond to Turnus's vaunt. Turnus had claimed to send back Pallas as his father deserved to have him - dead, so that his alliance with the Trojans (*Aeneia hospitia*) should be of no small account (10.494-5). Evander at 11.164-6 is ready to point out that he does not blame the Trojans, or their treaty, or their right hands joined in *hospitio*. His ill fortune was the design of fate, and the question of desert, just or unjust, does not come into it.

Then at 11.176, Evander dictates a message of his own for the Trojans to take back to their king. This is presented in o.r.: he has no enthusiasm for life, and his only wish is for Turnus to be dead. We do not see this specifically transmitted - for us it is a commission which serves to reflect Evander's state of mind rather than one which needs to be actually delivered. It is enough that at the end of the poem Aeneas kills Turnus for the sake of avenging Pallas (12.948-9).

One final example of the execution of a message on the mortal plane is that from Camilla to Turnus at 11.825. Her last words are a request to Acca to take these *mandata novissima* to the warrior:

succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbe 826.

As in the other dictations rendered in o.r. in Virgil, the speaker uses the third person of the character who will eventually be addressed. Acca conveys the event of Camilla's death in two words only: *cecidisse Camillam*. We are not presented with Camilla's specific request being transmitted by the narrator, but we hear of the other bad news for Turnus in three lines of o.o. : the ranks of the Volsci have been wiped out, the enemy are attacking, and panic is reaching the city walls. Turnus immediately leaves his position (901), so it is clear that Camilla's orders have been passed on.

From this survey of messages on the mortal plane, it is clear that there is less of a pattern in the *Aeneid* for the narration of their transmission than there is for divine ones: a variety of speech modes are employed at various stages including the novel example of an o.r. dictation speech embedded in a delivery speech (11.252-93 inside 11.343-295).

There are three structures for divine messages:

(i) o.m. ascribed to both dictator's and messenger's words (1.297, 9.803-5)

(ii) o.m. ascribed to the dictator, *o.r.* to the messenger (4.694, 9.2)

(iii) o.r. ascribed to both as in 4.219f.

A principal difference of presentation between the two types of message is that for the divine ones, there is an explicit, if cursory narration of all the stages of transmission. This can happen for messages sent and received on the mortal plane, but it is by no means the rule.

Secondly, o.o. as opposed to o.m. does not occur in the narration of the progress of divine messages (unless contestably in indirect commands), but there is a clear tendency to prefer it where human orders and messages are concerned.

There is always a distinct manner of narration for recounting the progress of divine message transmissions. Mortal messages are always handled in a different way. This does not only apply to Virgil, as we shall see.

(iii) Messenger scenes in the *Metamorphoses*.

Ovid's manner of narrating speeches in messenger scenes is summarised in Avery 1936[71] :

[71] Avery's category of *'oratio obliqua '* includes o.m..

Oratio obliqua is not used for despatching messages. A messenger may deliver his message either in oratio recta or in *oratio obliqua*, depending upon the treatment of the previous speech.

There are six scenes in which messengers are despatched in the *Metamorphoses*. However, not all these count for the purpose of this analysis: no verbal messages are taken by Mercury when he is ordered to drive the cattle to the seashore in 2.837, or by Cupid when he is requested to strike Pluto at 5.365f.. The message sent from Byblis to Caunus (9.530f.), will be considered in relation to the Hersilia episode treated here; although it is certainly interesting in its own right.

So I shall treat here Ceres's message to Fames (8.788f.), Juno's message to Somnus (11.585f.) and Juno's message to Hersilia (14.829).

Ceres - Oread - Fames.

At 8.788 Ceres, in response to a prayer from the Dryad sisters of the oak-nymph killed by the tyrant Erysichthon, sends a mountain nymph to Fames. (cf. Jupiter commissioning Mercury in response to a prayer from Iarbas in *Aeneid* 4, and Zeus sending Hermes as a guide in *Iliad* 24.332f. in response to Priam's prayer just before.) Ceres intends to torture Erysichthon with hunger.

The incident here is in part based on *Iliad* 14.225f., where Hera persuades Hypnos to send Zeus to sleep (cf.*Met*. 2.760 where Minerva herself fetches Invidia). In the passage here an envoy is required because the Fates forbid a meeting between Ceres and Fames.

Other precedents for this episode are Euripides's *Herakles* (in which Lussa is ordered to attack the hero) and the Allecto episode in Aeneid 7.323f..[72] Nonnus's *Dionysiaca* 48.370f., in which Nemesis is sent to punish Aura for insulting Artemis, may suggest further Hellenistic precedents.

However, in none of these is a specific message sent to be reproduced, and attributed to the sender as there is here. Ceres's dictation begins at 8.788:

> 'est locus extremis Scythiae glacialis in oris,
> triste solum, sterilis, sine fruge, sine arbore tellus;
> Frigus iners illic habitant Pallorque Tremorque
> et ieiuna Fames: ea se in praecordia condat
> sacrilegi scelerata, iube, nec copia rerum
> vincat eam superetque meas certamine vires;
> neve viae spatium te terreat, accipe currus,
> accipe, quos frenis alte moderere, dracones'

Ceres opens her words to the Oread with information necessary to locate the habitat of Fames: the mention of Fames in 791 then prompts the goddess's order to her. Again, in the fashion of dictation speeches in Homer and Virgil, the recipient of the message is referred to in the third person, and we do not have the intended message dictated verbatim. The commands here are expressed in exhortations (*condat...nec vincat...superatque*) with an emphatic *iube !*. The next iussive subjunctive, though, applies to the Oread (*neve viae spatium te terreat*), as she is urged to take Ceres's chariot.

The dictated message is not repeated in o.o. or o.r., only mentioned in o.m.: *refert mandata deae*. This choice of mode does not 'depend on the treatment of the previous speech', as Avery believes, since most previous speeches in situations like these will be dictation speeches, which in the *Met*., as she herself observes, are never in indirect speech anyway. Rather, o.m. is more likely to be used here because the idea of the message is repeated anyway, in the Oread's and Fames's actual performance of Ceres's instructions. The diction of Ceres's original command has already been echoed

[72] See Hollis 1970 ad loc.

mildly in 817 *intrat sacrilegi thalamos*; 819 *seque viro inspirat*; and 820 *ieiunia*.

Besides, to spend too much narrative time on the relaying of the command would perhaps take the audience too far away from Erysichthon, whose punishment is the object of the mission. As it is, the grim description of Fames (799-808) helps to show what horror is in store for him.

When the Oread actually delivers her message at 8.810, the infectious feeling of hunger looms larger in 809-13 than the content of the *mandata*: the messenger herself is feeling the effect of Fames.

Thus the use of o.m. instead of a quoted speech here helps emphasise that Iris wants to get the message over quickly. It develops a picture of the messenger's point of view (compare the means by which Mercury's way of seeing things was presented to us in *Aeneid* 4.259-67).

Juno- Iris - Somnus

Metamorphoses 11.585f. presents a comparable sequence of events. Again a deity prompts an errand in response to a prayer - but this time the prayer cannot be granted. Instead, the goddess acts only to stop Alcyone praying for her husband's life in vain.

Juno's instructions to Iris are brief[73], narrated in four lines of o.r.:

> 'Iri, meae' dixit 'fidissima nuntia vocis,
> vise soporiferam Somni velociter aulam
> exstinctique iube Ceycis imagine mittat
> somnia ad Alcyonen veros narrantia casus.'

The address *meae fidissima nuntia vocis* is worth noting. The conjunction of *fide minister* is used by Jupiter to address Mercury earlier at *Met.* 2.837 (see Bömer's commentary *ad loc.*).[74] Juno wants from her messenger a precise rendition of her demands.

As in the previous sequence, the messenger is addressed with imperatives: there is the same use of *iube* and the third person subjunctive. But a difference here is that the whole description of the messenger's destination is given by the narrator, instead of part of it at 592-615 (cf. 8.788f.: *Est locus...* which are Ceres's words.)

In spite of the liturgical courtesy[75], the essence of Iris's direct speech delivery in 623f. is indeed *fidissima* to Juno's words:

> Somne, quies rerum, placidissime, Somne, deorum,
> pax animi, quem cura fugit, qui corpora duris
> fessa ministeriis mulces reparasque labori,
> somnia, quae veras aequant imitamine formas,
> Herculea Trachine sub imagine regis
> Alcyonen adeant simulacraque naufraga fingant.
> imperat hoc Iuno.

This speech contains the same o.o. construction as was employed in the dictation

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73 For further examples and bibliography on 'Kurze (pathetische) Rede an entscheidender Stelle', see Bömer at 11.207: He lists 8.689, 767; 9.143f.; 10.230f.,380,640f.;11.102f.,132f.,160, 221f.,323,585f., 676, 712f., 720f., 725, 727f..

74 Ovid does seem to use *fidus* in various contexts involving discourse which faithfully reproduces an idea or event. For example, *Tristia* 3.7.1 addresses a *littera, sermonis fida ministra mei. Tristia* 3.4.40, *Amores* 1.11.27 are possibly relevant too. Certainly the application of the adjective is of interest here, since Iris is a *nuntia vocis*.

75 Somnus understandably gives more occasion for the prayer form than Fames. Again see Bömer *a d loc.* for parallels.

speech: *iube* and the iussive subjunctive - but this time Somnus must order his dreams. There are changes of diction which might be ascribed to a mere desire for variety: *sub imagine regis* instead of *Ceycis imagine ; Alcyonem adeant* instead of *mittat ad Alcyonem*.The sense of *simulacraque naufraga fingant* (628) though, implies that more artifice is involved than *veros narrantia casus* (588) suggested. A dream which tells the truth is still just a convincing deception[76]; and Iris seems to have more awareness of this than Juno. Her remark at 626 also supports this: *somnia quae veras aequant imitamine formas*.

Iris knows this because she has actually seen and moved aside some *obstantia somnia* around the sleeping Somnus, which the narrator has just described thus:

> hunc circa passim varias imitantia formas
> somnia vana iacent totidem quot messis aristas... 613-614.

The resemblance of diction between these verses and 626 is no accident. Again (cf.*Aeneid* 4.260-4, 265-7), the messenger's eventual words to the recipient are affected by what he or she noticed on the course of the mission.

Thus although the fundamental message is delivered, a narration of the delivery in direct speech allows the poet to give us more than just the message dictated.

Along with the Homeric Iris and Mercury in *Aeneid* 4.268-70, Iris puts a seal of divine authority on her tidings: *imperat hoc Juno*. True to form she departs swiftly, but this time feeling the sensation of sleep, as the Oread felt hunger in 8.811-12.

However, the chain of the message is not yet complete - we know that Somnus passes on the instruction to Morpheus (647-8), but the narrator tells us nothing of what is said. It is clear, though, that Morpheus was told to adopt the form of Ceyx, which he does at 653f.. The *veros casus* are then given to Alcyone in her sleep at 658-70. We hear Morpheus-Ceyx telling her in o.r. that her prayers have been in vain, and that she should not expect his return. The content of the dream is then borne out by the discovery of Ceyx's corpse at 710f..

Juno - Iris - Hersilia

14.829f. is interesting in that it shows a significant divergence from the practice of narrating the transmission of messages from gods to mortals so far examined:

> flebat ut amissum coniunx, cum regia Iuno
> Irin ad Hersiliam descendere limite curvo
> imperat et vacuae sua sic mandata referre:
> 'o et de Latia, o et de gente Sabina
> praecipuum, matrona, decus, dignissima tanti
> ante fuisse viri, coniunx nunc esse Quirini
> siste tuos fletus et, si tibi cura videndi 835
> coniugis est, duce me lucum pete, colle Quirini
> qui viret et templum Romani regis obumbrat.'

Here the message is quoted precisely in the form in which it is to be delivered to Hersilia - she is addressed in the second person *before* Iris has descended her rainbow to give the message to her. *Me* in 836 clearly means Iris, judging by Hersilia's response (842).

This variation in narrative technique then, is significant. The actual delivery speech as it is to be given by Iris is dictated word for word by Juno - even to the extent of her taking on the role of Iris. (Iris's delivery itself is actually narrated in o.*m*.at 839.) And it is evident, as indicated, that Hersilia's reply at 841f. is to the very speech that we have

[76] This paradox is carried to the point of irony by Ovid in 11.666-668 when Morpheus posing as Ceyx claims not to be an *ambiguus auctor*.

had quoted in Juno's words:

> 'O dea (namque mihi nec, quae sis, dicere promptum est,
> et liquet esse deam), duc, o duc', inquit 'et offer
> coniugis ora mihi ! quem si modo posse videre
> fata semel dederint, caelum accepisse fatebor.'

This is not the first instance of this kind in the poem: Byblis's message to Caunus is quoted in full exactly as he will receive it. But that is because Byblis wrote her words directly to her brother in a letter - here Ovid has applied that technique of narration to an orally delivered message. Perhaps this is done because of the circumstances and content of this particular message. Juno, as goddess of the State, is anxious Iris delivers her words precisely because they have significance for the Roman people as a whole - not just for Hersilia personally.

Where the actual choice of speech modes for narrating these divine commissions is concerned, Ovid diverges from Virgil : only in showing less variety: the techniques the narrator's voice use conform to those in the *Aeneid*. One scene (Juno - Iris - Somnus) is comparable to *Aeneid* 4.218f. in which we hear both delivery and dictation speeches in full. The other two (Ceres - Oread - Fames scene and the Hersilia episode) involve o.r. dictation followed by o.m. delivery. The remaining Virgilian practice of a whole sequence being rendered in indirect speech is not adopted. With what his characters say, however, Ovid can be more innovative as the Hersilia episode shows.

(iv) The messenger scenes in the*Thebaid*. [77]

Jupiter - Mercury - Pluto - Laius - Eteocles

There are three occasions when messages are sent under divine direction in the poem. The first is at 1.285f. when Jupiter, as a definitive demonstration of his resolution to involve Argos in the conflict, sends Mercury to Laius's shade with the purpose of rousing Eteocles to conflict. The relevant part of his speech begins at 292:

> Quare impiger alis
> portantis praecede Notos, Cyllenia proles,
> aëra per liquidum regnisque inlapsus opacis
> dic patruo; superas senior se attollat ad auras
> Laius, exstinctum nati quem vulnere nondum
> ulterior Lethes accepit ripa, profundi
> lege Erebi: ferat haec diro mea iussa nepoti:
> germanum exsilio fretum Argolicisque tumentem
> hospitiis, quod sponte cupit, procul impius aula
> arceat, alternum regni infitiatus honorem.
> hinc causae irarum, certo reliqua ordine ducam.'

This dictation speech is in o.r.. This is customary in longer sequences involving message transmission. 292-4 here echo *Aeneid* 4.223, and resemble the description of the descent at 309-11 later.

The message dictated is strictly for Mercury's *patruus* , i.e. Jupiter's brother, Pluto, but the iussives *attollat, ferat* governed by *Laius* bring their subject more

[77] I have used the edition of Garrod 1906 and the following commentaries: Heuvel 1932 (on 1), Mulder 1932 (on 2), Snijder 1968 (on 3), Smolenaars 1983 (on 7.1-451), Dewar 1991 (on 9) as well as Håkanson 1972-3. Lewis 1936, 48-56 and especially Vessey 1973 provide interesting overviews. Feeney 1991, 338f. looks in detail at the gods in the *Thebaid* and supplies much useful bibliography.

prominently to our attention. Then at 299-301 comes the message that Laius is to give to Eteocles: with another exhortation (*arceat*) that applies to the Theban. So there is a message to Eteocles, within a message to Laius within a message to Pluto[78].

Jupiter's ultimate intention of course is the prompt to Eteocles, conforming to his general purpose (cf. 302.) And the only delivery speech narrated at all is the one given before Eteocles. At the beginning of the delivery scene, Mercury is shown leading Laius; so it is clear that he has spoken both to Pluto and the shade, but not even an o.m. narration of these exchanges is provided. This is deft narration on Statius's part: the scene change alone conveys to the audience that all the messages have been passed on.

Of course, matters would be simpler if Mercury went straight to Eteocles, but it is not part of Mercury's traditional function to relay disruptive, or worse, misleading messages from Jupiter (cf. Hardie 1986 and Buffière 1956 cited above). Mulder 1932 in his note on 2.1 shows that Mercury has a special role as the god's messenger to the shades. This passage also shows his other functions as healer and ψυχοπομπός. There are literary precedents in Seneca possibly influencing Statius: the ghosts of Tantalus in *Thyestes* 1-121, and of Thyestes in *Agamemnon* 1-56. Besides, the grim figure of his grandfather's ghost will have all the more impact on Eteocles.

A difference in narrative technique here from previous scenes is that the transmission of the message is broken at 1.312 with *Interea*. Polyneices's fortunes are described, until the resumption of the messenger scene *in medias res* is marked (also by *interea*) at 2.1.

Not surprisingly Chinese whispers have taken some toll; the delivery speech of Laius disguised as Tiresias (2.102-19), presented by the narrator in o.r., differs considerably from Jupiter's dictation in the previous book:

'Non somni tibi tempus, iners, qui nocte sub alta
germani secure, iaces: ingentia dudum
acta vocant rerumque graves, ignave paratus.
tu veluti magnum si iam tollentibus Austris
Ionium nigra iaceat sub nube, magister
immemor armorum versantisque aequora clavi
cunctaris. iamque ille novis (scit fama) superbit
conubiis virisque parat, quis regna capessat,
quis neget; inque tua senium sibi destineat aula.
dant animos socer augurio fatalis Adrastus
dotalesque Argi, nec non in foedera vitae
pollutus placuit fraterno sanguine Tydeus.
hinc tumor, et longus fratri promitteris exsul.
ipse deum genitor tibi me miseratus ab alto
mittit: habe Thebas, caecumque cupidine regni
ausurumque eadem germanum expelle, nec ultra
fraternos inhiantem obitus sine fidere coeptis
fraudibus aut Cadmo dominas inferre Mycenas'

The ghost, addressing Eteocles as *iners* , rebukes him for sleeping, comparing him to a negligent ship's captain. Jupiter's suggestion that Polyneices be portrayed as *exsilio fretum Argolicisque tumentem hospitiis* (1.299) is followed, and expanded in 2.108-114.

Superbit (108), *dant animos* (111), and most specifically *tumor* (114), all pick up *tumentem*; the general idea of Polyneices capitalising on his exile and enjoying Argive

78 The tersest precedent for the narration of a sequence of messages seems to be Apollonius of Rhodes, Argonautica 4.753f., when Hera summons Iris to summon Thetis, and to tell Hephaistos to stop the winds. All three speeches are narrated - Hera's in o.r. and the latter two in o.m. There, less narrative time is spent on multiple message transmission than in the *Iliad* 24.74f.; but Statius's method is obviously the most economical.

hospitality is conveyed by mention of his wedding to Adrastus's daughter (109, 112), and of his friendship with the fratricide Tydeus.

Fama is given as an authority at 108: *scit Fama*. Although there are no occasions when Fama lies[79] - she can be appealed to with assurance - the citation shows that there is an element of sensation about what is going on. The next time Fama is mentioned in the poem (2.201f.) she is personified, and the content of her news coincides with the news in this speech. (Appropriately, Fama's words are once more presented in o.o; cf. the contrast between the speech modes of Mercury and Fama in *Aeneid* 4 noted above.)

Laius explicitly alleges that Polyneices is conspiring against Eteocles (109-110, 114). Then at 115f., Laius claims to pronounce a message from Jove himself. The line clearly imitates *Aeneid* 4.268: *ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo/regnator*. But here the emphatic juxtaposition of pronouns falsely emphasises the directness of the message for Eteocles - Laius has not been sent to him from Jupiter. The second part of 115 copies *Aeneid* 5.726. This is just as misleading for Eteocles: Jupiter is not acting out of pity, but to effect his divine will, which involves the punishment of Oedipus's sons.

The command in 116-9 does pick up in sense the request in 1.299-302 (*germanum ... procul impius aula arceat*) with *germanum expelle*. But in addition, the idea that Polyneices might be scheming against him is introduced, and the controversy of his foreign marriage is again used, to add fuel to the flame. Before departing swiftly Laius reveals his true identity, and rouses Eteocles to a frenzy of vengeful anger.

This delivery speech, though containing the import Jupiter required, contains only a minimal resemblance to his dictation. And quite appropriately: Laius's shade is a third hand messenger, but still wants to give Eteocles the impression that he is transmitting the actual words of Jove. Thus there is the false quoting of direct speech in 116-9.

Jupiter - Mercury - Mars

The second message transmission is from Jupiter to Mars in 7.5-81. Although this scene clearly recalls the commissioning of Mars in 3.230, in which the war god is addressed directly, it follows a more straightforward pattern. Again there are resemblances to the dispatch scene in *Aeneid* 4 (7.5f. recalls *Aen*. 4.222f. - see Smolenaars 1983 *ad loc*. for the nomenclature of Mercury, and the relation of this speech to other parallels.)

Statius's Jupiter is more loquacious than Virgil's, and this is a long dictation speech of 27 verses:

> 'I, medium rapido Borean inlabere saltu
> Bistonias, puer, usque domos axemque nivosi
> sideris, Oceano vetitum qua Parrhasis ignem
> nubibus hibernis et nostro pascitur imbri.
> atque ibi seu posita respirat cuspide Mavors
> (quamquam invisa quies), seu, quod reor, arma tubasque
> insatiatus obit caraeque in sanguine gentis
> luxuriat: propere monitus iramque parentis
> ede, nihil parcens. nempe olim accendere iussus
> Inachias acies atque omne quod Isthmius umbo
> distinet et raucae circumtonat ira Maleae:
> illi vix muros limenque egressa iuventus
> sacra colunt; credas bello rediisse, tot instant
> plausibus, offensique sedent ad iusta sepulcri.
> hicne tuus, Gradive, furor ? sonat orbe recusso

[79] However at 12.497-9, the narrator tells us that a generally received tradition is not quite correct: *fama minor factis*. At 7.114-6 the nightmarish *Pavor* gives the Inachians the false impression of an enemy army advancing.

discus et Oebalii coeunt in proelia caestus ?
at si ipsi rabies ferrique insana voluptas
(qua tumet) immeritas cineri dabit impius urbes
ferrum ignemque ferens, implorantisque Tonantem
sternit humi populos miserumque exhauriet orbem.
nunc lenis belli nostraque remittitur ira.
quod ni praecipitat pugnas dictoque iubentis
ocius impingit Tyriis Danaa agmina muris
(nil equidem crudele minor), sit mite bonumque
numen, et effreni laxentur in otia mores,
reddat equos ensem mihi, nec sanguinis ultra
ius erit: aspiciam terras pacemque iubebo
omnibus: Ogygio sat erit Tritonia bello.'

At 7-13 he tells Mercury where he expects Mars to be found, and what he will be doing. Then comes the *monitus* which Mercury is to pass on *nihil parcens*. Running from 14-33, the content of the actual dictation is itself longer than most other examples.

Mars is referred to in the third person, as is the norm in such a context. There is even less concern with formulating the message to be dictated than in *Aeneid* 4.227-3, as the god gives vent to his feelings. The apostrophe *hicne tuus Gradive furor?*, too, seems to be more an expression of Jupiter's exasperation, affected or not, than something we can imagine addressed to the war god. Nonetheless the taunts at 26-30 are designed to antagonise Mars and goad him to action.

The close of Jupiter's speech is again marked by *dixerat* (cf. *Aen.* 4.238). Note again how the narration of the journey of Mercury to Thrace supplies an ecphrastic description - of Mars and his retinue. The terror induced in Mercury by the sight at 75-6 brings us back to the his dispatching: Jupiter would reduce his threats and not give orders if he was there himself.

The response to Mars's questions is given in an o.m. rendition (*ille refert consulta patris* 81) - the usual alternative to a narration in o.r..

In these two episodes, although there are divergences from the techniques observed so far in some respects, e.g. the break in the errand from 1.312 to 2.1 and Jupiter's lengthy dictation speech, there are no innovations in the choice of speech modes for their narration. O.r. is used for the dictation speeches, and o.r. or o.m. for the deliveries. Jupiter does not dictate his commands precisely as they are to be reproduced, but he does not use formal o.o. constructions either.

Juno - Iris - Somnus

The third scene involving a divine embassy shows a rather different handling. At 10.81f. Juno sends Iris to Somnus asking him to send the Theban guard to sleep. In this scene the dictation speech is narrated in a brief indirect command (*suamque/orbibus accingi solitis iubet Irin*), and terse o.m. (*omne mandat opus*). The delivery of Juno's message is then narrated in o.r. (126-31).

The context may offer some explanation for a deviation from a more frequent practice of narrating the dictation speech in full, if a detailed description of a messenger scene is to follow. As in other situations (e.g. *Aen.* 4.219, *Met.* 8.788, 11.585), the divine envoy is sent in response to a prayer. The appeal from the Argive women is particularly pertinent to Juno - Argos is her city. There is also a robe consecrated to the goddess, which depicts her just married to Jupiter, and still unhurt by his infidelity. The women poignantly emphasise in their prayer the association of Thebes with her husband's adultery, and ask her to send another thunderbolt on the city. Juno is agitated (10.70-82):

Quid faciat ? scit Fata suis contraria Grais

aversumque Iovem, sed nec periisse precatus
tantaque dona velit; tempus tamen obvia magni
fors dedit auxilii. videt alto ex aethere clausa
moenia et insomni vallum statione teneri:
horruit irarum stimulis motaque verendum
turbavit diadema coma: non saevius arsit,
Herculeae cum matris onus geminosque Tonantis
secubitus vacuis indignaretur in astris.
ergo intempesta somni dulcedine captos
destinat Aonios leto praebere, suamque
orbibus accingi solitis iubet Irin et omne
mandat opus.

Juno's agitation is conveyed by her self-interrogation reported in f.i.d.: *quid faciat?* There is a brief o.o. construction dependent on *scit* and from 70 onwards events are presented from her point of view as the sequence of verbs indicates. She is in a frenzied state, compared in intensity to her feelings on the occasion of Jupiter's adultery with Alcmene, and reaches a conclusion on how to act.

The poet has sought to portray Juno's inner feelings here, as they have been highlighted by the Argive women's prayer - more of the goddess's psychology is shown through her reactions than could easily be conveyed in a speech. Perhaps because of this treatment (lengthy analyses of a character's motivation are not frequent in the *Thebaid* [80]), Statius does not choose to give her a direct speech here as well.

The diction of Iris's delivery speech at 126-31 might support this idea, as it harkens back to these thoughts of Juno:

Sidonios te Iuno duces, mitissime divum
Somne, iubet populumque trucis defigere Cadmi,
qui nunc eventu belli tumefactus Achaeum
pervigil asservat vallum et tua iura recusat.
da precibus tantis (rara est hoc posse facultas),
placatumque Iovem dextra Iunone merere.

The goddess's sight of the Thebans watching the Achaean rampart (cf. 73-4,128-9) is recalled bearing out the notion that 10.70-80 act as a substitute for a dictation speech. Juno's bird's eye view is comparable to that Jupiter had of Aeneas's activities before his orders to Mercury at *Aen.* 4.221, after hearing Iarbas's prayer.

The picture of Somnus's habitation parallels the ecphrasis in 7.41f..The resemblance to Ovid's description of Iris's visit to Somnus has frequently been remarked upon.[81] However, the description in Statius has no bearing on Iris's words, as it did in the model passage.

The juxtaposition of her opening words suggests that Iris has arranged the presentation of her message to gain the attention of the drowsy god. At 126-7 an indirect command construction, in these contexts as unusual in a delivery speech like this as it is in the narration of a dictation (10.81), presents Juno's request economically and clearly. The following relative clause provides details and the goading hint that Somnus's

[80] This is illustrated by the complete lack of soliloquies, and relative to Ovid and Valerius, scant amount of o.o. used to render thoughts. External forces acting on an agent's *mens* or *artus* provide the equivalent of unvoiced thoughts. Characters in the *Thebaid* are mainly delineated through their actions, and voiced speeches. Apart from Juno here, Polyneices and Adrastus are the chief figures to have thoughts containing propositions which are more than one or two verses long. This reflects the orientation of the poet who is in the end 'sympathetic' to the exile's cause - cf.11.541-2: *cui fortior ira nefasque iustius.*

[81] cf. Vessey 1973, 304-5.

authority is being denied *tua iura recusat*. Iris also eggs him on with a promise of the rare honour of winning the approval of Jupiter and Juno simultaneously.

Unlike Ovid's Iris who leaves Somnus's company immediately, the messenger here stays to beat the god's breast so that the message (*voces*, an echo of *Met.* 10.585 ?) will not be lost. To this end she repeats her request again and again (*iterumque iterumque monebat* 133).

Apart from this last instance in which the dictation speech is rendered in an indirect command and o.m., and the delivery treated fully with a speech in o.r., Statius abides by the practice adopted in the *Metamorphoses*, of an o.r. dictation followed by an o.m. delivery where the treatment of the transmission of divine messages is concerned.

Messages dictated by mortals and embedded speeches.

A different method is adopted for the narration of dictation speeches commissioning messages on the mortal plane, in spite of the fact that these are narrated in o.r. too. Eteocles in his dictation speech to Polyneices (2.415-51), Tydeus in his to Eteocles (2.697-703), and Parthenopaeus to Atalanta (9.885-907), all give the actual content of their messages in the form of a *rhesis* within a *rhesis* .

These dictated speeches-within-speeches cannot of course be facsimiles of any actual delivery speeches - narrated or implied in the story - if the dictator speaks in the first person and the second person is used for the recipient of the message. The presence of the commissioned messenger will always influence the real delivery.

One might speculate on the effect of this technique of the embedded speech on the performance of the poem in a declamation context. The audience would be given the benefit of hearing, along with the messenger, something beyond a dictation. They have the illusion, however much the story shows it to be false, of the sender actually addressing the recipient of his message face to face. This method of narration allows us to hear Eteocles speaking to Polyneices, Tydeus threatening Eteocles, and Parthenopaeus saying his last words to his mother, even though the confines of the story do not allow these events to take place. Partly for this reason, we have been saved any repetition of form or content of these messages when they turn out to be delivered.

Eteocles reacts fiercely to the speech given by Tydeus, his brother's envoy, suggesting he should now yield the throne to Polyneices. There are textual problems in verses 2.417-8. Garrod's text reads as follows from 415. The awkward words are underlined:

> 'Cognita si dubiis fratris mihi iurgia signis
> ante forent nec clara odiorum arcana paterent,
> sufficeret vel sola fides, quam torvus et illum
> mente gerens, ceu saepta novus iam moenia laxet
> fossor et hostilis inmicent classica turmas,
> praefuris.

quam torvus et follows the consensus of codices *B K N Q* and *S* which have authority derived from an archetype π, against *P*, the oldest codex, which reads *quam servo sed*. Leaving aside arguments *a meliori auctitoritate*, it is difficult to see how the latter would read convincingly. *illum mente gerens* suggests that Tydeus is exhibiting Polyneices's demeanour.[82]

[82] Given that this is the sense, Garrod's suggestion of *fronte* for *mente* is nice: *frons* conveys better the idea of an external feature. *Frons* is also more apt in conjunction with *torvus* than *mens* (cf. 1.186 in this poem, *Silvae* 2.5.15 and *Aeneid* 3.636, 7.415).

The idea is that Tydeus has appeared to Eteocles as a kind of apparition of Polyneices. Reading *mente gerens*, Mulder comments 'vultu truculento et mente Polynicis menti simillima'. This is supported by the simile in which Eteocles imagines Tydeus putting Thebes under siege (418-19). So at certain points Eteocles almost identifies Tydeus with Polyneices (cf. *sceptra poscitis* 425-6). Thus it is not surprising that the message given after 427 is not formally dictated for the exile as third party, but that Eteocles speaks as if he were in actual confrontation with his brother when he returns his *dicta*, instead of dictating it according to he practice we have seen on the whole so far[83].

The address to Polyneices is not contrived εἰκασία on Eteocles's part; it is more likely a result of his agitation that he can work himself up to a state of mind in which he can speak to his brother directly.

The other characters whose message dictations take the form of a speech within a speech are also in a state of agitation, and this may in part account for the use of this exceptional device.

Before Tydeus can return his message, he is ambushed by a band of assassins sent by Eteocles. He kills all of them except Maeon, whom he entrusts with a message of his own for the tyrant: a series of curt commands (*cinge, nova, inspice* etc.) advising him to fortify his city - war is unleashed. But the last imperative form *aspice*, is for Maeon. He is the only one who can see the *fumantem campum*, and explain to his ruler what this means: that this is how the forces of Polyneices will come to war.

Tydeus does not worry unduly about whom he is addressing - the force of his utterance, whether it be to Maeon or to Eteocles has been demonstrated by his action.

Maeon is later shown before Eteocles at 3.59-77, and though his remarks are narrated in *o.r.*, he does not pass on any version of Tydeus's words. The drift of them is obvious anyway: *bellum infandum movisti* 3.71-2. Maeon gives his own opinions and prophecies concerning the king's behaviour instead.

We are to understand from 3.400-405 that the full contents of Eteocles's words at 2.415-51 are relayed to Polyneices:

> ipse alta seductus mente renarrat
> principia irarum, quaeque orsus uterque vicissim,
> quis locus insidiis, tacito quae tempora bello,
> qui contra quantique duces, ubi maximus illi
> sudor, et indicio servatum Maeona tristi
> exponit.

In this piece of 'informative' o.m.[84] all the events of Tydeus's embassy are covered as well. It is interesting to compare this to the account given to the *medias urbes* between Asopus and Argos, which inflamed their populations (3.339-42). This is presented by Statius in o.o.:

> multumque et ubique retexens
> legatum sese Graia de gente petendis
> isse super regnis profugi Polynicis, at inde
> vim, noctem, scelus, arma, dolos, ea foedera passum
> regis Echionii, fratri sua iura negari.

---

[83] Juno's dictation for Iris to take to Hersilia in *Met.*14.789 is the closest parallel with the recipient addressed in the second person, but that seems to be dictated exactly as it will be performed.

[84] Note that the indirect questions do not really render any questions Tydeus himself would have asked: the style of narration is similar to that used for Iopas in *Aeneid* 1, discussed in the first chapter.

The implication is that Tydeus described his experiences sensationally; the sequence of short and powerful words (*vim, noctem, scelus, arma, dolos*) suggest a powerful but incoherent tale. Possibly this earlier account he gave is so described because Tydeus was still relatively hot from the fight. It is important that the Inachians receive a more comprehensive story: although Tydeus is still agitated at 3.400 (*alta seductus mente*), it is worth noting that this second rendition in o.m. follows the chronological order in which the events occurred. It begins with the *principia irarum* and the debate; then *amplificatio* is used to present the place and time of the ambush and the numbers involved. The account ends with his commissioning of Maeon.

Parthenopaeus's first experience of war ends in death at the close of Book 9. A realisation of his impending doom only came upon the youth a short while before (cf.*urgent praesagia mille funeris*... 9.850f.). After he has received a mortal wound from Dryas, Parthenopaeus utters his last words (9.885-907), a commission to Dorceus. He acknowledges that his mother's prophetic gifts, whether by *curae*, a dream or omen, may have predicted this outcome. That has in fact been the case at 9.597f.; dreams and omens did so inform Atalanta. The earlier scene prefigures her mourning, so that a narration of her reception of the news of her son's death would be superfluous if it were given.

Dorceus is asked to keep the truth hidden *pia arte* - but if forced to reveal it, he must reproduce the speech Parthenopaeus gives at 891f.:

> dic: 'Merui, genetrix, poenas invita capesse;
> arma puer rapui, nec te retinente quievi,
> nec tibi sollicitae tandem inter bella peperci.
> vive igitur potiusque animis irascere nostris,
> et iam pone metus. frustra de colle Lycaei
> anxia prospectas, si quis per nubila longe
> aut sonus aut nostro sublatus ab agmine pulvis:
> frigidus et nudo iaceo tellure, nec usquam
> tu prope, quae vultus efflantiaque ora teneres.
> hunc tamen, orba parens, crinem' - dextraque secandum
> praebuit - 'hunc toto capies pro corpore crinem,
> comere quem frustra me dedignante solebas.
> huic dabis exsequias, atque inter iusta memento,
> ne quis inexpertis hebetet mea tela lacertis
> dilectosque canes ullis agat amplius antris.
> haec autem primis arma infelicia castris
> ure, vel ingratae crimen suspende Dianae.'"

This speech within a speech has the air of being uttered less impulsively than the ones above. Parthenopaeus's stylised objectification of his predicament in his use of the perfect tense (*Merui ... arma puer rapui*); the phrase *frigidus et nuda iaceo tellure* along with his instructions (*memento ... antris*), and the final plea for a votive offering to Diana, are suggestive of a conventional epitaph spoken by a dead or dying man.[85]

In this speech Parthenopaeus shows a self-knowledge that has not so far been a characteristic trait. His words transport us from the scene of the battlefield; these lines

[85] Or of a dying woman like Dido (see Chapter 1, 56-7 above and Fraenkel 1954) Cf. Callimachus Epig. 12(Pfeiffer) /*Anth. Pal.* 7.521; Horace *Carmina* 1.28 (see Nisbet & Hubbard 1975 ad loc.) and Propertius 1.21.. Dewar 1991 (ad loc.) notes that *merui* in 891 recalls the dying confessions of Turnus (*Aen.* 12.391). He also compares *nam (fateor) merui* of Ovid's Scylla in *Met.* 8.127. On 892, Dewar notes the juxtaposition of *arma* and *puer* : 'two things that would not normally go together' and compares Silius Italicus *Punica* 14.496. Parthenopaeus's death at the end of a book inevitably echoes the demise of Mezentius in *Aen.* 10 or of Patroclus in *Iliad* 16.

seem free of any definite context in the space and time of the story. Even the incursion into the speech at 901-1: *dextraque secandum praebuit* does not spoil this. The effect on the audience is ambiguous: we could almost allow ourselves to imagine Parthenopaeus indicating the lock of hair to be cut to his mother. The scene and the book ends without this gently imposed ambiguity being ruptured.

All the messages dictated by mortals examined so far have been rendered in a particular way. So as in Virgil, different techniques of speech narration in messenger scenes distinguish mortal commissions from divine ones. In contrast to the Olympians, mortals use the technique of the embedded speech in their commissions. This prefigures the delivery - so that the narrations of the delivery speeches in these cases do not recall the dictations in any detail.

However, Jupiter, in both his speeches in this poem refers to the recipient of his message in the third person; Juno's dictation to Iris is narrated in o.o.. In these cases, if the delivery is narrated, it recalls the dictation scene in some way. There is one exception. In 12.590-8, Theseus responds to an appeal from Capaneus's wife and sends a message to Creon requesting the burial of the Argive soldiers to be delivered by Phegeus. The speech in o.r. opens with a series of angry rhetorical questions (590-4). Theseus asserts his lack of weariness and his readiness for *meritos cruores* , before charging Phegeus with a terse message - the culmination of his speech at 598:

> aut Danais edice rogos aut proelia Thebis.

The compact construction governed by *edice* shows that this is by no means a precise formulation of the message to be given. Consequently the delivery of Phegeus, narrated in a combination of o.o. and o.m. at 12.682f. cannot really be a rendition of what Theseus actually said:

> ille quidem ramis insontis olivae
> pacificus, sed bella ciet bellumque minatur,
> grande fremens, nimiumque memor mandantis et ipsum
> iam prope, iam medios operire cohortibus agros
> ingeminans.

Instead it is an emphatic and reiterated announcement of a conflict which has become inevitable, since Creon has persisted in ignoring Theseus's warning.

The fact that Theseus, a mortal, does not formulate his message in a speech within a speech is the exception which proves the rule. It is clear that the Athenian king has a sudden role at the end of the poem as peacemaker. It is not surprising that he should speak in the fashion of a god - the authority of his words is enough; they do not need to be memorised and dictated in an exact form. This analogy of Theseus with an Olympian, more specifically Jupiter, is not only based on the speech modes he employs. Tillyard 1954, 103 remarks:

> Both Athens and Theseus are symbolical: Athens of civilisation,Theseus of the governor who upholds laws and nations.

The comparison with Jupiter perhaps suggested by the Athenian's role here, is reinforced by a rich and unusual simile at 650-655, in which Theseus is explicitly compared to the divine monarch.

(v) Messenger scenes in Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica* [86].

Valerius is not as ready as other poets to narrate all the stages of a message's transmission. Indeed the typically Hellenistic technique of 'syncopated narration'[87] is often employed in the treatments of the message motif in this poem: some episodes of a story are extensively narrated, others which could command equal attention are skirted over briefly or even omitted.

One striking example of an omission is Jason's failure to deliver to Phrixus the message Helle gave him at 2.600. Helle appears at 2.587 and speaks to Jason. Like her, she says, he has been driven eastwards by the fates and a hostile household, and she prophesies a great land and long voyage ahead, before Phasis offers a port. This prompts more specific directions, and a request for Jason to perform rites for Phrixus's remains and deliver her message. (For the detail of 598-9 *hic nemus ... hic*, cf. the fuller ecphrasis in Ceres's directions to the Oread, *Met.* 8.788f.)

The message to be given is then dictated in the form of a speech within a speech:

> Hic nemus arcanum geminaeque virentibus arae
> stant tumulis; hic prima pia sollemnia Phrixo
> ferte manu cinerique, precor, mea reddite dicta:
> 'non ego per Stygiae quod rere silentia ripae,
> frater, agor; frustra vacui scrutaris Averni,
> care, vias. neque enim scopulis me et fluctibus actam
> frangit hiemps; celeri extemplo subiere ruentem
> Cymothoe Glaucusque manu; pater ipse profundi
> has etiam sedes, haec numine tradidit aequo
> regna nec Inois noster sinus invidet undis'" 598-607

Helle uses the first person of herself, and refers to her brother in the second person. Like the embedded speech in Parthenopaeus's dictatation at the end of *Thebaid* 9, this speech too has the quality of a poetic epitaph or plea for burial: Helle cannot request her own

[86] Summers 1894, Schetter 1959 & Strand 1972 are useful general studies of the poem. On speech presentation, the study of Eigler 1988 on the monologues is helpful with good further bibliography. There is however much more to look at in Valerius's speech presentation than his monologues, as I hope even this brief treatment will show (see also n.32 on page 135 above in section (iii) of this chapter). On gods in Valerius, again Feeney 1991, 313f..

[87] This remarks calls for some statement about the relation of the speech presentation in Valerius's Argonautica to that in Apollonius's. Here I shall confine myself to comparing the openings of the two epics. Invocations to Phoebus open both, and the oracles received by Pelias involve the use of o.o. by both poets. (Ap. 1.5f.; V. 1.27). The conversation between Jason and Alcimede is in o.r. in Ap (1.277-305); in V. it is summarised in o.m. at 1.297f. An interesting divergence concerns Idmon's words (Ap. 1.430-77; V. 1.234-8). In Valerius, Idmon's premonition of his death is not spoken out loud as in Ap., but expressed as his private thought(1.238-9). Cf. the o.o. preceding Hercules's speech in Valerius 12.375-7, which is given entirely in o.r. in Ap. 1.865-74. All we know in Apollonius of Hercules's unspoken feelings is that he was left ἑκων by the ship instead of having entered the city. In general Ap. uses indirect discourse far less than Valerius whose 150 instances in 8 small books is a striking amount compared to the Latin poems we have considered.

burial and so asks for *pia sollemnia* for Phrixus's ashes instead[88]. Helle's words to Jason close with the ending of the announcement to her brother. The use of the embedded speech form may explain the omission of a delivery at 5.194 - that delivery has already been prefigured for the poem's audience, and a repetition of this passage would disrupt the coherence of Jason's prayer at 5.194f..

More explicit executions of messages occur, as we might expect, when Olympians have commissioned them. Iris immediately obeys Jupiter's direct speech command (4.78-9) which exhorts Hercules to delay his revenge on Troy and rescue Prometheus:

> 'i, Phrygas Alcides et Troiae differat arma.
> nunc' ait 'eripiat dirae Titana volucri.'

There is only an o.m. description of her action at 4.81 - we have no further rendering of Jupiter's words. Jupiter's speech is extraordinarily brief. Nevertheless the curt imperative and use of the third person subjunctive for the recipient is consistent with the practice in the other poems. The commission has been prompted by an appeal from Apollo (4.62-67) and reinforced by cries from Prometheus and Iapetus (cf. Iarbas prompting Jupiter in *Aen.* 4.198f.)

Juno's command to Iris, reported indirectly at 7.186-8, also takes place after a conversation among divinities:

> volucrem Iuno aspicit Irin
> festinamque iubet monitis parere Diones
> et iuvenem Aesonium praedicto sistere lucto.

Venus has requested that she should make Jason go to Diana's shrine (7.179-81). Since Venus's words have just been given in o.r., it seems natural that this dictation which repeats them should be summarised rather than given in *o.r.* as well. *Festinam* and *praedicto luco* give at least an impression of the kind of thing Juno said, which makes these words count as o.o., as opposed to o.m. (cf. Juno's dictation narrated indirectly after a lengthy passage of o.o. in *Thebaid* 10.81f.).

Iris promptly goes to seek the Minyae, and Venus looks for Medea. *Iliad* 24.74f. provides a precedent for two divine errands being transmitted simultaneously. It is clear from the Valerius's narrative that both of them are completed. Venus's work on Medea is related immediately, as a *novus languor* takes over the girl. The meeting of Medea of and Jason later at 396 shows that Iris has performed her mission, and 398-9 describe the messenger flying away.

Venus disguised as Circe gives a fictitious message from Jason to Medea in her speech (7.266f.) in the o.r. form in which it would have been uttered:

> '"per tibi siquis" ait "morituri protinus horror,

[88] These lines 2.600-606 can be compared with Propertius 2.26A: Cynthia in Propertius's dream almost suffers a fate like Helle's cf. *agitatam fluctibus Hellen* (2.26.5) with *me et fluctibus actam* here. Valerius's Helle describes the intervention of Glaucus and Cymothoe which Propertius fears may affect Cynthia (1.26.13f. *quod si ... Glaucus ... caerula Cymothoe*). The particular association of Helle with Glaucus and Cymothoe does not occur elsewhere, and the incident is not in Apollonius. Orpheus's reported poem about Phrixus and Helle at *Arg.* 1.277 has already recalled imagery from the first 12 verses of the Propertius elegy. Summers 1894, 37 notes some minor echoes of Propertius in Valerius. On the contamination of Valerius's epic with the colouring of elegy (and other genres) see Feeney 1991, 322f.

ac quem non meritis videas occurrere monstris,
haec, precor, haec dominae referas ad virginis aurem
ac fletus ostende meos; illi has ego voces,
qua datur, hasque manus, ut possum a litore tendo.
ipsae, quas mecum per mille pericula traxi,
defecere deae; spes et via sola salutis,
quam dederit, si forte dabit. ne vota repellat,
ne mea; totque animas, quales nec viderit ultra,
dic, precor, auxilio iuvet atque haec nomine servet.
ei mihi, quod nullas hic possum exsolvere grates!
ac tamen hoc saeva corpus de morte receptum,
hunc animam sciat esse suam. miserebitur ergo?
dic", ait "an potius" - strictum ruebat in ensem. 266-79

The message with all its vivid detail is meant to appear all the more credible to the girl. The speech takes the form of a suppliant's prayer (e.g. *per tibi si quis ...; ne vota repellat* etc.). Having heard it directly, Medea can then feel empowered to grant the request after Venus-Circe has said *te passa rogari sum potius* 281-2. The goddess not only plays on Medea's anxieties about Jason's life expressed above at 205-9, but adds further emotional spice by providing a melodramatic account of the hero's suicide attempt (279-80).

All this evidently makes an impression: Medea in her speech to Jason at 7.437f., picks up the claim she believes he made, that Juno and Minerva have abandoned him (271) so that she alone is left to help. Although the speech attributed to Jason is false, it might, like the embedded speeches examined above, allows an opportunity for extra declamation on another level, if the poem were to be recited.

Messages dictated by mortals.

There is no set technique for the narrating the dictation of messages given by mortals in the *Argonautica*. Perses's warning to the Minyae about Aeetes's deceit (6.17-26) is one of the longest passages of o.o. in the poem:

mandataque Perses
edocet, adfari Minyas fraudemque tyranni
ut moneant; quinam hinc animos averteret error ?
se primum Haemoniis hortatum ea vellera terris
reddere et exuvias pecudis dimittere sacrae:
hinc odium et tanti venisse exordia belli.
quin potius dextramque suam suaque arma sequantur,
aut remeent; neque enim Aeetae promissa fidemque
esse loco; abstineant alienae sanguine pugnae.
non illos ideo tanti venisse labores
per maris. ignotis quid opus concurrere nec quos
oderis ?

The constructions used here are regular, but declarative verbs of speaking and questioning have to be understood for the whole passage. This is better for giving the impression that Perses's discourse is continuous, and not a series of punctuated utterances.

It is worth asking why this whole passage - or at least Perses's speech itself, which could still have contained o.o. - was not put into o.r.. There is a notable concentration of o.o. in the preceding lines (6.2-3, 10-13). Perhaps Valerius wants to save the impact of direct speech for Mars's battle cry at 29. The effect at this opening of a book is similar to that at the beginning of *Aeneid* 8. There, among other events, embassies are also narrated in o.o. before the conspicuous speech of Tiberinus intrudes at 8.35. This parallel

might prompt an explanation for the density of indirect discourse at this point in Valerius's poem: a historiographical style is being affected here too, as it is in Book 7 of the *Aeneid*.

Gesander's speech to Canthus (6.323-339) contains boastful words for Asia and the Argive *coloni* . This message is dictated for purely rhetorical effect. It is not obvious why the content of the *mandata* should be Gesander's declaration that he will never leave his harsh and warlike land, any more than the description of his nation's way of life given above at 324-333. Canthus of course cannot pass the message on, because Gesander promptly kills him. 334-9 is not an embedded speech because the theoretical recipients are referred to in the third person (*ne trepident*) and 339 is clearly addressed to Canthus specifically.

Jason in his speech to Aeetes at 7.89-100 attacks the king for his *dolos*, and avows his readiness to accept whatever challenges are set before him:

> 'non' ait 'hos reditus, non hanc, Aeeta, dedisti
> spem Minyis, cum prima tuis pro moenibus arma
> induimus. quo versa fides ? quos vestra volutant
> iussa dolos ? alium hic Pelian, alia aequora cerno.
> quin agite hoc omnes odiisque urgete tyranni
> imperiisque caput; numquam mihi dextera nec spes
> defuerit; mos iussa pati nec cedere duris.
> unum oro, seu me illa suis seges obruet hastis,
> hauriet adverso seu crastinus ignis hiatu,
> nuntius hinc saevas Peliae mittatur ad aures,
> hic periisse viros, et me, si vestra fuisset
> ulla fides, reducem patriae potuisse referri'

The function of the message is being used rhetorically in this passage to make a point to Aeetes: if Jason dies, it will be because of his treachery. (Jason's choice of the second person *vestra* at 99 supports this.) The expression of what is to be conveyed in o.o. is here more natural and punchy than a precise formulation of what Jason wants said would be. The specific formulations of messages always appear at the end of the speeches addressed to messengers. In this case the message dictation closes the verbal attack on Aeetes with a flourish.

Messages delivered by mortals

The deliveries of messages sent by mortals in this poem are narrated in o.o., as they sometimes are in the *Aeneid*. We are only shown the deliveries and their effects on the recipients. Echion's announcement to the Mariandyni at 4.734-6 that the Argonauts have arrived is our first example:

> atque celer terras regemque requirit Echion
> dicta ferens, lectos (fama est si nominis umquam)
> Haemoniae subiisse viros, det litora fessis.

This is summarised indirectly[89] so that our attention is focused instead on Lycus's welcoming words (4.741-754).

When Echion delivers another message at 7.543-5, there is a quasi-formulaic repetition of *Echion /dicta ferens,* followed again by the accusative and infinitive construction and again by an exhortation with the verb *dare* - this time in a past

[89] The pattern of emphasis with *lectos* as first word in the accusative and infinitive construction, followed by the inconspicuous *subisse viros* is similar to the Latin messenger's tidings in *Aen.* 7.166-7.

sequence of tenses:

> contra venit Arcas Echion
> dicta ferens, iam Circaeis Mavortis in agris
> stare virum, daret aeripedes in proelia tauros.

This announcement too is to be followed by a direct speech from a monarch. However it is an aggressive answer to a challenge instead of a request for hospitality. The parallel clearly emphasises the contrast in behaviour between the two kings.

No particular speech modes are customarily applied for any of the stages of message transmission in the *Argonautica* [90]. Even so a distinction between Olympian and human messages is still maintained in terms of representing speech. However briefly narrated and by whatever means, the commissions of Jupiter and Juno are treated in full. On the level of mortals (and Helle), we only ever have either a dictation or a delivery - never the whole sequence. It is interesting that in Valerius's messenger scenes we see two stylistic features which occur in the contemporary *Thebaid* : the embedded speech (2.600), and a scene break in the execution of a god-sent commission (7.181-7.396). Neither of these features occur in the *Aeneid* . Embedded speeches occur only twice in the *Met.* because, in each case they are demanded by the context of the story.

Conclusion.

This examination of messenger scenes does reveal strictly consistent traits within each poem. For example, Virgil never uses *o.o.*, as opposed to *o.m.* in the narrative voice, when the dictations of messages sent by a god or goddess are described. Ovid never presents a dictation in any form of indirect speech. Direct speech dictations from mortals in the *Thebaid* always use the embedded speech technique. No transmission of a message on the mortal plane is completely narrated in the *Argonautica.*

There are also consistent traits which are shared by all four poems. The dictation and delivery of a message sent by a god are always narrated, however briefly, not just implied. If the dictation speech of Jupiter is given in o.r., the recipient of the message is always referred to in the third person. The precise formulation of the message always comes at the end of a dictation speech.

But this study also points to divergences in narrative technique among these poems which may not normally be discerned so easily.

At certain points all the poets show interest in the *ἠθοποιία* of their messengers. But in their delivery speeches in the *Aeneid* ,*Metamorphoses* and *Thebaid* , Iris or Mercury do not just state what they have been ordered to deliver, but they also inject opinons of their own influenced by their impression of the commission's importance, and even by what they have seen on the journey.We do not find the same kind of subtle interplay between what is in the messengers' speeches and what the narrator puts before us in the *Argonautica.*

Virgil, Statius and Valerius in different ways use specific techniques of speech narration to underline the difference between messages sent by Olympians and messages sent by men.

But such variations in techniques of representing speech, which sharpen the distinction already in the story between divine and mortal commissions, are not so

[90] This flexibility perhaps demonstrates Valerius's general ability to use any speech mode with ease: *o.o.* is employed with more frequency than in the other martial epics examined.There are 150 clear instances of o.o. in the *Argonautica,* compared to 130 in the *Thebaid*, a poem twice its length, and 30 in the *Aeneid*. The use of o.o. in Lucan is minimal.

apparent in Ovid. This might partly be because the paucity of examples do not give us much to work on. It may also be due to the boundaries between god and man being less definite in a poem like the *Metamorphoses* (as in the *Odyssey*), than they are in martial epic where the Iliadic hierarchy of mortal over immortal is sustained.

Techniques of speech narration deviating from the usual Iliadic models, though numerous, tend to operate on the human level where messenger scenes are concerned. They especially include *o.o.* narration of dictation and delivery speeches and some types of embedded speeches. These stylistic features, whichever ones are adopted, usually help emphasise the division between gods and mortals - a basic theme in most classical epic. Homeric patterns of speech narration have stuck for *divine* messenger scenes, and *o.o.* as opposed to *o.m.*, is barely ever found in divine dictation scenes. The strong influence of Homer as a precedent need not in itself account for this: his techniques of speech narration are not copied slavishly elsewhere.

But we have not yet considered how Virgil's practice differs from Statius's - and in this, Homer's peculiar influence on Statius is detectable. The *Thebaid* is the only poem to adopt the technique of embedded *o.r.* speeches as a standard feature of message dictations given by humans.

It should be clear from the treatment in this section that the transmission of messages in epic is by no means a cold and predictable motif. In all four poems discussed, the speeches in these episodes are intimately connected with the whole fabric of the narratives in which they appear: they determine the order, speed and manner in which events are presented, and contribute subtly but effectively to the characterisation of the personages involved.

Yet the fact that the messenger scene, with its particular trends, is a motif raises some inevitable, if unanswerable, questions. Why is there a sequence of speech modes for divine commissions which is recognisable and basically common to all these poets ? Why do these poems, with distinctive methods, always report the speech of divinely produced messages one way and mortally produced ones another? Contrary to expectation, the deployment of speech modes in these contexts in the (orally composed) *Iliad* is not as rigid as in these Latin poems. Must we say then that the poets wanted this effect to emphasise the difference between gods and men, or that they copied each other?

It may at first seem that we are forced to resort to some form of intentionalism, if we are to answer any of these questions. Another response is at our disposal however: Conte's advocation of an impersonal 'poetic memory' :

> If one concentrates on the text rather than on the author, on the relation between texts (intertextuality) rather than on imitation, then one will be less likely to fall into the common philological trap of seeing all textual resemblances as produced by the intentionality of a literary subject whose only desire is to emulate. The philologist who seeks at all costs to read intention into imtation will inevitably fall into a psychological reconstruction of motive, whether it is homage, admiring compliment, parody, or the attempt to improve upon the original. If poetic memory is reduced to the impulse to emulate, the production of the text will be devoted to the relationship between two subjectivities, and the literary process will centre more on the personal will of two opposing authors than on the structural reality of the text...
>
> When I emphasize, by contrast, the concept of a literary system and regard allusion as performing the same function as a rhetorical figure, I am trying to purge any excess of intentionalism from the concept of 'imitatio'. One text may resemble another not because it derives directly from it nor because the poet deliberately seeks to emulate but because both poets have recourse to a common literary codification. Even when the resemblances do not appear gratuitous - that is, even where some form of intentionality seems undeniable -my concern is with describing how such resemblances functionwithin the literary text.[91]

This is a straightforward structuralist position which is of course vulnerable to post-

[91] Conte 1986, 27-8.

structuralist criticism. We may be sceptical of the concept of a common 'literary system'. We may ask on what that system is based, whose it is, where it is etc.. However these are theoretical objections.

Given that we are faced with a practical problem, Conte's response seems to me to be the best available.

3. Latin prose fiction

When we turn from Latin poetry to look at questions raised by the presentation of discourse in prose fiction, it soon becomes clear that the kind of analysis we have brought to bear on epic and epyllion cannot be applied in the same way to these texts. These texts have narrative forms, story content and manners of characterisation quite different from those in poetry; the techniques of speech and thought presentation used are bound to be different too.

And the two texts which here form our main concern differ from each other greatly in terms of range, style and subject matter. We cannot find motifs or types of episode common to Petronius's *Satyricon* and Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* in order to compare their narrative techniques so directly, as we can for poets or even historians.

One characteristic the two works do share though is that they are continuous narratives in the first person. This poses new questions where an analysis of speech presentation is concerned. The *persona* of the narrator himself, whether or not he has been involved with the events he describes, becomes more conspicuous. The whole manner in which the story is recounted will contribute something to the *ἠθοποιία* of the narrator himself.

Petronius's narrator Encolpius, and Apuleius's Lucius are in fact actively involved with the stories they tell[1]. Since these 'interested narrators' are principal agents, both their accounts can themselves be considered speeches, in a far less technical sense than the other narratives we have considered are.

Both the *Sat.* , as it survives, and the *Met.* contain a number of embedded narratives, which unlike those so far examined are related in <u>styles</u> (not just voices) completely different from those of the narratives enclosing them. The implications this has for methods of speech presentation will be examined.

Another text will occasionally be mentioned in this section - the *Apocolocyntosis Divi Claudii* attributed to Seneca. Apart from its status as a speech it does not share any of these qualities.[2] There is a first person narrator but he is certainly 'disinterested' and not personally involved in the events he relates. Nor is he named. The *Apocolocyntosis* does not contain any embedded narratives - it is a text with the simple single purpose of providing a kind of inverted funereal eulogy. It is not included for detailed analysis here because it is not 'prose fiction' of the same order as our two principal texts.[3] For our purposes its role in spawning the genre we are to consider is

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[1] Genette1980, 244f., among others, has pointed out that the narrator's involvement in the story is a more important condideration for understanding a narrative than whether he speaks in the first or third person. A first person characterised narrator need not, and often does not, have any more involvement than a third person one. For Genette's terms 'homodiegetic' and 'heterodiegetic', I employ 'interested' and 'disinterested' respectively.

[2] See the section entitled 'Latin prose fiction and *recitatio* ?' at the end of this chapter.

[3] The *Apocolocyntosis* is more often billed as satire or 'Menippean satire' than 'fiction' and a great proportion of it is in verse. On the relation between Menippean satire and narrarive, see Frye, 1971, 309-10. The distinctions between satire and our prose fiction must be of degree rather than kind. The Marquis de Sade in his 1800 essay 'Reflections on the Novel' in Wainhouse & Seaver, 1989, 101 dismisses the output of Petronius and Varro together, as 'works of satire ... which should in no wise be classed as novels [*romans*]'. The implication of this judgment for Sade's own work is interesting.

more important.[4]

The coverage of the *Sat.* and *Met.* here does not pretend to be completely comprehensive. Some instances of thought and speech presentation have had to be omitted. However the treatment is meant to be representative - at the same time showing that these two texts, though apparently so different in tone and theme, do share some formal characteristics and underlying narrative strategies.

Petronius's *Satyricon* [5]

A very large proportion of the text we have is taken up with the speech of various characters. The rapid and confusing changes of scene and circumstance in the story call for different techniques of presenting speech[6] . But by far the general tendency is for the narrator to emply o.r..

The *Cena* and *De Bello Civile* most obviously have generic and stylistic qualities that mark them out from the rest of the text. The remaining sections, however, do vary in style according to the episodes recounted or models used. An investigation of speech and thought presentation throughout the whole of our extant text can shed light on what has been a central problem for critics: the nature and role of the 'I' narrator.

Speech presentation and the characterisation of the narrator

Petronius's Encolpius, though 'interested', is himself presented from more angles than Apuleius's narrator-hero Lucius. He is always surrounded by companions - his personality is largely defined by the way he conducts himself in various exchanges of speech.

The opening of our extant text at least helps alert us to the portrayal of Encolpius as a character in a social circle. It begins with an o.r. speech Encolpius makes to a friend in which he rails against declaimers. The speech itself does not survive from the beginning. The first actual piece of narrative does not come until 3 :

> Non est passus Agamemnon me diutius declamare in porticu, quam ipse in schola sudaverat sed 'Adulescens' inquit...

And the first indication that a story is to be told comes, as far as our text is concerned, after Agamemnon's speech in 6:

> Dum hunc diligentius audio, non notavi mihi Ascylti fugam ...

Agamemnon's reply to Encolpius (5-6) turn out to be equally lengthy. The arguments of each party seem to be fairly balanced against each other. We might have the impression that we are in for a sustained topical discussion such as we find in Tacitus's *Dialogus* .

[4] If we can regard these two works of Apuleius and Petronius as constituting a genre. I am satisfied that the common characteristics set out here will be sufficient to allow us to do this (though that genre should not strictly be called 'the novel'- see my discussion of prose fiction as a genre in Gill & Wiseman (ed.), 1992, 147-74.

[5] There is no modern commentary on the whole *Sat.* as it is extant: Burman 1743 = 1974. Smith 1975 comments on the *Cena*. General introductions are Sullivan 1968 andWalsh 1970. Other works will be cited in the notes to come. For more bibliography, see Schmeling & Stuckey 1977.

[6] Given that our text of Petronius consists only of extracts (see Müller, 1965, 381-417 and Courtney 1991, 3-12 for accounts of transmission), conjectures about Petronius's narrative techniques as a whole are obviously speculative.

There is no reason to suppose that Petronius is any more sympathetic to Encolpius, and that he represents the historical *arbiter elegantiae* as some critics would have us believe[7] . The opening of Agamemnon's reply in 5 does praise Encolpius's judgement:

> quoniam sermonem habes non publici saporis et quod rarissimum est, amas bonam mentem, non fraudabo arte secreta ...

but it does not follow that Encolpius's opinions are the best. The rhetorician is using flattery to incline his addressee to receive his forthcoming arguments more favourably.

The emphasis I have put on this exchange of speeches and the balanced treatment of Encolpius here alone is sufficient to show that he is no more to be associated with the historical Petronius than Lucius is to be associated with the historical Apuleius.

Petronius's narrative here, as often, works on more than one level. Auerbach notes[8] :

> The presentation explicit though it be, is entirely subjective, for what is set before us is not Trimalchio's circle as objective reality, but a subjective image, as it exists in the mind of the speaker who himself belongs to the circle. Petronius does not say : This is so. Instead he lets an 'I' who is identical neither with himself nor yet with the feigned narrator Encolpius turn the spotlight of his perception on the company at table - a highly artful procedure in perspective, a sort of twofold mirroring which I dare not say is unique in ancient literature as it has come down to us, but which is most unusual there... This procedure leads to a more meaningful and more concrete illusion of life.

Veyne explores this observation to achieve an understanding of Encolpius in particular in the *Satyricon* as a whole[9] . It is important to note that the 'I' Auerbach was here referring to is not Encolpius, but the person sitting next to him whom Encolpius has asked for details about Fortunata who is bustling around. It is not clear that Veyne realises this. His distinction between Encolpius's role as 'porte-parole' of Petronius in the *Cena* , and as his 'alibi' in the rest of the work, though based on what appears to be a careless reading, is still pertinent:

> Dans tout le reste du roman, c'est à dire dans les episodes burlesques, l'auteur cesse d'utiliser Encolpe comme porte-parole et la fausse naiveté fait place à l'auto-ironie. Pétrone continue à s'identifier à Encolpe mais c'est pour trouver un alibi.

In spite of this injection of the historical author into Encolpius's personality, which Auerbach specifically avoids, the nature of Veyne's distinction is useful. We could apply less misleading labels: the Encolpius of the *Cena* might be called a 'transparent narrator' and the Encolpius of the other episodes an 'agent narrator'. These labels are subdivisions of the 'interested narrator' already defined: the transparent narrator records in detail what he witnesses; the agent narrator records his participation (speaking, acting) in events.

Veyne's observation about the way the the first person is ironised is also useful and involves a less perilous notion of authorial intention:

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[7] Heseltine 1969, xiii and Sullivan, 158-213. Sullivan also thinks that Encolpius's words at 132.15 represent 'an aside from the author to his audience'. I shall discuss this passage with the other verse sections below.

[8] Auerbach 1953, 27.

[9] Veyne 1964

> Un écart subsiste constamment chez lui entre le ton de récit et ses actes, cela donne au roman son humeur très spécial. Par la grâce de l'auteur qui a placé le récit dans sa bouche, Encolpe semble voir ce qu'il raconte et se voir lui-même avec les yeux de lecteur et se mocquer de premier ses aventures, l'ironie de Pétrone devient la sienne...

This, Veyne says, is the opposite of the type of irony in picaresque novels in which the narrator does <u>not</u> have the insight of the reader, and cannot send himself up consciously.[10] Veyne gives little evidence to support his distinction between the transparent narrator of the *Cena* and the agent narrator of the burlesque sections.

As we continue with an investigation of the presentation of spoken and thought discourse throughout the *Satyricon* as a whole, we shall see whether or not Veyne's distinction between the two different types of narrator can be substantiated.

The presentation of Encolpius's speech.

O.r., o.o., and o.m. are used for presenting Encolpius's spoken words. For the presentation of the speech of most characters in the *Sat.* there is a good deal of shifting between direct and indirect speech for the same speaker, and angled narration of dialogue is a common feature. But by far the greatest number of shifts in speech mode occur when Encolpius is recounting his own speech (often a question) in o.o. or o.m., and presenting the reply of his interlocutor in o.r. This is particularly prevalent in the *Cena* .

At 7-8, Encolpius has lost his way and asks an old woman for directions. She leads him to a brothel where he meets Ascyltos. Encolpius does not use indirect discourse for the utterances of other characters in this section of the text:

> 'Rogo' inquam,'mater, numquid scis ubi ego habitem?' delectata est illa urbanitate tam stulta et 'Quidni sciam.?' inquit, consurrexitque et coepit me praecedere. Divinam ego putabam et...
>
> Subinde ut in locum secretiorem venimus, centonem anus urbana reiecit et 'Hic' inquit 'debes habitare' cum ergo negarem me agnoscere domum , video quasdam inter titulos nudas meretrices furtim spatiantes. Tarde, immo iam sero intellexi me in fornicem esse deductum. Execratus itaque aniculae insidias operui caput et per medium lupanar fugere coepi in alteram partem, cum ecce in ipso aditu occurrit mihi aeque lassus ac moriens Ascyltos; putares ab eadem anicula esse deductum. Itaque ut ridens eum consalutavi , quid in loco tam deformi faceret quaesivi. Sudorem ille manibus detersit et 'si scires' inquit 'quae mihi acciderunt .'

Later on the pattern is repeated in the next conversation supplied by our text which Encolpius reports in 9. He is trying to find out what has been upsetting Giton, the boy he loves:

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[10] If this should be true of picaresque novels in general, it by no means holds absolutely. Take the closing chapter of *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* 7.32-43. (1554, tr. Alpert 1969, 78) an example of the genre *par excellence* : 'We got married and I've never been sorry because, besides her being a good and attentive girl, the priest is always very kind to me. Every year I get a whole load of corn; I get my meat at Christmas and Easter and now and again a couple of votive loaves or a pair of old stockings. He arranged for us to rent a house next to his... But evil tongues, that we're never short of and never will be, make life impossible for us, saying this and that and the other; that my wife goes and makes his bed and cooks his dinner. I hope God forgives their lies...' It becomes clearer still, as the short chapter continues and the book comes to an end that the narrator actually does have the insight given to the reader.

> Cum quaererem numquid nobis in prandium frater parasset, consedit puer super lectum et manantes lacrimas pollice extersit. Perturbatus ego habitu fratris, quid accidisset, quaesivi. Et ille tarde quidem et invitus, sed postquam precibus etiam iracundiam miscui, 'Tuus' inquit 'iste frater seu comes paulo ante in conductum accucurrit coepitque mihi velle pudorem extorquere. Cum ego proclamarem gladium strinxit et 'Si Lucretia es' inquit 'Tarquinium invenisti. [11]

Note how Giton in his response to Encolpius's question uses exactly the same manner of speech presentation to reproduce his exchange with Ascyltos (*Cum* + imperfect subjunctive, perfect indicative describing an action in main clause, followed by eventual reply in o.r.)

Numerous other passages in 1-26 display the same trend: see 12, 13-14, 16, 18, and 21 in this first part of our text. It is interesting to see how often Encolpius uses a perfect participle to describe his state of mind before presenting his words in indirect discourse. In 13, for instance, this is his reaction to Ascyltos's news that he has seen their lost cloak which contained their money and that it is for sale:

> Exhilaratus ego non tantum quia praedam videbam sed etiam quod fortuna me a turpissima suspicione dimiserat, negavi circuitu agendum, sed plane iure civile dimicandum, ut si nollent alienam rem domino reddere, ad interdictum venirent.

Ascyltos's response to this proposal is then given in o.r. at the beginning of 14. One more passage will be quoted from 1-26, which again uses the same devices. It merits attention because the o.o. the narrator ascribes to himself is quite extensive and perhaps more mimetic than the other passages so far quoted. In 18 Encolpius is describing his attempts to console Quartilla who is apparently distressed by the accidental intrusion he and his companions made into her celebration of Priapus's rites:

> Ego eodem tempore et misericordia turbatus et metu, bonum habere eam iussi et de utroque esse securam: nam neque sacra quemquam vulgaturum, et si quod praeterea aliud remedium ad tertianam deus illi monstrasset, adiuvaturos nos divinam providentiam vel periculo nostro.

illi stands for what would be *tibi* if this were o.r.; but *nostro* can still be used in this indirect rendition as it would be in a directly quoted version, and makes for a vivid effect. Indeed the last words *nos providentiam vel periculo nostro* would have been appropriate to conclude an o.r. speech, producing quite a striking close at that.

In the *Cena* especially, examples abound of this angled narration of dialogue, the narrator rendering his own discourse indirectly and that of his interlocutors directly. We may consider 27, 30 (two instances), 34 (two instances), 36 (two instances), 41, 48, 49, 55 (two instances) and 72. After the *Cena* further instances are to be found in 81, 86, 88, 99 and 108.

This technique Encolpius uses, of presenting his words or those of himself and his friends (there are declarative verbs in the first person plural) is interesting. It resembles frequent practice in contemporary everyday speech. Racconteurs of conversation in modern English often highlight the the parts of the persons they conversed with by 'quoting' their speech directly, while their own words are

[11] This not only echoes the diction from the accounts of the rape of Lucretia in Livy and Ovid, but also the pattern of speech attribution employed in both those texts, in which Tarquin is ascribed o.r. and Lucretia's obections are not quoted at all. See the treatment of the Lucretia narratives in Chapter 2, (iv) above.

summarised as much as possible.[12]

While other devices may be used to make the narrative of Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* a discursive *sermo* [13], the practice of this kind of angled narration of dialogue which we see in Petronius is generally absent there. The narration, although we will see it affects interaction with a reader or an audience, is far more mannered than Petronius's. Apuleius's principal narrator, Lucius, nearly always quotes his own part in a conversation if he has one. In this respect the *Met.* might be seen to diverge from the practice of satire or dialogue more than the *Satyricon* does. In Petronius, other features of the genres found in Latin prose fiction also remain conspicuous, as we shall see.

Now in connection with the question of the division of the narrator in the *Sat.* it is worth noting that Encolpius's ascription of o.o. or o.m. to his narrated speech is virtually a rule in the *Cena* . On only three occasions there does the narrator report any of his own speech in o.r.. At 49 everyone present at Trimalchio's banquet cries out to defend a slave from a whipping threatened by the host, but Encolpius whispers his private opinion on the matter to Agamemnon:

> Deprecari tamen omnes et dicere: 'Solet fieri; rogamus, mittas; postea si fecerit, nemo nostrum pro illo rogabit'. Ego, crudelissimae severitatis, non potui me tenere, sed inclinatus [note the participle again preceding speech presentation] ad aurem Agamemnonis 'Plane ' inquam 'hic debet servus esse nequissimus; aliquis oblivisceretur porcum exinterare? Non mehercules illi ignoscerem, si piscem praeterisset.'

Then we immediately get Trimalchio's reaction to the pleas - a good deal more indulgent than the opinion Encolpius expressed:

> At non Trimalchio, qui relaxato in hilaritatem vultu 'Ergo' inquit 'quia tam malae memoriae es, palam nobis illum exintera.'

The instruction is obeyed: sausages and puddings tumble out of the pig's carcass.

Once more at 69, Encolpius quotes his own words directly. Trimalchio has just informed his company that the apparently varied foods about to be served are all made out of one substance. Encolpius thinks he knows what it is and again addresses Agamemnon. Note the similarities of the diction and structure here to those employed in 49: both passages begin with a construction governed by a participle the subject of which is Encolpius; Agamemnon is actually named as Encolpius's addressee; and the declarative verb is *inquam* :

> et respiciens Agamemnonem 'mirabor' inquam 'nisi omnia ista de <cera> facta sunt aut certe de luto. Vidi Romae Saturnalibus eiusmodi cenarum imaginem fieri.' Necdum finieram sermonem, cum Trimalchio ait 'Ita crescam patrimonio, non corpore , ut ista cocus meus de porco fecit ...

The utterance consists of two sentences as in 49. And again as in 49, Encolpius's reporting of his own words is immediately followed by a sudden cut to Trimalchio who interrupts. Because of this, we cannot be sure that Encolpius actually gets to say everything reported here: the utterance given may be free o.r. - what he would have

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[12] This claim is based principally on my own observation. For discussion of this aspect of the uses of direct and indirect discourse in contemporary language use see Tannen 1982. It remains to investigate how much this practice is to be found in Roman satire and ancient dialogue recorded by involved first person narrators.

[13] On the 'discursive' nature of Apuleius's *Met.* see Laird 1990 at 135-9.

said. *Necdum fineram sermonem* certainly suggests he could not finish what he meant to say[14] . Trimalchio's words anyway stand in a kind of ironic relief after Encolpius's remarks which lead in to them. This could be one reason why our narrator has availed himself of o.r. in these two passages.

The third instance is different only in that it does not prepare the way for Trimalchio's words. It is another aside, but this time to Ascyltos in 72:

> Ego respiciens ad Ascylton 'Quid cogitas?' inquam 'ego enim si videro balneum, statim expirabo.' 'Assentemur' ait ille 'et dum sic ille balneum petunt, nos in turba exeamus.'

This passage is also interesting for the quick exchange of o.r. between speakers which does not happen as often in the *Sat.* as one might suppose.

There is just one other place in the *Cena* in which Encolpius recounts any of his spoken discourse in o.r. , albeit in a different manner. At the beginning of 40 it is implied that he falls in with a general clamour of guests commending Trimalchio for waxing philosophical:

> 'Sophos' universi clamamus et sublatis manibus ad cameram iuramus Hipparchum Aratumque comparandos illi homines non fuisse, donec advenerunt ministri...

So the account of the oath everybody swore continues in o.o. after the direct rendering of the initial cry of *Sophos* . The attribution of this sycophantic oath to absolutely all the guests present could only be more ludicrous if it had been quoted directly:

> 'What a wise man!' we all cried, and raising our hands to the ceiling: 'we swear that not even Hipparchus and Aratus could have been compared to him'.

Of course the whole company could not come out with this extraordinary oath spontaneously - Encolpius as narrator must know that as well as we do. The claim is just meant to illustrate hyperbolically the extent to which all present would go to flatter Trimalchio.

Nowhere else in the *Cena* , the largest continuous section in our extant text which constitutes a continuous episode and scene, does Encolpius as narrator use direct discourse to present his own speech apart from these instances.

In the other sections of the *Sat.* , on the other hand, Encolpius often does render his own discourse in o.r..[15]

The presentation of Encolpius's thoughts

Encolpius's descriptions of thoughts he had at the time of the events he is recounting do not take up a very large proportion of the *Sat.*, or at least of what remains

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[14] The 'I/He hadn't finshed speaking when ...' motif is often used: cf. 99: *'Ut scias' inquit Eumolpus 'verum esse , quod dicis , ecce etiam osculo iram finio. Itaque, quod bene eveniat, expedite sarcinulas et vel sequimini me vel, si mavultis , ducite.' Adhuc loquebatur, cum crepuit ostium impulsum* ... The impression here is that Eumolpus did manage to articulate the words given here, but there was more still that he was going to say . There is something comparable later in the *De Bello Civili* 122 after Fortuna's speech: *Vixdum finerat, cum fulgure rupta corusco/ intremuit nubes*... Cf. Ovid *Met.* 1.566, 2.103

[15] The passages in which this occurs are : 1-3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 20, 24 before the *Cena* ; 79, 80, 81, 90, 91, 92, 94, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 114, 115, 1225, 126, 127, 130 (a quoted letter), 132 (in verse), 133 (a prayer to Priapus in verse) and 140, all after the *Cena* .

of it. They are mainly to be found in sections other than the *Cena* . However we shall see that the instances we have give us a great deal to remark upon, and contain much that is relevant to our appreciation of the text as a whole.

In 72 there is an important excerpt which also reveals something about the transparent role of Encolpius in the *Cena* in general. On the occasions when he is an agent, he tends to camouflage his words and actions by employing verbs of action and declarative verbs in the first person plural rather than first person singular.

Shortly after Encolpius made the suggestion to Ascyltos (quoted above) that they should try to escape Trimalchio's dinner party when the other guests are going to bathe, he and Ascyltos stumble into a fish pond as they are trying to leave the house. The doorman rescues them and they ask him to show them the way out:

> Ceterum cum algentes udique petissemus ab atriense, ut nos extra ianuam emitteret, 'Erras' inquit 'si putas te exire hac posse, qua venisti. Nemo umquam convivarum per eandem ianuam emissus est; alia intrant, alia exeunt.' Quid faciamus homines miserrimi et novi generis labyrintho inclusi, quibus lavari iam coeperat votum esse? Ultro ergo rogavimus, ut nos ad balneum duceret, proiectisque vestimentis, quae Giton in aditu siccare coepit, balneum intravimus...

The sentence *Quid ... coeperat votum esse?* certainly prompts reflection. The use of the present subjunctive in this deliberative question makes it hard to determine whether these words are the property of the narrator. If Encolpius the narrator were to offer an observation retrospectively with an apostrophic question, an imperfect subjunctive would not be so ambiguous. This sentence could be reporting a sentiment that was current at the time in free direct or free indirect discourse.

But this is still tricky. In the relative clause *quibus ... esse* there is a shift of tense to the imperfect indicative with *coeperat* . This is curious. For the sentence to be located in the story time of events described (wholly if it is f.d.d., or partly if it is f.i.d.) we should expect *coepit* . The clause serves to ground what precedes it in the current perception of Encolpius as he narrates. F.i.d. seems then to be a better diagnosis for the sentence, because this category allows a fusion of voice between narrator and character or characters.

'Character or characters' leads us to another question about this sentence, important for our interpretation of the whole passage. Are we presented (in part) the thoughts of all three friends or at least of Encolpius and Ascyltos, or just those of Encolpius the character? The first person plural is used in the verb *faciamus* followed by its plural subject and predicates (*homines miserrimi et... inclusi*). The narrator Encolpius could be trying to convey that at this point in his story that Encolpius the character was thinking of the dilemma in 'we' terms, as something common to him and his friends. This is belied however by the survival of the plural into the relative clause which seems to be in the narrator's voice. Encolpius the narrator is also speaking for all three men.

That seems to be the case for the first utterance reported in this quoted passage - the request to the doorman in indirect discourse. The declarative verb *petissemus* in the first person plural suggests that the mode should be o.m. rather than o.o., if this summarises the gist of the various ways in which all three friends made their petition. But the doorman's response given in o.r. is clearly in the second person singular (*Erras si putas te...*). If he addresses only one of the three it strongly implies that only one actually asked the question, even if the others sought to know the answer. It seems likely that Encolpius was the spokesman: the same formula we have seen elsewhere in the *Cena* for Encolpius's exchanges would then be used here - indirect speech for his own words and direct speech for his interlocutors.

The same could well apply to the second request made to the doorman - after the mental reaction of Encolpius and/or of all three to his answer. This is also governed by a declarative verb with a plural subject: *Ultro ergo rogavimus ut nos ad balneum duceret* . In the way it is presented it echoes the diction and structure of the first request: *petissemus... ut nos extra ianuam emitteret* .[16]

Whomever we regard as the speaker or speakers of these utterances the point remains that Encolpius as narrator is merging the identity of Encolpius the speaking and thinking character with the identity of his companions. From the beginning, much of the *Cena* is narrated in the first person plural: Encolpius records events and impressions as they strike Ascyltos as well as himself.

On the same lines, some of the thoughts and reactions of all those present at the *Cena* , when given by the narrator, must include the thoughts of Encolpius the character (just as we infer he joined the shout of *'Sophos' universi clamamus* at 40 remarked upon above), as well as the (non-propositional) response everyone had to Niceros's werewolf story at 63 :*Attonitis admiratione universis* .[17]

This story is succeeded by Trimalchio's anecdote about witches. The response to this is rendered even more fulsomely at 64:

> Miramur nos et pariter credimus, osculatique mensam rogamus nocturnas, ut suis se teneant dum redimus a cena.

This possibly exaggerated report of an exaggerated response is clearly derisive. Again there could be the same kind of sarcasm in *miramur* as we may discern in *admiratione* in the previous passage quoted. And what about *pariter credimus* ? It seems unlikely that all those present could give exactly the same degree of credence to any story, let alone one about para-normal events like Trimalchio's. Encolpius and Ascyltos anyway do not share the enthusiasm of the other guests for events and conversation of this dinner[18] . Yet they have to be included as subjects of these verbs in the first person plural. *Pariter credimus* could suggest that in fact nobody accepts the story at all - this could be why all are amazed and in that sense believe it equally. Then the action of kissing the tables and spontaneously offering up prayers would be due to hypocritical sycophancy rather than credulous superstition.

Another explanation for *pariter credimus* here, if the problem is that our narrator as an involved observer is not qualified to recount the inner feelings of all those present might be this. *Credere* could be used to mean that all present are actually voicing an avowal of their belief. Everybody could do that more or less equally, regardless of what is actually believed - the verb might not indicate a shared conception of a thought at all. Similarly, *miramur* could denote a speech act.

The present tenses in the second part of the sentence could serve to echo a direct utterance in mimetic indirect speech. The sentence from *rogamus* might parody, in our narrator's voice, what the characters including Encolpius might have said or thought at the time. *Rogamus* would then have another possible function apart from being a declarative verb in the narrative present. It could be, like *credimus* possibly might be, a speech act verb representing the content of a prayer we could envisage everybody

[16] The repetition is pointed for humorous effect. The narrator has just likened their situation to imprisonment in a labyrinth: washing in the bath now has to become a *votum* because the guests are effectively coerced. There is a clear irony in *Ultro ergo* : 'Quite of our own accord then, we asked him to escort us to the bath...'

[17] There could again be irony here: Encolpius and Ascyltos might be struck with amazement, not at the werewolf, but at having to hear a story about one.

[18] Ascyltos and Giton are ticked off at great length by Hermeros (57-8)for being unappreciative, and as we have seen, they try to escape it later on at 72.

making at the time: 'We pray the witches that they keep themselves to their own concerns as we go back from this dinner.'

The guests (if they have not on the whole been gulled by the story) might well think that such a declaration of belief and this excessive behaviour is called for. Trimalchio, even more pointedly than Niceros, ended the speech in 63 which contained his account with an exhortation to be believed[19] :

> Rogo vos, oportet credatis, sunt mulieres plussciae, sunt nocturnae et quod sursum est, deorsum faciunt.

Trimalchio could hardly enjoy a more satisfactory response to this request than the one given here at the beginning of 64.

Finally there is another level of irony in this instance of thought or speech presentation. This is in the way it pertains to other events which befall Encolpius and his friends in particular. Could the prayer have further significance for Encolpius and his friends? Their return journey of Encolpius, Ascyltos and Giton appears to be described in 79. It has its difficulties: it is dark, they do not know their way around, the route is hazardous and they are all drunk. In the end they do find their way - Giton marked it with chalk earlier in the day, and there turn out to be no witches. The special significance for Encolpius and his companions of such a prayer perhaps lies in the kind of events that befall them in the earlier part of the text we have (16-26), before the *Cena* .

Quartilla and her entourage of female devotees of Priapus might be suggested here to the group of friends as *nocturnae* , whom they might well hope keep to their own affairs. At 16 they all made a suprise visit to Encolpius, Ascyltos and Giton at the inn where they were staying. Quartilla herself referred to the secrets of her *nocturnas religiones* , which she begged Encolpius to keep, in her o.r. speech at the end of 16. It is clear that the visit itself and the compulsory orgies the women subsequently imposed took place at night time[20].

A notable instance of Encolpius's presentation of his own thought discourse occurs at this point in the story. At 19 Quartilla explains to Encolpius, Ascyltos and Giton that the prohibition on men entering her inn was only a ruse to get the three of them to help cure her of her *tertiana* (see note below). Encolpius recounts his own reactions and those of Ascyltos on hearing this:

> ut haec dixit Quartilla, Ascyltos quidem paulisper obstipuit, ego autem frigidior hieme Gallica factus nullum potui verbum emittere. Sed ne quid tristius expectarem, comitatus faciebat. Tres enim erant mulierculae, si quid vellent conari infirmissimae scilicet; contra nos si nihil aliud, virilis sexus. Sed et praecincti certe altius eramus. Immo ego sic iam paria composueram, ut si depugnandum foret, ipse cum Quartilla consisterem, Ascyltos cum

[19] Niceros thus closes his account at the end of 62: *Viderint alii quid de hoc exopinissent; ego si mentior, genios vestros iratos habeam.'* He was cautious before beginning it in 61: *Itaque hilaria mera sint, etsi timeo istos scholasticos, ne me rideant. Riserint; narrabo tamen.* Encolpius, Agamemnon and Ascyltos are the *scholasticos* who daunt him.

[20] This is indicated by the fact that the three men were having dinner (16) when the women arrived. Quartilla's speeches provide temporal indexicals *Quod si non adnuissetis de hac medicina quam peto, iam parata erat in crastinum turba...* (18) *Ideo vetui hodie in hoc deversorio quemquam mortalium admitti...* (19) *Itane est?' inquit Quartillla 'etiam dormire vobis in mente est, cum sciatis Priapi genio pervigilium deberi?'...* (21). At the end of 26 the L tradition gives us *Abiecti in lectis sine metu reliquam exegimus noctem...* It is not completely clear that all of what is narrated in 16-26 necessarily happens in the same night or in the same place. Nonetheless Quartilla definitely seems to us to strike Encolpius as a *nocturna* .

ancilla, Giton cum virgine...

Tunc vero excidit omnis constantia attonitis, et mors non dubia miserorum oculos coepit obducere...

Encolpius first presents his state of mind exotopically: frozen like a Gallic winter he is unable to speak, although the presence of his friends reassures him. The fact that he is lost for words may be significant, if the sentence beginning *Tres enim erant* is in f.i.d.. We shall see the same conjunction occurring in one or two passages of Apuleius's *Met.*. The sentence could of course be entirely the property of Encolpius the narrator, offering his retrospective realisation, but it reads far more as if it is describing the ideas that went through the mind of Encolpius the character, as he sized up the situation at the time.

There is a less complex series of renditions of Encolpius's thoughts at 80. In both cases he is describing a misapprehension he had at the time. The same form of the same verb (*putabam*)is used in both cases, followed by descriptions of thoughts in o.m. The first comes just after he has recounted how he and Ascyltos decided to part company. They have just divided between them all their goods, when Ascyltos says *'age ... nunc et puerum dividamus'*. Encolpius describes his initial reaction to this proposal:

Iocari putabam discedentem.

But Ascyltos was not joking as his next words and actions show:

At ille gladium parricidali manu strinxit et 'non frueris' inquit 'hac praeda, super quam solus incumbis. Partem meam necesse est vel hoc gladio contemptus abscidam.' [21]

Ascyltos soon decides on a way to resolve their quarrel - Giton should make the choice about whose lover he should be. Encolpius describes his reaction to this proposal as well:

Ego <qui> vetustissimam consuetudinem putabam in sanguinis pignus transisse, nihil timui, immo condicionem praecipiti festinatione rapui commisique iudici litem.

Putabam is once more used in the same way by our narrator to convey retrospectively his misunderstanding of the situation - to mean 'I was under the false impression that...'. It certainly was a false impression: Giton chooses to remain with Ascyltos. We can compare part of a thought supposition in o.o. from 7 (quoted above):

Divnam ego putabam et...

And again *putas* in the doorman's words in 72 (again the whole passage has been quoted above) 'you're mistaken if you have the impression that...' The figurative *commisique iuduci litem* strikes us as a witticism coined for the point of narration, rather than a conceit coined at the hasty moment of decision. It serves to highlight the

[21] It is possibly worth remarking that Petronius (here and elsewhere) could have used the device of 'intersection' that we have seen in Virgil and Ovid: making the action directly simultaneous with the quoted speech. This technique is not employed either here or elsewhere in the extant *Sat* . This is doubtless partly because Petronius's informal prose style has more connectives linking clauses in sentences than verse would permit. This is a small matter - perhaps the proximity of word and deed is emphasised enough. Incidentally the reading of *contemptus* does seem to fit the sense of the story better than *contentus* : Ascyltos's extravagant behaviour (maybe including stealing Giton away in the first place) appears to be caused by jealousy of Encolpius. This is consistent with Giton's claim that follows: *Ego mori debeo, qui amicitiae sacramentum delevi.*

complete trust Encolpius had in Giton's fairness and affection.[22]

In the next section (81), a soliloquy is used to record Encolpius's gloomy speculations after Giton rejects him. What better form of discourse presentation than a soliloquy to express a feeling and situation of loneliness? This is in iterative o.r., a form of f.d.d.. We are told it was uttered out loud many times over the course of three days![23] I quote the whole speech in its immediate context in the narrative:

> ... collegi sarcinulas locumque secretum et proximum litori maestus conduxi. Ibi triduo inclusus redeunte in animum solitudine atque contemptu verberabam aegrum planctibus pectus | et inter tot altissimos gemitus frequenter etiam proclamabam: 'ergo me non ruina terra potuit haurire? Non iratum etiam innocentibus mare? Effugi iudicium, harenae imposui, hospitem occidi, ut inter <tot> audaciae iacerem desertus? Et quis hanc mihi solitudinem imposuit? Adulescens omni libidine impurus et sua quoque confessione dignus exilio, stupro liber, stupro ingenuus, cuius anni ad tesseram venierunt, quem tanquam puellam conduxit etiam qui virum putavit quem tanquam puellam conduxit etiam qui virum putavit. Quid ille alter? Qui [tanquam] die togatae virilis stolam sumpsit, qui ne vir esset, a matre persuasus est, qui opus muliebre in ergastulo fecit, qui postquam conturbavit et libidinis suae solum vertit, reliquit veteris amicitiae nomen et, pro pudor, tanquam mulier secutuleia unius noctis tactu omnia vendidit. Iacent nunc amatores obligati noctibus totis, et forsitan mutuis libidinibus attriti derident solitudinem meam. Sed non impune. nam aut vir ego non liber sum, aut noxio sanguine parentabo iniuriae meae.'
> 82 Haec locutus gladio latus cingor ...

The location of an isolated seashore for this soliloquy is significant, as many have noted. Walsh comments on this passage[24] :

> 'We are meant to envisage him as a comic reincarnation of the classic exemplar of solitary resentment, Achilles robbed of Briseis by Agamemnon. Homer too sets his hero away from human intercourse, moping in solitude on the shore. Achilles's conversation with Thetis, recounting the cause of his grief, is paralleled in the Satyricon by a soliloquy in which Encolpius recalls the history of his deprivation. Here, then, Encolpius is portrayed as a second Achilles...'

Achilles on the shore at *Iliad* 1.348f. certainly is a classic exemplar, but perhaps it is not the most appropriate exemplar, and definitely not the only one appropriate here [25]. Achilles's o.r. speech is not a soliloquy but a prayer to his mother which opens with the vocative, ' *μητερ*'. And, as Walsh admits, Thetis replies, initiating a longer account of events and request from her son to which she gives another reply before departing. Achilles, notoriously, is more preoccupied with his loss of honour than with Briseis

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[22] This passage quoted from 80 continues thus: *Qui ne deliberavit quidem, ut videretur cunctatus, verum statim ab extrema parte verbi consurrexit <et> fratrem Ascylton elegit. Fulminatus hac pronuntiatione, sic ut eram, sine gladio in lectulum decidi...* The first sentence also seems more likely to be the property of the narrator than to be any form of f.i.d.: the imperfect subjunctive of *videretur* precludes this. Had it been present subjunctive it would be recording a thought at the time. *verum statim* implies a conclusion drawn in bitter recollection after the time. *Hac pronuntiatione* (continuing the legal metaphor of *commisique iudici litem*) implies that Giton made his decision clear with words rather than a gesture. We might imagine this utterance is recorded elliptically because it is too painful for Encolpius the narrator to reproduce.

[23] That detail becomes more significant as we consider the precedents below - see the discussion of Catullus 64.124f. (*saepe ...fudisse e pectore voces*) and n.7 in Chapter 2 above at 111.

[24] 1970, at 36.

[25] For the tableau, we might also think of Odysseus in *Od.* 5.156-9 (although no speech is ascribed to him) and cf. the Troades in *Aeneid* 5.615.

herself. Encolpius speaks mostly of Giton, however unfavourably.

It may be nearer the mark to compare this soliloquy to those in Roman comedy e.g. Palestra's in Plautus's*Rudens* .[26] But we should also look to a topos derived from them which is common enough in extant Latin literary narrative - the lament of the grief stricken woman abandoned by her intended husband on a seashore. We have considered examples earlier: the speeches of Catullus's Ariadne (64. 132-201), Virgil's Dido (4.305-30, 365-87), Ovid's Scylla (*Met* . 8.108) and his Ariadne in*Fasti* (3.459f.). I would argue Encolpius's speech recalls this sort of episode, more than any other, in aspects of content and form.

Catullus's Ariadne, Dido and Scylla all, like Encolpius open their words with a series of rhetorical questions. (Ariadne's rhetorical questions in the *Fasti* come a little later - after the first seven verses expressing shock, suitably enough at the *déjà-vu* : Bacchus seems to be forsaking her in the way Theseus did before.) Like Scylla, Ariadne in Catullus and Dido, Encolpius complains that he has by his behaviour eliminated any way of saving himself form utter desertion(*Effugi iudicium, hospitem occidi* etc.).

Then, like the heroines, he turns to consider who is responsible for his predicament (*Et quis hanc mihi solitudinem imposuit?... Quid ille alter? ...*). He does not have to invent any extravagant bestial lineages for Ascyltos and Giton, or say that they have hearts of stone or flint: he merely describes them as they are[27] . This portrayal of them, lacking any purple analogies, presents the two men in very sordid colours instead, showing them to be far more ignoble than Theseus, Aeneas or Minos could ever be. The effect is very funny because we can assume that Encolpius, unlike the heroines, is not in the least exaggerating.

He dwells on the contentment of Ascyltus and Giton. More than their forgetfulness or cruelty, he is concerned about their gloating over his solitude, once they are worn out with lovemaking(*mutuis libidinbus attriti derident solitudinem meam*). His thoughts then turn to vengeance (*Sed non impune*). Whereas Catullus's Ariadne and Dido utter prayers and curses against their former lovers, Encolpius, like Scylla, decides to act on the situation himself[28] :

> nam aut vir ego liberque non sum, aut noxio sanguine parentabo iniuriae meae.'
> Haec locutus gladio latus cingor ne infirmitas militiam perderet, largioribus excito vires.

If the idea is right that this speech is supposed to recall and parody the heroines' laments, there is a strong irony in *non aut vir ego* . Encolpius hardly stands out as a manly figure at any point in the *Sat.* . A speech in which he strikes a feminine posture closes with the avowal that he is no man unless he avenges himself. Needless to say, he fails to manage this - even though he had a meal more lavish than usual to stimulate his *vires* .

A soldier, or at least a thief who outdoes him in pretending to be a soldier, confiscates (or steals) his arms immediately below in 82. Encolpius the narrator then admits that this was a relief to him:

> paulatimque temeritate laxata coepi grassatoris audaciae gratias agere...

Vir Encolpius non est ! Note also that earlier in the speech Encolpius challenges the claims of Ascyltos and Giton to be *viri*. Ascyltos, he says, was treated as a girl even by

[26] *Rudens* 185f.

[27] Cf. Cat. 64.154f. and *Aen.* 4.365f. (which begins: *nec tibi diva parens generis nec Dardanus auctor*) Pease ad loc. has a huge list of comparisons.

[28] Ovid *Met.* 8.72f.

those who did know his real gender (*quem tanquam puellam conduxit etiam qui virum putavit.*· Giton is an even more effeminate transvestite (*die togae virilis stolam sumpsit, qui ne vir esset, a matre persuasus est...*).

It is also just possible that the juxtaposition of *vir* and *ego* in the context of this last sentence, might effect a pun on *virago* or *virgo* if this was recited so that the two words ran together.

Not only the allusions and the location in which it is uttered but also the repetition of *solum,solitudine, mihi solitudinem, solitudinem meam* emphasise the nature of this o.r. as soliloquy. And this soliloquy is the first we have in our text of the *Sat.* . Depending on the nature of what has been lost, the speech could have had as an important narrative function originally as it does for us now, in that it provides some information about the past experiences of Encolpius as well as Giton and Ascyltos.

The next presentation of Encolpius's thoughts follows soon - in 83 an o.r. soliloquy is used again. Our anti-hero has been inspecting some paintings in a *pinacotheca* :

> Inter quos etiam pictorum amantium vultus tanquam in solitudine exclamavi: 'Ergo amor etiam deos tangit. Iuppiter in caelo suo non invenit quod diligeret, sed peccaturus in terris nemini tamen iniuriam fecit. Hylan Nympha praedata imperasset amori suo, si venturum ad interdictum credidisset. Apollo pueri umbram revocavit in florem; [et] omnes [fabulae quoque] sine aemulo habuerunt complexus. At ego in societatem recepi hospitem Lycurgo crudeliorem.'
>
> Ecce autem, ego dum cum ventis litigo, intravit pinacothecam senex canus, exercitati vultus et qui videretur nescioquid magnum promittere...

There are some notable features which resemble the first soliloquy. First, the setting of the speech in Encolpius's narrative here (*inter quos etiam pictorum amantium vultus tanquam in solitudine exclamavi*) echoes *inter tot altissimos gemitus frequenter etiam* just before the previous soliloquy. Both soliloquies open with the word *ergo* ; both close with adversatives: *At ego societatem recepi hospitem* could be seen to correspond to *sed non impune* earlier.

There might be a further affinity, of allusion, between the two speeches. The abandoned Ariadne in Catullus 64 (whose predicament seems to have been parodied in 81) was herself a depicted figure on a tapestry. Encolpius is actually identifying himself with depicted figures here. All the gods he uses in his mythological analogies feature in the paintings by Apelles he has just seen. As narrator, Encolpius describes this second lament as 'litigating with the winds'. Compare these verses in Ariadne's complaint in 64.141-2:

> sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos ,
> quae cuncta aerii discerpunt irrita venti.

and 64.164-6:

> sed quid ego ignaris nequiquam conquerar auris,
> externata malo, quae nullis sensibus auctae
> nec missas audire queunt nec reddere voces?

The third observation to support the allusion to Catullus's Ariadne is the sudden appearance of Eumolpus when Encolpius finishes speaking. Might he not correspond to Bacchus who rescues Ariadne? The epiphany is described thus in Catullus 64.251-2:

at parte ex alia florens volitabat Iacchus
cum thiaso Satyrorum et Nysigenis Silenis,

Eumolpus's nature and behaviour, as it is subsequently portrayed, certainly brings to mind recollections of *Sileni* or at least *Satyri*. [29] We see him drunk, attempting to satirise bald men and criminals before attempting two sets of verses on hair.[30] He soon exhibits a strong sexual appetite (for Philomela's daughter at Croton (140) as well as for Giton and possibly Encolpius himself[31]), and for a *senex* he seems to be fairly potent. In his account of his seduction of the boy in Pergamon which is to follow in 85, we hear he is able to make love three times in the night, if not a fourth - a story which also 'shows him to be a lecherous and hypocritical old fraud' (Sullivan 1968, 230).

But there is an amusing reversal in this parody - Ariadne's deliverer was a *florens Iacchus* ; the approach of Encolpius's is related as follows:

> *ecce autem, ego dum cum ventis litigo, intravit pinacothecam senex canus, exercitati vultus et qui videretur nescio quid promittere, sed cultu non proinde speciosus, ut facile appareret eum <et> hac nota litteratum esse, quos odisse divites solent. Is ergo ad latus constitit meum...*

He is a *senex canus* and impecunious to boot[32] .The verses he recites at the end of 83 have some echoes of Catullus's imagery and themes in 64 (*Qui pelago credit ; picto... ostro ; qui sollicitat nuptas ad praemia peccat ; inopi lingua desertas invocat artes*).

Encolpius records further soliloquies he makes at 100, 115, 125 and 126. At 100 he tries unsuccessfully to reconcile himself to the fact that Eumolpus is making successful advances on Giton. 115 provides a rather different reflection (again he shouts it out, as he did in 81 - *proclamo*), when he sees the body of a shipwrecked sailor he does not yet recognise.

Later in 115, a second speech of a similar gloomy and philosophical nature is prompted when he recognises the body as Lichas's. This kind of expression has its origin in Greek sepulchral epigram in which dead men were addressed in their graves[33].

Another recurrence of diction is to be found between two soliloquies - the second

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[29] Eumolpus-as-Satyr might have some bearing on the title of the work as it has come down to us. Coffey 1976, 181 among other observations on the title remarks: *'Satyrica* properly means things concerning satyrs, as in the title of the a Greek work on the Marsyas story. The work of Petronius has nothing to do with the satyrs of Greek mythology, but the title is appropriate for a tale about lecherous rogues.' The grammarian Diomedes (see Introduction, 12 n.21 & n.22) mentions sources which suggest one meaning of the word *Satura* - it takes its name from satyrs: *satura autem dicta sive a Satyris, quod similiter in hoc carmine ridiculae res pudendaeque dicuntur, quae a Satyris proferuntur et fiunt.* 1.485 Keil 1855-1923.This may not be true of the genre of satire itself, even if some ancients thought it to be, but it could apply to the *Satyricon* of Petronius.

[30] See end of 109: *cum Eumolpus et ipse vino solutus dicta voluit in calvos stigmososque...*

[31] At 140: *'Dii maiores sunt, qui me restituerunt in integrum . Mercurius enim, qui animas ducere et reducere solet, suis beneficiis reddidit mihi , quod manus irata praeciderat, ut scias me gratiosiorem esse quam Protesilaum aut quemquam alium antiquorum.' Haec locutus sustuli tunicam Eumolpoque me totum approbavi. At ille primo exhorruit, deinde ut plurimum crederet, utraque manu deorum beneficia tractat...*

[32] Slater 1990 notes, 92 n. 10 'Encolpius's *ergo* at 83.8 seems ironic: 'clearly he [Eumolpus] was a literary man, the sort the rich hate - so *of course* he came over to me''. Another contrast with Bacchus emerges - in Cat. 64.260 the *profani* would love to approach and hear the *orgia* . The aesthetically profane neglect and spurn Eumolpus, as he himself admits (83).

[33] For Greek precedents, see Nisbet & Hubbard 1975 on Horace *Odes* 1.28, and Fedeli 1980 on Propertius 1.21.

in 115, and 125. At 125 Encolpius wonders about Eumolpus's scheme of tricking legacy hunters being rumbled:

> Dii deaeque, quam male est extra legem viventibus...

Compare:

> Dii deaeque quam longe a destinatione sua iacet.

One more instance of a soliloquy by Encolpius is worth noting. This is the speech in 132 in which he rebukes his unresponsive member. It is in free o.r. (*hac fere oratione contumacem vexavi*). His anatomy cannot of course reply - there is something amusing about opening the speech with the words *Quid dicis* , and some irony about Encolpius's description of his posture as he makes the speech - *Erectus igitur in cubitum* [34] .

Only one rendition of a thought ascribed to Encolpius alone is given in the *Cena* This is a brief proposition in the form of an indirect question at 41:

> Interim ego qui privatum habebam secessum, in multas cogitationes diductus sum, quare aper pilleatus intrasset...

The relative lack of interest Encolpius shows in portraying his own thoughts in the *Cena* , as opposed to the rest the work, does seem to bear out a distinction between two styles of narration. The Encolpius of the *Cena* , as this paucity of inner revelation shows, is more a channel for the presentation of other characters than an object of scrutiny himself.

Of course, these differences of technique between the *Cena* and the rest of the *Satyricon* are shown by prominent tendencies rather than absolute rules. What is positively striking is the suppression of Encolpius's quoted words and of his thoughts (whether in direct or indirect discourse) in the *Cena* . Had the discrepancies been any more emphasised, perhaps the subtlety of Petronius's division of the functions of his narrator would be lost - particularly if an ancient audience had heard the work or these parts of the work recited. (In that situation the audience would be more sensitive to the effects of the speech modes applied.)

Speech presentation and the verse passages in the *Satyricon* .

The *Satyricon* mixes a number of different genres both in its general narrative form and in its inclusion of excerpts, by quotation or parody, of different kinds of poetry. These verse passages raise a number of questions[35] ; here we shall confine ourselves to the bearing they have on the speech or thought presentation in the text surrounding them. We shall also consider any instances of speech or thought presentation they may themselves contain.

The character Eumolpus is responsible for the longest and most conspicuous

[34] The same kind of joke is made earlier (88) when Encolpius uses the word to describe the effect upon him of Eumolpus's anecdote about the boy from Pergamon whom he tutored - an anecdote which is basically pornographic: *Erectus his sermonibus consulere prudentiorem coepi...*

[35] For thorough and useful treatments of these passages see the chapter entitled 'Literary Voices' in Slater 1990, 155-212 and especially Courtney 1991.

intrusions of other genres into the text we have.[36] The first is the the poem he recites to Encolpius in the *pinacotheca* at 89 prompted by a painting which depicts the *'halosin Troia '*. This is not supposed to be an ecphrasis of a work of art (at least not in the sense we normally apply the term). It is an exposition or interpretation of it, as Eumolpus says:[37]

> Itaque conabor opus versibus pandere...

Slater's recurrent preoccupation with whether or not this embedded poem is an ecphrasis (see note 37 below) hampers an important observation at 187-8:

> The verse medium of the *Trojae halosis* is the tragic *senarius* , while the subject matter is clearly epic (and more specifically Vergilian.) Little has been made of the effect of Eumolpus's fusion of the two genres through his use of the first person [with the verbs *credimus* (v.11) and *respicimus* (v.35)]. First person is typical of dramatic speech, rare for extended description in epic. We cannot then determine where to locate this speaking voice, in an imagined drama on a Trojan theme, or in the world of epic... without a frame to contain it, the first-person verbs of the Trojae halosis pull the poem toward a theatrical, role-playing world. The controlled objectivity of narrative is dialogized by a dramatic speaker.'

The 65 senarii which follow, however, do not contain any discourse, whether spoken or thought, belonging to characters other than Eumolpus's mysterious persona.

The epic verses which Eumolpus recites at 119-24 provide a far longer inclusion of another genre in the text we have. It might be more important to Eumolpus than the previous set of verses as a demonstration of his literary skill(*tanquam si placet hic impetus, etiam si nondum recepit ultimam manum* 118), coming after his exposition of ideas about how a civil war poem should be written. It contains some speeches from its characters presented, apart from one instance, in direct discourse.

There is no need here to take up the question of whether or not, or to what extent Petronius composed these verses in order to parody Lucan (or any other poet, or contemporary epic in general for that matter)[38] . What is important is the resemblance of subject matter, and the number of specific passsages with content and diction similar to

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[36] If we do not include the *Cena* , which might be seen to have some kind of separate status. Leaving aside the differences of narrative technique considered earlier, its survival in virtual entirety indicates that it might have had a separate transmission quite early on .

[37] Given this opening by Eumolpus the conclusion Slater draws at p.97 that 'the *Trojae halosis* is not really an *ekphrasis* at all' is not as exciting as he seems to think. His idea that the poem first claims to be an ecphrasis and then turns out not to be (p.186) is certainly misconceived. Besides, he seems to have changed his mind again at 188: 'What does it mean for the viewer of an *ekphrasis* to be himself part of that which is represented? Furthermore, there are ecphrases (including post-Hellenistic ones e.g Catullus 64) which, like this account, lack 'spatial articulation' and which contain movement 'impossible to represent in a painting' (Slater 96-7). If this were an ecphrasis, it would not be so unusual anyway.

[38] Full studies of the question are Baldwin 1911, Walsh 1968, Luck 1972, George 1974, Grimal 1977.

Lucan's verses.[39] The investigation that follows will reveal further points of resemblance between Lucan and this part of our text of Petronius.

It has been remarked earlier in our treatment of Lucan's work that its employment of indirect discourse is unusually rare - even for an epic poem. Long declamatory speeches in o.r. (or f.d.d.) are by far the most frequent manner by which discourse of characters is presented. Discourse in Eumolpus's poem, specifically speech, is presented in the same fashion: Dis's words to Fortuna (79-99) are in o.r.. Fortuna's response (103-21), again about 20 verses long, explictly picks up the speech it follows (cf. 80-3 with 107-9)[40] . Both speeches culminate in gruesome references to Tisiphone. Caesar's prayer (156-176) is again of similar length. Lastly follow Discordia's words (283-94).

There is no o.m. in this poem, and only one example of o.o.. This, appropriately enough, is for a message ascribed to Fama at 209-14:

> Interea volucer motis conterrita Pinnis
> Fama volat summique petit iuga celsa Palati
> atque hoc Romano tonitru ferit omnia signa
> iam classes fluitare mari totasque per Alpes
> fervere, Germano perfusus sanguine turmas.

We can of course compare *Aen.* 3.121, 4.184f., *Thebaid* 2.201 etc.. Baldwin 1911 cites Silius Italicus 4.1-9. No personified Fama appears in Lucan.

Another feature characteristic of Virgil and Ovid as much as Lucan is to be found in Eumolpus's verses before or after the speeches quoted:

ac tali volucrem Fortunam voce lacessit	78
Tunc Fortuna levi defudit pectore voces	102
Intentans cum voce manus ad sidera dixit	155
atque has erumpit furibundo pectore voces	282

For 102 Baldwin compares Lucan 2.285: *arcano sacras reddit cato pectore voces* ; for 155 *Aen* . 11.687-8: *at pater Aeneas oculos ad sidera laetus / extulit et caelo palmas cum voce tetendit* , cf. *Aen.* 10.667, *Iliad* 1.450 ; for 282 *Aen.* 2.129: *rumpit* and *Aen.*

[39] Slater on the echoes of Lucan seems too dismissive at 198: 'The whole procedure of hunting for parallels... is founded on the assumption, that a parodic relationship *should* exist. Without this assumption, all but a handful of the parallels softly and silently vanish away; of those remaining, most have good Vergilian parallels as well.' This assertion is not enough - the Virgilian parallels identified by Rose 1971, 60-68, 87-94,, whom he considers at 120, were discovered in passages which were already identified as Lucanic parallels. It should not be forgotten that Lucan's poem itself is packed with Virgilian echoes anyway - see Haskins 1887 on Lucan for a list of assembled references. Baldwin 1911 in a specific study of this part of the *Sat.* which Slater does not consider, assembles all the parallels between Petronius and Lucan here, with commentary. For just the speeches in Eumolpus's poem, the parallels are: Petronius 79-81, Lucan 1.510f., 2.12f.; P. 82-6, L. 1.3, 1.70-2, 1.81; P. 95-99, L. 6.718; P. 98f., L. 1.330-1, 7.317, 7.851, 865; P. 111-115, L. 1.679-694; P. 116-21, L. 1.522-3, 2.1-4; P. 156-76, L. 1.195-203, 1.299-351, 7.250-329, 1.225-227; P. 160, L. 7.473; P. 164f., L. 1.288f.

[40] Dis says (80-3): *Fors cui nulla placet nimium secura potestas,/quae nova semper amas et mox possessa relinquis,/ ecquid Romano sentis te pondere victam,/ nec posse ulterius perituram extollere molem?* Fortuna's response to this comes correspondingly early in her speech (107-9): *Omnia, quae tribui Romanis arcibus , odi/ muneribusque meis irascor. Destruet istas /idem , qui posuit moles deus.*

3.426:*rumpitque hanc pectore vocem*).

This use of *vox* or *voces* , to be translated as 'utterance' or 'words' is more common in poetry, although it is to be found in prose authors.[41] In the *Sat.* outside of Eumolpus's composition *vox* or *voces* nearly always mean 'voice' in the sense of speech organ, or facility or manner of speaking. [42]

Throughout other parts of the *Satyricon* , there are passages in which prose and verse are mixed - a reputed characteristic of Menippean satire. The pieces of verse provide opportunity for parody, but our consideration of them here is in their relation to speech presentation and to the general fabric of the narrative. Buecheler 1862 assembles a complete list of the *carmina* in the *Sat.* to be found at the end of his edition. Courtney 1991 discusses them in full. Some of these verse passages, rather like the two pieces by Eumolpus just mentioned are presented within the context of a character's speech as compositions or quotations for consideration by the others present.[43]

Characters'. speeches in prose can also be closed with a poem which conveys more or less the same sentiments, in a different form, as the speech which preceded it. Thus Agamemnon commends poetry in verse at the end of his speech in 5; cf. Ascyltus at 14, Quartilla in 18, Eumolpus in 83.

Elewhere a brief piece of poetry, appropriate enough in the context, can make up a character's entire speech: e.g. the *cinaedus* 's verses at 23 and Tryphaena's hexameters at 108 uttered to reconcile Lichas with Eumolpus's party.

For a consideration of speech presentation the verses of Encolpius are perhaps worth the most attention. His poetry can comment on events in the story, either from his perspective as a character participating in them or from his present perspective as narrator recounting those events. This is slightly different from the way in which Seneca's narrator in the *Apocolocyntosis* uses verse - when it is in his own voice: there it almost serves to provide an addtional narrratorial voice cutting in.

As we might expect, Encolpius's own verses come in the sections we have either side of the *Cena* . Our first example is an expression of satisfaction after he has recovered from the street-traders the money he had lost:

> nolo quod cupio statim tenere
> nec victoria me placet parata... [44]

These words could have been spoken by Encolpius at the time, but it seems more likely that he is uttering them now, sententiously, at the point of narration.

His next verses at 79 have a more emotional pitch. Encolpius is reflecting on his

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[41] *O.L.D.* s.v. 7

[42] An exception at 126: *nulla vox est quae formam eius possit comprehendere vox congruerit* 100; *sic illius vox crescebat tanquam tuba* 44, *tanquam ipse vocem audisset* 105 etc.

[43] Verses quoted from other texts are *Aen.* 5.1 (by Trimalchio's slave) in 68; *Aen.* 4.34 in Eumolpus's Milesian tale at 111 and the medley of Virgilian verses in 132 which indicate the response of Encolpius's member to his speech (*Aen* . 6.469, *Eclogue* 5.16 , *Aen* . 9.436); possibly the senarii which Trimalchio quotes in 56 are by Syrus. Other verses clearly produced by the characters themselves are Trimalchio's hexameter and pentameter efforts in 34 and 55, and Eumolpus's compositions on objects of desire (93) and hair (109).

[44] J.P. Donleavy uses short verses in a similar manner, as a way of closing chapters in his novels (in imitation of a colophon) e.g 'It is / The random /Accumulation / Of triumphs /Which is /So nice' from *The Beastly Beatitudes of Balthazar B.* , Harmondsworth 1970, 55 which resembles the example from Petronius quoted above quite remarkably.

night with Giton:

> qualis nox fuit illa, di deaeque
> quam mollis torus. Haesimus calentes
> et transfudimus hinc et hinc labellis
> errantes animas. Valete curae
> mortales. Ego sic perire coepi ...

We have aleady seen *di deaeque* in juxtaposition with exclamations containing *quam* in Encolpius's prose soliloquies examined earlier. The past tense here, though, indicates that this passage, unlike those soliloquies, is not located in the realm of the story. This is a reflection made subsequently - on the same temporal level as the present narration, although it interrupts it. *Ego sic perire coepi* already makes it clear for us that Encolpius's joy was to be shortlived.[45] This is underlined and then explained by the prose narrative that resumes:

> Sine causa gratulor mihi . Nam cum solutus mero remisissem ebrias manus, Ascyltos omnis iniuriae inventor, subduxit mihi nocte puerum ...

The verse passage is a kind of interlude which expresses what has been going on in a different way - rather like a song in a 'musical' which can either fill out the preceding spoken words, or else give an intimation of what is to happen next.

This technique is used alot by Encolpius and provides the most frequent occasion for snatches of of verse to be found in the *Sat.* Most of them seem to be placed temporally at the point of narration rather than in the story. The use of past tenses at least suggests this: cf. the hexameters at 127, prompted by Encolpius's dallying on the lawn with Circe; the description of the *dignus amore locus* at 131; the sustained weapon metaphor in sotadei and then hexameters which are juxtaposed verses from Virgil in 132 (see below); the poetic description of the temple in 135 and the verses on the killing of the goose at 136.

The distichs on friendship in 80 could be produced by Encolpius at the time of his betrayal (cf. the distichs on Tantalus in 82), but again they seem more likely to indicate a narrator's subsequent reflection.

The sotadei in 132 are rather different. Like some of those in the *Apocolocyntosis* , they carry the narrative along, actually supplying new information about what happened rather than a comment on events. The way they are integrated with the prose that surrounds them shows this:

> Quod solum igitur salvo pudore poteram, contingere languorem simulavi, conditusque lectulo totum ignem furoris in eam converti, quae mihi omnium malorum causa fuerat:
>
> > ter corripui terribilem manu bipennem,
> > ter languidior coliculi repente thyrso
> > ferrum timui, quod trepido male dabat usum.
> > Nec iam poteram, quod modo conficere libebat;
> > namque illa metu frigidior rigente bruma
> > confugerat in viscera mille operta rugis.
> > Ita non potui supplicio caput aperire,
> > sed furciferae mortifero timore lusus

[45] The sentiment here recalls outbursts conventional in erotic poetry e.g. Propertius 2.14:

> *quanta ego praeterita collegi gaudia nocte*
> *immortalis ero, si altera talis erit.*

The poet here at least thinks he will live - not Encolpius's view of his situation.

ad verba, magis quae poterant nocere, fugi

Erectus igitur in cubitum hac fere oratione contumacem vexavi: 'Quid dicis' inquam...

The *igitur* of the prose sentence succeeding these verses suggests that the o.r. speech which follows is a consequence of the actions those verses describe. We can draw no other conclusion - Encolpius's attack on his member and its cowardly retreat, thus narrated, are on the surface as real as the speech and other events that follow. This use of verse for pure narration, however, is certainly unusual in the text we have: the bawdy metre and echoes of Virgil are supposed to provide a comical heightening to the account[46].

The voice providing the elegiac couplets at the end of 126 seems on the other hand to be the property of Encolpius the character. The verses are worth quoting in that context - just after Encolpius says he set eyes on Circe:

> Nulla vox est quae formam eius possit comprehendere, nam quicquid dixero, minus erit. Crines ingenio suo flexi per totos se umeros effuderunt, frons minima et quae radices capillorum retro flexerat, supercilia usque ad malarum scripturam currentia et rursus confinio luminum paene permixta, oculi clariores stellis extra lunam fulgentibus, nares paullulum inflexae et osculum quale Praxiteles habere Dianam credidit. Iam mentum, iam cervix, iam manus, iam pedum candor intra auri gracile vinculum positus: Parium marmor exstinxerat. Itaque tunc primum Dorida vetus amator contempsi...
>
> Quid factum est, quod tu proiectus, Iuppiter, armis
> inter caelicolas fabula muta iaces?
> Nunc erat a torva submittere cornua fronte,
> nunc pluma canos dissimulare tuos.
> Haec vera est Danae. Tempta modo tangere corpus,
> iam tua flammifero membra calore fluent...
>
> 127. Delectata illa risit tam blandum, ut videretur mihi plenum os extra nubem luna proferre. Mox digitis gubernantibus vocem 'Si non fastidis' inquit 'feminam ornatam...

The first sentence does not merely serve to convey the woman's superlative beauty: it also signals a problem played with in the whole passage here: the relation between discourse and what is visible (and merits description), including works of visual art. 'No utterance [or no voice] could express the beauty of that woman', says Encolpius, 'for whatever I will have said will be too little'. After this *adunaton* he nonetheless proceeds with an account of her hair, forehead, eyebrows etc. [47].

The metaphor describing her eyes (*oculi clariores stellis extra lunam fulgentibus*) is picked up after the elegiacs in the vehicle of the simile conveying Circe's smile (*ut videretur mihi plenum os extra nubem lunam proferre*). (This suggests that any text we

[46] See Sullivan p. 217-8, Slater 184-5. For discussion of the Virgil echoes, see Zeitlin 1980

[47] Compare the way Virgil opens the description of Aeneas's shield which will run on for a hundred or so verses *Aeneid* 8.620-2, 624-5:

> *miraturque [Aeneas] interque manus et bracchia versat*
> *terribilem cristis galeam flammasque vomentem,*
> *fatiferumque ensem, loricam ex aere rigentem...*
> *tum levis ocreas electro auroque recocto,*
> *hastamque et clipei non enarrabile textum*

The words *non enarrabile* make it clear that the description does not present the shield as it was: the narrator admits that he cannot aspire to the effects of a medium, skill and range beyond his own.

may be missing after the verses will not be too extensive.) Read together these two comparisons are confusing, if not humorously contradictory - what is being expressed? Perhaps the impossibility of entertaining both conceits serves to send up this kind of flattery.

A literal translation of what Encolpius has to say about her mouth is 'the kind Praxiteles believed Diana had.' This is an attribution, in o.m., of a thought to the sculptor - not quite the same as an explicit statement of how he portrayed the goddess. One possible implication is that no material portrayal of Diana's mouth, let alone the mouth of the woman to which it is likened, could ever be up to the mark. Another implication of the mention of Praxiteles is the evocation not so much of the visual arts but of the kind of discourse that uses the visual arts in its *exempla* , namely love-elegy. That evocation might be sustained in the exclamations in the following sentence: *Iam mentum, iam cervix* etc..[48] The ground is so laid that when Eumolpus does break into verse, it hardly seems a surprise.

The challenge to Jupiter - that through his apathy he has become a *fabula muta* - sends up mythology as a means of flattery without detracting from the compliment.

If Circe's delighted reaction at the beginning of 127 is to these verses, then we must assume that they were actually spoken to her by Encolpius and that his compliment has worked. One more touch that sustains a connection between the moment of narration and a consideration of visual and verbal representation might be the consecutive clause *risit illa tam blandum, ut videretur mihi plenum os extra nubem luna proferre.* Circe's bright smile of course picks up the references to her *candor* which could extinguish the gleam of Parian marble just before the verses. The words *ut videretur mihi* might well connote more in this context than Encolpius's personal reaction to the smile: 'so bright that it seemed to me like the moon...'

Phrases like *ut crederes* , *ut videretur* are stock in trade for ecphrases of artworks. Compare the reaction Encolpius had earlier to the pictures he saw in the *pinacotheca* in 83[49] :

> Tanta enim subtilitate extremitates imaginum erant ad similtudinem praecisae, ut crederes etiam animorum esse picturam.

The use of *ut crederes* in this context at any rate cannot be accidental.

Finally there might be an innuendo in the words of Circe herself which might sustain the idea of her being a painted woman in more than one sense:

> 'Si non fastidis' inquit 'feminam ornatam...

---

[48] Cf. Ovid *Amores* 1.5.19f.:

quos umeros, quales vidi tetigique lacertos!
forma papillarum quam fuit apta premi!
quam castigato planus sub pectore venter!
quantum et quale latus! quam iuvenale femur!
Singula quid referam? nil non laudabile vidi...

and *Fasti* 2.773-4:

hos habuit vultus, haec illi verba fuerunt,
hic color, haec facies, hic decor oris erat. [Tarquin musing on Lucretia]

Again perhaps in these passages there is the problem of the lover failing to find adequate words for what he sees and feels. See Barthes 1990, 19-21, on the word and notion of *adorable.*

[49] Compare also the description Lucius gives of the carvings in the *atria* of Byrrhaena's house in Apuleius *M etamorphoses* 2.4 which is thick with such expressions. A great many of the ecphrases in Philostratus's *Imagines* contain such apostrophes cf. also Apollonius *Argonautica* 1.763-7. See the discussion of ecphrasis in the first chapter of Bartsch 1989.

The verses help alert us to this allusive content of the prose surrounding them - examining this passage it is hard to see whether we are dealing with form or content.

The prayer to Priapus and Bacchus shortly after the beginning of 133 is given in o.r. by Encolpius and at least the speech we have is wholly constituted by hexameters. Slater remarks (p.180) that 'in its immediate context, the poem need only be read as one more element in the 'literariness' of the role Encolpius is writing for himself.'

The hexameters in 128 are more abstracted from the situation in which they appear. Encolpius has failed to perform, and Circe flees in to the temple of Venus in disgust:

> Ego contra damnatus et quasi quodam visu in horrorem perductus interrogare animum meum coepi, an vera voluptate fraudatus essem.
>
> Nocte soporifera veluti cum somnia ludunt
> errantes oculos effosaque protulit aurum
> in lucem tellus: versat manus improba furtum
> thesaurosque rapit, sudor quoque perluit ora
> et mentem timor altus habet, ne forte gravatum
> excutiat gremium secreti conscius auri:
> mox ubi fugerunt elusam gaudia mentem
> veraque forma redit, animus, quod perdidit, optat
> atque in praeterita se totus imagine versat...

But it still seems likely that the speculations about the illusory pleasures of dreams are being compared by Encolpius at the time to the promise of fulfilment which has escaped him.

There are four distichs at 132 (shortly before the prayer to Priapus and Bacchus) which also seem to express a preoccupation Encolpius would have had at the time of the story rather than at the point of narration. His justification, just given in prose, for reproaching his anatomy now drifts into a verse attack on prudish Stoic critics:

> Quid me constric ta spectatis fronte Catones
> damnatisque novae simplicitatis opus?
> sermonis puri non tristis gratia ridet,
> quodque facit populus candida lingua refert.
> Nam quis concubitus, Veneris quis gaudia nescit?
> Quis vetat in tepido membra calere toro?
> Ipse pater veri doctos Epicurus amare
> iussit, et hoc vitam dixit habere τελος ...

At the same time, there might be a difference between the discourse these verses present and that in the previous two examples. Though these verses are clearly contained in o.r. ascribed to Encolpius they appear to have a reflexive significance for the text we are reading as a whole: amounting to a statement of the narrator's, if not the author's poetic intent.

These observations on verse passages indicate that, though we have few models, Menippean satire may have had a considerable influence on the presentation of speech in the type of first person narrative we find in the *Sat.* outside of the *Cena*.

Veyne, Walsh and other critics have posited two other major influences on Petronius's practice: the *Milesiaca* of Aristides and the Greek romances. Since nothing of the former is extant and we have only Roman impersonations, it is hard to establish

much about how Aristides's stories would have influenced any of the techniques we find in the *Sat.* Given the texts which are claimed to be derivations or even examples of them (e.g. ps.-Lucian *Onos* , Eumolpus's tale of the widow of Ephesus in the *Sat.* and Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*), we might surmise that they were first person accounts. As for the Greek romances, all apart from Achilles Tatius present us with third person narratives. It is therefore difficult to gauge the extent of whatever influence such precedents may have had on the manners of speech and thought presentation in general which we find in Petronius, and indeed Apuleius.

At least the medley of prose and verse that we know to be a feature of Menippean satire can be shown to have some effect on discourse presentation in the *Sat.* discussed in this section. Particularly it offers the narrator a variety of ways of presenting his thoughts, words and experiences, as well as his reflections upon them. The verse passages can make up part of what was originally uttered in the story, they may constitute the narrator's present discourse, or interrupt it. This flexibility, while it can lead to 'artistic self-indulgence and formlessness' (Sullivan p..90) is perhaps partly responsible for facilitating Petronius's innovations in portraying the speeches and thoughts of Encolpius in particular.

Dialogue and banquets and discourse in the *Satyricon*

The debt Petronius's *Cena* has to Horace *Sermones* 2.8 (the '*Cena Nasidieni* ') and to Plato's *Symposium* has been well established.[50]

The*Symposium* has a first person narrator - Apollodorus - who, like Encolpius does not involve himself in the progress of events or topics of discussion in the banquet he is recounting. But this is because he was not actually present to participate: he says everything he describes was reported to him by Aristodemus.

The Horatian satire is also presented by a first person narrator. But the poet-narrator did not attend this *cena* himself either: he is asking Fundanius for details about it. As in the *Cena Trimalchionis* the host is cast in strongest relief: in Fundanius's report most speech is ascribed to Nasidienus, some to Balatro, one line to Vibidius and none to Fundanius.

O.r. is the normal way of presenting speech in these texts of Plato and Horace, although Horace employs more variation[51] . Both those pieces offer us precedents for the role of 'transparent narrator' which Encolpius provides in the *Cena* : neither Fundanius nor (inevitably) Apollodorus figure strongly in the accounts they give. It is interesting that both these precedent narrators are interlocutors in conversations embedding the accounts they give: Apollodorus with his ἑταιρος and Fundanius with Horace's persona.

In the *Sat.* as far as we have it, Encolpius as the principal narrator is telling the story by himself. There is no recipient of his narrative or interlocutor who embeds Encolpius's words, as say, Encolpius embeds Eumolpus's poems and stories, in the text we have. We should not rule out the possibility of there having been one, given that so much of the original text has been lost. Whatever the case, the form of these precedents should put us more on our guard against regarding Encolpius as the mouthpiece of the views of the historical Petronius.

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[50] See Sullivan, 126-8 for the influence of this satire on the *Cena* . 126n.1 provides extra bibliography. Rodriquez 1981, 267-80 is a more recent and more thorough treatment. Cameron 1969, shows the influence of the structure and and content of the *Symposium* on Petronius. See also Cameron 1970.

[51] E.g. 2.8.6. *ut aiebat cenae pater* ; 2.8.31 (o.o.); 2.8.35 (o.m. - indirect command).

It is perhaps the genre of dialogue, in itself a form of speech presentation, which has had the most fundamental influence on the form of Petronius's fiction we can discern. Dialogue, as a mimesis of good talk, whether or not of a political or philosophical nature as Diogenes Laertius 3.48 remarks , is a type of discourse which can easily admit other genres or topoi or features of other genres (e.g. panegyric, diatribe, lyric, tragic or comic rheses). Such generic features or genres can enter into a conversation whether they are composed or quoted by a character taking part in any dialogue - literary or mundane, ancient or modern.

Plato's dialogues may have given Petronius the best example of a medium which can absorb a breadth of genres in different ways, on different levels and with varying degrees of parody. At the same time a Platonic dialogue can be narrative, as the *Satyricon* is, though there is not always a dominant narrator. The 'story' is then carried forward by the *dramatis personae*.

Speech presentation and characterisation: Echion's speech

Perhaps in keeping with his vulgar colloquial diction, and his character which seems worse than that of his companions (see Smith 1975 ad loc.) , Echion has several snatches of o.r. within his speech which serve to add vigour to his words, e.g. 45-6:

> Ad summam, omnes postea secti sunt ; adeo de magna turba 'adhibete' acceperant, plane fugae merae. 'Munus tamen' inquit 'tibi dedi' : et ego tibi plodo . Computa, et tibi plus do quam accepi. Manus manum lavat. Videris mihi, Agamemnon dicere: 'Quid iste argutat molestus?' quia tu qui potes loquere, non loquis. Non es nostrae fasciae , et ideo pauperorum verba derides. Scimus te prae litteras fatuum esse.

The short instances of o.r., the speaker's reply to speech of others he reports in free o.r. (*et ego tibi plodo*), *occupatio* , the use of sayings (*manus manum lavat*) all contribute to the effect of a very colloquial style. These features are typical of satire and Echion's observations and sententiae on how to live recall in manner, if not in profundity and quality, the kind of comment we can find in Horace's *Sermones*. Echion goes on to discuss the upbringing of his children below in 46 - something not too far from the kind of topic Horace would pursue.

And what better exhibition of *pauperorum verba* could we get than the one given here? (Incidentally the form *pauperorum* for *pauperum* is doubtful : if Echion is getting his grammar wrong, an error in this of all phrases has an obvious comic effect.) The point of the o.r. Echion uses is only partly for him to report utterances he has heard to convey to us; really it serves to show us the way he speaks and through that, the kind of man he is. This need not be regarded as only the doing of Petronius, or even of Encolpius, either of whom could be seen to be reporting Echion's discourse and opinions to show him up without the character being conscious of his nature and status on display. It could just as much, if not entirely, be regarded as Echion's doing - especially given that one of the o.r. snatches is an *occupatio* which he believes expresses Agamemnon's attitude to him and his speech.

For a comparable passage in which a character is characterised by his speech, as he deliberately characterises himself - and actually comments on his manner of speaking, we can consider an excerpt from the second chapter of George Eliot's *Adam Bede* :

> '... I'm not this countryman, you may tell by my tongue, sir. They're curious talkers i' this country, sir; the gentry's hard work to hunderstand 'em. I was brought hup among the gentry, sir, an' got the turn o' their tongue when I was a bye. Why, what do you think the folks here

> say for 'hev'nt you?' - the gentry, you know, says 'hev'nt you' - well the people about here says 'hanna yey'. It's what they call the dileck as is spoke hereabout, sir. That's what I've heard Squire Donnithorne say many a time; it's the dileck, says he.'[52]

The one clear passage of indirect discourse we have in Echion's speech is typically colloquial, and rare in classical Latin. Echion complains of his son's excessive fondness for birds and says he killed his pets as a consequence:

> Ego illi iam tres cardeles occidi, et dixi quia mustella comedit...

There is a similar use of language above in 45 (*Sed subolfacio quod nobis epulum daturus est Mammaea*)[53].

Echion's speech ends with embedded o.r. (46-7) - a feature common to some of the anecdotes in the *Cena* which we shall consider next:

> Ideo illi cotidie clamo: "Primigeni , crede mihi, quicquid discis, tibi discis. Vides Phileronem causidicum: si non didicisset, hodie famem a labris non abigeret. Modo, modo collo suo circumferebat onera venalia, nunc etiam adversus Norbanum se extendit. Litterae thesaurum est, et artificium nunquam moritur."'

This quotation of frequent advice claimed to be delivered to offspring resembles in tone and form Demea's account of the advice he gives to Ctesipho in Adelphoe, along with Syrus's parody of it in 412-32.

Embedded narratives and the presentation of discourse

We shall see later how Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* as well as what we have of the *Satyricon* is given over to quite extensive stories within the major story. Of course embedded narratives have been a feature of the verse genres already treated, but it can be argued that the embedded narratives of the*Sat.* have a rather different nature from those in the Latin poets if we consider their relation to the narrative which, we believe, is supposed to enclose them[54].

In martial epic poetry the embedded narratives usually have some causal connection with the principal narrative: they are told by involved narrators recounting their own lived experience to account for a present situation e.g. Aeneas explaining to Dido how he got to Carthage, Hypsipyle's story in *Thebaid* 5 (though this does provide relief from the main action of the poem). In epyllion they can affect the mood and significance of the outer story: Ariadne's desertion darkens the marriage of Peleus and Thetis in Catullus 64. Ovid in the *Met.* entertains his audience by quoting a story that a character will use to entertain those around him in the story. Often these embedded

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[52] This is quoted by Page 1988, 135. It is not really the use of quotation here which recalls our passage in Petronius - Mr. Carson's '"hevn't you"'s and '"hanna yey"' serve still less than Echion's o.r. to record particular moments of utterance; they are instances of frequentative o.r. to illustrate the way he hears people talk. The point of resemblance is the kind of irony which Page observes which 'reveals the standpoint of one who is able to regard 'the folks here' and the 'gentry', as well as phenomena like the innkeeper [i.e. the quoted speaker, Mr. Carson] with equal detachment.' Both here and in Petronius the speakers reflexively in their speech illustrate the kinds of speech they are talking about with varying degrees of awareness.

[53] see Smith ad loc., 224

[54] As we have only a portion of the original text, we cannot be completely sure that Encolpius's story as it is presented to us is necessarily the definitive outer narrative.

narrations in the *Met.* also serve to accomplish an end in the outer story: the tale of Iphis and Anaxarete for example really functions as a *narratio* which Vertumnus uses to accomplish his seduction of Pomona (14.697-764).

Petronius's embedded narratives have something in common with those we may find in Ovid and other poets in these two respects, but, regarded generally, they have quite different qualities as well.

We have seen already by an examination of the verse passages how the *Sat.* as prose fiction, like the dialogue, is able to include excerpts and instances of 'texts' from various (perhaps any) poetic genres known at the time of its composition. The prose 'texts' included can be, and are, just as varied. This range of texture inevitably cannot be allowed in a poem consistently composed in one metre like the *Metamorphoses* . Of course we can discern the influence and inclusion of other genres: martial epic, history, even philosophical dialogue. But the formal differences are smoothed out - most notably prose and alien metres are converted into hexameters. Everything is standardised to suit the particular genre of the *Metamorphoses* . There are no abrupt transitions such as we find in the *Apocolocyntosis* and the *Sat.* , whenever the narrative moves from one generic voice to another.

The variety of forms available to embedded narratives in this kind of prose fiction means that these narratives can each be located on a different level. There are sharper divisions between these levels than can be attained in narrative poetry: Eumolpus's *De Bello Civili* is located in a poetic realm and a historical past in a sense as remote from the company of Petronius's characters hearing it as it is from us; Trimalchio's and Niceros's ghost stories are supposed to be located in the world of experience of their narrators, whether or not their audience are prepared to believe in them.[55]

For all these embedded narratives, consideration of the techniques of speech presentation in them ends up telling us as much about the narrators and their delivery as it does about the characters in their stories.

(i) Niceros's story

Partly by Niceros's design, partly not, this account certainly tells us more about Niceros than anyone else. In addition to the morbid nature of the werewolf story, there is a preoccupation with death that colours his narration and which peaks in the one passage in he presents his own thought discourse. Early on on he describes the guest (who turns out to be the *versipellis*) as *fortis tanquam Orcus* . Niceros's reaction to the gravestones where they stop is curious: *sedeo ego cantabundus et stellas numero* . He then sees his companion undress :

> Mihi anima in naso esse, stabam tanquam mortuus

[55] This is an important point. The ghost stories are subject to refutation as their narrators are only too aware when they end their accounts: *Viderint alii quid de hoc exopinissent; ego si mentior, genios vestros iratos habeam* (Niceros at the close of 62, also note Trimalchio's response 63), *Rogo vos, oportet credatis, sunt mulieres plussciae , sunt nocturnae , et quod sursum est , deorsum faciunt.* (Trimalchio at the close of 63- the response of those present has been treated above) Eumolpus on the other hand does not ask that his story about the Widow of Ephesus be believed (though he says it is a *rem sua memoria factam*) - it is really supposed to entertain. This kind of distinction alone between embedded narratives would not be conceivable in any of the poems we have considered. The question of whether storytellers' embedded narratives of supernatural events are believed by other characters hearing them will be raised again in our consideration of Apuleius. In the *Met* . there is again a variety of audience responses - the story of Psyche, advertised by its narrrator as a *fabula* is admired by its audience as such, and not subject to refutation.

The image for this exotopic presentation of thought is a curious one (Compare the phrase *oculi mortui* which contributes to the description of his state when he returns to his mistress as a *Larva* [56]. Does this mean his vision was impaired or that he looked dead?). And then what could be a presentation of his thought discourse follows, after he sees the transformation:

> Ego primitus nesciebam ubi essem, deinde accessi, ut vestimenta eius tollerem: illa autem lapidea facta sunt. Qui mori timore nisi ego?

The question could be a retrospective apostrophe - but it could connect the sense of lost orientation (*nesciebam ubi essem*) which he did have at the time.

Melissa's o.r. speech comes towards the end of the anecdote. It provides a startling climax, rather than any real insight on her character:

> 'si ante' inquit 'venisses, saltem nobis adiutasses; lupus enim villam intravit et omnia pecora <momordit>, tanquam lanius sanguinem illis misit. Nec tamen derisit, etiam si fugit ; servus enim noster lancea collum eius traiecit.'

Melissa's description of the *lupus in fabula* provides corroboration for the wonder Niceros saw in a subtle way which is not immediately obvious. The wolf is compared to a human figure - a *lanius* or 'butcher'. *Nec tamen derisit, etiam si fugit* ('But he didn't get the chance to gloat even if he got away') underlines the anthropomorphisation of the simile. This might make us question whether these would have been Melissa's exact words or not - Niceros might have adjusted them so that the identification between the lycanthrope he saw and the wolf that killed the herds is enhanced in his telling.

Some syncopation must be occurring in this narration at least - it is hard to imagine that Niceros gave no verbal response to his mistress's news or that he failed to respond to her inquisitiveness about his late appearance (implied in *Melissa mea mirari coepit, quod tam sero ambularem* just before her 'quoted' speech. The reaction he describes is as follows:

> haec ut audivi, operire oculos amplius non potui, sed luce clara Gai nostri domum fugi tanquam copo compilatus ...

Oculos might pick up *oculi mortui* earlier- the juxtaposition here with *luce clara* is perhaps worth noting. Niceros's fetish about death emerges once more, with pointed irony, when he presents his conclusive realisation in o.m.:

> Intellexi illum versipellem esse, nec postea cum illo panem gustare potui, non si me occidisses.

An embedded narrative of this brevity cannot allow us much scope to compare its narrative techniques with those of the outer narrative (Encolpius's) in terms of speech presentation: the main conclusion is that Niceros serves to portray himself in his narration, giving us little insight on to the speech or thoughts of other characters he introduces.

(ii) Eumolpus's autobiographical story.

The story Eumolpus recounts to Encolpius in 85-7 serves no less to characterise

[56] *Larva* is Fraenkel's reading. Buecheler has *Ut larva*.

its narrator than the one just examined, but we have more discourse from another character presented here.

The story is about hidden motives and illustrates how they can be realised. Hence a lot of Eumolpus's presentation of his own thoughts is not discursive, but expressed exotopically in terms of impulses and desires. This is clear in the second and third sentences of the account which I quote from the beginning at 85:

> In Asiam cum a quaestore essem stipendio eductus , hospitium Pergami accepi. Ubi cum libenter habitarem non solum propter cultum aedicularum , sed etiam propter hospitis formosissimum filium, excogitavi rationem , qua non essem patri familiae suspectus [amator]. Quotiescunque enim in convivio de usu formosorum mentio facta est, tam vehementer excandui, tam severa tristitia violari aures meas obsceno nolui, ut me mater praecipue tanquam unum ex philosophis intueretur.

As a first person narrator, Eumolpus cannot record the thoughts of others, but he does enjoy reading them or making conjectures about what they were, as he does for the boy's mother in this case. One of these conjectures in particular, where the boy himself is concerned, is quite elaborate:

> Ad hoc votum ephebus ultro se admovit et, puto, vereri coepit, ne ego obdormissem. Indulsi ergo sollicito, totoque corpore citra summam voluptatem me ingurgitavi .

In the previous quotation we see iteratative o.m. is used to record occasions in which something was discussed at length (*quotiescunque enim in convivio de usu formosorum mentio facta est*) or stated recurrently at different times:

> Iam ego coeperam ... docere et praecipere, ne quis praeceptor corporis admitteretur in domum...

Direct discourse is reserved for the words of Eumolpus himself and the boy he seduces. Like many jokes or anecdotes narrated in our language today, this one depends on formulaic repetition, if not of the words of a given utterance, then of a context in which that utterance can be echoed one or more times. In fact Eumolpus's story depends on such repetition twice, once in each of the two parts of this story. It is actually these distinct instances of repetition which causes me to see the story falling into to two distinct parts (85-6 and 87), each with their own 'punchline'.

The first part of the story relates the way in which Eumolpus sets about his seduction by making a series of vows to divine powers (within the boy's earshot). I quote them in series:

> Itaque timidissimo murmure votum feci et 'domina' inquam 'Venus, si ego hunc puerum basiavero , ita ut ille non sentiat, cras illi par columbarum donabo'...

> Proxima nocte cum idem liceret, mutavi optionem et 'si hunc' inquam 'tractavero improba manu, et ille non senserit , gallos gallinaceos pugnacissimos duos donabo [patienti].'...

> Ut tertia nox licentiam dedit, consurrexi, ad aurem male dormientis 'dii' inquam 'immortales, si ego huic [dormienti] abstulero coitum plenum et optabilem, pro hac felicitate cras puero asturconem Macedonicum optimum donabo, cum hac tamen exceptione si ille non senserit.'...

These vows become less like prayers successively, as the speaker's intentions are

expressed more explicitly in each case. The *dii immortales* of the third utterance is actually far more of an exclamation than a vocative address. The qualification stated there too (*cum hac tamen exceptione...*) is so clearly designed for the boy's hearing, that even he must have been aware that this was no real prayer.

So all these vows are quoted in o.r.: this is obviously to highlight the irony of them being ostensibly addressed to immortal powers, when the boy is really intended to be their recipient. The parallelism between them is attained by inserting them into the structure of the narrative in the same way each time: a verbal expression in the aorist, followed by *et* (in the first two instances), followed by the first one or two words of the utterance, followed by *inquam* , followed by the rest of the utterance. That parallelism clearly helps sharpen the pointed *auxesis* achieved by this repetition.

The 'punchline' to this phase of the story consists in the boy's words in o.r. the morning after the third promise - the first discourse of any kind ascribed to him:

> At ille circumspiciens ut cervicem meam iunxit amplexu, 'rogo' inquit 'domine, ubi est asturco?'...

Note that a similar structure is employed to the one above: verb in the aorist, followed by the first word of the utterance, followed by *inquit* , followed by the rest of the utterance. This speech is amusing because it shows simultaneously that the boy is taken in and actually expects to receive a horse, and that his hopes are so high that he gives not even a semblance of attention to Eumolpus's proviso in his third vow - that he should not have been aware (*senserit*) presumably both of the vow and of the consequent physical approaches. His use of the word *asturco* alone gives it away that he heard Eumolpus's words quite precisely.

The second phase of this narrative in 87 displays the use of more modes of presenting speech:

> ... Inter positis enim paucis diebus, cum similis casus nos in eandem fortunam rettulisset, ut intellexi stertere patrem, rogare coepi ephebum, ut reverteretur in gratiam mecum, id est ut pateretur satis fieri sibi, et cetera quae libido distenta dictat. At ille plane iratus nihil aliud dicebat nisi hoc: 'aut dormi, aut ego iam dicam patri.' Nihil est tam arduum, quod non improbitas extorqueat. Dum dicit: 'patrem excitabo,' irrepsi tamen et male repugnanti gaudium extorsi. At ille non indelectatus nequitia mea, postquam diu questus est deceptum se et derisum traductumque inter condiscipulos, quibus iactasset censum meum, 'videris tamen' inquit 'non ero tui similis. Si quid vis, fac iterum.'

Mimetic o.o., or else expansive o.m., is used to record Eumolpus's renewed appeals to the boy. How we determine the category depends on how far we take the discourse presented here to approximate to what he might actually have said. The *id est* could serve to interpret *ut reverteretur in gratiam mecum* for Eumolpus's listener, or it could be reporting a paraphrase which was actually used in his approach to the boy. *Rogare coepi* , anyway, implies that he was not able to continue with his suit; *et cetera quae libido distenta dictat* is anyway a *praeteritio* - Eumolpus is not going to embarass himself by recounting all his appeals. Attributing all his words at this stage to *libido distenta* is a face-saving disclaimer.

The indirect discourse used to present the boy's complaint towards the end of this excerpt is similarly difficult to determine - *diu* suggests it is serving to summarise what he said. The proliferation of participles and their alliterative effect (*deceptum ... derisum ... traductum*) still manage to convey rather dramatically the boy's agitation and indignation. Perhaps we should view this as 'mimetic o.m.' The mimetic effect of this rendering is reinforced by a shift in speech mode to o.r. (*'videris tamen' inquit*)

with *tamen* acting as an adversative to the speech previously reported, giving retrospectively the impression that what went before actually was some kind of quotation.

Iterative o.r. is used for utterances which were repeated: *aut dormi, aut ego iam dicam patri* and *patrem excitabo* . The iterative quality of these utterances is brought out by the declarative phrases that introduce them: *nihil aliud dicebat nisi hoc* and *dum dicit* . This effect is not employed idly - the punchline of the second phase, and indeed of the whole story works because Eumolpus has used this technique to show both how fed up he has become with the 'Go to sleep or I'll tell father' routine and how he twists the boy's reiterated utterance to his advantage:

> Itaque excitavit me sopitum et 'numquid vis?' inquit. [cf. Si quid vis in the boy's words quoted above] Et non plane iam molestum erat munus. Utcunque igitur inter anhelitus sudoresque tritus, quod voluerat, accepit, rursusque in somnum decidi gaudio lassus; interposita minus hora pungere me manu coepit et dicere: 'quare non facimus?' tum ego totiens excitatus plane vehementer excandui et illi voces suas: 'aut dormi, aut ego iam patri dicam.'"...

Vehementer excandui is a particularly nice touch of ring-composition. We saw Eumolpus using it above to describe his feigned indignation in front of the boy's family whenever their conversation took a salacious turn. This time the indignation is genuine - he does not want to think of sex because he has actually had too much of it. This echo of his previous simulated self-righteousness is especially entertaining as it heralds the wicked irony of the remark which closes the story.

In terms of speech presentation, the style of this second embedded narrative again has a very different complexion from that of the narrative which encloses it. Even outside of the *Cena* , Encolpius does not quote his own words so consistently as those of his interlocutors. In this story, Eumolpus gives himself most of the o.r. employed. Much of that, as we have seen is of a repetitive nature anyway - that is because this narrative is designed as a joke. It might edify at least Encolpius about the lewder side of human nature, but it is not serving to parody the more superficial aspect of characters' *mores* , or the lexical aspects of their speech which is the function of Encolpius's relation. In providing accurate portrayals of the way his personages (including narrators like Eumolpus) behave and talk, Encolpius leaves us as his audience to draw our own conclusions about the strengths and weaknesses of those whom he describes.

The moral of Eumolpus's short story by contrast, within its context at least is relatively clear. It is intended to encourage Encolpius (who, immediately it is finished, says he was *erectus his sermonibus*). The street wisdom it contains is that a lewd character can get the better of other lewd characters by exploiting the very flaws they have which he has himself. Perhaps Eumolpus is encouraging Encolpius to be more like Ascyltus about whom he was presumably complaining before this story was told at the the end of 85:

> 'Vellem, tam, innocens esset frugalitatis meae hostis, ut delinir posset. Nunc veteranus est latro ipsis lenonibus doctior.'...

(iii) Eumolpus's story of the widow of Ephesus[57]

[57] Numerous versions of this story have enjoyed a *nachleben* independent of the rest of the *Sat*. See Ure 1956. Bakhtin 1981 offers an analysis of the story which seeks to explain its influence at 221-4.

This second lengthier story in prose told by Eumolpus (111-2) is preceded by a passage at the end of 110 which presents in indirect speech elements of his conversation to Encolpius's company:

> Ceterum Eumolpus, et periclitantium advocatus et praesentis concordiae auctor, ne sileret sine fabulis hilaritas , multa in muliebrem levitatem coepit iactare: quam facile adamarent, quam cito etiam filiorum obliviscerentur, nullamque esse feminam tam pudicam, quae non peregrina libidine usque ad furorem averteretur. Nec se tragoedias veteres curare aut nomina saeculis nota, sed rem sua memoria factam, quam expositurum se esse, si vellemus audire. Conversis igitur omnium in se vultibus auribusque sic orsus est: ...

The story then begins with a clear 'once upon a time' formula (*'Matrona quaedam Ephesi tam notae erat pudicitiae ...*)[58]. The point of this passage of indirect discourse - not commonly ascribed to characters other than the narrator by Encolpius, less still at any length - might in part be to locate the story that follows comfortably into the context of a conversation already taking place, without taking the edge off its beginning. The start of the actual narration coincides with the start of o.r. being ascribed to Eumolpus.

The indirect speech becomes increasingly discursive in tone as it continues. *Multa in muliebrem levitatem coepit iactare* is a general heading in o.m. which summarises the nature of Eumolpus's conversation after the purpose of his talk has been explained - he is trying to relieve a tense situation. Two subheadings are then enumerated with the *quam* clauses which qualify the nature of his discussion. This is still o.m., but more informative. (We might compare the list of contents of Iopas's song given in o.m. in the reported poem in *Aeneid* 1.742f.) The third 'subheading' seems to move into o.o. with a consecutive clause.

The intimation that we are getting more of the original speaker's diction is confirmed by the new sentence following (which starts *Nec se tragoedias ...*) This is still in o.o. with an accusative subject, weakly governed by the declarative phrase *multa... coepit iactare* . It is more expansive still (mimetic o.o.), the phrase *si vellemus audire* giving us a strong impression of Eumolpus's voice.

Eumolpus here claims that the story is about something that happened in his living memory (*rem sua memoria factam*), although we find the tale first in the *Appendix Perottina* 13[59] - possibly the claim of personal knowledge of events related was a feature of the Milesian story [60]. His telling anyway gives the narrative a literary (or sub-literary) quality - there is insight which could come really only from a fictional

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[58] Compare the way the *anilis fabula* of Psyche begins in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* 4.28: *Erant in quadam civitate rex et regina* ... Walsh 1970, 13n.2 says 'The first sentence ... sets the stage with description of the central character and the locale; the last sentence rounds off the episode. Compare Sallust *B.J.* 12, and many Livian scenes, on which see my *Livy* (Cambridge 1967), 178ff.'

[59] 13 in Postgate's text of Phaedrus, 1919. This includes a subscription in accord with Eumolpus's introduction: *Quanta sit inconstantia et libido mulierum* . This relation is far shorter: 31 verses of senarii, with less complexities in speech and thought presentation. Thoughts are presented exotopically: e.g. *correptus animoilico succenditur, furitque sensus impotentis cupiditas* (18-9). There are only three occasions on which speech is explictly presented - the high esteem in which the widow was held for her mourning (*claram assecuta est famam castae virginis* 5) the soldier's request for water, an o.m. indirect command (12) and the widow's words in o.r. towards the close of the poem (*'Non est quod timeas' ait* 28). The first and third of these instances do happen to correspond to the modes employed in the Petronius version (which does not actually have the soldier requesting water). Typically, Phaedrus's version makes the moral of his story very clear: *sic turpitudo laudis obsedit locum.* (31) The significance of the story for Eumolpus's audience is, as Slater remarks (p.110) more difficult to place.

[60] see Walsh, 11n.4, 14n.3.

narrator. Take for instance this description of the soldier's sequence of realisations in 111:

> Descendit igitur in conditorium, visaque pulcherrima muliere primo quasi quodam monstro infernis imaginibus turbatus substitit. Deinde ut et corpus iacentis conspexit et lacrimas consideravit faciemque unguibus sectam, ratus scilicet id quod erat, desiderium extincti non posse feminam pati ...

We are told of things that could only be visible to the soldier (*visaque pulcherrima muliere*) and of his reaction to the sight - he stops in his tracks as if he has seen a portent. Then we see him taking in more details (*lacrimas consideravit faciemque unguibus sectam*) and are privy to his correct conjecture about the nature of the situation. The phrase *ratus scilicet id quod erat* shows that the narrator and the soldier have exactly the same view of the circumstances, whether or not we have the actual diction of the soldier's thought discourse[61] .

What about the presentation of speech in this story? We have at first an account of the social reaction to the widow's mourning which tells us only that some speech acts must have taken place:

> Sic afflictantem se ac mortem inedia persequentem non parentes potuerunt abducere, non propinqui; magistratus ultimo repulsi abierunt, comploratagque singularis exempli femina ab omnibus...

The rendering of the *fabula* ('talk of the town') two sentences later gives a more positive rendering to convey what everybody in the community was saying and thinking:

> Una igitur in tota civitate fabula erat, solum illud affulsisse verum pudicitiae amorisque exemplum omnis ordinis homines confitebantur, cum ...

This is to emphasise the woman's excellent moral qualities all the more, as scene-setting for the story to follow. *cum* signals the next essential piece of background information: the governor's order - also rendered indirectly:

> cum interim imperator provinciae latrones iussit crucibus affigi secundum illam casulam, in qua recens cadaver matrona deflebat.

The plot begins to thicken - the first reporting of a speech in detail comes when the soldier approaches the widow with some food:

> coepitque hortari lugentem ne perseveraret in dolore supervacuo ac nihil profuturo gemitu pectus diduceret: omnium eundem esse exitum [sed] et idem domicilium, et cetera quibus exulceratae mentes ad sanitatem revocantur.

The presentation is quite ample: o.o. rather than o.m.; the use of both *exitum* and *domicilium* gives the impression of fluency. The soldier was spouting a helpful cliché - we are told he employed a few more such formulae to bring the woman round. *Et cetera ... revocantur* also provides us with another point of resemblance to a feature of speech presentation which Eumolpus used in his previous story - cf. *et cetera quae libido distenta dictat* the summarising o.m. describing the sort of things he included in his appeal to the sulking boy in 87 - not altogether a dissimilar context.

[61] Compare Eumolpus as narrator qualifying his own words with *id est* in the passage of indirect speech in 87 treated above: *rogare coepi ephebum, ut reverteretur in gratiam mecum, id est ut pateretur satis fieri sibi...*

The consolation does not work: the woman remains distraught with grief. The soldier's next effort is reported in o.m.:

> sed eadem exhortatione temptavit dare mulierculae cibum...

Mulierculae is interesting here - could the diminutive represent the soldier's focalization ('he tried to give some food to the poor dear little woman'), or even indicate the manner in which he addressed her?

The offer proves too much for the maid who accepts some food and then proceeds to engage in persuading her mistress to do the same thing. This is the first of the three passages of o.r. in this story:

> 'Quid proderet' inquit 'hoc tibi, si soluta inedia fueris, si te vivam sepelieris, si antequam fata poscant, indemnatum spiritum effuderis?
> Id cinerem aut manes credis sentire sepultos?
> Vis tu reviviscere? Vis discusso muliebre errore, quam diu licuerit, lucis commodis frueri? Ipsum te iacentis corpus commonere debet, ut vivas.'

The maid's persuasion, with a virtual quotation from *Aeneid* 4.34, is effective. In 112 the soldier then sets about his next design - to seduce the widow. The same kind of sequence of speech presentation techniques is used. The soldier's persuasions are given in o.m. We are told he uses the same devices as those he did before - even the detail provided by mimetic o.o. is unnecessary:

> Quibus blanditiis impetraverat miles, ut patrona vellet vivere, isdem etiam pudicitiam eius aggressus est.

This has some effect: we are told that that the chaste widow found the man *nec deformis aut infacundus* ; again, the maid intervenes providing the second instance of o.r. in this embedded narrative. This time her utterance wholly consists of a quotation from Virgil (*Aen.* 4.38):

> 'Placitone etiam pugnabis amore?'

Again the maid's speech ensures the success of the soldier's appeal.

The next and final occasion that the soldier's speech is rendered comes after he has discovered that, while he and the widow were cavorting in the tomb, one of the bodies he was supposed to guard has disappeared from its cross:

> veritus supplicium, mulieri quid accidisset exponit: nec se expectaturum iudicis sententiam, sed gladio ius dicturum ignaviae suae. Commodaret ergo illa perituro locum et fatale conditorium <unum> familiari ac viro faceret.

Once more, indirect speech modes are used. *Quid accidisset exponit* is o.m., informing us that he told the woman what our narrator has said he discovered. The pattern we have seen before is followed - there is a shift to a more discursive o.o.. First there is an accusative and infinitive construction dependent to some extent on the o.m. as a declarative expression (*nec se ... suae*); then a looser indirect command construction with the grim figure of thought - the tomb can serve the woman's doomed lover as well as her husband. The connective *ergo* is in a way otiose as a continuation from the previous sentence, and suggests that we are not hearing a compressed resumé of the soldier's words. *Perituro* too could imply that this is the soldier's rather than the

narrator's diction: it is more than likely for the character to describe himself as being about to die in his given frame of mind than the person telling the story (who knows he will not).

No intervention from the *ancilla* this time - the woman replies immediately and the response is given in o.r.. As with Eumolpus's previous story, it is such an o.r. speech from a character which provides the 'punchline', and once more the climax consists in an amusing, astounding reversal from the position originally held by the speaker:

> 'nec istud' inquit 'dii sinant, ut eodem tempore duorum mihi carissimorum hominum duo funera spectem. Malo mortuum impendere quam vivum occidere.'

Then follows her command, rendered indirectly, for her husband's body to be removed from its coffin and fixed to the empty cross. The last sentence brings us back once more to the popular opinion, the first speaker in the story:

> posteroque die populus miratus est, qua ratione mortuus isset in crucem.

An element of ring composition was also a feature of the final utterance recorded in Eumolpus's previous story.

We can conclude then, that in terms of narrating speech, there is a good deal of consistency in small ways with the techniques used in the other story told by Eumolpus - even though ostensibly there seem to be striking differences in the nature and frequency of the particular speech modes employed. This is the more remarkable given that the first story was 'autobiographical', told by an involved first person narrator, while the second involves events in which Eumolpus himself has played no part. All the way through Petronius, via Encolpius, has been working on Eumolpus's characteristic diction and manner of narration as he has been telling this story. We should note how relatively rarely Encolpius uses indirect discourse to render the speeches of characters other than himself throughout all the parts of the *Sat.* we have which he narrates.

The deployment of speech presentation in this story of the widow of Ephesus can tell us more still about the character and prejudices of its narrator. The *ancilla* has played a great part in helping the soldier to win over her mistress on both occasions. The soldier, we are told used *blanditiae* , and struck the widow as *nec infacundus* . Yet we are given no direct impression of this *facundia* - we do not hear him speak once. The maid's words unexciting as they may be, with their stock quotations from *Aeneid* 4, are by contrast foregrounded strongly by being quoted directly, and in entirety. We do not even hear in o.r. the soldier telling his new mistress of his discovery of the missing body - though her reply is quoted.

If we were to hear the speeches and pleas of soldier in this story, he would become far more conspicuous as a moral agent. The women are presented as the weak willed villains of the piece, when really, as the prime motivator, the soldier is the evil genius behind everything. That is how the deployment of speech modes by Eumolpus can be interpreted here.

That this interpretation is consistent with Eumolpus's aim and attitude in telling this story can be shown by one or two remarks he makes in his narration. He suggests how the soldier's exhortations to the widow to eat might have worked on the maid first:

> sed eadem exhortatione temptavit dare mulierculae cibum, donec ancilla vini certum habeo odore corrupta primum ipsa porrexit ad humanitatem invitantis victam manum, deinde refecta potione et cibo expugnare dominae pertinaciam coepit ...

Certum habeo may not be the correct reading; perhaps these words should be omitted altogether as they are in the *l* ms. and the *Florilegia*; but the phrase *vini odore corrupta* is incriminating enough.

The soldier may not be morally at fault by this point, but audiences of this story at any of the historical eras in which it has been related might be disturbed by the audacity at least of the soldier's swiftly ensuing attempt to seduce the widow[62] . Yet Eumolpus disarmingly indulges this with a 'you know how it is' formula, discreetly shifting any disapprobation his hearers might feel away from the soldier:

> Ceterum scitis, quid plerumque soleat temptare humanam satietatem.

Do we know this and take it for granted? A formally similar, though perhaps more creditable, appeal to common knowledge was made to Encolpius by Eumolpus in his previous relation in 86:

> Scis quanto facilius sit, columbas gallosque gallinaceos emere quam asturconem...

All three embedded narratives we have considered diverge both from the outer text that encloses them and from each other in terms of the techniques of speech presentation they employ. The number of instances of presentation of thought or speech in each one may be small, but it is still adequate for us to notice a difference of trends overall. We shall see in our investigation of Apuleius, how the embedded narratives of the *Metamorphoses* can also differ both in style and specifically in techniques of speech presentation from the principal narrative enclosing them.

Concluding remarks on speech presentation in Petronius

Although we began by noting that o.r. is by far the predominant mode used, some obvious differences in speech presentation between this extended prose narrative and the poetry we have considered should now be clear. It is harder in a text of this nature than it is in poetry to find specific, recurring contexts in which we can discern similar trends in speech presentation technique. There is more dialogue, whether entirely in o.r., or presented by angled narration as we find in the *Cena* .

A major difference, though one easily overlooked, is that the nature of speeches (or thoughts) reported, in whatever mode, can be very different from that of the speeches in the verse texts we have considered, or even in the *Apocolocyntosis* : the speeches need not contain anything essential or even relevant to the unfolding of the plot of the text as we have it. This might explain why there is relatively little use of indirect discourse in the parts Encolpius narrates - how his interlocutors speak, rather than what they say is most important. And these speeches on the whole seem to be very much part of the moment in which they occur - only one or two (Encolpius's soliloquies) are evidently instances of free o.r.. This is one major divergence from the quality of many of the speeches in Apuleius's *Met.* as we shall see below.

The apparently casual conversational delivery can provide us with sophisticated and intricate instances of discourse presentation, which are often difficult to interpret. The nature of the speaker of the verse passages in the narrative, and especially the time at which they were uttered is, for example, frequently difficult to establish. This is not necessarily due to any artfulness on the part of narrator or author, but a facility granted by using informal conversational 'prose'.

[62] For an interesting discussion of the significance of this story expanding Bakhtin's interpretation see Frow 1986, 130-9.

The verse passages are also indicative of the extent of inclusions from other genres that we find in the *Sat.* . These excerpted or 'included' passages have their own patterns of speech presentation as we have seen most conspicuously in the *De Bello Civili* . The other stories told in prose in a more colloquial style by characters other than Encolpius also have their distinctive practices of speech presentation which we have observed. One interesting disclosure this investigation of the *Sat.* has provided is the demonstrable difference between the way Encolpius's spoken and thought discourse is presented in the *Cena* and the way it is transmitted in the surrounding narrative. This supports observations others have made about the two kinds of narrative we find in the extant *Sat.* Might this mark what anyway almost amounts to a generic difference between the account of the banquet and the rest of the work?

Often one gets the impression from reading what remains of the *Sat.* that the language used by the characters becomes as much an object of scrutiny as any sequence of events which that language might be conveying. The example of characters like Trimalchio and Echion can show that their portraiture consists to a great degree in their speech. This point (raised by all three works of prose fiction considered) is one to which I shall return at the conclusion to this whole chapter.

However, for the *Sat.* itself we should be guarded about the importance we give to its use of *sermo cotidianus* in any overall interpretation of the text. As such a small proportion of it survives, we are inevitably driven to consider the quality of expression because we cannot relate the narrative we have to the original story and all the themes the whole text contained. This applies as much to a consideration in terms of speech presentation as anything else. With Apuleius's *Met.* the treatment will be slightly different because the presence of a complete text allows it to be so.

(ii) Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* .

I shall concentrate on three general areas in which speech presentation has a major part to play: the reporting of Lucius's own thoughts and words, embedded narratives i.e. stories within the story recounted by various characters, and the narrative's claim to credibility.

This survey is inevitably different from the one above. It is possible to deal with a text that is basically complete. It is easier to relate instances of reporting with themes and content. More attention will be given to the strategies of Apuleius's narrator and less to linguistic and stylistic aspects of the work.[63]

Characterisation of the narrator:
(1) The presentation of Lucius's speech in dialogue.

Dialogues between two or more speakers frequently occur in the *Met.* . The rapid

[63] In addition to the material cited below, the following studies have been devoted to the 'narratological' issues in the *Met.*: Dowden 1982,Winckler 1984, James 1987. See also *M.D.* (25), 1990, an issue specifically devoted to the ancient novel.

exchange of speech for at least two or three utterances is typical of ancient prose fiction[64]. It is rarely a feature of epic poetry or even of the elegiac narrative genres.

Dialogue in the *Met.* is nearly always wholly presented in o.r.[65] - Lucius is nearly always one of the speakers. It is interesting to see how there are close links even in the shorter direct speeches of characters with information given in the 'pure narrative'. Instances of this will be pointed out in the scenes discussed in this section.

O.o. and o.m., as in other authors, are employed particularly to record the discourse of a number of people speaking at once, or for occasions when characters say what amounts to the same proposition several times: the iterative use of indirect speech.

Apuleius also occasionally uses indirect speech for mundane remarks or utterances for which his narrator was present but not directly involved (e.g. *iubet uxorem discedere,vocata ancillula* 1.23).

(i) The market scene

This is all true of the market scene in 1.24. Everything is presented in o.r. except for Lucius's haggling - an example of the iterative use of o.m.:

> pecontato pretio, quod centum nummis indicaret, aspernatus viginti denariis praestinavi.

More interesting is the fact that Pythias's recommendation to Lucius to depart is given as an indirect command before his final words in o.r.:

> meus Pythias ac mihi ut [h]abirem, suadens: 'sufficit mihi, O Luci,' inquit 'seniculi tanta haec contumelia'

Perhaps the reason for this is that the suggestion was uttered confidentially. This would fit with Auerbach's interpretation of the passage[66]:

> Pythias urges Lucius to leave the marketplace, because the dealers will not sell him anything after such an incident and might actually attempt to wreak vengeance upon him.

Such a conjecture might be supported by the narrator's words -*prudentis condiscipuli valido consilio* - unless they are ironic.

(ii) The conversation with Milo 1.26.

The first book ends, as it began, with story-telling in a speech, but of a far more tedious kind than Aristomenes's tale of magic: the exhausted Lucius has to give an account to Milo of Demea's fortunes and his own:

> 'Quam salve agit' inquit 'Demeas noster ? Quid uxor ? Quid vernaculi ?' Narro singula. Percontatur accuratius causas etiam perigrinationis meae; quas ubi probe protuli, iam et de

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[64] See Hägg 1971 for some discussion of speech in Greek prose fiction. The dialogue genres themselves seem to be partly responsible for the gestation of Latin prose fiction as we have noted (cf. *Cyropaidia* and the techniques in Plutarch's *De Genia*, as well as the *sermones* of Horace and Persius). The Platonic dialogue which influenced the Greek fiction would have had a particular influence on Apuleius.

[65] For an instance of dialogue that is presented in o.o., see the exchange between Psyche and her husband in 5.6, considered below.

[66] Auerbach 1953,

patria nostra et eius primoribus ac denique de ipso praeside scrupolosissime explorans...

The rendering of the conversation in o.o. and o.m. after Milo's opening *quam salve agit ?* brings out the contrast between the vivid narrations Lucius the character has heard, and the uninspiring one he has to give. The effect of the indirect speech conveys to me the impression of an amount of conversation, with the clear suggestion that it is not very interesting[67].

On the other hand Milo's o.r. questions can be fascinating on another level. I think it is no accident that William Adlington rendered them indirectly in his translation ('he demanded of me how his friend Demeas did, his wife, his children and all his family'). Adlington uses mimetic o.o. here, the form used by a narrator who wants to give the impression that he is using the original speaker's words rather than giving a merely indifferent summary.

Milo's words here in Apuleius appear to be in the f.d.d..We should understand that Milo asked several questions which probably alternated with Lucius's responses.

Adlington must have sensed this was afoot: he did not want to mislead his readers by giving them the false impression that Lucius records an actual utterance of Milo word for word - so he used instead a form of o.o. more vivid than usual.

An instance of the f.d.d. so early in this prose text is a useful caveat, preparing us for the complicated issues concerned with credibility discussed below.[68]

(iii) Lucius and Byrrhaena 2.2-3

The words of Lucius, the old man and Byrrhaena are given in o.r. in 2.2-3. Byrrhaena's is the second speech to give an indication of Lucius's good looks (cf. Milo's *de ista corporis speciosa habitudine*...at 1.23). Among her praises, the remark about Lucius's *rubor temperatus* nicely fits the descriptions he gives of himself before and after the conversation: *statim rubore suffusus* (2.2) and *rubore digesto* (2.3).

Byrrhaena's warning words to Lucius at 2.5, when she receives him, bring to mind with some irony his speculations at the beginning of this book. Lucius is further intrigued (*ego curiosus alioquin* 2.6, cf. *curiose singula considerabam* 2.1). These are some instances of the linking, mentioned at the beginning of this sub-section on Lucius and dialogue, between short direct speeches and information given by our narrator.

(iv) Lucius and Milo 2.12-15

The paired arrangement in which Lucius's and Milo's accounts of Diophanes are presented resembles that of the embedded narratives of the thieves and the women in Book 4 (see below), although there is a more rapid exchange of *o.r.* in between, as they establish that the man they are dicussing is the same. Another resemblance to the twinned stories in 4 is that each account presents one side of a dispute. Lucius raises the example of the seer he knows in defence of Pamphile's claims of clairvoyance. Milo's account, somewhat irrelevant to the purpose, is meant to oppose Lucius's view. The words of both men are this time put in o.r. by the narrator (cf. 1.26).

Lucius's account of the *Chaldaeus hospes* uses indirect questions to describe the kind of predictions he made, and o.o. for the advice he gave to Lucius himself. This is an instance of the iterative use of o.o.: the *multa* and repetitions of *nunc* suggest that the predictions to Lucius were made on more than one occasion. It is partly for these reasons

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[67]Winkler 1984, on the other hand thinks we should be intrigued, not bored by this conversation - that we want to know details of Lucius and his life: 'Apuleius teases the reader by reminding us that we still do not know any concrete or certain details about the life of our narrator.'

[68] There is more to be said for distinguishing f.d.d. from o.r. in prose texts than in poetry - see Introduction, 21 above.

he is not quoted, but we should note that there might also the conventional didactic element to the use of indirect questions which has oftenbeen noted in the verse texts studied in the previous sections.

Milo does not recall at all the seer's prophecy to Cerdo, but he does recount in direct speech the conversation between Diophanes and the *adulescentulus*. The discursive anecdote that follows will hardly be of interest to Lucius who is concerned with the validity of divination, but Milo enjoys telling it and it is well rehearsed:

> ...consecutus fortunam scaevam, an saevam verius dixerim miser incidit... (2.13)

Lucius's feelings of regret at having prompted all this are presented in an causal expression (*mihique non mediocriter suscensebam quod ultro inducta serie inopportunarum fabularum partem bonam vesperae...amitterem*).

What Lucius says in 2.15 to extricate himself from the situation is characteristic of someone seeking to end *inopportunae fabulae* swiftly:

> Ferat suam Diophanes ille fortunam et spolia populorum rursum conferat mari pariter ac terrae, mihi vero fatigationis hesternae etiamnunc saucio da veniam maturius concedam cubitum', et cum dicto facesso, et cubiculum meum contendo....

He goes back on his original position referring to Diophanes's earnings as *spolia populorum*. The exhortation itself is probably inspired by the fashion in which Milo closed his speech: *sisque felix et iter dexterum porrigas*. Then comes his excuse for leaving - the previous day's exertions. This was no doubt prompted by the idea of Diophanes's travels. The link between *cubitum* and *cubiculum* suggests how he swiftly acts on is words.

All this shows that the ways in which direct speeches are related to each other, and to the surrounding narrative in Apuleius are more intricate than they might first appear. The narrations of the conversations with Fotis that follow provide more evidence of this.

(v) Exchanges between Lucius and Fotis 2.16-18

All the speeches in this section are given in o.r. and are interspersed between a detailed pure narrative which sets the scene and describes the characters' actions.

The dialogue between Lucius and Fotis earlier in the day ended with a military metaphor in Fotis's words in 2.10:

> bono animo esto...tota enim nocte fortiter et ex animo proeliabor

Now Lucius takes up the theme, both in the narrative as he recounts the scene in the bedroom in 2.15:

> prorsus gladiatoriae Veneris antecenia

and in the words he has himself speak to Fotis 2.16:

> nam, ut vides, proelio, quod nobis sine fetiali officio indixeras...

The double entendre is developed amusingly with the bow metaphor. At the same time we must remember the state Lucius has told us he is in:

> et iam saucius paulisper inguinum fine lacinia remota impatentiam veneris Fotidi meae monstrans

There is a correspondence between these actions preceding Lucius's words and those of Fotis preceding hers:

> paulisper etiam glabellum feminal rosea palmula potius obumbrans de industria quam tegens verecundia: 'proeliare' inquit 'et fortiter proeliare, nec enim tibi cedam nec terga vortam. . .

Paulisper marks a parallel: whilst Lucius was displaying himself: *petulans...inguinem monstrans* ; Fotis (though provocatively) conceals herself. Her speech too starts with an imperative of a deponent verb: *proeliare inquit* cf. *miserere inquam.*

The third dialogue the couple have after they are familiar is presented at 3.18, after some conversation rendered in o.m. has already taken place: Fotis has granted Lucius permission to dine with Byrrhaena. She then addresses him thus: *Heus tu* - the same expression she used when they first meet (1.22) and *Heus tu scholastice* in their next more friendly conversation (3.7-10). Lucius here calls her *Fotis mea* which were also his opening words to her in 3.7. Lucius the narrator makes similar references to her in 2.7 (*meam Fotidem*), 3.4 (*mea Fotide*) and 3.16 (*ecce Fotis mea*).

The repetition of these terms of address in the dialogue gives an impression of familiarity between the two. The effect of the repetition in the narrator's voice at this point appears to be similar. In fact it also serves to deceive us: Lucius will eschew Fotis after his transformation but the affectionate mentions of her prevent us from guessing that the feelings of Lucius the character are going to change.

The largest concentration of dialogue is to be found in the first three books in which the pace of the narration is most in line with the pace of events. Naturally after his transformation, Lucius is not prone to become involved himself in exchanges of speech and the narrative of his wanderings tends to have the quality of a summary. We shall see that there is no dialogue in Book 11 and only one instance of it in the Psyche story.

But the appearance of dialogue is at least sustained by other characters throughout the other parts of the work, and the technique serves as a generic marker for prose fiction.

Characterisation of the narrator: 2.
The speeches in Book 11

After the end of 10.28, there are no more embedded narratives in the *Met*. .10.29-35 are taken up to a great extent by vivid description of the public pageant in which Lucius is himself supposed to take part. The enargeia is richer than usual. This, as well as the diatribe against lawyers in 10.33 helps make the pace of the narrative here as slow as at any stage in the earlier books. The narrator and audience can thus work on a more or less equal footing until the end.

Few events are described in Book 11, but it covers the extensive timespan of Lucius's varied initiations. This, in combination with the now more linear nature of the narative helps distinguish the last book from those that preceded it.

This difference of quality has implications for speech presentation too. Walsh[69] comments on 11 as a whole:

[69] 1982, 783.

> In this final book there is no action beyond Lucius's reversion to human shape and his subsequent initiations; there is little dialogue or interplay with the other characters. The exalted narration is punctuated only by the occasional sermon.

In fact there is actually no o.r. dialogue at all in this book - something quite exceptional. Even the Psyche story has one example as we shall see: the gull's words with Venus at 5.28.

Instead there are longer isolated o.r. speeches. Griffiths, 1975, 57makes a list of speeches and other sections in 11 where elements deriving from specific religious forms are involved which includes nearly all the instances of o.r. in the book. I quote it for convenience:

I. Prayers
1. To the moon-goddess (ch.2)
2. For emperor, senate, knights and people (in summary ch.17)
3. To Isis, expressing praise and gratitude (ch. 25)

II. The Little Aretalogy in 'I- Style'.
The self proclamation of Isis (chs. 5-6)

III. The Makarismos
The beatitude of the transformed Lucius is proclaimed (ch.16)

IV. The Synthema
The essence of the Mystery is conveyed in formulaic utterances (ch.23)

Towards the end of the book, Lucius makes one more long speech to the goddess at 11.28.There are the words of the *clemens imago* in 29. As we shall see below, Lucius's narrated thoughts are presented in indirect speech in this book.

11.16-22 provide a relatively long sequence of speeches in o.o. or o.m..This shows a contrast with Lucius's general practice of directly quoting conversations in which he himself has taken part. The reasons for this divergence may emerge if we look at the instances here.

Both the consecration of the boat by the priest at 11.16 and the Pastophor scribe's prayer (11.17) for good fortune in Rome are given in o.m. These are perhaps only important as speech acts rather than for whatever their content may be. Lucius's direct speeches to the goddess contain enough prayer formulae; the quoting of more would perhaps be monotonous. We have anyway the general drift from 11.17:

> de litteris fausta vota praefatus principi magno senatuique et equiti totoque Romano populo, nauticis navibusque quae sub imperio mundi nostratis reguntur, renuntiat sermone...

At 11.21, Lucius records in o.m. his first approaches to the priest to be instituted, and the lengthier reply of the priest (in o.o.). Both renditions exemplify the iterative use of indirect speech:

> saepissime conveneram, petens ut me noctis sacratae tandem arcanis initiaret. At ille, vir alioquin gravis et sobriae religionis observatione famosus, clementer ac comiter et ut solent parentes immaturis liberorum desideriis modificari,meam differens instantiam, spei melioris solaciis alioquin anxium mihi permulcebat animum.

More puzzling is the sustained use of *o.o.* for the goddess's words to Lucius in her nocturnal epiphany at 11.22:

sed noctis obscurae non obscuris imperiis evidenter monuit advenisse diem mihi semper optabilem qui me maximi voti compertiret quantoque sumptu deberem procurare supplicamentis; ipsumque Mithram illum suum sacerdotem praecipuum, divino quodam stellarum consortio, ut aiebat, mihi coniunctum, sacrorum ministrum decernit.

The words spoken in previous epiphanies were either quoted directly or presented in o.m.. The iterative use of indirect speech is obviously not being applied here: this is a unique pronouncement. Nor does there seem to be a religious reason for the narrator to be reticent and not to quote the goddess. At this point she is only giving personal prescriptions to Lucius, not mystical secrets he cannot divulge.

The reason for the indirect discourse here may serve to give a greater impact to the priest's words which follow.

Altogether the widely held notion that this book significantly differs from the others is borne out by noticeable changes in techniques of speech presentation. But a distinction based on criteria such as these at least, offers no support to the notion held by Griffiths and others that 11 is any more autobiographical than other books of the *Met*..

Characterisation of the narrator: 3. The presentation of Lucius's thoughts.

Soliloquies are used to present the thoughts of several characters in the *Met* .. Lucius gives his reaction to the news on his arrival that Milo is a miser in a brief direct speech he utters to himself at 1.21-2 (*benigne inquam* etc.).

At 2.1 the narrator presents the the thoughts he had at an earlier time in a different way:

> anxius alioquin et cupidus cognoscendi quae rara miraque sunt, reputansque me media Thessaliae loca tenere quo artis magicae nativa cantamina totius orbis consono ore celebrentur, fabulamque illam optimi comitis Aristomenis de situ civitatis huius exortam, suspensus alioquin et voto simul et studio, curiose singula considerabam. nec fuit in illa civitate quod aspiciens id esse crederem quod esset sed omnia prorsus ferali murmure in aliam effigiem translata, ut et lapides quos offenderem de homine duratos, et aves quas audirem indidem plumatas, et arbores quae pomerium ambirent similiter foliatas, et fontanos latices de corporibus humanis fluxos crederem. Iam statuas et imagines incessuras, parietes locuturos, boves et id genus pecua dicturas praesagium, de ipso vero caelo et iubaris orbe subito venturum oraculum. Sic attonitus, immo vero cruciabili desiderio ...2.1-2

Lucius as a retrospective narrator, describes his states of mind from the outside, or else renders the content of his thoughts in o.o. and o.m..

It is necessary to differentiate between the two different time planes involved to see more precisely what is going on. There is the time which Lucius is recalling (the time of event, for convenience t1) and the time of the present narration (time of narration, or t2). Needless to say the whole discourse quoted above is pronounced at t2, but the perspectives it contains vary.

The completely underlined phrases present Lucius's condition in a way only really conceivable from the perspective of t2. They provide a retrospective view of how he was thinking as opposed to what he was thinking. It is extremely unlikely that Lucius at t1 would say anything like'*Anxius alioquin sum*' or '*Reputo me media Thessaliae'*

The majority of phrases, which are not underlined, could reasonably be reformulation from o.r. of the actual thoughts entertained by Lucius at t1. *Cupidus*

cognoscendi, marked with a broken line, could either have been articulated mentally by Lucius at t1 in a proposition with the words that follow, or they could be compltely the property of the discourse presented to us at t2. Then the imagined original proposition would be something like the direct question *Quae rara miraque hic sunt ?*

There is of course nothing especially unusual about a passage like this. The technique here is is virtually inevitable[70] for a narrator who recounts his or her thoughts and feelings. It is the best way of showing economically how something perceived at an earlier time compares with what is perceived at the point of narration. If o.r. soliloquy were used instead, it would have to be followed by a commentary by the first person narrator from the perspective of t2, for the same information to be conveyed.

It is worth remarking that Books 3 and 4, as well as 2, open with the narrator Lucius relating the thoughts he had at the appropriate points in the story. In each case the thoughts are of a different type and presented in a different fashion.

At the beginning of Book 11, Lucius again wakes up (cf. 2.1 *et somno simul emersus et lectulo*) to see not the sun as in 2, but the moon. Instead of being *curiosus* about unnatural phenomena, Lucius describes himself as being *certus* about natural ones. He experiences a sense of wonder in them and their causes instead:

> nanctusque opacae noctis silentiosa secreta, certus etiam summatem deam praecipua maiestate pollere resque prorsus humanas ipsius regi providentia, nec tantum pecuina et ferina, verum inanima etiam divino eius numinis luminisque nutu vegetari, ipsa etiam corpora terra caelo marique nunc incrementis consequenter augeri, nunc detrimentis obsequenter imminui ...

3.1 like 2.1 opens with the beginning of another day, but this time Lucius is very worried by the murder he has committed:

> Aestus invadit animum vespertini recordatione facinoris.

His physical posture is recorded in detail

> complicitis denique pedibus ac palmulis in alternas digitorum vicissitudines super genua connexis sic grabatum cossim insidens ubertim flebam

along with the images in his mind which are as vividly recalled:

> iam forum et iudicia, iam sententiam, ipsum denique carnificem imaginabundus.

The word *imaginabundus* is almost a participle, to be translated as 'seeing in my mind'. It turns out that these mental pictures anticipate the swift turn of events to follow. The images are replaced by a rendition of more articulate thoughts. No declarative verb of saying or thinking precedes this o.r. soliloquy:

'An mihi quisquam tam mitis tamque benivolus iudex obtinget [71], qui me trinae caedis cruore perlitum et tot civium sanguine delibutum innocentem pronuntiare poterit ? Hanc illam mihi gloriosam peregrinationem fore Chaldaeus Diophanes obstinate praedicabat.'

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[70] It would be interesting nonetheless to see how frequent this technique is in first person accounts of all types in extant Latin narrative literature.

[71] Oudendorp in his commentary favours *obtingat* and comments: *Optime. Suae enim tacitae interrogationi inest spes metui mixta.*

However *haec identidem replicans fortunas meas eiulabam* which follows suggests that very much the same propositions were running through Lucius's head again and again. The use of o.r. to attain this effect of frequency, instead of o.o., conveys the repetition of a formula rather than a more general reiteration, or else we have another example of the f.d.d. - this was the sort of thing Lucius was saying to himself..

4.1 opens with a description of events after the transformed Lucius has been captured by thieves. He is put to graze with Milo's ass and his own horse, prefers to find some garden vegetables instead. The account turns to his preoccupations :

> affatim tamen ventrem sagino, deosque comprecatus omnes cuncta prospectabam loca, sicubi forte conterminuis in hortulis candens repperirem rosarium. Nam et ipsa solitudo iam mihi bonam fiduciam tribuebat, si devius et fructetis absconditus sumpto remedio de iumenti quadripedis incurvo gradu rursum erectus in hominem, inspectante nullo resurgerem. Ergo igitur cum in isto cogitationis salo fluctuarem...4.1-2

There is something different again about the *cogitatio* here from those presented in 3.1.or 4.1. There are no declarative verbs of saying or thinking followed by their propositions: *deosque comprecatus omnes* is syntactically independent from what we understand to be the content of the prayer - that he might find roses. Lucius's thoughts are to be inferred from his urges and behaviour: *prospectabam loca... sicubi ...repperirem*. But while the phrase *Nam et ipsa solitudo. . . si* seems to be an assessment of the situation from the narrator's, rather than the agent's perspective, the contents of the *si* clause could more feasibly be the property of Lucius at the time (i.e. t1).

The narration of thought blended with actions, perceptions and urges continues into 4.2, but there is an o.o. construction after *arbitrabar* with *esse* to be understood:

> aliquanto longius video frondosi nemoris convallem umbrosam, cuius inter varias herbulas et laetissima virecta fulgentium rosarum mineus color renidebat: iamque apud mea non usquequam ferina praecordia Veneris et Gratiarum lucum illum arbitrabar, cuius inter opaca secreta floris genialis regius nitor relucebat. Tum invocato hilaro atque prospero Eventu. . .

The expression of thoughts as impulses or external entities acting on Lucius occurs in two expressions in 3.29 (*sed mihi....subvenit ad auxilium civile decurrere; consilium me subit longe salubrius ne si rursum....*).

Apuleius has another means of speech presentation which he uses to show Lucius's thoughts in the story. The first example is the moment of revelation for Lucius in the trial scene which we looked at in the first part of this dissertation:

> ...arrepto pallio retexi corpora. Di boni, quae facies rei! Quod monstrum! quae fortunarum mearum repentina mutatio! Quamquam enim iam in peculio Proserpinae et Orci familia numeratus, subito in contrariam obstupefactus haesi nec possum novae illius imaginis rationem idoneis verbis expedire 3.9

The exclamations are enclosed in pure narrative. Partly because of this they probably strike the audience as an utterance of the narrator given at the time of narration. Also there is no declarative verb which would unequivocably prove them to be the property of Lucius the character, spoken or thought at that moment. It was observed earlier that the following sentence has *haesi* in the aorist perfect: here we remarked, it is Lucius the narrator, not the character, describing how he felt.

But *possum* does not seem to be an instance of the narrative present if *erant* and *vulneraveram* follow in the next clause. It must be taken literally as a present: even

now, Lucius says, he cannot express in suitable words the sudden change in his conception of affairs that occurred because of what he saw. Hence the resort to exclamations.

Even so these remarks do not eliminate the possibility that Lucius gave utterance to these exclamations mentally, if not aloud, at the time of the revelation itself. As they stand, they could well be an o.r. rendering of his thoughts at the time.

The real effect of the words *Di ...mutatio* here is the synthesis of the two voices of Lucius, character and narrator. This is akin to the instances of free indirect style which we have encountered in poetic narratives given in the third person.

Another example of an utterance shared by character and narrator is to be found at 3.26. Lucius who has just been turned into an ass decides to seek shelter in the stable:

> atque ego rebar, si quod inesset mutis animalibus tacitum ac naturale sacramentum, agnitione ac miseratione quadam inductum equum illum meum hospitium ac loca lautia mihi praebiturum: sed pro Iuppiter hospitalis et Fidei secreta numina!

We see this example actually comes after a recording of Lucius's thoughts in o.o., in which he expresses the hope that his horse will be hospitable. But it is not: the exclamation after *sed* follows on directly to bring out the contrast between the unpleasant reality and what had been hoped for.

It is interesting that again an exclamation is involved in this means of narrating thought, and that again gods are invoked. Both times this form has been used when Lucius recalls a turn in events he did not expect. Here as in the previous instance, an explanation of the change in fortune immediately succeeds. This time the narrative present definitely is used - the vivid quality of the exclamation has fired what follows:

> Praeclarus ille vector meus cum asino capita conferunt in meamque perniciem ilico consentiunt et, verentes scilicet cibariis suis, vix me praesepio videre proximantem; deiectis auribus iam furentes infestis calcibus insequuntur, et abigor quam procul ab hordeo quod apposueram vesperi meis manibus illi gratissimo famulo. 3.26

The use of the narrative present is also frequent after passages of f.i.d. in narrative poetry.

Once more in Book 11 we find something rather like this practice.The story situation in 11.14 is comparable to that of 3.9. Lucius has undergone another reversal of fortune which has stunned him: this time he has just been turned back into human shape:

> At ego stupore nimio defixus tacitus haerebam, animo meo tam repentinum tamque magnum non capiente gaudium, quid potissimum praefarer primarium, unde novae ... vocis exordium caperem, quo sermone nunc renata lingua felicius auspicarer, quibus quantisque verbis tantae deae gratias agerem.

There are obvious resemblances of diction between this passage and the one in 3: e.g. *repentina*(3.9) - *repentinum* (11.14); *obstupefactus haesi* (3.9) - *stupore nimio defixus tacitus haerebam* (11.14). and in both cases Lucius is stuck for appropriate words to say.

However the use of the imperfect subjunctive in 11.14 shows that this was a problem at the time now being recounted in retrospect: all these words are the property

of Lucius the narrator as opposed to Lucius the character[72]. Another feature though does link this passage to the ones treated above which use the free indirect style: that is the use of the narrative present immediately after the deliberative questions (*sed sacerdos praecipit ...*).

We have seen how in poetry the style is generally used when a character is in a frenzy of emotion or faced with a sudden dilemma - contexts comparable with the ones here considered. However, a major difference between f.i.d. in the poets who narrate in the third person, and the technique here is that it can only be applied by the 'interested' narrator to his own character in the story.

The presentation of thoughts in a narrative can involve all the techniques which are used for presenting speech, and sometimes more. In his extended first person account, Apuleius not only recounts events and actions, but also relates Lucius's own reactions to and suppositions about things as they took place. It is no surprise that he uses some sophisticated and novel techniques to do this.

Embedded Narratives

The first two stories to be examined here are given by 'interested' narrators: those of Thelyphron the guest at Byrrhaena's dinner party in Book 2 and of the thieves in Book 4. We can expect both these accounts to throw some light on their narrators. The case of the tale of Psyche is rather different, as we shall see. That story bears little or no relation to its 'disinterested' narrator.

(i) Thelyphron's account

The dinner party conversation at 2.19f. is mostly presented in *o.r.* as we might expect. Only Byrrhaena's pleas to Thelyphron after his initial unwillingness to tell his story are given in *o.m.* This is presumably because they were reiterated at least in part:

> sed instantia Byrrhaenae, quae eum adiuratione suae salutis ingratis cogebat effari, perfecit , ut vellet 2.20

In terms of speech presentation, Thelyphron's *fabula*, like Aristomenes's in the first book, follows the style of that in which it is inserted.

The conversation between Thelyphron and the passerby is wholly in o.r.. The announcements of the old *praeco* just before however are in o.o.. Again this must be because the basic content of what had to be said was repeated several times, while the diction varied.

Thelyphron appears to the herald and boasts that he is *ferreum et insomnem* and compares himself to Lynceus and Argus. Even now, so many years later, Thelyphron has not given up the habit of employing extravagant mythological exempla to describe himself. Thelyphron the narrator, as opposed to the character, compares himself to Adonis and Orpheus:

> sic in modum superbi iuvenis A[d]oni vel Musici vatis Piplei[is]

This is consistent characterisation: Lucius does not frequently employ such comparisons. But Lucius does liken himself to Hercules having slain Geryon after

[72] Cf. 11.26: *Mirabar quid rei temptaret, quid pronuntiaret futurum; quidni? <qui> plenissime iam dudum videbar initiatus*. Here the two indirect questions introduced by *quid* clearly belong in the past as things that preoccupied Lucius the character; the direct question *quidni* belongs to Lucius the narrator.

having done away with the intruding wineskins at 2.32.

The use of these lofty exempla, and indeed the disciplined arrangement of the narrative for full effect are certainly characteristic of a man who considers himself an orator (cf. the description of the way Thelyphron poises himself *instar oratorum* in 2.21 and Byrrhaena praises his *urbanitatis* and *lepidi sermonis* 2.20).

This aspect of Thelyphron's character is probably reflected by the large amount of speeches in this tale which are in o.r.. There is a great deal of dialogue: the words exchanged between Thelyphron and the passerby, the *praeco*, and the mourning matron; as well as longer speeches from the passerby, the old man who stops the funeral, the wizard and the corpse.

There are only three instances which are exceptions to the general trend of using direct speech in this tale. The first is the instruction from the mistress to her steward to pay Thelyphron in mimetic o.o. in 2.26:

> Et conversa Philodespotum requirit auctorem: ei praecipit, bono custodi redderet sine mora praemium

This exception is not so striking if the speech recounted was not addressed to him, cf. 1.23 (*iubet uxorem decedere* - indirect speech is used when the remark is not given by or addressed to Lucius.) Technically Thelyphron too can only narrate what he has witnessed (an exception of course is his description of what happened when he was asleep, two sentences above: *cum me somnus profundus* etc.)

There is the response of the crowd to the allegation of the dead man's uncle that he was murdered by his widow:

> conclamant ignem, requirunt saxa, parvulos ad exitium mulieris hortantur 2.27

and the widow's response, also in o.m.:

> Emeditatis ad haec illa fletibus quamque sanctissime poterat adiurans cuncta numina, tantum scelus abnuebat 2.27

As the imperfect tenses and present participles indicate, she made these protestations a number of times. The second rendering of the crowd's feelings after the dead man's testimony is in o.o. :

> hi pessimam feminam viventem statim cum corpore mariti sepeliendam, alii mendacio cadaveris fidem non habendam. 2.29

Direct speech quotations would not give the effect of these pleas being reiterated or simultaneously uttered without the explicit statement that they were.

At the end of the story the cry for a toast to Risus is in o.m.. Then Byrrhaena's request to Lucius that he honour the god and his reply are given in o.r.. But the warnings of the servant about walking late at night, and Lucius's leave taking are not quoted: perhaps we are to have the impression that he does not remember all this too clearly. It is emphasised how drunk he is at this point:

> crapula distentus ...titubante vestigio 2.31-2

Apart from Lucius's words to himself in 3.1, we do not hear any character speak in o.r. until the nightwatchman's testimony in 3.3.

(ii) The thieves' accounts

Both thieves who give accounts of their activities do so on the whole in the first person plural. Both assert their bravery and play up the grandeur of their exploits e.g. the first thief's description of the burglary of Milo's house at 4.8:

> Milonis Hypatini domum fortiter expugnavimus . . . nostra virtute

The second thief begins his tale by claiming that greater risks are involved in stealing from smaller properties. He concurs in praising Lamachus and also esteems the other members of the company who were lost. He reviles the first two victims: Chryseros is *nummularius* (4.8) and *omnium bipedum nequissimus* (4.10). The old woman who kills Alcimas is *nequissima*. The second thief wants to make the events he recounts into an *exemplum* to support his 'gnomê':

> Res ipsa denique fidem sermoni meo dabit.

Connectives are used frequently to sustain attention throughout: *denique, nec mora* and *tunc* in particular.

It is interesting to see how techniques of speech presentation employed in the thief's tale suit the tone and character already outlined.

The narrative is mainly *ἁπλῆ διήγησις* without much speech in general, but there are four brief passages of o.r. This makes an interesting contrast with the more frequent use of o.r. in Thelyphron's account - which is actually briefer than this one. But Thelyphron's piece was well rehearsed. This account is more off the cuff from a man who wants attention but does not style himself as an orator: reproducing or reinventing speeches is not his strong point.

In three of the o.r. passages here, the thief is recounting what were his own words anyway. They consist of his warning to Democharis to keep the bear in his house, his offer to guard it after Democharis's reply and his attempt to get the crowd to save Thrasyleon's life. Two of this thief's three speeches were probably coined and memorised before he uttered them - the third was dictated by the occasion. None of course call for any oratorical display.

The other clear instance of o.r. in this account is the speech of the old woman before she pushes Alcimas out of the window:

> sic nequissima deprecatur: 'Quid, oro, fili paupertinas pannosasque resculas miserrimae anus donas vicinis divitibus, quorum haec fenestra prospicit ? 4.12

Now other speeches which the thief narrator was present to hear are not thus given in o.r. (see below). Yet these words were uttered when he was not there to hear them. A demanding reader or audience could well ask how how such detail (not just of the woman's speech, but of the whole incident was obtained from the mortally wounded Alcimas:

> qui praeter altitudinem nimiam super quendam etiam vastissimum lapidem propter iacentem recidens, perfracta diffisaque crate costarum rivos sanginis vomens imitus,

The narrator attempts to satisfy us:

narratisque nobis quae gesta sunt, non diu cruciatus vitam evasit.

One might wonder if the *non diu* of a disembowelled man's existence is really long enough to tell us all this. Winckler 1984, 71 comments:

> The only point of the slight delay in his death - non diu - it is not a long tale - is to furnish evidential validity to the robber who retells it.

It does give validity to the essential story, but I would say it undermines the credibility of the details (including the speech) with which it was told. The thief wants attention and will enhance bits of his account, even if they are the wrong bits, to get it[73].

The unanimous opinion of the crowd at 4.16 could almost be regarded as o.r. too. One could put speech marks before *satis* and after *resisteret* - were it not for the subjunctive mood of that final verb. Really this is an instance of f.i.d., mostly in the voice of the narrator. The crowd's feelings are being interpreted rather than quoted:

> satis felix ac beatus Democharesille saepe celebratus, quod post tantam cladem ferarum novo proventu quoquo modo fortunae resisteret.

O.o and o.m. are used in this account in much the same types of situation as we have seen them used in the principle narrative. Again we find the iterative use of indirect speech, e.g. *sedulo fortunas inquirebam popularium* (4.8), *voce clamitans rogansque vicinos . . . diffamat incendio repentino domum suam possideri* (4.10), *cunctis in domo visa pronuntiat* (4.19).

In this account o.o. is again used when there is a number of people to whom the proposition uttered or thought can be ascribed. In both instances, the declarative verbs have first person plural subjects:

> sic instanti militiae disponimus sacramentum ut unus e numero nostro, non qui corporis adeo sed animi robore . . . pelle illa contectus ursae subiret . . 4.1

> istud apud nostros animos identidem reputabamus merito nullam fidem in vita nostra repperiri quod. . . 4.22

Not surprisingly, indirect speech is also used for commands such as Democharesʼs order to his servants to put the bear in his park at 4.17.

But there are some less routine uses of indirect speech. Lamachusʼs words to his routed gang, after he has lost his arm are presented thus at 4.11:

> multis nos affatibus multisque precibus querens adhortatur per dexteram Martis, per fidem sacramenti bonum commilitionem cruciatu simul et captivitate liberaremus: cur enim manui, quae rapere et iugulare sola posset, fortem latronem supervivere? sat se beatum qui manu socia volens occumberet.

There is a transition from o.m. to o.o. and then to f.i.d.. *Multis ...querens* refers to the type of thing Lamachus was saying without revealing the contents of his words. Again we have the effect of the frequency of these appeals. *Adhortatur per dexteram* takes us into o.o..

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[73] Other features of the narration may have been invented by the thief to save face. Can we really believe that the three victims who turned the tables on the criminals all did so by using silent movements? The repetition of the idea does seem to undermine its plausiblity: the excuse used a few too many times (4.10, 4.12 & 4.19) begins to wear thin.

It is worth considering why this and what follows is not given in direct speech. The presentation we have here when o.r. could be used is unusual for Apuleius. The reason in this case seems to be that the characterisation of the thief who is the narrator is improved.

Lamachus's words have a special significance for the narrator. The record of his oath invoking Mars is presumably important: all the thieves pour a libation to the god at the end of this story.

The content of the f.i.d. in this passage show that shared values have a strong hold. The narrator understands his comrade's point of view: why should a thief remain alive if he has only one hand with which to plunder and kill? The question becomes as much his own as one of general principle, as it was Lamachus's in a specific situation.

This displays convincingly the thief's feelings of *religio* and admiration for his friend. By his standards, Lamachus acted well. Here is a situation in which free indirect style does act as 'double voice' in a third person narrative. In poetry the style is used to convey moments of great tension when a character is in a quandary. Lamachus's question though was rhetorical, and not uttered because he was looking for an answer.

An instance of something similar to free indirect style in this account possibly merges the voice of the 'interested narrator' with that of his own character. It is worth quoting in context. The thief is relating the grandeur of Democharesʼs gifts for the local games, and his admiration for them in 4.13:

> Quis tantus ingenii, quis facundiae qui singulas species apparatus multiiugi verbis idoneis posset explicare ? Gladiatores isti famosae manus, venatores illi probatae pernicitatis... Qui praetera numerus, quae facies ferarum! Nam praecipuo studio forinsecus advexerat generosa illa damnatorum capitum funera.

Enumerating the splendid exhibitions Democharesʼ could provide, the thief gives an exclamation. This exclamation (*Qui. . . ferarum*) might have its origin in the moment of narration as the thief recalls the details. Or he could be recalling also, and quoting, his reaction to these extravagances as he saw them at the time: after *Nam* the narrative continues in the past tense.

The ambivalent implication is similar to that in Luciusʼs narration of his amazement at the revelation of the wineskins in the courtroom discussed above (3.9). Lucius and the present narrator state in almost identical fashion that the right words fail them for their present description (*verbis idoneis posset explicare,* cf. *nec possum . . . rationem idoneis verbis expedire*).

This story shows perhaps more conspicuously than others how Apuleius uses the way in which an episode is delivered to throw some light on the narrator. The deployment of particular speech modes can be shown to contribute to this effect: the thief quotes speeches he cannot have heard to amplify his story. Indirect speech is used in the 'we' form and the instance of f.i.d. indicates the extent of his gang loyalty.[74]

(iii) The old woman's story of Cupid and Psyche

This story in the old woman's speech is part of a pair (cf. Winkler p.50f.). It follows Charite's tale of her misfortunes, to which she herself has given an 'aesthetic frame':

[74] This can be compared to Encolpius's frequent practice in the *Cena* (reviewed in the previous section) of presenting his own words and those of his friends in indirect discourse, governed by a declarative verb in the first person plural.

Specta denique scaenam meae calamitatis 4.26

These two stories in speeches form a parallel to the thieves' speeches just above. In both pairs, a shorter account precedes a longer one and each account has an end in view: the rival gang leaders assert their valour, the young woman seeks sympathy and the older provides consolation.

Any embedded narrative has links with what frames it, and although the Psyche story is set in a realm more distant than the other stories in the *Met.*, it is no exception. The old woman's preface is important:

> sed ego te narrationibus lepidis anilibusque fabulis protinus avocabo et incipit... 4.27

That the speech has the function of tranquilising Charite is not the only link with the main narrative. These words recall Lucius's very first:

> At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram ... 1.1

Old wives tales have been substituted for the Milesian *sermo* . Tatum 1979, 26 comments on this[75]:

> The ego tibi with which the novel opens also resembles the sermo or conversation typical of Roman verse satire; both Horace and Juvenal engage their readers in one-sided conversations.

The similarity of diction here suggests that Apuleius wants to sustain the association with the surrounding text. A link with the main narrator is confirmed once the old woman's story is underway. She explains why Apollo gave his oracle in Latin verse[76]:

> Sed Apollo, quamquam Graecus et Ionicus, propter Milesiae conditorem sic Latina sorte respondit... 4.33

Another connection is made with the main story by the thematic echo of Charite's speech. Psyche's dilemma will not be too dissimilar to the dream Charite has described above:

> de toro denique ipso violenter extracta per solitudines avias infortunatissimi mariti nomen invocare. 4.27

Although Lucius (especially in 9 and 10) and other narrators (throughout 1-10) tell stories in which they have played little or no part, the events recounted in some way always touch on their experience.The old woman, however is a completely 'heterodiegetic' or 'disinterested' narrator - it is not just that her story is presented in the third person, but she has no personal connection with the subject matter. Both these factors may be seen to influence the way speech is narrated in this episode.

Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of speech presentation here is a strong resemblance to the techniques found in narrative poetry.

In contrast to the narrative in Lucius's voice, there is very little dialogue here. When characters exchange words, they tend to do so in long o.r. speeches, or with a long o.r. speech followed by a single reply in o.m.. Quite often a character will deliver a long

[75] See also Callebat 1968 which considers the extent to which everyday Latin is used in the *Met.* .

[76] The illusion of the story, or at least of the utopian realm in which it is set, is elsewhere infringed e.g. by Jupiter's mention of the Julian law at 6.22.

o.r. speech followed by a single reply in o.m.. Quite often a character will deliver a long o.r. speech to another who will listen.but not give a verbal response, e.g. Venus's speech to Cupid 4.31, Psyche's o.r. speech (which contains several unanswered direct questions) to her family 4.34-5, Cupid's rebuke to Psyche 5.24, and Venus's complaint to Psyche 5.29-31.

Psyche's lack of discourse in the latter part of this fabula is striking. She does not reply to either Cupid or Pan (5.24-5) when they address her. Once Venus has assigned her first errand at 6.8, Psyche is completely silent until 6.17. This indicates her submissiveness and the extent of her servitude - she never answers back, but does exactly as she is told.

On the other hand Venus's speeches in these sections show how implacable she is. Each time Psyche has performed her mission, Venus rails against her (6.11, 6.13, 6.16 - all in o.r.)

The only exception to the general exclusion of o.r. dialogue in the tale is at 5.28. Here following the gull's announcement to Venus of her son's injury and of the bad reputation of her family given in o.m., the bird and goddess alternate direct speeches:

> 'quod ille quidem montano scortatu, tu vero marino natatu secesseritis ac per hoc non voluptas illa, non gratia non lepos, sed incompta et agrestia et horrida cuncta sint, non nuptiae coniugales, non amicitiae sociales, non liberum caritates, sed enormis eluvies et squalentium foederum insuave fastidium.' Haec illa verbosa et satis curiosa avis in auribus Veneris, filii lacerans existimationem, ganniebat: at Venus irata solidum exclamat repente: 'Ergo iam ille bonus filius meus habet amicam aliquam! Prome agedum, quae sola mihi servis amanter, nomen eius quae puerum ingenuum et investem sollicitavit, sive illa de Nympharum populo seu de Horarum numero seu de Musarum choro vel de mearum Gratiarum ministerio.' Nec loquax illa conticuit avis, sed; 'Nescio' inquit 'Domina; puto puellam illam - si probe memini, Psyches'nomine dicitur - efflicte cupere.' Tunc indignata Venus exclamavit vel maxime: Psychen ille meae formae succubam, mei nominis aemulam si vere diligit, nimirum illud incrementum lenam me putavit, cuius monstratu puellam illam cognosceret.'

Demands of *ἠθοποιία* could account for this exception. The gull's frequent words are in keeping with her garrulous nature (*verbosa, loquax nec conticuit*). She tells tales and exaggerates (e.g. *montano scortatu . . . horrida cuncta sint*) to arouse Venus's anger all the more. Although her second speech is in response to Venus's question, the gull uses it to rub things in.

There is another dialogue in the Psyche story, but in contrast to practice in the main narrative, it is given in indirect speech. It begins in 5.6 (after Cupid's warning and rebuke to her in o.r. for her going back on her promise to him with all her lamenting):

> eamque etiam nunc lacrimantem complexus, sic expostulat: 'Haecine mihi pollicebare, Psyche mea? Quid iam de te tuus maritus expecto, quid spero ? Et perdia et pernox nec inter amplexus coniugales desinis cruciatum. age iam nunc ut voles et animo tuo damnosa poscenti pareto: tantum memineris meae seriae monitionis cum coeperis sero paenitere 'Tunc illa precibus et dum se morituram comminatur extorquet a marito cupitis annuat, ut sorores videat, luctus mulceat, ora conferat; sic ille novae nuptae precibus veniam tribuit, et insuper quibuscumque vellet eas auri vel monilium donare concessit, sed identidem monuit ac saepe terruit nequando sororum pernicioso consilio suasa de forma mariti quaerat, neve se sacrilega curiositate de tanto fortunarum suggestu pessum deiciat nec suum postea contingat amplexum. Gratias egit marito, iamque iamque laetior 'Sed prius' inquit . . .

Cupid's opening speech in o.r. follows the laments of Psyche in o.m.and o.o.Thereafter the words of both characters are in o.o., and it is Psyche who is given the final direct

speech. All in all, much the same content is presented a second time in different speech modes for an effect of variety. This is to show that Psyche's complaining and her husband's attempts to console and advise her were frequent and persistent.

Psyche's thoughts are presented in o.o. in 5.5:

> se nunc maxime prorsus perisse iterans, quae beati carceris custodia saepta et humanae conversationis colloquia nec sororibus quidem suis de se maerentibus opem salutarem ferre ac ne videre eas quidem omnino posset ...

We could easily imagine the words in the relative clause expressed in direct as opposed to indirect speech. They are in o.o. because Apuleius wants an effect of frequency - the sentiments were thought over and over again (*iterans* gives this away).

Thoughts are presented in three other ways in the Psyche episode. There are soliloquies e.g. Venus's angry words at 4.30, Psyche's one line self-addresses at 6.1(*Unde autem, inquit, scio an istic meus degat dominus?*), 6.6, a longer one with a number of direct questions, and 6.20.

An instance of f.i.d. is also used to express Psyche's feelings when she hears that Venus is sending her to hell:

> ad promptum exitium sese compelli manifeste comperit: quidni quae suis pedibus ultro ad Tartarum Manesque ? 6.17

Not much use of the f.i.d. in third person narrative is made in the *Met.* - cf. the robber's narration of Lamachus's death as another example.

Finally at 5.21 a series of verbs describing Psyche's dispositions and behaviour convey her inner agitation:

> incerta consili titubat multisque calamitatis suae distrahitur affectibus. Festinat, differt, audet, trepidat, diffidit, irascitur; et quod est ultimum, in eodem corpore odit bestiam, diligit maritum . . .

These sympathetic ways of of narrating thoughts in the third person correspond closely with the one of the ways Lucius uses to describe his own thoughts in the first person.

Another feature of the Psyche story is the attribution of speech (usually o.r.) to animals and even to objects which are usually inanimate. There is the o.r. utterance of the ant at at 6.10, the longer speech of the green reed at 6.12 and the sounds of the river which make words at 6.14 and Jupiter's eagle at 6.15. There are also the disembodied voices which advise Psyche in 5.2 and 5.4[77].

The speech of the tower (6.17-19) deserves some attention. The tower advises Psyche on how to make a descent to the Underworld from which she can return. The detail of these instructions serves to provide a fuller account of what happens in Psyche's *κατάβασις* than the narrator herself does at 6.20. It is not characteristic of Apuleius's speeches to provide information in advance which not only anticipates but also exceeds that provided by the main narrative[78].

The messenger scenes in the Psyche story differ from those we considered in the epic poets; all of them differ from each other in style of speech presentation.

In 4.31 Venus summons Cupid in a jealous rage:

> Et vocat confestim puerum suum pinnatum illum et satis temerarium...verbis quoque insuper

[77] cf.Phaedrus (pr 6: *quod arbores loquantur non tantum ferae*).

[78] The technique here recalls that in Ovid's *Met.* 8 in which Ceres's dictation speech to the Oread descibes much of her mission to the audience in advance before it is actually performed.

> stimulat et perducit ad illam civitatem et Psychen - hoc enim nomine puella nuncupatur - coram ostendit et tota illa perlata de formositatis aemulatione fabula gemens ac fremens indignatione 'Per ego te' inquit 'Maternae caritatis foedera deprecor, per tuae sagittae dulcia vulnera, per flammae istius mellitas uredines, vindictamtuae parenti sed plenam tribue et in pulchritudine contumacem severiter vindica. . .

O.m. is used to present Venus's explanation of the situation to Cupid. O.r. is used for her actual command. The point of the command is not to deliver a message but to make Psyche fall in love.

At 6.7 Venus commissions Mercury to spread an edict all over the world. The presentation of this scene offers an amusing deviation from the episodes we have considered involving divine messenger commissions in epic. Venus addresses Mercury in o.r., asking him to deliver her message and stating her threat to anyone who might seek to shelter Psyche. The text of her message is actually written down in a *libellum* :

> et simul dicens libellum ei porrigit, ubi Psyches nomen continebatur et cetera.

The story of Byblis and Caunus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 9.530 f. also involves a written message, but that is transmitted between two mortals. Here Venus has written a proclamation to be read in public. Mercury's recitation of it is narrated in *o.r.*:

> Nec Mercurius omisit obsequium: nam per omnium ora populorum passim discurrens sic mandatae praedicationis munus exsequebatur: 'si quis a fuga retrahere vel occultum demonstrare poterit fugitivam regis filiam, Veneris ancillam, nomine Psychen, conveniat retro metas Murtias Mercurium praedicatorem, accepturus indicivae nomine ab ipsa Venere septem savia suavia et unum blandientis appulsu linguae longe mellitum.

This episode in 6.7-8 gives us a direct speech from the the dictator to the messenger which is for instruction rather than dictation, as well as the actual quotation of the dictated original in the delivery speech.

At 6.23 Mercury is summoned again - this time by Jupiter, to convene a council of the gods. The dictation is rendered in o.m.; the delivery of this message is only elliptically suggested by the description of the gods' reaction to the threat of a ten thousand pound fine:

> sic fatus iubet Mercurium deos omnes ad contionem protinus convocare ac siqui coetu caelestium defuisset, in poenam decem milium nummum conventum iri pronuntiare. Quo metu statim completo caelesti theatro.

So this is another proclamation with a threat attached, but it is presented in quite a different way to the one above.

At 5.26, Psyche delivers a false message she invented herself. In such a situation there could be no dictation speech, but Psyche pretends there is one (cf. Laius- Eteocles's false quoting of a dictation speech in o.r. in*Thebaid* 2.116-9). She tells in part the truth - how Cupid was made visible and burned by a drop of oil from her lamp. At this point in her story Psyche constructs and quotes the false words of Cupid. They are presented in an embedded o.r. speech and incidentally take after an official divorce formula:

> vbi me ferro et igni conspexit armatam, 'Tu quidem' inquit 'ob istud tam dirum facinus confestim toro meo divorte tibique res tuas habeto, ego vero sororem tuam' - et nomen quo tu censeris aiebat - 'iam mihi confestim farreatis nuptiis coiugabo ' et statim Zephyro praecipit ultra terminos me domus eius efflaret.

As a result of this deception Psyche's sister is killed when she lands on some rocks because the wind fails to carry her. Psyche's speech to her second sister brings about a similar result: this is all presented more remotely in o.m.:

> Nam Psyche rursus errabundo gradu pervenit ad civitatem aliam, in qua pari modo soror morabatur alia. Nec setius et ipsa fallacie germanitatis inducta, et in sororis sceleratas nuptias aemula, festinavit ad scopulum inque simile mortis exitium cecidit.

The presentation of recurrent story situations or speech exchanges using different narrative techniques is characteristic of Apuleius's practice in the Psyche story. We find all the repetition of circumstances that we might expect from a folk tale but without any quasi-formulaic repetition of language to accompany them. For example the incorporeal voices first speak in o.r. at 5.2, then in o.m. at 5.4; Psyche's first conversation with her unseen husband is in indirect speech (5.6), her second is in *o.r.* (5.10-13); her appeal to Ceres consists of an exchange of speeches at 6.2-3, her appeal to Juno consists of a more formal prayer (6.4). The story teller's accomplishment is displayed by this variation in speech presentation.

Psyche's words with their embedded speech at 5.26 give one more cause for comment. The embedded speech itself is interrupted by two interjections consisting of verbs of speech (*inquit. . . et aiebat*).The second verb of speech is deliberately pointed to Psyche's hearer: Psyche wants to give an impression of the precision of her report, and to emphasise its significance for her sister. Yet as a result of her doing so, the name of that sister which Cupid is supposed to have mentioned has no place in Psyche's quotation.

At any rate the practice of having the narrator interrupt a direct speech is adopted more generally in the Psyche story. This often seems to have the effect of a stage direction: the narrator explains exactly what a character was doing as he or she speaks. In my opinion such detail also helps give the impression that we are told exactly what was said. Three examples are:

> Sume istam pyxidem' et dedit ' protinusque ad inferos...
> 6.16 (Venus speaking)

> Puellam elegit et virginitate privavit: teneat, possideat amplexus Psychen semper suis amoribus perfruatur: et ad Venerem collata facie, Nec tu' inquit 'filia quicquam contristere .
> 6.23 (Jupiter speaking)

> Porrecto ambrosiae poculo 'sume' inquit 'Psyche et immortalis esto .
> 6.23 (Jupiter speaking)

Possibly the fact that speeches in this tale on the whole remain unanswered contributes to the decisive resonance they have. As opposed to the exchanges of dialogue elsewhere which aspire to be lifelike, the utterances here seem to possess a more final and unquestionable veracity simply because they do not prompt one to judge them by realistic criteria.

We do not find such an effect of precision in the main narrative. Indeed as the section below on credibility attempts to show, the contrary may be the case: there we are dependent on a partial account from an involved first person narrator. Here the story of Psyche makes no claims to truth as an *anilis fabula,* but the *delira et temulenta anicula* has the advantage of being a disinterested third person narrator. It is ironic perhaps that her words - and especially her reporting of speech may carry all the more conviction because of this.

Speech and the narrative's claim to credibility

Many works of fictional literature lay claim to the status of fact. There are means of achieving the impression of authenticity, in addition to attempting a realistic imitation, however it is conceived, of events and characters. One of these is to interweave the fictional events described with things which are known by the audience to have existed or occurred: the *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* both blend history and myth in this way. This technique is almost inevitable once history has become distinct from myth and is of course in *the Met.*: if a literary work has few or no points of reference we can recognise, it is unlikely to be successful.

A second means of achieving plausibility is the use of self-reference.When Phemius and Demodocus in the *Odyssey* sing of events which Homer has described, the poem's claim to truth appears to be stronger. In the world of the poem, Phemius and Demodocus sing of these events as the truth, as poets do. Therefore Homer as a poet is telling the truth[79].

Apuleius does employ this overt type of self-reference as well[80], but as a first person narrator he has a more subtle kind at his disposal too. Speech presentation is relevant to this. The narrator is presented as an interlocutor with the reader as well as with other characters. We shall see that speeches and narratives tend to be identified in Book 1 at least. When other characters speak to Lucius he credits them and their stories - some personages largely consist in the stories they tell. Lucius is real to us as a speaker - he is to be believed as a story teller too.

At the very beginning the narrator addresses his reader personally:

> at ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram auresque tuas benivolas lepido susurro permulceam, modo si papyrum Aegyptiam argutia Nilotici calami inscriptam non spreveris inspicere...

and again at the end of the first section[81] :

> lector, intende, laetaberis .

The juxtaposition of *ego* and *tibi* suggests an intimacy between the two.

The diction in the first passage quoted is to be echoed significantly. After Lucius has put his horse to graze, he overhears a conversation:

> Ac dum ausculto quid sermonis agitarent 1.2

Forms of *sermo* have already been used three times by the narrator of his own discourse (cf. *sermone isto Milesio, indigenam sermonem, exotici ac forensis sermonis rudis*). The *sermo* which Lucius the character is hearing, may be associated with the literary *sermo* Lucius the narrator is presenting to us. An implicit identification of the narrator's story with 'conversation' may be achieved by the use of this word.

This identification is sustained by the words Lucius uses when he asks to hear the fellow traveller's story:

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[79] Hesiod in the *Theogony* at least shows that the Muses have something to do with truth, even if they do not always reveal it to the poet.

[80] e.g. 1.1, 4.32, 6.25, 8.1, 9.30, 10.2, 10.7, 11.23.

[81] For bibliography on this prologue see Harrison 1990.

> Impertite sermonis non quidem curiosum, sed qui veliscire vel certe plurima: simul iugi quod insurgimus aspritudinem fabularum lepida iucunditas levigabit.

Fabularum and *lepida* recall those opening lines quoted above. The complete conversation is rendered in o.r. : the other traveller makes clear to Lucius his disbelief of his companion's story. Lucius replies to each of them :

> 'Heus tu' inquam 'Qui sermonem ieceras priorem, ne pigeat te vel taedeat reliqua pertexere' et ad alium 'Tu vero crassis auribus et obstinato corde respuis quae forsitan vere perhibeantur. 1.3

Again before a story is told there is an appeal for attention, from Lucius the character instead of the narrator. This time the addressee has *crassis auribus*, not *aures benivolas*, like the supposed reader of the text. No appeals were made to the reader for credulity - *ut mireris* is all that was said. Here, however Lucius shows himself persuading the sceptical traveller that there are more wonders in life than he might suppose. He tells his anecdote of the sword swallower and then invites the other traveller to continue his story. The man agrees, and seeks to confirm the truth of story with an oath and the pledge of a potential witness:

> ...verum quod inchoaveram porro exordiar. Sed tibi prius deierabo solem istum omnividentem deum me re vera comperta memorare, nec vos ulterius dubitabitis si Thessaliae proximam civitatem perveneritis, quod ibidem passim per ora populi sermo iactetur quae palam gesta sunt.

Again there are verbal echoes of the opening to the whole work: *exordiar, sermo* . The claim that none present will doubt his story if they should journey to Thessaly is worth noticing - this is where our narrator has told us he is heading. And indeed he will shortly receive proof of magical goings on.

When Socrates answers Aristomenes's question *quid mulieris est?* thus:

> 'Saga' inquit 'et divina, potens caelum deponere, terram suspendere fontes durare, montes diluere, manes sublimare, deos infimare, sidera extinguere, Tartarum ipsum illuminare' 1.8,

he is rebuked by Aristomenes for being theatrical and obscure. The earnest and heartfelt answer of Socrates resembles the sarcastic words of Aristomenes's sceptical companion, whose parody of this type of claim we have already heard :

> 'Ne' inquit ' istud mendacium tam verum est, quam si quis velit dicere magico susurramine amnes agile reverti, mare pigrum colligari, ventos inanimes exspirare; solem inhiberi, lunam despumari, stellas evelli, diem tolli, noctem teneri.' 1.3

The effect of this likeness is twofold. Socrates's serious assertion of the efficacy of witchcraft, in very traditional terms[82], counters the send-up given earlier in the narrative: the old stories are true after all, it is claimed. And he is to give his own testimony to support this.

But we must remember that Socrates's remarks are, in terms of the story, actually chronologically prior to the sceptical speech which we have already heard. It is probable that the scoffer has heard these very words already. Thus he chooses this particular way of dissuading Lucius from hearing the tale. The scoffing is polished: the paradox of *mendacium tam verum* goes nicely with the scientific contradictions enumerated: the

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[82] Luck 1985 supplies further examples.

truth of the propositions is held to be no more possible than their contents[83].

When Aristomenes's tale is finished, the response of his sceptical companion is given at the beginning of 1.20:

> at ille comes eius, qui statim initio obstinata incredulitate sermonem respuebat: 'nihil' inquit, 'hac fabula fabulosius, nihil isto mendacio absurdius' et ad me conversus: 'tu autem' inquit, 'vir ut habitus et habitudo demonstrat ornatus, accedis huic fabulae

Lucius the narrator's critical description of the comes resembles Lucius the character's words to him earlier in 1.3 (*obstinato corde respuis*). The powerful condemnation given by the sceptic here with the repetition of *mendacium* recalls his objection given there. Here *fabula* has the unfavourable sense of 'fiction' or 'imaginary story'. But yet again in his reply Lucius asserts that truth is stranger than fiction: *quae tamen ignaro relata fidem perdant*.

A story presented in a speech can be defended by other speakers; and in the case of Aristomenes, as we have just seen, by the principal narrator. These insistences on the truth of the story from various voices are part of the story themselves. Apuleius is really applying a more sophisticated version of the technique used by Homer outlined above.

At 9.30 Lucius the narrator makes a direct appeal to the reader to believe him. In the story he has just explained how he exposed the lover of the baker's wife. Resentful of the divorce that ensued, she went to seek the help of a witch - either to get her husband back or to destroy him. This has all been presented in o.o. at 9.29:

> multis exorat precibus multisque sufffarcinat muneribus, alterum de duobus postulans, vel rursum mitigato conciliari marito, vel si id nequiverit, certe larva vel aliquo diro numine immisso violenter eius expugnari spiritum.

The attempt to make the husband love his wife has failed, and the frustrated witch has instead resorted to sending the shade of a violently killed woman to bring about his death.

It is at this point then that our passage comes; the narrator posits in o.r. an imagined challenge from his reader:

> sed forsitan lector scrupulosus reprehendens narratum meum sic argumentaberis: 'Unde autem tu, astutule asine, intra terminos pistrini contectus, quid secreto, ut affirmas, mulieres gesserint scire potuisti?' Accipe igitur quemadmodum homo curiosus iumenti faciem sustinens cuncta quae in perniciem pistoris mei gesta sunt cognovi . . .

The *occupatio* is a characteristic technique of the literary *sermo* and of forensic oratory - here it is used to constitute an imaginary conversation between Lucius and his reader. The explanation Lucius has promised for his knowledge follows in the account of the baker's death. A corpse-like woman took the baker into his bedroom where he was later found to have hung himself. We are told next that the baker's daughter came in mourning and said that she heard the full circumstances of her father's death from him in a dream.

So Lucius makes clear that he was not actually present to hear the baker's wife

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[83] Hume is another sceptic who employs a very similar witticism to close the tenth chapter of the *Enquiry* (which deals with miracles): 'The Christian Religion not only was at first attended with miracles, but even at this day cannot be believed by any reasonable person without one'. Both Hume and the Apuleius's traveller hold the crediting of supernatural events to be as paradoxical and preposterous as the events themselves.

solicit the witch's services. This is the best explanation for the use of o.o. to present that particular exchange. Yet if we look at that o.o. passage quoted from 9.29 more closely, we can see that its function is not merely to summarise. It is an instance of mimetico.o. .[84] This is suggested primarily by the idomatic *certe* which seems to be more the diction of the supposed original speaker than of the narrator. *Vel aliquo diro numine* might convey well the words of a woman who knows what she wants, but not the accurate term to describe it. We could imagine her words being on these lines:

> 'Can you calm down my husband and reconcile me with him, or if you can't manage that, at least overpower his spirit by sending a ghost or some other grim supernatural force?'

Then we might well wonder if Lucius, as he says, was not there to hear such words, how he has managed to render the wife's appeal relatively precisely - even if it is in o.o.. This type of speech presentation seems to give him the best of both worlds. The evidence Lucius gives only partially accounts for the embellished narrative we have. This applies not only to the soliciting of the witch but to the whole episode from 9.22-31: could an ass even with such long ears have heard everything else, confined to the mill as he was? Nonetheless the use of o.o. here, which in this text is not that frequent, indicates Apuleius's inclination to achieve, if not plausibility for his story, at least some kind of epistemological coherence.

Winkler 1984, 66f. provides a useful list of other places where narrated incidents are supported by what he calls 'evidential accountability', and of places where the accounts of dead or dying characters are the source of authority for what is narrated. Perhaps this notion of accountability can be taken too seriously. The evidence provided can never do the whole job in making us feel totally satisfied with the coherence of events presented - at least where the stories of other narrators relayed by Lucius are concerned. A look at the the techniques of speech presentation in scenes where Lucius has not prepared himself for the notion of the *scrupulosus lector* will show this.

In the bakery episode examined above, the choice of speech modes was more or less consistent with the amount of information available to Lucius: o.r. was used where he could pick up anything with his *auribus grandissimis* (9.15). Thus the full exchange between the *anicula* and the baker's wife, including the story of Myrmex and Philesitherus's victory, is all in direct speech. The concealment of the baker's wife's lover, and the exchanges involving the baker, before and after the dénouement are also on the whole narrated in o.r. The o.o. that is here is to convey persistent or repeated utterances, with the declarative verb usually being in the imperfect (e.g. *detestabatur, addebat, suadebat, postulabat* 9.26). As we have seen, the request to the witch was scrupulously put into indirect speech because Lucius was not present. Summarising o.o. is used for all the speeches concerned with the death of the baker and the daughter's appearance. Presumably we are entitled to believe that Lucius was present to hear those words even if they are not quoted.

But the other narrators whose stories involve the testimonies of dead people tend to employ speech modes in places where the effect will be greatest. There is no concern for precise evidence to support quotation of a particular character's words. We know how the narrators got their stories, but not how they got hold of the speeches in

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[84] Another example of this in *the Met.* is to be found in 4.4 : *secumque collocuti ne tam diu mortuo, immo vero lapideo asino servientes fugam morarentur.* The words are still formally the property of the narrator, but there has been some effort to imitate the diction of the original speaker. A use of a clearly idiomatic expression or oath in Latin as in English often signals mimetic o.o.

them[85].

In 4.12 the account of Lamachus's death would perhaps have been more credible to a careful reader, if less dramatic and suspense laden, had it been given in Lamachus's words through the thief-narrator. Lamachus's words are not quoted at all - the order of the narrative in the thief's speech follows that of the events Lamachus witnessed, not that in which the thief narrator discovered them (see the separate treatment of this incident above).

The speech of the dead Tlepolemos to Charite, which could not have been heard by the messenger who gives it, is nonetheless presented by him in o.r. (8.8). Charite put the content of this speech in her words to the crowd at at 8.14, but the messenger puts these into o.m.:

> Et enarratis ordine singulis quae sibi per somnium nuntiaverat maritus quoque astu Thrasyllum inductum petissset, ferro sub papillam dexteram ... postremo balbutiens incerto sermone proflavit animam virilem.

Yet this was the speech which our messenger-narrator actually did witness - and he was among the crowd that tried to intervene:

> At nos et omnis populus nudatis totis aedibus studiose conquerimur, hortati mutuo ferrum vesanis extorquere manibus 8.13

However, the young man does more than quote Tlepolemos's words as though he had heard them himself. He gives a complete rendition of all events and many speeches, from the point in the story where we, along with Lucius, lost sight of Charite at 7.14. The whole account takes up a good part of Book 8 (1-14). We are shown Thrasyllus's character and his evil intentions in many private scenes: the hunt with his challenge to Tlepolemos in *o.r.* dialogue, the exchanges between Thrasyllus and Charite long before the shade's appearance, and Charite's long o.r. soliloquy said over her sleeping admirer before she blinds him.

Would Charite really have reproduced all this, including such a long speech, or even a summary of it all, when on the verge of killing herself, before a crowd who might well have sought to prevent her from doing so?

The account is altogether lengthy and polished. There is some humorous irony in the way the messenger prefaces it:

> Sed ut cuncta noritis, referam vobis a capite quae gesta sunt, quaeque possint merito doctiores quibus stilos Fortuna subministrat in historiae specimen chartis involvere 8.1

The young *famulus* claims only to be giving an account from the beginning - *a capite* [86]; it is for other*doctiores* to make it more literary. Either the messenger has a very low estimation of his capacity as a story teller, or we are to understand that Lucius has done

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[85] Given that ancient historians are prone to construct speeches merely on the basis of what would have been appropriate to say, it might seem unreasonably exacting to expect more consistency from a work of fiction - that a character should at all be prohibited from quoting a speech he did not hear at first hand. However there are two justifications. First, the work to a far greater extent is Apuleius's own product. Simply because he is working to his own standards he has every reason to be consistent. Secondly, as I shall go on to show, this narrator is fully aware of the criteria for exactitude for o.r. quotation. He makes a point of showing that there should be precision and demonstrates this at 10.7f.

[86] The rhetorical *locus* of claiming to give a complete account enhances the irony here. Note the frequency of *cuncta, cunctis* underlined in these quotations.

as he suggests. If the latter is the case, there is every implication that we may not take on trust what Lucius tells us. The problem of the crediblity of even direct speech is raised. This is a question I will consider again at the end of this section. A general impression arising from these narratives within speeches is that the narrators' claims for accountability are shown to be flippant especially where precision of speech presentation is concerned. Lucius alone might be an exception - he at least does not quote speeches in o.r. which he has not heard.

The notion that Lucius does not go beyond the evidence he tells us he has is borne out by two further incidents which Lucius narrates to us, but for which he was not present.

In 10.23-8, Lucius's account of the activities of the murderess with whom he is supposed to copulate has to be based on the testimony of the physician's wife, who revealed all to a judge before she died:

> Iamque ab ipso exordio crudelissima mulieris cunctis atrocitatibus diligenter expositis . . .
> 10.28

Her testimony depends in part on what her husband heard and saw and told her before he died:

> gravedine somnulenta iam demersus domum pervadit aegerrime, vixque enarratis cunctis ad uxorem . . .

Both revelations are narrated in o.m. by Lucius: the other speeches in this story which includes them can only be recounted as a result of these revelations. Thus it is quite suitable that all those other speeches should be presented indirectly in o.r. or o.m. as indeed they are. There is one exception: the shocking o.r. speech of the murderess to the physician when with feigned innocence she asks him to test the poison which he actually prepared for her husband in 10.26:

> 'Non prius', inquit, 'Medicorum optime, non prius carissimo mihi marito trades istam potionem, quam de ea bonam partem hauseris ipse. Unde enim scio an noxium in ea lateat venenum? Quae res utique te, tam prudentem tamque doctum virum, nequaquam offendat, si religiosa uxor circa salutem mariti sollicita necessariam affero pietatem'

It is feasible anyway from the story that these words could have been quoted in an account Lucius had heard - their grim import would be memorable enough after the victim's death[87]. But there is no need to push this: here Lucius has made a wise concession to dramatic effect.

The handling of the story of the wicked stepmother which we were told just before, at 10.1-12, is similar. This too is a second hand account given to us by Lucius:

> ibidem dissignatum scelestum ac nefariium facinus memini, sed ut vos etiam legatis, ad librum profero 10.2

Again it is not clear how Lucius has come by the story. From 10.2-9 direct speech is again eschewed because these are events he did not witness and words he has not heard. However, the 'Phaedra' speech from the stepmother to her husband's son provides another single exception for this story. This use of o.r. too has a powerful impact which would not be the same if indirect speech had been used.

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[87] We are not given details about how Lucius came to be briefed on these events in general: *Eius poenae talem cognoveram fabulam* is all we are told, at 10.23.

In general though there is no doubt that here as in 10.23-28 the use of indirect speech (whether o.o. or o.m.) clearly predominates[88]. If we compare the paucity of o.o. here with the abundance of it in Lucius's narrations of events he has witnessed and in the abundance of it in the narratives of other characters, the differences are striking.

It could be objected that this trend is just coincidental - that Apuleius could not so obsessed with verisimilitude as to let it determine whatever speech mode he uses with such care. After all, the declamatory literature[89] which clearly influenced Apuleius with its stock in trade poisoners, stepmothers and corrupt doctors, contains many one sided narratives in the first person with very scant use of o.r.. If we then consider the fact that in two of the three narratives dealt with here, in which Lucius is a disinterested narrator, passages of o.r. are actually to be found, the scheme I am proposing may well seem to be precariously founded.

I would argue in response that the general difference of tendency is worth noting, even it is not totally consistent. There is a passage in 10.7 which shows that the narrator is to some degree concerned with the actual speeches he presents as well as with the general evidence for his story. This passage is the second in which the question of the narrative's plausibility is overtly raised (cf. 9.30 above)[90]:

> Tunc demum clamatus inducitur etiam reus et exemplo legis Atticae Martiique iudicii causae patronis denuntiat praeco neque principia dicere neque miserationem commovere. Haec ad istum modum gesta compluribus mutuo sermocinantibus cognovi: quibus autem accusator urserit, quibus rebus diluerit reus, ac prorsus orationes altercationesque neque ipse absens apud praesepium scire neque ad vos quae ignoravi possum enuntiare, sed quae plane comperi ad istas litteras proferam.

Lucius stands by this pledge. The first parts of the pleadings are given in o.m. in 10.7:

> simul enim finita est dicentium contentio, veritatem criminum fidemque probationibus certus instrui nec suspicionis tantum coniecturam permitti placuit....

The slave's false testimony is presented more copiously in o.o., in a series of *quod* clauses:

> ...incipit: quod se vocasset indignatus fastidio novercae iuvenis, quod ulciscens iniuriam filii eius mandaverit necem, quod promisisset grande silentii praemium, quod recusanti mortem sit comminatus, quod venenum sua manu temperatum dandum fratri reddiderit, quod ad criminis probationem reservatum poculum neglexisse suspicatus sua postremum manu porrexerit puero.

The agreement to pass sentence follows, narrated in o.m.. Then comes the first of two speeches by the physician. Both are given in o.r. and are of some length. In recounting these speeches so abundantly Lucius has not gone back on his pledge: these speeches at the climax of the trial are no doubt supposed to have been the most memorable. He has said that his source was a number of people talking about the trial whose testimonies

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[88] In 10.2-9 there are ten instances of o.o. and ten instances of o.m. to one of o.r. before the physician's speech in the court. In 10.23-8 there are five instances of o.o. and six instances of o.m. to two pieces of o.r. both part of the murderess's words to the physician as she compels him to poison himself.

[89] See *Decl. Maiores.* passim .

[90] Another imagined *occupatio* from the reader is at 11.23: a question about the Isiic mysteries which Lucius says he can only partly answer. This is a different type of question however which seeks more information from the narrator about what he has undergone - it does not demand evidence for the experiences he describes.

concurred (*compluribus mutuo sermocinantibus*). He cannot write down what he does not know, but what is established could be quoted by those present can certainly be quoted by our narrator (*sed quae plane comperi ad istas litteras proferam*).

Winkler has the view that Lucius's programme for narrating the trial has not been successfully executed. His position seems to be that Lucius gives these speeches after saying that he will not quote anything at all:

> The physician's extaordinary acuity ... is introduced by a statement from the narrator that subtly but definitively cancels his own acuity . In fact, however, the narrator's disclaimer of the right to quote the speeches verbatim is violated precisely at the moment when the physician stands up to stop the trial.

This may not be based on such a scrupulous reading of 10.7.

Although Apuleius is not completely consistent in his deployment of different speech modes to achieve an effect of plausibility in his narrative, he is more systematic than one may first suspect.

But there are features which undermime this notion of plausibility altogether. It has been remarked how the famulus's introduction to his news about Charite could suggest that his plain account has been doctored by a more eloquent narrator. The old woman telling the story about Psyche makes mention of the narrator of the story in which she herself appears at 4.32. So it seems that even the direct speech that Lucius himself quotes is not meant to provide a straightforward picture.

In quite another way, techniques of speech presentation are used to show quite brazenly that we cannot trust too much in what is described.

In a soliloquy at 2.6, after his visit to Byrrhaena, Lucius furnishes us with some information which we were not given at a possibly appropriate point earlier in the narrative:

> Vesperi quoque cum somno concederes, et in cubiculum te deduxit comiter, et blande lectulo collocavit, et satis amanter cooperuit, et osculato tuo capite quam invite discederet vultu prodidit, denique saepe retrorsa respiciens substitit.

We could have been told all this by Lucius the narrator at the close of 1. The delayed revelation of important details in a speech is not confined to soliloquy: we have to wait for an explanation for why Lucius thought the wineskins were assailants until well after the dénouement in the theatre. It could of course have been supplied as early as 2.32 (at the time of the narration of the killing), but it is through Fotis's account at 3.18 that the narrator tells all. How far can we trust what we are told if details which reverse our whole conception of what is happening are to emerge in a later speech?

It would be enough though if we could be confident that what we are told was done and said is supposed to have occurred, even if it is only an incomplete picture. But sometimes even the legitimacy of what we are told appears to be thrown into doubt.

This problem is often raised by the reporting of direct discourse in the *Met.*. In epic poetry and just about all other types of narrative in Latin, it seems generally clear that when *o.r.* is used the narrator is 'giving the floor' to one of his characters. The usual impression is that the character is supposed to have uttered the very words which the narrator has ascribed to him or her. With o.o. and o.m. we may be deprived of the

actual words, but with o.r. presentation we can, as it were, feel sure of what was uttered[91]

Apuleius does not always give his audience such a satisfactory impression. The first exchange with Byrrhaena is closed thus at 2.3:

> Dum hunc et huiusmodi sermonem altercamur. . .

The narration of the first flirtatious conversation Lucius has with Fotis is concluded in a similar way:

> His et talibus obgannitis sermonibus inter nos discessum est 2.11

At the end of 4.23 an attempt the thieves make to console the young woman they have captured is quoted, and then the narrator remarks:

> His et his similibus blateratis necquiquam dolor sedatur puellae.

Compare too in 11.2 the way Lucius closes the narration of his own prayer to the goddess:

> Ad istum modum fusis precibus et adstructis miseris lamentationibus

In all these examples an amount of direct speech is quoted before we are told that more of the same kind was said but is not given. This might cause us to ask whether what we are not told came before, after, or in the midst of the discourse that actually is presented. The o.r. we have turns out to be, at best, selected quotation: the narrative can only give us an inadequate illusion of mimesis[92].

The narration of Lucius's first sexual encounter with Fotis in which their words and actions are related in some detail (2.16-17) is concluded with a similar type of expression:

> his et huiusmodi colluctationibus ad confinia lucis. . .

Perhaps here an analogous admission is being made - that action, like conversation, can never be captured completely in the narrative we have.

This would not be so notable were it not for the fact that no expressions like these are used to conclude narration of speeches (or of anything else) in the stories of characters other than Lucius. The length of the story about Psyche might give one cause to expect them, but we have seen that the effect of the speeches there is very different from that of the main narrative. We are inclined to feel there that the speeches were uttered as they are rendered.

It is perhaps generally true that one may feel sceptical of speeches presented as a

[91] For epic (discounting Ovid) it is very much a case of feeling sure. As I have pointed out, the o.r. could be read as f.d.d. - long speeches are uttered in situations which would not practically admit them; moreover all direct discourse is in verse. But it would take a Socrates to say that we should not convinced by any instance of o.r. in epic. We make a necessary aesthetic adjustment to allow for this quality of epic narrative. (This quality is what Bakhtin calls 'epic distance'; C.S. Lewis calls it 'solemnity'). The sort of f.d.d. we encounter in Apuleius has a different kind of effect: it is explicitly mischievous in a kind of narrative that overall affects more realism than epic poetry.

[92] Thucydides's uses of τοσαῦτα τοιαυτα and τοιαδε seem to have a comparable function when they refer to a character's speeches. See Hornblower 1983, 53 for a discussion of the implications of one instance in which these words are not used.

result of the witness of an interested first person narrator. It was remarked at the opening of this enquiry that the main narrative of the *Met.* constitutes a speech as well as a plain account. The more apparent the character of the narrator, the more partiality he will show in his telling. How faithfully characters' words are rendered, whether in direct or indirect speech, is something we can never really establish. These questions are raised and made conspicuous to the audience of the *Met.*.

Conclusion

This survey should show how central the questions of speech presentation are to the construction of the *Met* . The work can be seen as a sequence of speeches some of which contain stories, belonging either to the principal narrator or to other characters.

It is impossible to establish any rules of practice for Apuleius's selection of a particular speech mode in any type of context. Even though similar types of episode do occur, e.g. law court scenes, tales of witches and unfaithful wives, the speech modes seem always to vary according to each single context. The Psyche story highlights Apuleius's trait of varying speech presentation to make sure that no two episodes are narrated in the same way, however circumstantially similar they may be.

This makes the task of comparing Apuleius's techniques with those of other authors rather difficult. We do not have many contexts in the *Met.* which can easily be set against those found in epic or any other narrative genre, as we do when comparing and contrasting the practices of narrative poets.

Some general comments can be made though about the basic facilities of speech presentation available to Apuleius. O.r. is the major way of recording speech. Especially noticeable is the use of rapid dialogue, as well as the interplay of longer rheses. There is no such variation in the poets.

There are instances of the f.i.d. in the third person form, such as we find in epic, as well as in a first person form which describes Lucius's astonishment at sudden turns of fortune. Otherwise, indirect speech is used as in poetry to render the shared sentiments of a group, or to indicate that the same kind of thing was said more than once. Mimetic o.o.and the a.n.d. which are used in history more than epic have found their way into this book. The *Met.* seems to incorporate techniques of speech presentation from many different genres.

Sustained first person narratives of this type were uncommon in Latin literature. It would not be surprising if an orator of Apuleius's ability would have been aware of new possibilities to be investigated and used in a work of this form. This might explain why he is sensitive to the question of the credibility of speech reported in narrative. He employs far more subtlety in rendering his characters' discourse than we may first imagine.

(iii) Latin prose fiction and *recitatio?*

One question we considered with our study of poetic narrative which remains to be tackled here is whether our study of speech presentation can throw any light at all on whether or not prose fiction texts like these would have been designed for recitation. I have maintained before that the issues of speech presentation and *recitatio* might be connected in that the actual performance of a narrative text would highlight the deployment of particular speech modes, and the difference between them, a good deal more than a silent reading.

The question of the nature of the reception for medieval Greek romances - of

which we are equivalently ignorant - is raised by Beaton[93]. He seeks to meet the question of what kind of reader texts produced before printing presuppose - and whether it is appropriate to entertain the notion of reader at all in our modern sense:

> The evidence of of the [medieval] texts is at first sight confusing. It comes in two forms: firstly, the various 'asides' in which the author, in his guise within the text as fictional narrator, addresses the recipient of the narrative directly; secondly the information we can glean about *fictional* audiences for comparable stories that may be mentioned in the texts.

We shall take the second form of evidence first. The Thessaly in which Apuleius's *Met.* is set in a 'through the looking-glass' world: tales are told by characters as reminiscences or for entertainment but they are not presented to their audiences within the story as having artistic or literary status. It is true that the tale of Psyche may have a claim to such status for us or even for Lucius (who says in his narrative he would like to have written it down), but it is not literature in the fictional realm within which it is delivered. So such evidence is no help where the *Met.* is concerned.

There is however a discernible literary culture presented in the story of the *Sat.* ; the whole of it certainly seems to revolve around the recitation of texts: there are the *Homeristae* who perform for Trimalchio in 52 and Eumolpus recites his verses twice even if they meet with an unpleasant reception[94] . But what about prose texts? Eumolpus again tells his Milesian tale of the widow of Ephesus from memory, but he can equally tell his autobiographical story off the cuff. Trimalchio's favourite boy does read aloud and sight-reads at that. None of these internal features of the *Sat* . provide decisive evidence but they may have some bearing on how *Sat.* was received itself.[95]

For Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* which is effectively contemporary, commentators have affirmed more boldly that this was a work which was performed. [96] But the *Sat.* by comparison would have been a huge work - one wonders whether all of it could have been read aloud, in spite of the priority and long nights that may have been given to letters in Nero's principate[97] .

The other kind of evidence, according to Beaton, about the nature of a work's reception is to be found in any asides a narrator may make to his audience. We can hardly accept evidence of this nature as conclusive either: there are a number of literary narratives from later ages (including our own) which contain asides or apostrophes in the second person plural which we know to be designed for a single silent reader. But such evidence, for want of anything better may be taken as a possible lead: the *Apocolocyntosis* contains apostrophes in the second person which might support the

[93] Beaton 1989, 184.

[94]Starr 1987 shows at least that such performers were at large in Petronius's time.

[95] If scholars have been prepared to make conjectures about views and performance of poetry in Homeric times on the basis of the reception of poetry within the Homeric poems themselves(e.g. Macleod1983) , we might allow ourselves some speculation on the basis of what Petronius describes. Cf. Sullivan 1968, 16.

[96]Weinreich 1923, 17-19. Eden 1984, 8 takes the same view: 'The nature of the work invites recitation before a select audience. Seneca's own voice may have given the work its first hearing, and he may have read it from his autograph copy.' If the work was produced within a few days of Nero's taking power (as Münscher 1922, 49f. argues), its actual recitation would have made the *Apocol.* even more striking as a conspicuous inversion of Seneca's decorous eulogy of Claudius which was written for Nero to deliver at his funeral (Tacitus *Annals* 13.3).

[97] Sullivan, 36 however notes: 'The *Satyricon* was probably intended for recitation to the court circle rather than for publication proper,' [whatever that means] 'hence its frequent topicality and perhaps its episodic nature. The reading of the *Cena* , for instance, would last little longer than an hour.'

contention mentioned that it was declaimed in public. [98]

Petronius's *Sat.* , as we have it, has effectively no instances of apostrophe from Encolpius's narrative to his audience, although several of the character narrators that narrative introduces make asides to other characters in the story.[99]

In the discussion of Lucan, it was suggested that the extensive use of apostrophe, whether to audience, characters or other entities, by the narrator suggested strongly that the *De Bello Civili* might well have been designed for declamation. It is worth noting how often apostrophe is used in Petronius's own *De Bello Civili* . The virtual absence of apostrophes or asides in Encolpius's narrative need not conversely imply that this not to be declaimed - it is in a different genre. Lucan's realism may depend on a narrator who is ever present but unidentified, interacting dramatically with characters, events and audience. Petronius's narrator on the other has a specific name and as a character he is telling somebody the things that have happened to him. This realism is different - Encolpius' s narrative is anecdotal: apostrophe is not so necessary to accomplish a dramatic effect. He can tell the story in the way someone in an everyday world would recounting the events he has experienced.

There are a good many instances of apostrophe and asides to reader and audience in the *Metamorphoses* . Apuleius plays a great deal on the idea of the narrator as a speaker in the opening of the first book. Yet at the same time, this seems to be a work conceived as much for a private reader as an audience assembled at a *recitatio* [100] .

It is impossible to come to any demonstrable conclusion about whether any or all of the texts treated in this chapter were performed customarily or at all in a *recitatio* . My feeling is that it is quite likely that at least parts of all of them were. The extensive use of o.r. prevalent in Apuleius and Petronius, which is not to be found in historical prose narrative would give in itself a good deal of scope for *hypokrisis* . And the qualities of Apuleius's and Petronius's writing would in their different ways benefit from such exposure: Apuleius employs a number of devices which are really sound effects[101]; Petronius's characterisation of personages is obtained principally through their speech and would best be appreciated aurally.

Speech presentation and Latin prose fiction: Some conclusions

In an essay on the history of 'novelistic discourse', which seeks to explain its evolution in terms of competition and interaction between various European cultures and spoken languages, Bakhtin makes a series of observations on ancient fiction which are very pertinent here[102] :

> The 'Greek romance' and Apuleius and Petronius... prepared the ground for the novel in one very important, in fact decisive, respect. They liberated the object from the power of

[98] Instances of apostrophe in the *Apocol.* include *hunc si interrogaveris* (1), *horam non possum tibi dicere* (2); *scitis enim optime , in caelo quae acta sint qudite* (5); *putares omnes illius esse libertos* (6).

[99] An exception considered and explained above is the *ut crederes etiam animorum esse picturam* in 83 discussed earlier.

[100] I remarked above that the preface plays on both means of reception: *sermone isto ... auresque tuas benivolas* for a listener; *papyrum Aegyptiam* etc. and *lector intende* for a reader. See again Harrison 1990.

[101] Tatum 1979, 136f. Prose rhythm, sound and rhyme are considered; see also 24f. 'Apuleius's dialogue with his reader' and Laird 1990, 137f.

[102] 'From the prehistory of novelistic discourse' in 1981, 60f.

> language in which it had become entangled as if in a net; they destroyed the homogenizing power of myth over language; they freed consciousness from the power of the direct word ... A distance arose between language and reality that was to prove an indispensable condition for authentically realistic forms of discourse.
>
> Linguistic consciousness - parodying the direct word, direct style, exploring its limits, its absurd sides, the face specific to an era - constituted itself *outside* this direct word and outside all its graphic and expressive means of representation. A new mode developed for working creatively with language: the creating artist began to look at language from the outside, with another's eyes, from the point of view of a potentially different language and style. It is, after all, precisely in the light of another potential language or style that a given straightforward style is parodied, travestied, ridiculed...
>
> One who creates a direct word - whether epic, tragic or lyric - deals only with the subject whose praises he sings, or represents or expresses, and he does so in his language that is perceived as the sole and fully adequate tool for realizing the word's direct, objectivized meaning ... The position and tendency of the parodic-travestying consciousness is, however, completely different: it, too, is oriented towards the object - but towards another's word as well, a parodied word about the object that in the process becomes *itself* an image.'

The last sentence of this quotation might recall more than superficially Auerbach's observation (quoted at the beginning of this chapter) that Petronius provides 'a sort of twofold mirroring'[103] in the way characters speak of their experience and impressions.

As he does often, Bakhtin is making bold, general assertions which he does not take time to substantiate with specific evidence: the observations offered in this chapter might contribute some of the backing these assertions need. In concluding our discussion of Petronius, we did note that the language used by the characters in their speeches became as much an object of scrutiny as any sequence of events which that language might have conveyed.

The effect is different in Apuleius, but Bakhtin's general observations still apply. We could not have a more explicit parodying of the notion of direct discourse in literature, 'exploring its limits, its absurd sides', than that provided by the narrator of the *Met.* when he fanfares the 'free' quality of o.r. he presents. Otherwise with all its appearances it might look like a precise rendering of what was supposed to be said. I would say this matters more than when Ovid plays a similar game in his *Met.* - simply because these speeches are in prose not verse. Hexameter verse, as Bakhtin's remarks suggest, homogenises the discourse of characters with that of the poet-narrator, as well as the different genres or styles we may have seen included in the poem. Even Ovid can only give us what Bakhtin here calls a 'direct word' overall, though he may chafe at the bit in employing so many plays on words and parodies.

It is then, not only the flexibility in the manner of presenting speech employed by Apuleius and Petronius relative to authors in other genres, but also the actual nature of the speech presented which in the end gives Apuleius and Petronius a peculiar common quality. The utterances of chracters like Trimalchio and Encolpius in the *Sat.*

[103] Auerbach 27, cf. a little below (on the *Cena* at 37-8): 'We have on the one hand, the most intense subjectivity, which is even heightened by individuality of language, and on the other hand, an objective intent - for the aim is an objective description of the company at table, including the speaker, through a subjective procedure. This procedure leads to a more meaningful and more concrete illusion of life. Inasmuch as the guest describes acompany to which he himself belongs both by inner convictions and outward circumstances, the viewpoint is transferred to a point within the picture, the picture thus gains in depth and the light which illuminates it seems to come from within it. Modern writers, Proust for example work in exactly the same way...' Auerbach may be putting this more figuratively (though he is at least working more directly from the text) but it seems clear he is observing the very phenomenon which Bakhtin has attempted to diagnose, in a more precise way, for ancient fiction as a whole.

or of Milo and Thelyphron in the *Met.* do, logically, have a bearing on the stories in which they appear, just because they are in the narrative. But usually these utterances serve to characterise their speakers. They are generally far from being so manifestly crucial to our interpretation or understanding of those stories as the speeches of Aeneas or Turnus in the *Aeneid* , or even of characters like Scylla or Tarquin in the comparatively brief Ovidian stories.

Both Auerbach and Bakhtin made much of the fact that Apuleius and Petronius dealt with all walks of life, portraying society at all its levels[104] . This is partly accomplished by the type and presentation of the utterances their fictions contain.

[104] E.g. Bakhtin 1981 in the essay 'Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel', 124 on Apuleius: 'What is preserved of the metamorphosis-into-ass is precisely this specific placement of the hero as a 'third person' in relation to private everyday life, permitting him to spy and eavesdrop. Such is the positioning of the *rogue* and *adventurer* , who do not participate internally in everyday life, who do not occupy in it any fixed place, yet who at the same time pass through that life and are forced to study its workings, all its secret cogs and wheels.' Auerbach p. 30 on Petronius: 'Petronius' literary ambition, like that of the realists of modern times, is to imitate a random, everyday, contemporary milieu with its sociological background, and to have his characters speak their jargon without recourse to any form of stylization.'

Conclusion

It is hoped that the following claims have been borne out by this survey:

(i) Particular techniques of reporting speech are characteristic of certain genres.

(ii) A consideration of speech presentation can isolate stylistic features of individual texts in the same genre even if they treat similar themes, episodes or subject matter..

(iii) Certain modes of reporting discourse (or sequences of speech modes) can recur in the narration of specific types of situation in a story not only within one text, but also in a number of texts.

(iv) It is as important to consider instances of indirect discourse as it is to consider direct discourse if we are to make any general assertions about speech and thought in any narrative.

Overall, an examination of the deployment of speech modes provides interesting insights into a number of passages which have often been overlooked by critics and commentators. These insights contribute to our understanding of characterisation and the relation between the narrator and the characters and events presented in the story. Thus the form of speech presentation very much determines the content of a narrative.

There are several ways in which this research could be further developed. At the very least the same methods of examination could be applied to a greater range of texts and genres. There are not enough extant Latin texts from the period I have covered to provide anything approaching an overall impression of what the general practices of speech presentation would have been: one cannot discern whether certain devices are original to the author in which we first find them or not.

But an extended investigation which spans several periods and a breadth of genres (such as those sketched out in the Introduction at note 10), might allow us to attempt a history of the development of speech presentation and trace the influence of the practices of speech presentation employed in one text, or group of texts, upon another. Such a history of the transformations of speech presentation as a literary technique could be related to whatever contemporary evidence we have for notions of speech and thought presentation and characterisation in general for the periods discussed, in scholia, rhetorical treatises and text books etc..

This understanding of literary characterisation (of which speech and thought presentation is the primary technical medium) comes close to an understanding of how the very notion of a human individual is constituted in language. This enquiry may have some bearing on the recovery of the various categories of 'person' which existed at

various stages in different times and cultures[105] .

Even with the material I have discussed, the methods of investigation too could be extended. For instance, little consideration has been given to the social identity and status of characters whose speech is being reported. In our consideration of the *Aeneid* , it was noted that in the poem (as in real life) it is generally the privilege of those in authority to speak and it is the inclination, if not the obligation of those with less power to remain silent[106] . A 'sociology' of certain narratives and certain genres might be revealed, not only by a review of who thinks and speaks and who does not, but also by taking stock of which speech modes are applied to which sorts of person[107] .

Probably the longest ever piece of indirect speech in Latin verse is a reported poem, a summary of the *Iliad* in a hundred verses. This is in Politian's *Ambra* , a hexameter poem composed in the 1490's to celebrate Homer's life and achievement.[108] A summary of the *Odyssey* (of similar length) follows in o.r., and significantly, that comes out of Ulysses's own mouth. Odysseus is after all, a more than part time rhapsode in Homer's poem. Politian was fond of Plato as well as Homer - could he have got the idea of an indirect speech summary of the *Iliad* from reading the *Republic* ?[109] And was he perhaps influenced by Socrates's observation that much of the *Odyssey* consisted of direct speech (*Republic* 393b) so that he has Ulysses himself summarise the story to Homer? We can also be sure that the testimonies on speech presentation reviewed in the Introduction (apart from 'Longinus') would have been very familiar indeed to

[105] Momigliano presents an account of the ancient notions of the 'person' in Hollis, Lukes & Carrithers 1986) which considers the category in social anthropological terms, through a variety of societies. See also Pelling 1989 & Gill 1991. Hofmann 1988 is a modern study of what constitutes 'character' in literary narrative - cf. the citation from Voloshinov 1926 which precedes my Introduction. Consideration of these studies has led me to suppose a) Aristotle's subordination of 'character'(in terms of ἦθος and *διάνοια*) to plot (or μῦθος) might be more useful than it may first seem, and b) an apprehension of the way character is constituted in narrative (literary or non-literary) may help us understand the notions of 'person' or 'character' in the societies from which those narratives derive, or at least in the worlds those narratives represent. Ricouer's suggestion, in his 1992 Amnesty lecture, that the philosophical views of personal identity (Hume and Parfit) could be usefully augmented by consideration of the self being constituted through time in narrative seems to support this.

[106] Duncan Kennedy made this point in the Bristol Classical Seminar in October 1989 in relation to Horace *Sermones* 1.6 (Horace being tongue-tied in the presence of Maecenas). The Thersites episode at *Iliad* 2.212-69 (with its *nachleben*) brings out explicitly the relationship between discourse and power in this regard. For discussion of this relationship in the world today see Bourdieu 1977, 1991 & 1992. Ardener in Chapman 1989, 73-85, 129-30 etc. is frequently concerned with 'muted groups' (especially women) whose 'symbolic weight' in a society cannot easily be assessed by the ethnographer because such groups 'do not speak'.

[107] Such preoccupations have affected attitudes of anthropologists to the narratives encountered in ethnography and field work. See Gilsenan 1989 and Clifford & Marcus 1986. Marx in his own historiography shows evident concern with the identity of his sources (i.e. who is speaking); it has been left to his successors to link ideology with rhetoric in narrative.

[108] Verses 299-404. The best edition and commentary is Del Lungo 1926.

[109] There are no precise precedents in ancient literature for resumés like these, which offer formal summaries of specific literary works, within the frame of another literary work. Del Lungo suggests Ausonius's Homeric *periochae* were an influence as they may have been on the summaries of Virgil's works in Politian's *Manto* . The summaries of Homer's poems in Horace *Epistles* 1.2 are relevant, but they are more directly oriented around the moral teaching to be gleaned from the epics. More basically, the form of these resumés, with the sustained indirect questions owes much to the conventional *thesis* .

Politian.

There can be little doubt that this use of speech modes is significant - the *variatio* is providing a comment on the divergent nature of the two Homeric poems. Politian read the *Ambra* out loud to his lecture audience of humanists in the Florentine Studio in 1495, who would at least have appreciated the dramatic effect, as well as the allusion, engineered by this shift in speech mode[110].

This sensitivity, exhibited by a scholar of Angelo Politian's stature, to the issues raised by the reporting of speech in literature, in itself suggests that the subject is something worth pursuing.

[110] On the nature of teaching in Florence in the Quattrocento, see Maiër 1966 and Grafton 1983. If Politian's allusion to the divergent manners of narration of the Homeric epics seems a difficult one for a live audience to pick up, we should note that the content of his resumés is not introductory: knowledge of the original poems must have been required of his audience for the resumés to be appreciated and understood.

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