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Ennius e Ovidio per l'Ilia
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Ennius, Ovid and Representations of Ilia

These two related notes investigate Ennius' and Ovid's narratives of the rape of Ilia (sometimes known as Rhea Silvia), who gave birth to Romulus and Remus, the eventual founders of Rome. The story of Ilia follows a common pattern: a sexual encounter between a god and a mortal woman produces a founding hero or heroes. In most examples of this story type, little is said of the woman beyond that she is pleasing to the god; generally her «point of view» is not represented in detail¹. However, both Ennius and Ovid construct a point of view for Ilia, and they do this in distinctive and innovative ways. The representation of a woman's point of view, or a female subjectivity, in the literature of Rome, produced almost entirely by men, has been the subject of much discussion in recent years. Some have seen in many of Ovid's rape narratives, and especially in their representation of the woman's emotions, a sympathy on the part of the poet to one who has been raped. Others have argued vigorously against this view, maintaining that representation of a raped woman's fear or grief adds titillation rather than sympathy to a narrative². I would like to suggest that Ennius' and Ovid's representations of Ilia's point of view offer another important element in addition to their potential to evoke an immediate reaction of sympathy or titillation in readers. As on a mythical level Mars penetrates Ilia's

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1. For this story type see, e.g., W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, «Sather Classical lectures» vol. 47, Berkeley 1979, pp. 6-7 and A. Scafuro, *Discourses of Sexual Violation in Mythic Accounts and Dramatic Versions of 'The Girl's Tragedy'», «differences» 2, 1990, pp. 126-159.*

2. For readings of 'sympathy' in Ovid's rape scenes, see e.g., L.C. Curran, *Rape and Rape Victims in the Metamorphoses*, in *Women in the Ancient World: The Arethusa Papers*, edd. J. Peradotto and J.P. Sullivan, Albany New York 1984, pp. 263-86; J. Hemker, *Rape and the Founding of Rome*, «Helios» 12, 1985, pp. 41-47; contrast A. Richlin, *Reading Ovid's Rapes*, in *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, ed. A. Richlin, Oxford 1992, pp. 158-279.

body, so Ennius and Ovid, in representing her point of view, devise a fiction of penetrating Ilia's consciousness. In Roman myth, Mars' penetration of Ilia's body sets Roman history in motion. In Roman poetry, the representation of Ilia's point of view is designed in part as a display of poetic self-consciousness which calls attention to each poet's place in Roman literary history³.

1. Ennius, *Homer and Ilia's Dream*

Ennius' representation of Ilia is found mainly in a long fragment preserved by Cicero. In *de Divinatione* (1, 40-1), as Quintus is marshalling his examples to prove that dreams can reveal future events, he quotes these lines from Ennius' *Annales* (*Ann.* 34-50)⁴:

et cita cum tremulis anus attulit artubus lumen.
 talia tum memorat lacrimans, exterrita somno:
 'Eurydica prognata, pater quam noster amavit,
 vires vitaeque corpus meum nunc deserit omne.
 nam me visus homo pulcher per amoena salicta
 et ripas raptare locosque novos. ita sola
 postilla, germana soror, errare videbar
 tardaue vestigare et quaerere te neque posse
 corde capessere: semita nulla pedem stabilibat.
 exim compellare pater me voce videtur
 his verbis: «o gnata, tibi sunt ante gerendae
 aerumnae, post ex fluvio fortuna resistet.»
 haec ecfatus pater, germana, repente recessit
 nec sese dedit in conspectum corde cupitus,
 quamquam multa manus ad caeli caerula templa
 tendebam lacrumans et blanda voce vocabam.
 vix aegro cum corde meo me somnus reliquit.'

An old woman, perhaps a nurse, comes hurrying to Ilia with a lamp, and the frightened girl tells her sister what she has

3. M. Wyke's studies of representations of women as fictional constructs in elegiac discourse are important models here: *Written Women: Propertius' Scripta Puella*, *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 77, 1987, pp. 47-61; *The Elegiac Woman at Rome*, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 33, 1987, pp. 153-78; *Mistress and Metaphor in Augustan Elegy*, *Helios* 16, 1989, pp. 25-47; *Reading Female Flesh: Amores 3.1*, in *History as Text*, ed. Averil Cameron, London 1989, pp. 111-43.

4. Ennius is cited from O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius*, Oxford 1985.

dreamed. A beautiful man, *homo pulcher*, seemed to carry her off (*raptare* 39) through lovely willows by a river. Since the semantic field of *raptare* can include the idea of carrying off to rape⁵, as Skutsch notes, «there is the merest hint at her rape in the verb». Ilia then says that when the man abandoned her, she wandered alone trying to find her sister. Next, her father Aeneas⁶ spoke to her, though she could not see him, telling her that she must endure her troubles and that her fate was somehow connected to the river. Aeneas was gone, she desired to see him, but used her enticing voice to call him back to no avail. She is frightened (*exterrita* 35), and cries as she tells her story (*lacrimans* 35).

Concerning relations between Latin literary texts and their models, critics tend to use terms such as imitation of a model (minimizing the Latin poet's own inventions) or allusion to a model (emphasizing the Latin poet's own creativity), or critics may speak of a more impersonal intertextual relation between texts. Critics of Ennius tend generally to use the vocabulary of imitation rather than allusion or intertextuality. Virtually all studies of Ennius' account of Ilia's dream have focused on the search for the sources adapted and imitated by Ennius. Considerable attention has been paid to the combination of epic and tragic dream motifs which it displays. Recently Nita Krevans has argued convincingly that the traditions of foundation legends and heroic genealogies are also important backgrounds for understanding the Ennian fragment and in particular for appreciating Vergil's allusions to it in the *Aeneid*⁷. I hope to show that the dream of Ilia offers some scope not just for detecting Ennius' particular sources, but for appreciating the sophistication and creativity of his responses to them.

Central to any understanding of Ennius' relation to Homer is the poet's narrative of his dream of Homer early in the first book of the *Annales*⁸. Direct evidence reveals that Ennius was

5. Cf. Ovid *Met.* 12, 223.

6. Aeneas is Ilia's father in Naevius and Ennius; see DServ. *Aen.* 1, 273 and Serv. *Aen.* 6, 777. Other accounts, perhaps originating with Fabius Pictor, place her generations later as the daughter of Numitor.

7. N. Krevans, *Ilia's Dream: Ennius, Virgil, and the Mythology of Seduction* forthcoming in *Harvard Stud. Class. Phil.* 95, 1993. I am grateful to the author for making this work available to me in advance of publication.

8. There has been disagreement about the extent to which Ennius is responding to

asleep, *somno leni placidoque revinctus* (Ann. 2), and that a vision of Homer appeared to him, *visus Homerus adesse poeta* (Ann. 3). Indirect evidence indicates that Ennius was told that he received the soul of Homer⁹. Ennius uses this account of the soul of Homer to celebrate the fact that the *Annales* is the first Roman poem to be written in Homer's meter, the dactylic hexameter. Accordingly, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Ennius' audience might be expected to view the *Annales* in relation to Homeric epic. Unfortunately, though it is possible to discern the influence of Homer in particular words and phrases, and in certain similes and scenes, the sparse fragments of the once monumental *Annales* do not permit a great deal of analysis of Ennian imitation of and allusion to Homer. The story of Ilia offers an unusually extended opportunity to examine Ennius' relation to his Homeric model. Some speculation will be inevitable where evidence is lacking; in such cases the subsequent responses of Ovid to Ennius may be a reader's best guide.

To discern how a reader of Ennius might view the relation of Ilia's dream to earlier texts, one may work indirectly through narratives of Ilia's rape included in the historical accounts of Rome by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch. Their source Fabius Pictor followed Diocles of Peparethus who in turn modelled his account of Ilia on the story of Tyro as it was transmitted by Homer (*Od.* 11, 235-59) and especially by Sophocles (Fr. 648-69 Pearson)¹⁰. The Homeric Tyro is first in

perceived Callimachean strictures against imitations of Homer. Skutsch, p. 148, has argued that in announcing himself the possessor of the soul of Homer, Ennius solves the problem posed by Callimachus' negative remarks about large-scale epic poetry: he is Homer reborn, not a mere imitator of Homer. By contrast, C.O. Brink, *Ennius and the Hellenistic Worship of Homer*, *Amer. Journ. Philol.* 93, 1972, pp. 547-67, denies that Ennius is responding specifically to Callimachus, and argues that Ennius' dream of Homer participates in a more general Hellenistic fascination with the continuing influence of Homer and Homeric metempsychosis.

9. Porphyry on Hor. *Ep.* 2, 1, 50 ff., schol. on Pers. prol. 1 ff., Lucret. 1, 120-126, and other passages assembled and discussed by Skutsch pp. 150-3.

10. Plut. *Rom.* 3, 1 asserts that the story of Ilia and the twins was first recorded in Diocles of Peparethus and followed by Fabius Pictor; cf. Skutsch p. 194; for Ennius' use of Fabius elsewhere, see Skutsch p. 191, 215, 217. The argument that the Ilia story is modelled on the Tyro story is made by C. Trieber, *Die Romulussage* *Rhein. Mus.* 43, 1888, pp. 571-582. For a discussion of Sophocles' Tyro fragments and visual representations of the story see C. Robert, *Tyro* *Hermes* 51, 1916, pp. 273-302.

the catalogue of women whom Odysseus meets in the Underworld. Homer tells how Tyro loved the river Enipeus, and used to wander along the river's banks¹¹. Poseidon disguised himself as Enipeus and put Tyro to sleep, and a wave curled over them. When the god had finished, he woke Tyro, and by way of reassurance, told her explicitly that he was a god, and that she was to bear two sons who would be rulers. In the Ilia story as told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1, 77), the main similarities to the Tyro story are the setting in a grove by the river, the reassuring words of the god, the birth of twins, and the troubles and later rescue of Tyro¹².

The story of Tyro, told in Homer, retold in tragedy and transformed in history, was therefore available to Ennius as a model for the story of Ilia. Moreover, the transformation of a Greek mythical figure into a Roman mythical figure is a paradigmatic example of the kind of cultural and linguistic project of translation that the *Annales* itself represents. Since the Sophoclean version is mainly lost, it is impossible to know how much Ennius, himself a translator of tragedies, might have borrowed and adapted from it. Nevertheless, since Ennius is so emphatic about his direct contact with the ghost of Homer, it does not seem likely that his sources and models for the Ilia scene would be limited to the Sophoclean Tyro, or the historians' versions of Ilia. Thus, many judge that the Ilia story is closely modelled on the Homeric Tyro narrative¹³, and it would seem that Ovid is among these. In a literary move which seems to gloss Ennius' imitation of the Homeric Tyro story, Ovid «footnotes» connections between the Homeric story of Tyro and the story of Ilia: in *Amores* 3, 6 the poet-narrator closes an artful catalogue of rivers who loved girls by mentioning Enipeus and Tyro just before launching into his extended narrative of Ilia and the river Anio. Indeed, Ovid specifically

11. This passion of Tyro's is emphasized by Propertius in his references to the myth; cf. 1, 13, 21-2 and 3, 19, 13-14.

12. The Sophoclean version (rather than the Homeric story) is the source for the detail that the token by which the twins are later recognized is a tub (σκάφη) in which they were exposed as babies: cf. D. H. 1, 79, 5; 82, 3; 82, 5; cf. Plut. *Rom.* 3, 5; 7, 6; 8, 2. For the recognition of Tyro's children by the σκάφη in Sophocles see Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 138-9; cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1454 b 25.

13. Skutsch, p. 194, Krevans (above n. 7), W.J. Dominik, *From Greece to Rome: Ennius' Annales*, in *Roman Epic*, ed. A.J. Boyle, London 1993, 37-58, at. 42.

alludes to Homer's description of the arching over of Enipeus' waters (*Od.* 11, 243-4) when he describes Tyro and her lover Enipeus at *Am.* 3, 6, 43-4:

siccus ut amplecti Salmonida posset, Enipeus
cedere iussit aquam: iussa recessit aqua.

In Ennius, as in Homer, the setting of the encounter is a river, and the woman receives a reassuring prediction about the future, Tyro from Poseidon and Ilia from Aeneas. Homer and Ennius share a detail not found in the available evidence from the Sophoclean fragments or from the version of the story transmitted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch, that the woman is asleep; Tyro is asleep outside by the river, and Ilia is inside dreaming. In the *Odyssey*, Poseidon puts Tyro to sleep in order to take possession of her (245). Because Tyro's point of view has been completely closed off by the sleep Poseidon has cast upon her, she can neither resist nor consent to his actions. Just as Tyro is asleep when Poseidon takes possession of her, in the iconographical tradition Ilia is generally sleeping; like the god, viewers gaze upon the sleeping woman¹⁴. By contrast, Ennius' Ilia dreams of being awake as the *homo pulcer* drags her off to the lovely willows and the river bank. Ennius turns his Homeric model inside out. He transforms sleep, a literary device which conceals Tyro's point of view from the god and from the reader, into a dream, a literary device by which he represents the rape from Ilia's point of view¹⁵. Through this device, Ennius is able to undertake a Hellenistic exploration of the complex emotions of his heroine¹⁶. Ilia's fright and tears as

14. The visual tradition is surveyed at C.M. Dawson, *Romanó-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting*, «Yale Classical Studies» 9, 1944, p. 169, n. 200. See also the account of the visual tradition in Roscher, s.v. Rea Silvia.

15. Note, too, that Ilia's 'gaze' is emphasized in the repetition of passive forms of *video*: *visus, videbar, videtur*. Cicero analyzes the significance of forms of the passive verb *videor* in dream narratives (citing Ennius' accounts of his dreams of Homer and Epicharmus) at *Acad.* 2, 51 and argues that the use of the passive shows the dreamer's awareness that the vision was not a real event.

16. A.S. Gratwick, in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* vol. II, ed. E. J. Kenney and W.V. Clausen, Cambridge 1982, p. 61; cf. F. Skutsch, *RE* V, col. 2605. For comparable Hellenistic dream narratives see Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3. 616-32, Moschus 2, 1-17. See F. Leo, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, Berlin 1913, vol. 1, p. 179 n. 2; V. Bonghi, *Apollonio Rodio, Virgilio ed Ennio*, «Athenaeum» n.s. 24, 1946, pp. 68-74; Krevans (above n. 7).

she reports the dream are highly emotional. At the same time, though the episode she recounts is a violent one, Ilia's description of the dream is suffused with the emotional language of amorous desire. In addressing her sister as offspring of Eurydice, whom our father loved (*Eurydica prognata, pater quam noster amavit*» 36), she recalls Aeneas' love and loss of Eurydice. The man who abducted her is described as beautiful (*pulcer*, 39). Even the landscape has a pleasing aspect (*per amoena salicta*, 38).

Readers of Ennius who were familiar with Homer's *Odyssey* (or, one supposes, with Livius Andronicus' translation of it) might have seen a parallel between Ilia's dream and Nausicaa's dream (*Od.* 6, 15-40). In each case, a young woman on the brink of maturity has a dream which is simultaneously disturbing and appealing because it involves a sexual encounter. Nausicaa's dream, in which Athena appears in the guise of her friend and bids her to wash her family's clothes since she is almost ready to be married, falls within the norm of most epic dreams, in which a figure in the guise of someone known to the dreamer imparts a message to be acted upon. In Ilia's dream the sexual encounter is not a mere mention of a future wedding, but a rape, and the atmosphere of the dream is drawn from tragic models¹⁷. Still, the example of Nausicaa might well have been felt as a strong model for Ennius and been interpreted as such by his audience.

At the same time, the larger relation of Ennius' poetry to Homer's is articulated by the account of Ilia's dream. As noted above, Ennius narrates his own subjective dream experience of Homer at the opening of the first book of the first Roman epic in Homeric hexameters. The direct encounter with Homer in the dream can be interpreted as a figure for the devoted study of the Homeric hexameter which must have been essential for Ennius' invention of Latin hexameter epic. In the same first book, Ennius then represents Ilia's subjective dream experience of Mars. By the device of the dream, Ennius constructs a parallel between Ilia and himself: just as she brings forth Rome's his-

17. Krevans (above n. 7) terms this type of dream a «seduction dream» and provides full discussion of the ways in which fear and attraction are interwoven in the reaction of the dreamer to the dream.

tory, he brings forth Rome's new poetry, which utters Rome's history in Homer's meter¹⁸.

A Homeric model of a more minute scale may also be evoked in Ilia's dream. Ilia's gesture of stretching out her arms and calling to the absent Aeneas (*Ann.* 48-49)¹⁹ is obviously similar to gestures used in addressing prayers to the gods²⁰. This passage has also been classed with a number of passages in epic poetry in which a character reaches out in vain toward the spirit of a beloved one who has died. There are two Homeric examples²¹. In the *Iliad*, Achilles dreams of embracing Patroclus (*Il.* 23, 99-101):

ὦς ἄρα φωνήσας ὥρέξατο χερσὶ φίλῃσιν,
οὐδ' ἔλαβε· ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἦν τε καπνὸς
ὥχετο τετριγυῖα·

Odysseus' attempt to embrace the shade of his mother Anticleia in the Underworld is described in similar terms (*Od.* 11, 206-8):

τρεῖς μὲν ἐφορμήθην. ἑλέειν τέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει,
τρεῖς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν σκιῇ εἵκελον ἦ καὶ ὄνειρ
ἔπτατ'· ἐμοὶ δ' ἄχος ὅξυ γένεσκειτο κηρόθι μᾶλλον.

The location of this failed embrace in the Nekyia is also important. Although Ilia and Odysseus are not exactly parallel, because Odysseus sees the shade of his mother and Ilia cannot see her father, the context of the Nekyia has already been evoked by the imitative relation of Ilia to Tyro. With the Nekyia already in the foreground, Ilia's repeated attempts to reach out to her absent father may evoke Odysseus' attempts to embrace his dead mother in the Underworld. If so it is tempting to think that these outstretched arms may function as an Alexandrian

18. See now the similar formulation of this point by W. J. Dominik (above n. 13), 42.

19. Skutsch, pp. 199-200, argues that Ilia does not see Aeneas but only hears him. She clearly desires to see him, and probably when she stretches out her hands it is an expression of her desire to embrace him. Certainly Ilia's outstretched hands were interpreted as evidence of her desire to embrace him by the 'nescioquis' in Skutsch's apparatus criticus who replaced *conspicuum* in line 47 with *complexum*.

20. E.g., Virg. *Aen.* 1, 93; 5, 233; Ov. *Met.* 2, 580; 4, 382; 7, 188, 580; 13, 411.

21. Latin examples include *Aen.* 2, 792-4, repeated at *Aen.* 6, 700-2; Ov. *Met.* 11, 674-5, 686-7.

'footnote' to Ennius' Homeric source. It may even be possible to imagine that a failed embrace was part of Ennius' own dream encounter with the shade of Homer.

The story of Tyro was translated into the story of Ilia and her role in Roman history by Diocles and Fabius. Ennius represents Ilia's dream partly to explore in a Hellenistic fashion the emotions of his heroine, and partly to remind his readers of his direct and immediate connection to the ultimate Homeric source of the story.

Another Roman representation of Ilia's dream may engage in a similar strategy of poetic self-consciousness. Called by the name Rhea Silvia in Ovid's *Fasti*, she falls asleep by the banks of a river to which she has come to get water for a ritual and is raped by Mars²². Ovid uses several features of Ennius' narrative, which he elsewhere singles out as notable in the *Annales* (*Tr.* 2, 257-64). The riverside setting recalls the setting of the place Ennius' Ilia dreamed (*umbrosae salices*, *F.* 3, 17 // *amoena salicta*, *Ann.* 38), and also that of the Homeric Tyro story. When Silvia wakes she has trouble rising to her feet because she is pregnant with the founder of Rome (*F.* 3, 25); this detail was perhaps inspired by Ennius' *semita nulla pedem stabilibat*, (*Ann.* 42). The most direct response to Ennius' account of Ilia's vivid dream of the *pulcher homo* and the riverside setting is found in Silvia's words upon awakening (*F.* 3, 27-28):

utile sit faustumque, precor, quod imagine somni
vidimus: an somno clarius illud erat?

In the context of the other relatively clear allusions to Ennius' Ilia, Silvia's thought that what she has seen seems too clear for sleep invites readers to recall Ilia's realistic, rather than symbolic, dream in the *Annales*. But Ovid then proceeds to Silvia's account of her dream, which is symbolic: two trees, one taller than the other, grow up from a fillet which falls from her head; when her uncle Amulius tries to cut them down, they are pro-

22. Mars does not put his victim to sleep himself, but only keeps from waking her. This absence of initiative is part of the general disarming of Mars in Ovid's narrative and a humorous undercutting of the mythical pattern in which an all-powerful god rapes a powerless woman. For full discussion of the 'disarming of Mars' see S.E. Hinds, *Arma in Ovid's Fasti, Part I: Genre and Mannerism*, «Arethusa» 25, 1992, pp. 88-93, 108-9.

tected by a woodpecker and a shewolf. In contrast to Ennius, who takes up the device of the dream to depict Silvia's emotional response to rape, Ovid instead uses the dream to close off her point of view and demonstrate only her ignorance of what happened to her, while the audience can easily interpret the dream's symbolism²³. Silvia's wonder at whether what she saw was real or a dream might have seemed to some readers a playful comment on the Ennian narrative which combined a realistic dream of rape and real rape in some way²⁴. Here too then, for Ovid as for Ennius, the representation of Ilia's point of view may be an opportunity for the poet to articulate his relation to, and mastery of, a model text²⁵.

2. Ovid, Ennius and Ilia's Suicide

When the story of Ilia is told by Ovid in the *Amores*, her point of view is represented without the device of a dream. In *Amores* 3, 6, the poet is unable to cross a flood-swollen river which prevents him from visiting his beloved. To meet the literal threat of the swollen river, charged with metaphorical significance for a poet in the tradition of Callimachus' rejection of the

23. For visual representations of Ilia having a symbolic dream see A. Alföldi, *Die Geburt der kaiserlichen Bildsymbolik* (Mus. Helv. 7, 1950, pp. 2-13).

24. It is not clear from the fragments where Ennius locates Mars' rape of Ilia or whether the real rape was narrated directly at all. Ennius might have constructed a story in which the rape Ilia dreamed inside in her bedroom actually took place outside (J. Vahlen, *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae*, Leipzig 1903, p. clviii), like the rape in other versions of the Ilia story (Tib. 2, 5, 51-4; Stat. *Silv.* 1, 2, 242-3; Dion. Hal. 1, 77). However it has been suggested, primarily on the basis of *Fasti* 3, 11-49, that the dream and rape might have been simultaneous in Ennius (Skutsch, p. 194). Krevans (above n. 7) offers helpful corroboration for the hypothesis of simultaneous dream and rape in Ennius from a comparison of Ovid's account of the symbolic dream with other symbolic pregnancy dreams, especially those cited nearby in the Ciceronian context of the fragment.

25. If the dream rape and the real rape were simultaneous in Ennius as they are in Ovid, then Ennius devised an extremely untraditional indoor version of the relatively common motif of outdoor divine rape. Might Ennius self-consciously acknowledge the strangeness of a divine rape which takes place indoors in Ilia's report that the *homo pulcher* seemed to drag her off to new places, *locosque novos* (39)? In one sense these new places are a metaphor for Ilia's initiation into sexual relations, but perhaps at a metapoetic level the places are strange and new because only for Ennius does the rape take place not outdoors but indoors and in Ilia's dream landscape.

'muddy river' of epic poetry (Call. *Hymn* 2, 108-9)²⁶, the poet offers an Alexandrian poetic catalogue of rivers²⁷. He tries to persuade the river to relent by pointing out that a river should understand love, and by listing a number of rivers who loved women. As we have seen, he concludes his catalogue with a mention of Tyro and the river Enipeus before introducing an extended narrative of Ilia and the river Anio. As Alessandro Barchiesi has recently pointed out, the narrator's use of the story of Ilia modelled on an episode of Ennius' *Annales* ironically subverts his appeal for sympathy from the flooding river. When the narrator finishes the story of Ilia, the river has continued to rise. As the elegiac narrator becomes more like an epic narrator, the river becomes more anti-Callimachean, that is, more flooded²⁸.

Ovid's Ilia wanders by the river Anio in despair in the aftermath of the rape by Mars and the birth of her twin sons (*Am.* 3, 6, 47-50):

Ilia cui placuit, quamvis erat horrida cultu
ungue notata comas, ungue notata genas.
illa gemens patruique nefas delictaque Martis
errabat nudo per loca sola pede.

There was perhaps a similar narrative of Ilia's distress following the birth of the twins in Ennius; the precise details are difficult to reconstruct with certainty²⁹. However, there is evidence that in one respect Ovid constructs a narrative in sharp contrast to his epic model. We know that in the *Annales* Ilia was thrown into the river and married to the river god Anio at the command of her persecutor Amulius³⁰. Here in the *Amores*, after

26. So argued by A. Suter, *Ovid, from Image to Narrative: Amores 1.8 and 3.6*, *Class. World* 83, 1989, pp. 15-20.

27. Cf. E.J. Kenney in *Ovid: The Love Poems*, trans. A.D. Melville, Oxford 1990, p. 205 on *Am.* 3, 25-48; Callimachus himself would seem to have been a leading exponent of esoteric accounts of rivers in his *περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ποταμῶν* (cf. Pfeiffer frs. 457-9).

28. A. Barchiesi, *Voci e istanze narrative nelle Metamorfosi di Ovidio*, *MD* 23, 1989, p. 63.

29. Skutsch pp. 210-11.

30. See *Ann.* I. xxxix [=Porphyr. *Hor.* C. 1.2.18] with Skutsch's discussion ad loc. of the presence of Amulius in Ennius' narrative. Horace, who uses a version of the story in which Ilia is married to the Tiber, offers a glimpse of their married life at C. 1, 2, 17-20.

the Anio offers her the chance to join him in ruling his watery kingdom, Ilia weeps and tries to run away; but, weak with fear, she stays and speaks of her distress at what has compromised her status as a Vestal virgin (*Am.* 3, 6, 67-78). Finally, in despair, Ilia throws herself into the river (*Am.* 3, 6, 79-82):

hactenus, et vestem tumidis praetendit ocellis
atque ita se in rapidas perdita misit aquas;
supposuisse manus ad pectora lubricus amnis
dicitur et socii iura dedisse tori.

These lines offer two different perspectives on what happened to Ilia: from Ilia's point of view it is suicide – apparently Ovid's invention; from Anio's point of view it is marriage – as was told in Ennius. Ovid seems to establish a distance between his own narrative and his model when he phrases Anio's welcome of his bride with *dicitur*, recognized in other contexts as a self-conscious acknowledgement of available literary sources. This passage thus offers an unusually precise interaction between the tragic and comic elements so often juxtaposed by Ovid.

In committing suicide, Ilia effectively takes on the role of a Lucretia-figure when she gives her reason for wishing that she were dead (*Am.* 3, 6, 77-8):

'quid moror et digitis designor adultera volgi?
desint famosus quae notet ora pudor.'

Like Lucretia (and note that Ovid in the *Fasti* pointedly juxtaposes Lucretia and Ilia/Rhea Silvia)³¹, Ovid's Ilia in *Amores* 3, 6 commits suicide in the aftermath of rape in order to exert control over the interpretation of her sexual behavior, that is to prevent herself from being regarded as a woman who sought

31. In the *Fasti* Ovid constructs a series of rape and founding narratives. 24 February, *Regifugium* (F. 2, 685-856), is an extended narrative of the rape of Lucretia, her suicide and the subsequent expulsion of the Tarquins; the account of that day ends with an incidental reference to Tereus (855-6), an example of a powerful man who lost power as a consequence of his rape of Philomela and the revenge exacted by her and Procne. The introduction to the month of March recounts Mars' rape of Rhea Silvia; 1 March, *Matronalia* (F. 3, 167-398), begins with Mars' narrative of the reconciliation effected by the raped Sabine women between their husbands and fathers. Thus Ovid's remark, *quid enim vetat inde moveri* (for what forbids me to begin from that point?) F. 3, 11), is a self-conscious acknowledgement of this 'untimely' placement of the Silvia story in the calendar after Lucretia and before the Sabine women.

out scandal. Like Lucretia, Ovid's Ilia tries to avoid becoming a textbook example of illicit and scandalous sexual behavior. Unlike Lucretia, who was raped but is generally not the object of innuendo, Ilia is not successful at controlling her reputation. Livy's brief account of Ilia/Rhea Silvia, for example, is memorable for the skepticism with which the historian receives her claim of divine parentage of her children (Livy 1, 4, 2). Ovid himself elsewhere flippantly raises the issue of the interpretation of Ilia's behavior. When he defends himself in *Tristia* 2 from the charge that his books pose a threat to their readers' morals, Ovid says that even the canonical texts of Ennius' *Annales* and Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* might be mischievously reinterpreted by a *matrona* who was predisposed to seek out scandal (Ov. *Tr.* 2, 257-64). In a move which reduces Ennius' monumental work to an erotic episode, Ovid says that the *matrona* will read in Ennius, «how Ilia was made a parent».

As we have seen, in the *Amores* Ilia commits suicide to escape being viewed as an exemplar of adulterous behavior. Here the placement of this narrative within book 3 of the *Amores* becomes important. The authenticity of *Amores* 3, 5 is generally doubted³². *Amores* 3, 4, which recounts the poet's attempts to see his married lover, thus probably came immediately before the poet's encounter with the river and his story of Ilia in 3, 6. In 3, 4 the narrator tries to persuade his beloved's doorkeeper to let him in by arguing that no urbane Roman husband should mind an adulterous wife since Ilia's children Romulus and Remus were the result of her sexual misbehavior (*Am.* 3, 4, 37-40):

rusticus est nimium, quem laedit adultera coniunx,
et notos mores non satis Urbis habet,
in qua Martigenae non sunt sine crimine nati
Romulus Iliades Iliadesque Remus.

In these lines, quite close to the end of the poem, and just before the subsequent poem with its account of Ilia, the poet-narrator has just turned his own gaze upon the text of Rome's origins and pointed to Ilia herself as an exemplar of sexual misconduct. Thus, I suggest, at a metaliterary level the representation of Ilia in *Amores* 3, 6 contains at lines 77-8 Ilia's proleptic

32. See E.J. Kenney, *P. Ovidi Nasonis: Amores* etc., Oxford 1961, x, and *On the Somnium attributed to Ovid*, «Agon» 3, 1969, pp. 1-14.

reaction to being looked at and talked about by the poet in the previous poem in the poetic book. In *Amores* 3, 6, the poet-narrator is powerless in his poetic attempt to persuade the river to let him cross, but his story of Ilia and her suicide calls attention to the power he as a poet exerts over her reputation.

Just as Ennius' creative response to the powerful model of Homer is central to his narrative of Ilia's dream, so too a creative response to a powerful poetic model is also evident in *Amores* 3, 6. Here the story of Ilia offers an epic paradigm to which the river reacts in epic fashion by increasing its flood still further. At the same time Ilia meets her destiny in the river not by the order of a king, but in despair by her own hand, to avoid being talked about as the elegiac poet had just talked about her in *Amores* 3, 4. Thus, Ennius and Ovid devise Ilia's perceptions of her rape by Mars in ways which call attention to their own processes of poetic production. These suggestions about poetic self-consciousness in representations of Ilia's point of view do not encourage one to read sympathy into Ennius' and Ovid's narratives of rape and its aftermath in the founding of Rome. On the contrary, the poets' literary exploitations of Ilia's point of view mirror the mythical exploitation of her powers of reproduction.

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Motivi moralistici e tecniche del discorso satirico: contributi all'interpretazione di Giovenale 1, 143; 2, 15 ss.; 3, 21 ss.; 3, 254-267; 1, 81-90

1. Verso la fine della I satira Giovenale descrive lo sconforto dei *clientes* delusi nella speranza della cena: essi si allontanano dalla casa del ricco *patronus* che resta da solo a divorare cinghiali interi. Il ricco riceve però subito la sua punizione: 1, 142 ss.

Poenā tamen praesens, cum tu deponis amictus
turgidus et crudum pavonem in balnea portas.
Hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus
et nova nec tristis per cunctas fabula cenas;
ducitur iratis plaudendum funus amicis.

Il principale modello che Giovenale ha avuto presente per questi versi sembra essere Persio 3, 98 ss., con la impressionante descrizione di una morte che segue il banchetto e quel bagno caldo che i ricchi Romani del tempo usavano prendere immediatamente dopo il banchetto. Un altro modello viene riconosciuto in Orazio, *epist.* 1, 6, 61, dove troviamo un'esortazione al banchetto e al bagno rivolta a coloro che vedono in ciò un ideale della vita: *crudi tumidique lavemur...* Giovenale sembra aver contaminato i due testi unendo all'aggettivo *crudus*, che egli prende da Orazio, l'aggettivo *turgidus*, che egli sostituisce all'oraziano *tumidus* prendendolo da Persio (3, 98 *turgidus hic epulis atque albo ventre lavatur...*). Vi è però un problema testuale al v. 143 di Giovenale. *Crudum* è attestato nei molti manoscritti della classe «vulgata» (ma non in H), e inoltre in V, dalla seconda mano di P, da Phocas, *Gramm. Lat.* V 426 K., da Schol. Pers. 3, 98, mentre la prima mano di P, R (che, con P, rappresenta il ramo meno interpolato della tradizione) e H hanno *crudus*. La maggioranza degli editori accetta *crudum*, ma la lezione *crudus* torna ad essere accolta in edizioni recenti ed è preferita dal Courtney nel suo commento. La questione è dunque da considerare aperta¹.

1. La lezione *crudus* era accolta nell'edizione di J. D. Duff, Cambridge 1898, nelle