

RECENSIONE

D. Jolowicz, *Latin Poetry
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The volume is published in the Oxford Classical Monographs series and is the result, revised and expanded, of the doctoral thesis by Daniel Jolowicz (from now on J.). This work belongs to the vein of studies that, starting from Norden,¹ has examined prose as rich in elements typical of poetry; it is the first systematic attempt to demonstrate, with an updated and innovative perspective, that the Greek novelists of the imperial age were experts of Latin poetry.

The volume is divided into an in-depth Introduction (pp. 1-34), in which J. describes the *status quaestionis* on the biculturality of Greece in the imperial age, and seven well-structured and articulate chapters concerning the relationship that the novelists Chariton, Achilles Tatius and Longus have with Latin poetry (pp. 35-325). The book is closed by the Conclusion (pp. 326-329), a rich Bibliography (pp. 331-376), an *Index locorum* (pp. 377-393) and a General Index, very useful for an easy consultation of the work.

¹ E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1898.

Within the Introduction, J. focuses on the cultural dialogue between Greeks and Romans during the imperial age, taking into account the fact that cities such as Ephesus, Alexandria and Mytilene, traditionally associated with Greek novelists, were prestigious Roman centres and a possible theatre of cultural exchanges.

The work is part of a fruitful line of studies that aims at demonstrating how frequent the cultural relations between the Western and the Eastern areas of the Roman Empire were, so much so that we can speak of «bilinguisme gréco-romain au Bas Empire». ² Even if real phenomena of bilingualism were infrequent, however it is not difficult to believe that the knowledge of some formulas was necessary to the communication between imperial officials (the large presence of Greek-Latin papyri for scholastic use, particularly in the African area, is clear proof of this); ³ so we may think of Late Antique Roman Empire as dominated by a cultural κοινή characterised by frequent contacts between its western and the eastern areas. ⁴

² B. Rochette, *Les traductions grecques de l'Énéide sur papyrus. Un contribution à l'étude du bilinguisme gréco-romain au Bas Empire*, "LEC" 58, 1990, pp. 333-346.

³ See M. Fressura, *Vergilius Latinograecus: corpus dei manoscritti bilingui dell'Eneide. Parte prima (1-8). Studi di egittologia e di papirologia*, 13. Pisa-Roma 2017; P. Paolucci, *Il Vergilianus faber di PSI II 142. Un esempio di tecnica versificatoria da Virgilio in età tardoantica*, "GIF" 59, 2007, pp. 79-102; L. Zurli, *Il PSI II 142 rivoisitato (A Cesare Questa per i suoi splendidi settant'anni)*, "GIF" 56, 2004, pp. 189-200; G. Ballaira, *Un rifacimento di versi Vergiliani (Aen. 1, 477-93): il PSI II 142 RECTO (CLA III 289)*, in AA. VV. (ed.) *De tuo tibi. Omaggio degli allievi di Italo Lana*, Bologna 1996.

⁴ The increasing studies on the fruitful cultural relations between the Western and the Eastern areas of the Roman Empire (and on the knowledge of Greek by the Latin cultural élites of the Roman Empire) are contributing to improve the exegesis of Latin poetic texts, often not completely intelligible if not in the light of the phenomenon of resemanticisation, due to the interference between Greek and Latin languages (see, in this regard, the considerations of P. Paolucci, *Il centone virgiliano Hippodamia dell'Anthologia latina. Introduzione, edizione critica, traduzione, commento*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 2006, p. 46) or to the contacts between Greek and Latin literary traditions (see e.g. P. Tempone, *Egisto pastor: un epiteto 'polisemico'?*, "ExClass" 14, 2010, pp. 211-226, and particularly *(Come) conosce il greco Draconzio?*, alle pp. 223-226; P. Tempone, *'Rivoli' del testo: Regiano, Mariano Scolastico*

In the large Introduction, J. reflects also on the usefulness of colonial and postcolonial studies when studying the literature produced by a culture «reduced to subaltern status» (p. 33): for example, the episode of the Methymnaean invasion (2.12–3.2), which is modelled on Verg. *Aen.* 7, 475–640, seems to be an attempt to rewrite Roman history (see section 7.9 at p. 309 ff.).

J. believes that allusion to Latin poetry in the Greek novels is practised in varied ways and has important repercussions on the horizon of expectation of ancient and modern readers.

When studying allusion to Latin poetry in the Greek novels, it is important to avoid generalisations; according to J., one cannot speak generically of ‘Greeks of the imperial period’, since the matter is more complex: «In sum, it is necessary to avoid adhering to either of two extremes, whereby either every or no imperial-period Greek was reading Latin poetry: there were some individuals who did so, and the truth surely lies somewhere in between the two poles» (p. 33).

J. reflects on the evidence that bilingual Greeks throughout the empire had at least a ‘practical’ knowledge of Latin and access to Latin teachers; there is abundant evidence of Latin learning tools and materials designed for Greek speakers, evidence of proficiency in Latin language and literature among a vast array of imperial Greek authors.⁵

Through an extensive and furthered commentary on some specific passages taken from the Greek novels here examined, J. wants to demonstrate that, unlike what was believed in the past, the knowledge of Latin by the Greek élites was not only defined by bureaucratic purposes: «the Greek novels evidence an engagement with Latin poetry that goes beyond mere use value» (p. 16).

e alcune costanti nella trattazione del tema termale in età tardoantica tra Occidente latino e Bisanzio, “ALRiv” 2, 2011, pp. 57–68).

⁵ B. Rochette, *Les traductions grecques de l'Énéide sur papyrus. Une contribution à l'étude du bilinguisme gréco-romain au Bas Empire*, “LEC” 58, 1990, 333–46; Id., *Le latin dans le monde grec. Recherches sur la diffusion de la langue et des lettres latines dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire romain*, Brussels 1997.

The section *Latin Literary Papyri in the Context of Education* (pp. 16-17) highlights the difficulty of using the argument of the presence of Latin papyri (some of them containing literary and poetic texts) in Greek-speaking areas as proof of knowledge of Latin by the Greek-speaking cultural élites; in fact, it can also be proof of their use by Roman soldiers on the frontiers of the empire. However, it is undeniable that Latin poetry played a decisive role in school education. Lists of words, glossaries, bilingual lexicons, papyri presenting the so-called 'columnar translation', with the original Latin and facing Greek text are useful sources to evaluate the knowledge of Latin in Greek-speaking areas. The Introduction contains a useful overview of the numerous sources of different ages and places that testifies how Vergil, although a model of high poetry, is one of the main authors used by Greek speakers to learn Latin language (pp. 17-20).⁶

In the second and largest part of the volume, J. examines the different ways in which novelists relate to models: Chariton often deals with the elegiac themes, typical of Latin literature and particularly practised by Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid (including the production of exile, see p. 81 ff.) and writes a novel characterised by a «sober register» (p. 326), centred on the canonical themes of exclusive love, jealousy, death. Achilles Tatius' use of the Latin elegy is more playful and aimed at the ironic and alienating reversal of the *tópoi* of elegiac love.⁷ In many cases, the Latin poetic sources provide an «unhappy foil» for new fictional material with a happy ending, again creating «an ironic, subversive, or polemical relationship» between the model and the allusive text (pp. 30 e 207-208).

The relationship of novelists with Vergil's Aeneid is also carefully analysed; for example, in the case of Chariton, J. highlightens the interest in funerary themes and in the relationship between Dido and Aeneas. In many cases we see the reversal of the model with comic effect: an example is the reuse with clear ironic and parodistic intent of the so-called (by

⁶ See footnote n. 3.

⁷ See p. 326: «[...] the use of latin elegy is openly ludic and geared towards redefining erotic relations as based on persuasion rather than reciprocity».

Lyne)⁸ Vergil's 'cut-off technique', with which Vergil characterises, for example, with pathos and tragedy, Aeneas' attempt to interact with the ghost of Creusa (Chariton reuses this narrative technique in the scene where Callirhoe tries to embrace the dream apparition of Chaereas, see p. 97).

Longus shows a certain «familiarity» with Vergil's *Bucolics* (p. 326), from which he borrows, for example, the theme of the vulnerability of the pastoral world, that is intertwined with other motifs, such as that of the exploration of the countryside and the invasion of external forces (see paragraph 7.9 on pp. 309-324). According to J., on the one hand Longus wants to remove Vergil's preeminent role within the bucolic genre, on the other «his rewriting of the *Aeneid* is an attempt to create an (albeit fictionalised) alternative history in which the Roman Empire never happens» (p. 327); the latter idea is connected to the hypothesis that the author is a descendant of the Pompeian Theophanes (section 7.9).

Very interesting is the methodological premise on pp. 28-32, functional to fully understand how J. moved in the difficult and articulated investigation of the relationship between the Greek novels and Latin poetry. He specifies that his study deals with identifying the allusion («a property of the text, installed by the author, which is then recognized by the reader», p. 29) rather than the intertextuality («a frame of reference, literary or otherwise, that a reader might bring to bear on their interpretation of a text», p. 29). The difficulties in this type of investigation lies in the complex distinction between «conventional topos» and «specific allusion» (p. 30), and in the fact that it is more difficult to recognize an allusion to a poetic text within prose texts.

For this purpose it is useful to analyse the «indices of engagement with Latin» (p. 29), such as the resumption of linguistic and syntactic and content elements, as well as the degree of concentration of these elements within a sequence or in the entire work. The matter is further complicated by the «problem of the 'lost common source'», very important for studies on Greek literature and culture of the Roman period:

⁸ See R.O.A.M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid*, Oxford 1987, p. 146.

«the loss of so much Greek material makes it difficult to make a certain claim of Latin originality» (p. 30).

The accurate analysis of the different ways in which the Greek novelists allude to Latin poetry is of considerable interest; J. wants to offer some hints for methodological reflection, which takes into account the fact that Greek literature of the imperial age unfolds in a too vast time span and spatial extent to apply a «totalizing approach» (p. 327).

The Greek novelists allude to the Greek models in a different way from the one with which they allude to the Latin models: in the second case, the modality is «less 'marked'» (p. 327), for objective reasons, such as the language, but also for socio-cultural issues (Latin poetry was the symbol of the Roman conquest of the Greek world).

J. distinguishes between four different types of allusions (p. 30): the first type concerns allusions only to Latin poetry, without references to Greek literature; the second typology involves allusion to Latin poetry and at the same time to a Greek text (there is no relationship between the Latin and Greek models): an example is the episode of the Methymnaean Invasion (2.12–3.2), which has Book 7 of Vergil's *Aeneid* as an epic model, but also Book 3 of Thucydides' *Histories* as a historiographical model (p. 309 ff.).⁹ The third typology, which J. calls 'window reference' or 'double imitation' (p. 30), consists in the allusion to a Greek poet through a Latin poet (for example Achilles alludes to Sappho through Ovid's Sappho of *Heroides* 15, see pp. 170-2); in the fourth mode of allusion, the novelist uses Greek and Latin versions of the same story (see section 6.2, p. 223 ff.).

In some cases, the allusions to Latin poetry constitute a form of commentary or interpretation of the Latin text: for example, the reference Longus makes to the proem of the *Bucolics* allows him to correct the erroneous identification of *fagus* with φηγός (pp. 291 ff.). The familiarity that authors like Longus have with Latin poetry and language allows them to create bilingual puns. According to J., the

⁹ See also H. J. Mason, *Mytilene and Methymna: quarrels, borders and topography*, "Échos du monde classique" = "Classical Views" 1993, 37, pp. 225-250.

choice of the name Amaryllis is symptomatic of the good knowledge of Latin (p. 303 ff. and n. 217): it is a speaking name, and is connected to the Greek verb ἀμαρύσσειν 'to shine' (LSJ s.v. I), traditionally associated with female beauty. The use of this name may therefore constitute a «strong evidence» of Longus' knowledge of Latin: he is aware of the paronomasia that often connects Amaryllis and the verb *amare* in Latin (see e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 52 *Amaryllis amabat*),¹⁰ and combines Amaryllis with the Greek verb ἐρᾶν (2.5.3 ἦρας Ἀμαρυλλίδος; 2.7.4 ἠράσθην Ἀμαρυλλίδος; 2.8.5 Ἀμαρυλλίδος ἐρῶντα), thus creating an allusive pun with the Latin model (ἦρας Ἀμαρυλλίδος is very similar to *Amaryllidis iras* of Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 14, also considering the iotacization of the Greek of the imperial age).

In the long and detailed section dedicated to Longus (pp. 255-325), J. highlights how the references (more or less implicit) to the models are often of a metapoetic nature (pp. 266, 272, 282, 291, 300), and appear linked to the relationship with Vergil's *Bucolics*; this connection is dominated, according to J., by an «inherent and paradoxical tension» (p. 324): Longus wants to oedipally separate himself from his model or drastically resize Vergil's preminent role as poet of bucolic matter.

Longus' relationship with Vergil's *Aeneid* is defined by J. as «a gently subversive engagement» (p. 326): the ways in which Longus interacts with the *Aeneid*, a poem that praises the rise of the Roman Empire, prepared by the victory of Caesar, could be explained in the light of the possible identification of Longus with an author having close ties to the descendants of the Pompeian Theophanes.¹¹

¹⁰ J. points out that the same *iunctura* is also in *Ov. Ars* 2, 267.

¹¹ Some evidence in defence of this thesis is listed at p. 325 (and relative footnotes). It has also been supposed that Longus was an Italian writing in Greek language (see e.g. R.L. Hunter, *A Study of Daphnis and Chloe*, Cambridge 1983, p. 2; M.C. Mittelstadt, *Longus and the Greek Love Romance*, Diss. Stanford 1964, p. 6; L. Herrmann, *Velius Longus auteur de Daphnis et Chloé*, in *Latomus* 1981, 40, pp. 378-383, who proposed the identification with Velius Longus, grammarian of the Hadrian age and author of *De Orthographia*). To support this thesis, an in-depth

Strictly connected to this hypothesis is the 'political' interpretation (pp. 309-324) of the episode of the invasion of the Methymnaeans (2.12-3.2), which, as it has been said, sees the combined action between two sources, a Greek one (Book 3 of Thucydides' Histories) and a Latin one (Book 7 of Vergil's Aeneid).

In this passage of the novel, numerous parallels are identified with the Vergilian episode (*Aen.* 7, 475-640) in which the Trojans land in Italy and, after a series of vicissitudes, clash in a war with the inhabitants of Latium. Unlike Vergil's model, in Longus' novel the hostility resulting from the invasion of the Methymnaeans is short-lived and does not lead to a lasting conflict; J. therefore believes that Longus' episode, through the allusion to Vergil, «creates a version of the Aeneid in which the Trojans (on whom the Methymnaeans are modelled) never establish Italy as the site of their imperial headquarters», thus creating «an alternative, pastoralized history in which the Roman Empire never actually happens» (p. 310).

As it has been masterfully demonstrated by J., the novel is an extremely ductile literary genre, which allows to experiment, to allude (in a more or less explicit way) to the Latin poetic sources through numerous modalities that have been well illustrated, «with a degree of license not afforded by other genres» (p. 329). This genre offered Greek novelists the opportunity of dealing with Latin poetry in a

study of Longus' lexicon and morphosyntax would be necessary in a perspective of continuous comparison with the Latin language in general and with the Latin models in particular. However, there is almost no information on the author (see *Der neue Pauly*, 7, pp. 436-439, s.v. *Longos*) and there are very little attestations of the presence of persons with the name *Longus* in Greece in the period considered. The only observations that can be made more cautiously concern the language used by Longus. In some cases Longus' considerable linguistic sensitivity towards Latin is evident: an example is the aforementioned combination of *Amaryllis* with the verb ἐράν (2.5.3 ἦρας Ἀμαρυλλίδος; 2.7.4 ἠράσθην Ἀμαρυλλίδος; 2.8.5 Ἀμαρυλλίδος ἐρῶντα), probably originated from the paronomasia which in Latin often combines *Amaryllis* and the verb *amare* (cf. e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 52 *Amaryllis amabat*); in other cases Longus' Greek seems to be influenced by Latin (see e.g. νῦν... νῦν δι 1.13.6, that could be modelled on *modo ... modo*, cf. M.D. Reeve, *Longus, Daphnis and Chloe*, Leipzig 1982, p. 90).

new way, beyond the traditional compositional protocols; it may represent a trend reversal compared to the «general ‘silence’» of imperial Greek literature regarding Latin poetry (p. 329), also considering the political and cultural significance connected to the Roman conquest that it conveyed.