

# An Instance of Pathological Love in the *Greek Anthology* and Elizabethan Poetry

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THE EPIGRAMS OF ASCLEPIADES hold an influential place in the poetic portrayal of the venal aspects of love.<sup>1</sup> This article explores the background and the after-life of *Anth.Gr.* 5.64, an epigram referring to Danae's seduction by Zeus. Given that Danae offers a most prominent mythological *exemplum* of corruptible female mores, her treatment by Asclepiades can, in my view, afford us further insights into the portrayal of prostitution in the *Greek Anthology*. I argue two things: first, that Asclepiades, well aware of Danae's association with prostitution, chose nevertheless in 5.64 to shift the emphasis from her status to the intensity of amorous affliction. Thus, he employed Danae to sketch the paradigm of the manic, sex-crazy lover and so demarcated his own contribution to Hellenistic poetry.<sup>2</sup> Second, that, after centuries of reading Danae as a prostitute, especially in the Christian tradition, the meaning of Asclepiades' epigram was sensed anew by the English poet Thomas Carew (1595–1640) who found in Asclepiades'

<sup>1</sup> For example A. Sens, *Asclepiades of Samos. Epigrams and Fragments* (Oxford 2010); S. Ihm, *Eros und Distanz. Untersuchungen zu Asklepiades in seinem Kreis* (Munich 2004) 49–83 and 115–127; cf. K. Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands. Hellenistic Epigrams in Context* (Berkeley 1998) 122–149, and A. Cameron, "Asclepiades' Girl Friends," in H. P. Foley (ed.), *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (New York 1981) 275–302, revised in *Callimachus and his Critics* (Princeton 1995) 494–519.

<sup>2</sup> M. Skinner, *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture* (Oxford 2005) 231–232, touches upon Asclepiades' preoccupation with the "persona of [the] ardent young man" (in *Anth.Gr.* 12.46), to which Callimachus reacted by counterproposing sensible reflection and emotional detachment.

Danae a perfect example of all-devouring passion. Carew's close reading of Asclepiades has thus far eluded scholarly attention.

Asclepiades of Samos, the inventor of amatory epigrams who was mentioned by Theocritus and Meleager as the "sweet" Sicelidas,<sup>3</sup> is known for celebrating in his verses the venal aspects of love which he had probably experienced in the streets of Hellenistic Alexandria—at least this is what Fraser conjectured as early as 1972,<sup>4</sup> thereby initiating a long debate over the precise status of the women portrayed in Asclepiades' epigrams. In response, Giangrande argued that far from common prostitutes, in the Alexandrian context a *hetaira* meant simply "jeune fille dont la vie sexuelle est libre."<sup>5</sup> In 1981, Cameron concurred that we are likely to understand Asclepiades' poetry better if we assume that none of the girls mentioned expect money in return for their favours—a thesis he also defended in later publications.<sup>6</sup> In 1998, in an attempt to find middle ground, Gutzwiller counter-suggested that perhaps a less rigid division between *hetairai* and respectable women should be assumed "so that hetairas may sometimes express a personal preference and other women sometimes take a lover outside of marriage."<sup>7</sup> While this statement agrees with the

<sup>3</sup> Sens, *Asclepiades* xxix; L. A. Guichard, *Asclepiades de Samos, epigramas y fragmentos* (Berne 2004) 4–6, cites the ancient sources. Cf. nn.21 and 51 below.

<sup>4</sup> P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) I 564: Asclepiades extracts the material for his epigrams from the Alexandrian "world of venal love ... in which the youth of both sexes refuse and grant their favours with equanimity and impartiality, on a cash basis." On Hellenistic prostitution, see S. B. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt* (New York 1984) 75.

<sup>5</sup> G. Giangrande, *L'Humour des Alexandrins* (Amsterdam 1975) 10 n.21, with Ihm, *Eros und Distanz* 15; cf. Guichard, *Asclepiades de Samos* 161: "la libertad de movimiento de las mujeres en Alejandría parece haber sido mucho mayor que en Atenas."

<sup>6</sup> Cameron, in *Reflections of Women* 278; also see Ihm, *Eros und Distanz* 15.

<sup>7</sup> Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands* 131, with Ihm, *Eros und Distanz* 16; cf. K. Gutzwiller, *A Guide to Hellenistic Literature* (Malden 2007) 115–116.

general suspicion of women<sup>8</sup> often seen in Greek literature and especially in Herodas' *Mimes* in the Hellenistic period,<sup>9</sup> it pre-determines rather narrowly Asclepiades' intention to reflect social change in his poetry. More recently, Sens revised Cameron's arguments, siding with the opinion that the women were most likely courtesans.<sup>10</sup> In my view, to answer this question satisfactorily we must first revisit the representation of *hetairai*, and especially of Danae as their mythological archetype, in Asclepiades' literary models, that is, Euripides and Menander. For, although Asclepiades was a poet of his time, his interests lay mainly with his poetic models and their literary aesthetics rather than with offering modern audiences an accurate description of social reality.

### 1. Danae in Asclepiades and his models

As scholars have often observed,<sup>11</sup> Euripides, with his powerful descriptions of passionate and out-of-control heroines had a seminal role in shaping the literary representations of Hellenistic love. In his *Danae*, now surviving in fragments, he emphasized the heroine's readiness to exchange her virtue for gold,<sup>12</sup> and so encouraged ancient readers to interpret Danae

<sup>8</sup> D. H. Garrison, *Mild Frenzy. A Reading of the Hellenistic Love Epigram* (Wiesbaden 1978) 80, with Ihm, *Eros und Distanz* 15.

<sup>9</sup> R. J. Finnegan, "Women in Herodian Mime," *Hermathena* 152 (1992) 21–37, esp. 32 drawing attention to Herodas' literary models in New Comedy and Euripidean drama.

<sup>10</sup> Sens, *Asclepiades of Samos* xlii n.53.

<sup>11</sup> B. Acosta-Hughes, "The Pre-figured Muse: Rethinking a Few Assumptions on Hellenistic Poetics," in J. J. Clauss and M. Cuypers (eds.), *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature* (Oxford 2010) 81–91, at 88; Gutzwiller, *A Guide* 27, 32, 79–80; cf. R. Hunter, "Literature and its Contexts," in A. Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (Malden 2005) 477–493, at 477.

<sup>12</sup> His intention is attested in three sources, the earliest of which is Menander's *Samia* (592–595), where "the tragedians" and their portrayal of Danae's miraculous impregnation by Zeus are ridiculed. Although Menander did not explicitly associate Danae with prostitution, he made a clear analogy between her and the young lady in his play who compromised her virtue by giving birth to a child out of wedlock. Notably, Menander ad-

in terms that created a parallel between her story and the life of a prostitute.<sup>13</sup> Euripides' negative portrayal of Danae is echoed closely in the comedies of his fervent admirer Menander, where she is typically derided as an insincere prostitute. According to Benecke,<sup>14</sup> Asclepiades may well have watched performances of Menander while visiting Athens in order to study under An-

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mired Euripides and emulated his works systematically, as he was willing to admit: Quint. 10.1.69, cited by R. Hunter, "Attic Comedy in the Rhetorical and Moralising Traditions," in M. Revermann (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Comedy* (Cambridge 2014) 373–386, at 377. The second source pointing to Euripides' negative view of Danae is Lucian, who echoes closely Menander's version of the tale. As I. Karamanou, *Euripides, Danae and Dictys* (Leipzig 2006) 48–56, suggested, Lucian relies on a close reading of Euripides' original (*Dial.Mar.* 12). Notably, the text, stressing the eagerness with which Danae surrendered sexually to Zeus, impressed by his transformation into gold, was understood as referring to the corrupting power of money by the author of *Pal.gr.* 287, a manuscript of Greek tragedies which appeared in Florence in the mid-fifteenth century. The manuscript had been prepared at the scriptorium of Demetrios Triklinios in Thessaloniki and the prologue is often attributed to Ioannis Katrares: G. Zuntz, *An Enquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1965) 139; O. L. Smith, "On the Scribal Hands in the ms P of Euripides," *Mnemosyne* 35 (1982) 326–331, at 326, esp. n.1; also Karamanou 55; however, F. D'Alfonso, *Euripide in Giovanni Malala* (Alessandria 2006) 59–60, argued that the prologue may rely on Euripides' original. The third source referring to Danae as having received money in exchange for sex is Seneca's translation (*Ep.* 115.14) of the famous fr.324 (fr.7 Karamanou), which laments the power of gold over virtue (Seneca does not name the play, but we now know it was Euripides' *Danae*). Given the wide circulation of Seneca in the Middle Ages it is no wonder that Christian audiences were convinced about the ancient profile of Danae as a prostitute. On this see Karamanou 15 with n.66.

<sup>13</sup> J. M. Zarucchi, "The Gentileschi *Danae*: A Narrative of Rape," *Woman's Art Journal* 19.2 (1999) 13–16, at 15: "The parallels between the story of Danaë and the life of a prostitute are numerous: both are 'incarcerated' in a bedchamber under the watch of a servant/procuress; deprived of personal freedom and any alternative means of existence; denied the rights and comforts of marriage and social legitimacy; and forced to accept an unwanted sexual advance."

<sup>14</sup> E. F. M. Benecke, *Antimachus of Colophon and the Position of Women in Greek Poetry* (London 1896) 196–197.

timachus and so he was likely aware of Danae's association with prostitution. Furthermore, other poets in his circle had also written about Danae as a prostitute;<sup>15</sup> for example, in an epigram of his fellow-Samian Hedyllus we read:<sup>16</sup>

ἔφθός ὁ κάλλιχθους· νῦν ἔμβαλε τὴν βαλανάγραν  
 ἔλθῃ μὴ Πρωτεὺς Ἄγρις ὁ τῶν λοπάδων.  
 γίνεθ' ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὃ βούλεται· ἄλλ' ἀπόκλειε  
 ...

ἦξει γὰρ τοιαῦτα μεταπλασθεὶς τυχὸν ὡς Ζεὺς  
 χρυσορόης ἐπὶ τήνδ' Ἀκρισίου λοπάδα.

The beauty fish is served. Now throw the bolt to keep Agis, that Proteus of dishes, from getting in. He can change into water, fire, anything at all. But lock him out ... For maybe he'll come changed into a stream of gold like Zeus to get Acrisius' dish.

Given that many epigrams of Hedyllus are addressed to gluttonous *hetairai* (Ath. 345A–B)<sup>17</sup> and that the connection of fish foods with prostitution is long-standing in ancient literature, going back to the comic poetry of the fifth and fourth centuries,<sup>18</sup> Danae was firmly understood in non-respectable terms in Asclepiades' immediate intellectual milieu.

Having stressed the shaky reputation of Danae in Euripides and New Comedy, let us now review Asclepiades' reference to

<sup>15</sup> See Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands* 172–173 with n.114, citing Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I 608 and II 816 n.159. As she argues, “Athenaeus reports that lovers of food were ‘catalogued’ by Hedyllus in his *Epigrammata* ..., a statement indicating that Athenaeus knew a text of fixed order.”

<sup>16</sup> In Ath. 344F–345A; transl. Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands* 173.

<sup>17</sup> Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands* 174–175.

<sup>18</sup> J. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (Chicago 1993) 3–35, 63–64; H. A. Coccagna, “Embodying Symptotic Pleasure: A Visual Pun on the Body of an *Aulētris*,” in A. Glazebrook and M. M. Henry (eds.), *Greek Prostitutes in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Madison 2011) 106–121, at 110–116; cf. L. McClure, *Courtesans at Table: Gender and Greek Literary Culture in Athenaeus* (New York/London 2003) 55, 67, 76, for Danae as the (professional) name of prostitutes discussed in Athenaeus.

Danae in *Anth.Gr.* 5.64:<sup>19</sup>

Νεῖφε, χαλαζοβόλει, ποίει σκότος, αἶθε κεραυνούς,  
 πάντα τὰ πορφύροντ' ἐν χθονὶ σεῖε νέφη·  
 ἦν γάρ με κτείνης τότε παύσομαι, ἦν δέ μ' ἀφῆς ζῆν  
 καὶ διαθῆς τούτων χείρονα κωμάσομαι·  
 ἔλκει γὰρ μ' ὁ κρατῶν καὶ σοῦ θεός, ᾧ ποτε πεισθείς,  
 Ζεῦ, διὰ χαλκείων χρυσὸς ἔδυσ θαλάμων.

Snow, hail, make darkness, set light to thunderbolts, shake out onto the earth all your dark clouds: if you kill me then I shall stop, but if you let me live even if you send worse evils than these I shall go revelling. For the god who governs even you, Zeus, drags me on; the god in obedience to whom you once, in the form of gold, penetrated the brazen chamber.

The epigram is a monologue in which the lover addresses Zeus on his way to the beloved's door, boasting that only death can stop him from the *komos*. It draws on the introductory verses of Menander's *Misoumenos* (9–14),<sup>20</sup> offering a variation of the *paraclausithyron* motif.<sup>21</sup> The first couplet, as Reitzestein observed, resembles the words in which Prometheus defies Zeus

<sup>19</sup> Transl. S. L. Tarán, *The Art of Variation in the Hellenistic Epigram* (Leiden 1979) 53; also see Sens, *Asclepiades of Samos* 68.

<sup>20</sup> In these verses the soldier Thrasonides describes the symptoms of his affliction in terms that recall the night-time, wintry setting favoured by Asclepiades as well as the intensity of erotic passion: W. G. Arnott, *Menander II* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1966) 258–259. Asclepiades employed the motif of addressing the Night also in *Anth.Gr.* 5.165 and 167; the latter combines the night-time, wintry backdrop of his drunken erotic suffering with a reference to Zeus' erotic *pathemata*. Cf. G. Giangrande, "Beiträge zur Anthologie," *Hermes* 96 (1968) 167–177, at 171 ff., and "Symptotic Literature and Epigram," *Entr.Hardt* 14 (1969) 91–178, esp. 123 "the poet, like Zeus, ἐρᾷ, and it is for love that he is enduring the rain and the cold on the threshold." Asclepiades' *Anth.Gr.* 5.64 influenced Meleager's *Anth.Gr.* 5.190 and 12.167 where Meleager further likens wintry weather to unrequited passion. For the influence of Asclepiades' use of *komos* in 5.64 on other epigrams see Guichard, *Asclepiades de Samos* 224–227.

<sup>21</sup> Tarán, *The Art of Variation* 52. Sens, *Asclepiades of Samos* xlvii with n.69, draws attention to the comic background of Asclepiades' *paraclausithyra*; see for example Ar. *Lys.* 327 referring to bad weather.

at the end of *Prometheus Bound* (1043 ff.).<sup>22</sup> However, by introducing the image of a cataclysmic storm in association with Zeus' passion for Danae, Asclepiades moves on from his models' portrayal of the heroine as a prostitute, preferring instead to emphasize the overwhelming and destructive power of love. He returns to the topic in *Anth.Gr.* 5.167<sup>23</sup> where again he addresses Zeus as a lover compelled by unwavering passion. In addition, 5.64 and 167 probably influenced *Anth.Gr.* 5.168, which Stadtmüller ascribed to Posidippus.<sup>24</sup> There the poet insists that

τὸν γὰρ ἀπαυδήσαντα πόθοις καὶ Ἔρωτι δαμέντα  
οὐδὲ Διὸς τρύχει πῦρ ἐπιβαλλόμενον.

not even the fire sent by Zeus wears out the man fainting with desire and tamed by love.

Asclepiades' Zeus is familiar with the tempestuous emotions of lust which knows no limit and that is why he chose to corrupt Danae with gold—he had to have her anyhow. Corrector C aptly added to the epigram the subtitle, Ἐπ' Ἔρωτι μαινομένῳ (for one in the grip of erotic mania).<sup>25</sup>

Sens has argued that the poet is also attempting a contrast between the typically unsuccessful lover and the father of gods who had countless successes with whomsoever he desired erotically.<sup>26</sup> This contrast becomes considerably sharper if we remember that the lover is typically portrayed as penniless,<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Tarán, *The Art of Variation* 53 with n.4, citing R. Reitzenstein, *Epigram und Skolion* (Giessen 1893) 162; also Sens, *Asclepiades of Samos* 70 (on lines 1–2) and 75 (on ὁ κρατῶν).

<sup>23</sup> Tarán, *The Art of Variation* 58.

<sup>24</sup> L. L. Stadtmüller, *Anthologia Graeca Epigrammatum Palatina cum Planudea* (Leipzig 1894) I 148 (who listed the epigram as V 167), cited in Tarán, *The Art of Variation* 62; transl. Tarán 63.

<sup>25</sup> Stadtmüller, *Anthologia Graeca* I 148.

<sup>26</sup> Sens, *Asclepiades of Samos* 69, 75–76 (on line 6).

<sup>27</sup> F. Cairns, *Tibullus: A Hellenistic Poet at Rome* (Cambridge 1979) 20 with n.85, and 38; cf. K. Gutzwiller, "The Paradox of Amatory Epigram," in P. Bing and J. S. Bruss, *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram* (Leiden/Boston

unlike Zeus who can turn himself into gold at will in order to force his way into Danae's *thamos* (chamber). Of course, since Asclepiades' epigrams are full of komastic incidents addressed to unreliable women,<sup>28</sup> we may assume that the beloved of 5.64 is portrayed as a woman likely to be won by the power of money—just as Zeus won Danae—or, at least, this could be what the lover fantasizes.<sup>29</sup> Hence, Sens pointed out that *πεισθείς* probably alludes to the personified *Peitho* (Persuasion) which was depicted with Aphrodite *Pandemos* in a shrine of the south-west slope of the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>30</sup>

Of course, the image of the *exclusus amator* as anticipated in Greek comedy had been closely linked with the mores of prostitutes; hence, according to Athenaeus (567D–E), Timocles in *Neaera* (fr.25) had a character bemoaning his fate thus:

ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ὁ δυστυχῆς  
 Φρόνης ἐρασθείς, ἥνικ' ἔτι τὴν κάππαριν  
 συνέλεγεν οὐπω τ' εἶχεν ὅσαπερ νῦν ἔχει,  
 πάμπολλ' ἀναλίσκων ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῆς θύρας  
 ἀπεκλειόμεν.

But I, unlucky that I was, fell in love with Phryne in the days when she was picking up capers here and there and did not yet have all the wealth she has today; and in spending huge sums for each visit I came to be excluded from her door. (transl. Gulick)

2007) 313–332, at 325.

<sup>28</sup> R. Lane Fox, “Hellenistic Culture and Literature,” in J. Boardman et al. (eds.), *The Oxford History of Greece and the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 2001) 390–420, at 407; Tarán, *The Art of Variation* 55. For the early connection of *hetairai* with *komoi*, see L. Kurke, “Inventing the *Hetaira*: Sex, Politics, and Discursive Conflict in Archaic Greece,” *ClAnt* 16 (1997) 106–150, at 131.

<sup>29</sup> R. Rawles and B. Natoli, “Erotic Lyric,” in T. K. Hubbard (ed.), *Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities* (Malden 2013) 335–351, at 342, discuss Dioscorides' reworking of Anacreontean sexual scenarios which he fulfils through fantasy. Dioscorides (*floruit post* 221 BCE) imitated Asclepiades' poetry; see P. E. Barrette, *A Critical Appreciation of the Amatory Epigrams of Dioscorides* (M.A. thesis McMaster Univ. 1996) 1.

<sup>30</sup> Sens, *Asclepiades of Samos* 75.

In the same place Athenaeus also cites the comic playwright Amphis who in his *Tirewoman* (fr.23) presented Plutus (wealth) as the only non-excluded lover of prostitutes:

τυφλὸς ὁ Πλοῦτος εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ,  
 ὅστις γε παρὰ ταύτην μὲν οὐκ εἰσέρχεται,  
 παρὰ δὲ Σινώπῃ καὶ Λύκῃ καὶ Ναννίῳ  
 ἑτέροις τε τοιαύταισι παγίσι τοῦ βίου  
 ἔνδον κάθητ' ἀπόπληκτος οὐδ' ἐξέρχεται.

I'm sure that Plutus is blind, because he never visits this girl here, but sits paralysed in the house of Sinope, or Lyca, or Nannion, and other traps of this sort set to catch a man's substance, and never goes out of their doors.

Furthermore, Anaxilas in *Neotis*, also cited by Athenaeus (558A–E), compiled a long list explaining the danger of frequenting prostitutes (fr.22). He concluded:

οἱ δ' ἐράσθαι προσδοκῶντες εὐθύς εἰσιν ἡρμένοι  
 καὶ φέρονθ' ὑψοῦ πρὸς αἴθρα.

other men, expecting to enjoy love, are quickly swept off their feet and borne aloft to the winds.

The connection of overwhelming passion and bad weather, attempted here by Anaxilas and also favoured by Asclepiades in *Anth.Gr.* 5.64, has a long history, going as far back as Sappho (fr.47 L.-P.).<sup>31</sup> Hence, while some erotic motifs had been treated extensively by comic authors in connection with prostitutes, they were not exclusively associated with prostitution to start with. In my view, Asclepiades, being eclectic about his sources of inspiration in typically Hellenistic fashion, invests the lyric modes of love, which he confesses to employing,<sup>32</sup> with a distinctly Hellenistic understanding of the pathological side of *eros*, as already pointed out by Ogilvie.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the standard

<sup>31</sup> Tarán, *The Art of Variation* 110.

<sup>32</sup> See Gutzwiller, in *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram* 315, for Asclepiades' acknowledgement of his lyric models.

<sup>33</sup> R. Ogilvie, "The Song of Thyrsis," *JHS* 82 (1962) 106–110, at 108; cf. M. Fantuzzi and R. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cam-

description of the lover in the *Anthology* is *duseros*, meaning someone who is obsessed with sex, who is “in a bad way.”<sup>34</sup> Spearheading the tradition of love epigrams, Asclepiades is the first to suggest that his passion is improper and almost abnormal.<sup>35</sup>

Consequently, Asclepiades’ employment of lascivious Danae, and therefore of all prostitutes featuring in his epigrams, must be understood as corroborating his careful characterization of the obsessed lover.<sup>36</sup> In adapting the lyric emphasis on (professed) personal experience,<sup>37</sup> which Asclepiades chose to place at the core of his poetry, he often invests it with references to Athenian drama. However, by portraying the lover (readily identified with the poet in *Anth.Gr.* 5.64) in terms suited to tragic heroes, Asclepiades ridicules his poetic persona, which now appears laughable as he commits *hamartia*—the main flaw of any tragic hero as discussed by Aristotle (*Poet.* 1453a10–15).<sup>38</sup> The lover mistakenly thinks that his passion makes him invincible and commits *hubris* (a typical tragic mistake) by comparing himself to Zeus.<sup>39</sup> In this context, Danae, a tragic

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bridge 2004) 340, and Hunter, in *Companion to the Hellenistic World* 491–492.

<sup>34</sup> So Ogilvie, *JHS* 82 (1962) 108.

<sup>35</sup> Fantuzzi and Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation* 339, draw attention to the similarities between the erotic epigrams of Asclepiades and Callimachus.

<sup>36</sup> G. Zanker, “Characterization in Hellenistic Epigram,” in *Brill’s Companion to Hellenistic Epigram* 233–249, at 237: “In fact, some of the most striking instances of characterization in the epigrams of the Hellenistic period deal with hetaerae and entertainers, and these poems are valuable testimony to the age’s fascination with women and particularly with women on the margins of society”; cf. his pages 245–248 on characterization in amatory epigrams, focusing on the variety of emotions they describe.

<sup>37</sup> C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (New York 1936) 194; M. Cyrino, *In Pandora’s Jar: Lovesickness in Early Greek Poetry* (Lanham 1995) 73.

<sup>38</sup> See Zanker, in *Brill’s Companion to Hellenistic Epigram* 133–134, for the importance of characterization in Hellenistic epigrams in relation to the Aristotelian tradition.

<sup>39</sup> The poet, on the other hand, is spared this fate since he avoids being compared to Homer: Sens, *Asclepiades of Samos* lxxvi–lxxvii. Cf. *Anth.Gr.* 9.24,

heroine with enduring popularity, whom Euripides had already cast as less noble than her mythological contour as the mother of Perseus suggested, was the ideal match for Asclepiades' lover. Danae's weak morals are symptomatic of her sexual voraciousness, a trait that was typically attributed to Greek women in general, but more so to prostitutes.<sup>40</sup> Possibly, then, the Hellenistic lover finds in her an ideal partner who understands and even shares his own affliction.

In addition, since the Hellenistic lover is so obviously steeped in literary aesthetics, the question regarding the status of his Danae, his mistress of dubious ethics, is misleading. Asclepiades' Danae does not offer evidence about the realities of an ancient profession or even a new class of liberated women who can choose their lovers as suggested by Gutzwiller (cf. n.7 above). His Danae is a literary construct designed to exemplify overwhelming passion and weakness of character. The Hellenistic lover is abnormal in that: he is totally infatuated with the object of his desire which he cannot resist and which takes on legendary aspects through being compared to a famous heroine; Danae's dubious reputation only aims at stressing the lover's unrealistic, out-of-proportion (and clearly indebted to comedy) portrayal. In being entirely improper and anti-social the lover is matched up with prostitutes as the only class of women who could reflect and further highlight his lack of self-control and abandonment to emotion.<sup>41</sup>

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where Homer is portrayed as the sun obscuring with his brilliance other heavenly bodies.

<sup>40</sup> See for example A. Carson, "Putting her in her Place: Woman, Dirt, and Desire," in D. M. Halperin et al. (eds.), *Before Sexuality* (Princeton 1990) 135–169, at 141–147; McClure, *Courtesans at Table* 89; cf. J. Robson, *Sex and Sexuality in Classical Athens* (Edinburgh 2013) 67–89.

<sup>41</sup> The discussion of the importance of self-control is, of course, at the heart of Plato's *Symposium*; in many ways, the Hellenistic lover is the opposite of Socrates and foreshadowed in Alcibiades (cf. *Symp.* 216C–223D for Socrates' imperviousness to the effects of wine and sexual pleasures). Cf. D. Konstan, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks* (Toronto 2006) 29–39, esp. 32–33 on the emphasis on personal emotion during the Hellenistic period and the

## 2. The reception of Danae and of Asclepiades in the West

The Euripidean/Menandrian reading of Danae as a corruptible maiden found a worthy advocate in Terence<sup>42</sup> who was studied closely by later epigrammatists. In his *Eunuch* Terence described a painting of Danae's union with Zeus which had been chosen to decorate a brothel. Terence had his young protagonist Chaerea refer to the *pactum* of Danae and Zeus (585, an agreement or exchange), adding that as the god approached the heroine he was shown to transform himself *in hominem* (588). Accordingly, Donatus (ad 584) suggested that a painting of Danae would be very apt decoration for a brothel since the shower of gold makes an ironic parable for the life of prostitutes which involves exchanging sex for money.<sup>43</sup> Terence was extremely influential in introducing Greek concepts of love to Roman audiences and his *Eunuch* anticipates the persona of the Latin elegiac lover, who typically dedicates all of his energy to his mistress.<sup>44</sup>

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failure of reason to dispel irrational emotions; by their lack of self-control, so strongly advocated by the Stoics and other philosophical schools, the characters of the 'lover' and the 'prostitute' in Asclepiades castigate the hypocrisy of their societies.

<sup>42</sup> Terence follows Menander's text closely: cf. lines 585 (*imbrem aureum*) and 588 (*alienas tegulas*) and *Samia* 592–595.

<sup>43</sup> Ed. P. Wessner, *Aelius Donatus, Commentum Terenti* I (Stuttgart 1962); cf. J. Barsby, *Terence: Eunuchus* (Cambridge 1999) 196. Although Terence refers to Zeus as the god who shakes the loftiest temples of heaven with his thunder (590 *qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit*), there is no other reference to bad weather.

<sup>44</sup> Plautus and Terence influenced Catullus and Horace: see J. C. Yardley, "Comic Influences in Propertius," *Phoenix* 26 (1972) 134–139, at 134; A. M. Morelli, "Hellenistic Epigram in the Roman World," in *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram* 521–541, at 534. On Roman comedy and the Latin elegists, see R. Gibson, "Love Elegy," in S. Harrison (ed.), *Companion to Latin Literature* (Oxford 2006) 159–173, at 167. For D. Konstan, "Love in Terence's *Eunuch*: The Origins of Erotic Subjectivity," *AJP* 107 (1986) 369–393, at 391, the *Eunuch* anticipates the subjectivity of Roman elegy. J. Barsby, "Love in Terence," in S. Morton Braund and R. Mayer (eds.), *Amor: Roma, Love and Latin Literature* (Cambridge 1999) 5–29, concludes de-

In the play the painting is used as an excuse for inciting the young lover to become a rapist after assuming (conveniently)<sup>45</sup> that the object of his desire was a prostitute.<sup>46</sup> In Konstan's words:<sup>47</sup>

Chaerea exults in his conquest, narrating each step of his escapade to the delight and approbation of his friend Antipho ... He is unashamed ..., since passion is sufficient excuse (574–75), and he explains how any scruples that might have lingered were banished by the chance view of a painting of Jupiter's seduction of Danae, which Chaerea, with trite irreverence, interprets as divine sanction for his stratagem.

The unprecedented popularity of the play<sup>48</sup> bestowed on subsequent poets a particular understanding of Danae that linked her with prostitution and the decadent environment of Roman brothels. Thus, Ovid stressed the eagerness with which Danae accepted Zeus' sexual advances:<sup>49</sup> *hunc tamen illa suo crimine fecit*

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spite his doubts: "there does seem to be a case for seeing Terence, especially in the *Eunuchus* and in his development of the imagery of love, as a forerunner of Catullus and the Roman elegists" (27).

<sup>45</sup> Donatus observes that Chaerea was likely to commit the rape influenced by the lustful environment of the brothel.

<sup>46</sup> The girl (Pamphila), recently orphaned, was bought by the courtesan Thais. However, Thais did not intend to use the girl as a prostitute: knowing her to be free-born she decided to earn some money by restoring her to her remaining family. Soon after the rape, Pamphila's real status is revealed and Chaerea agrees to marry her.

<sup>47</sup> Konstan, *AJP* 107 (1986) 386; cf. 387 arguing that in Chaerea Terence "summons up a novel persona."

<sup>48</sup> O. Taplin, *Literature in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Oxford 2000) 305. Suetonius (*Vit. Ter.* 3; cf. Donatus *Eun.* praef. 1.6) reported that the play was staged twice a day and won 8000 sesterces, the highest sum ever paid for a comedy. Cf. J. C. B. Lowe, "The *Eunuchus*: Terence and Menander," *CQ* 33 (1983) 428–444; Barsby, *Terence: Eunuchus* 15–16.

<sup>49</sup> *Ars Am.* 3.632. Cf. P. Watson, "Mythological Exempla in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*," *CP* 78 (1983) 117–126, at 124–125; R. Gibson, *Ars Amatoria, Book 3* (Cambridge 2003) 269. In *Am.* 3.4.19–24 Ovid states how pointless it is to keep guard over one's wife (also *Am.* 2.19.27, and Hor. *Carm.* 3.16.8 *converso in pretium deo*, "with the god having been transformed to cash"); cf. Eur. *Dan.*

*avum*, “it was she, however, who made him the forebear (of a bloodline) through her sin.”<sup>50</sup>

Yet, the frenzied passion of Danae as advocated by Asclepiades was not lost on the Roman elegists; hence, in one of his elegies Propertius—who reads closely the Hellenistic epigrammatists, especially Meleager<sup>51</sup>—swears to his mistress that for her sake he could even *ferratam Danaes transiliamque domum*, “leap over Danae’s iron tower,” and is ecstatic that he did not have to pay for her affections: *nec mihi muneribus nox ulla est empta beatīs*, “I have not bought a single night with expensive presents”

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fr.6 Karamanou (a likely source of Ovid), οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε τεῖχος οὔτε χρήματά οὔτ’ ἄλλο δυσφύλακτον οὐδὲν ὡς γυνή, “there is no city-wall nor money, nor anything else so difficult to guard as woman.”

<sup>50</sup> T. A. J. McGinn, *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (Oxford 2003) 184, cites Ov. *Am.* 2.19 as an illustration that “Augustus’ Golden Age was precisely golden because gold could buy love”; at 334 he cites Naev. *Danae* fr.12 Warmington, drawing attention to Danae’s attendants, a luxury which average women could not afford. Cf. C. A. Faraone, “Priestess and Courtesan: The Ambivalence of Female Leadership in Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata*,” in C. A. Faraone and L. McClure (eds.), *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World* (Madison 2006) 207–223, at 214; and A. Glazebrook, “The Bad Girls of Athens: The Image and Function of *Hetairai* in Judicial Oratory,” in *Prostitutes* 125–138, at 127, on Neaira and luxury in ps.-Dem. 59.

<sup>51</sup> See A. A. Day, *The Origins of Latin Love-Elegy* (Oxford 1938), esp. 104; F. Cairns, “Some Observations on Propertius 1.1,” *CQ* 24 (1974) 94–110. Note that the motif of the erotic gaze which captures the lover, employed by Propertius in 1.1.1 in imitation of Meleager (*Anth.Gr.* 12.101; E. Schulz-Vanheyden, *Properz und das griechische Epigramm* [diss. Münster 1969] 114–116; P. Fedeli, *Sesto Properzio. Il primo libro delle Elegie* [Florence 1980] 59–62), was also treated by Asclepiades in *Anth.Gr.* 5.210—the observation was already made by Ruhnken in the eighteenth century: J. Clack, *Asclepiades of Samos and Leonidas of Tarentum* (Wauconda 1999) 34. Furthermore, Catullus, the forerunner of the Roman elegiac poets, was heavily influenced by the epigrams of Callimachus, Asclepiades, and Meleager: Gutzwiller, in *Brill’s Companion to Hellenistic Epigram* 313. Morelli, in *Brill’s Companion* 532–533, discusses Catullus’ contact with epigrammatists such as Antipater and Archias before the circulation of the *Garland* of Meleager in Rome sometime later in the first century BCE; also see L. Argentieri, “Meleager and Philip as Epigram Collectors,” in *Brill’s Companion* 147–164, at 155.

(2.20.1–15). He refers to Danae again in 2.32.59–62 where he comments on Cynthia's faithlessness, so typical of the attitude of contemporary Roman women in elegy, but also of legendary heroines who enjoyed furtive liaisons and accepted gifts in exchange for sexual favours.<sup>52</sup> Danae is here compared to Pasiphae, the frenzied mistress of a bull, and appears to have been seduced rather than raped by Zeus.<sup>53</sup> Propertius' reference to the rumours that tarnish Cynthia's reputation and castigate her acceptance of erotic gifts is obviously extended to the circumstances surrounding Pasiphae and Danae, emphasizing the Roman distrust of Danae's account of her violation by Zeus. In addition, his warning that Cynthia is about to destroy her good name implies the stigma attached to prostitution.<sup>54</sup> Yet, at the same time, Propertius is keen to portray Cynthia as a mad girl plotting irrational schemes: she is called *demens* (2.32.18, a close reference to 1.1.11 where the lover wanders mindlessly, *errabat amens*), *iners* (20, cf. *tardus Amor* in 1.1.17), and *misera* (22, cf. 1.1.1). Hence, Cynthia is here portrayed as a close match of the lover outlined in the first poem of the *Monobiblos*, and Propertius' warnings to her may be understood as a means of putting pressure on her to change her ways so as to dispel his fears.

Still, the later epigrammatists,<sup>55</sup> from the time of Augustus to the sixth century,<sup>56</sup> following Terence's depiction of Danae,

<sup>52</sup> See T. K. Hubbard, "Art and Vision in Propertius 2.31/32," *TAPA* 114 (1984) 281–297, at 292.

<sup>53</sup> The idea that Jupiter lured Danae with his golden appearance is reiterated in *Ov. Met.* 6.113 and 11.117; cf. Nonnus *Dion.* 8.286.

<sup>54</sup> Pasiphaë and Danae were both represented in the frescoes of the house of the Vettii in Pompeii: D. L. Balch, *Roman Domestic Art and Early House Churches* (Tübingen 2008) 117–118, explains the frescoes with reference to Zeus' omnipotence.

<sup>55</sup> For Rufinus' interest in Terence, see P. D'Alessandro, *Rufini Antiochensis Commentaria in metra terentiana et De compositione et de numeris oratorum* (Hildesheim 2004).

<sup>56</sup> Antipater and Parmenion lived in the first century BCE: C. W. Mendell, "Martial and the Satiric Epigram," *CP* 17 (1922) 1–20, at 7; G. Nisbet,

state or imply that she can be bought.<sup>57</sup> So Parmenion in *Anth. Gr.* 5.33:

ἔς Δανάην ἔρρευσας, Ὀλύμπιε, χρυσός, ἴν' ἡ παῖς  
ὡς δώρῳ πεισθῆ, μὴ τρέσῃ ὡς Κρονίδην.

On Danae you fell in a rain of gold, Olympian, so that the child was persuaded as for a gift and did not tremble as before the son of Kronos.

He reiterates his opinion of Danae in 5.34 in more cynical terms:

ὁ Ζεὺς τὴν Δανάην χρυσοῦ, κἀγὼ δὲ σε χρυσοῦ·  
πλείονα γὰρ δοῦναι τοῦ Διὸς οὐ δύναμαι.

Zeus bought Danae with gold, and but I too buy you with gold. More than Zeus I cannot give.

Antipater of Thessalonica repeats the view that Danae was bought (*Anth. Gr.* 5.31):<sup>58</sup>

δοκέω δ' ὅτι καὶ Δανάη Ζεὺς  
οὐ χρυσός, χρυσοῦς δ' ἦλθε φέρων ἑκατόν.

I also think that Zeus came to Danae as gold but carrying a hundred gold coins.

Similarly, Straton in *Anth. Gr.* 12.239:

*Greek Epigram in the Roman Empire. Martial's Forgotten Rivals* (Oxford 2003) 71 and 186. Rufinus lived at the earliest in the first century CE: D. Page, *The Epigrams of Rufinus* (Cambridge 2004) 3. Straton is dated at the latest in the second century CE: W. M. Clarke, "Observations on the Date of Straton of Sardis," *CP* 79 (1984) 214–220.

<sup>57</sup> C. Santore, "Danae: The Renaissance Courtesan's Alter Ego," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 54 (1991) 412–427, at 412; W. M. Clarke "Problems in Straton's Παιδικὴ Μοῦσα," *AJP* 99 (1978) 433–441, at 437–438.

<sup>58</sup> Antipater presented gold and intercourse as synonymous (*Anth. Gr.* 5.30): πάντα καλῶς, τό γε μὴν, χρυσοῦν ὅτι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην / ἔξοχα καὶ πάντων εἶπεν ὁ Μαιονίδαας. / ἦν μὲν γὰρ τὸ χάραγμα φέρης, φίλος, οὔτε θυρωρὸς / ἐν ποσίν, οὔτε κύων ἐν προθύροις δέδεται, "All Homer says is well said, but this most excellently that Aphrodite is golden. For if, my friend, you bring the coin, there is neither a porter in the way, nor a dog chained before the door" (transl. Paton).

πέντ' αἰτεῖς, δέκα δώσω· εἴκοσι δ' ἀντία ἔξεις.  
ἀρκεῖ σοι χρυσοῦς; ἤρκεσε καὶ Δανάη.

You demand five: I will give ten; but you will have twenty instead. Is gold good enough for you? It was good enough for Danae.

Christian writers in late antiquity were also ready to explain the tale of Danae in cynical terms.<sup>59</sup> Among the Christian epigrammatists Julius Leonidas (*Anth.Gr.* 4.20), the anonymous authors of 9.48 and 5.101, Rufinus (5.27), Bassus (5.125), Macedonius the Consul (5.240), and Agathias Scholasticus (5.302), all convince their Christian readers of Danae's prostituting aspects. Augustine (*De civ. D.* 2.7) emphasized Danae's lasciviousness with particular reference to Terence's *Eunuch*. Even Boccaccio cast Danae in venal light in his *Genealogy of the Gods* (2.32–33).<sup>60</sup>

In the meantime, Asclepiades' epigrams remained in circulation,<sup>61</sup> his verses were known to the sixth-century epi-

<sup>59</sup> Lactantius (*Div.inst.* 1.11 [PL 6.170]) declared that *Danaen uiolaturus, aureos nummos largiter in sinum eius infudit. haec stupri merces fuit*, "when he was about to violate Danae, he [Jupiter] poured golden coins into her lap." Fulgentius (sixth cent.) specifies that *dum et Danae imbre aurato corrupta est non pluuia, sed pecunia*, "when Danae was seduced by a golden shower it was not rain, but coins" (*Myth.* 1.19). In the prologue (20) he also says that *non mihi cornutus adulter arripitur nec imbre mendaci lusa [Danae] uirgo cantatur, dum suo iudicio deus sibi pecudem praetulit et hanc auro decepit quam potestate nequiuuit*, "not through me will ... the maiden Danae, received by a false shower, be celebrated in verse, as by his own choice the god showed her wealth and tricked with gold one he had been unable to trick by force." Columban wrote (*Carm. ad Fidolium* 64–69): "Jupiter did not flow in a shower of gold, but the adulterer brought gold; the golden shower is fictitious."

<sup>60</sup> Cf. M. M. Kahr, "Danae: Virtuous, Voluptuous, Venal Woman," *ArtB* 60 (1978) 43–55, at 44. For Danae's greed in Boccaccio see Santore, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 54 (1991) 413, esp. n.5. See T. F. Gittes, *Boccaccio's Naked Muse: Eros, Culture, and the Mythopoeic Imagination* (Toronto 2008) 275 n.49, for Boccaccio's familiarity with Seneca, Statius (*Theb.* 6.287, *Danaë culpata sinus*), and Lactantius' commentary on Statius.

<sup>61</sup> *Anth.Gr.* 5.64 appears in both the Palatine and the Planudean Anthology; cf. A. Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford

grammatist Paulus Silentarius (*Anth.Gr.* 5.217), who discussed Danae in terms that markedly recall his model (with his use of διαδύς cf. 5.64.6 διὰ ... ἔδυσ).<sup>62</sup> Still, his interpretation of the heroine is decidedly influenced by Euripides' emphasis on the monetary benefits she received from her sexual submission to Zeus:<sup>63</sup>

χρυσέος ἀψαύστοιο διέτμαγεν ἄμμα κορείας  
 Ζεύς, διαδύς Δανάας χαλκελάτους θαλάμους.  
 φαμί λέγειν τὸν μῦθον ἐγὼ τάδε· χαλκῆα νικᾶ  
 τείχεα καὶ δεσμοὺς χρυσὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ.  
 χρυσὸς ὄλους ῥυτῆρας, ὅλας κληῖδας ἔλέγχει,  
 χρυσὸς ἐπιγνάμπει τὰς σοβαροβλεφάρους·  
 καὶ Δανάας ἐλύγωσεν ὅδε φρένα. μή τις ἐραστής  
 λισσέσθω Παφίαν, ἀργύριον παρέχων.

Zeus, turned to gold, piercing the brazen chamber of Danae, cut the knot of intact virginity. I think the meaning of the story is this: gold, the subduer of all things, gets the better of brazen walls and fetters; gold loosens all reins and opens every lock, gold makes the ladies with scornful eyes bend the knee. It was gold that bent the will of Danae. No need for a lover to pray to Aphrodite, if he brings money to offer. (transl. Paton)

Read mainly through the eyes of Terence, Ovid, and the later epigrammatists, who remained popular throughout the Middle Ages,<sup>64</sup> Asclepiades' portrayal of Danae as a frenzied mistress

1993) 121–137; Sens, *Asclepiades of Samos* c; Argentieri, in *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram* 154. Also, Ausonius in the fourth century translated Asclepiades' *Anth.Gr.* 5.158 about the *hetaira* Hermione (*Ep.* 96). Ausonius was “a major conduit for Greek epigrams in early modern Europe”: K. Haynes, “The Modern Reception of Greek Epigram,” in *Brill's Companion* 565–584, at 566.

<sup>62</sup> Sens, *Asclepiades of Samos* 76.

<sup>63</sup> A. Veniero, *Paolo Silenziario. Studio sulla letteratura bizantina del vi. sec.* (Catania 1916) 95, 124; cf. J. C. Yardley, “Paulus Silentarius, Ovid, and Propertius,” *CQ* 30 (1980) 239–243, esp. 243.

<sup>64</sup> P. E. Easterling, “The Hellenistic and Imperial Periods,” in E. J. Kenney and W. V. Clausen (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*

seems to fade away.

Nevertheless, his aesthetics were destined to live on in Thomas Carew (1595–1640), who experienced the rediscovery of the Greek Anthology<sup>65</sup> and found in Asclepiades' poem a model for his description of destructive passion. Carew's role in the reception of the *Greek Anthology* and particularly of Asclepiades in the West has gone undetected in scholarship.

The re-discovery of the codex *Palatinus* 23 in 1602 in Heidelberg (which Napoleon later carried to Paris)<sup>66</sup> brought about

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(Cambridge 1982) 16–41, at 39. Terence's *Eunuch* was taught as a school-text in Italy until the Renaissance: R. S. Miola, *Shakespeare and Classical Comedy: The Influence of Plautus and Terence* (Oxford 1994) 3. L. Salingar, *Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy* (Cambridge 1976) 78–88, discusses Terence's impact on Ariosto; cf. D. Looney, *Compromising the Classics: Romance Epic Narrative in the Italian Renaissance* (Detroit 1996) 26. See also A. Heller, *Immortal Comedy: The Comic Phenomenon in Art, Literature, and Life* (Lanham 2005) 66 ff., and A. S. Q. Visser, *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image: The Use of the Emblem in Late-Renaissance Humanism* (Leiden 2005) 163, on the contribution of Roman comedy to the image of the respected humanist in the Middle Ages. On the popularity of Ovid in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, see L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge 1955); R. E. Hallowell, *Ronsard and the Conventional Roman Elegy* (Urbana 1954) 41–47, 101–166; D. R. Slavitt and M. Santirocco, *Propertius in Love: The Elegies* (Berkeley 2002) x; C. Martindale, "Horace, Ovid, and Others," in R. Jenkyns (ed.), *The Legacy of Rome: A New Appraisal* (Oxford 1992) 177–124, and C. Davis, "The Middle Ages," 61–96.

<sup>65</sup> The Planudean Anthology was published by Janus Laskaris in Florence as early as 1494. It was printed later by Aldus Manutius (Venice 1503, 1521, 1551), Badius Ascensius (Paris 1531), P. and J.-M. Nicolini (Venice 1550), Jean Brodeau (Basel 1549), and Henri Estienne (Geneva 1566). See J. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy to the Year 1800* (Ithaca 1935) and *The Greek Anthology in France and in the Latin Writers of the Netherlands to the Year 1800* (Ithaca 1946); R. D. Lund, "The Ghosts of Epigram, False Wit, and the Augustan Mode," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 27.2 (2003) 67–95; Haynes in *Brill's Companion in Hellenistic Epigram* 565. Cf. F. Maltomini, *Tradizione antologica dell'epigramma greco: le sillogi minori di età bizantina e umanistica* (Rome 2008) 120, on the steady demand for Greek epigrams throughout the Middle Ages. Notably Sir Thomas More owned a copy of the Planudean Anthology from which he translated into English 100 epigrams published in his *Epigrammata* (Basle 1518); cf. S. Jayne, *Plato in Renaissance England* (Dordrecht 1995) 109.

<sup>66</sup> A. Dihle, *History of Greek Literature: From Homer to the Hellenistic Period*

renewed interest in the epigrams of the *Greek Anthology* among the European intellectual elites. However, given that the Palatine Anthology was not actually published until the eighteenth century,<sup>67</sup> this interest focused on studying the Planudean Anthology. In Italy, France, and Spain this movement was especially reflected in the verses of the Neapolitan Giambattista Marino who was known for borrowing freely from the *Anthology*<sup>68</sup> and was notably influenced by Asclepiades (cf. *Anth.Gr.* 5.210, addressed to dark-skinned beauty Didyme, and Marino's sonnet praising an African slave).<sup>69</sup> Danae appears in his poem *Adone* of 1623 (canto 11 stanza 48):<sup>70</sup>

Dànae è colei, che semplicitta accolse  
nel grembo virginal l'oro impudico.

Danae is the one who simply welcomed in her virginal embrace  
the shameful gold.

Later in the poem (canto 13 stanza 246) Marino made a second reference to Danae:

V'ha dela pioggia, in cui per Dànae bella  
scese Giove dal ciel, colmi gran vasi.

(London 2013) 277.

<sup>67</sup> The Palatine Anthology was published by R. F. P. Brunck, *Analecta veterum Poetarum Graecorum* (Strasburg 1772–1776); cf. F. Jacobs, *Anthologia Graeca* (Leipzig 1794–1803, <sup>2</sup>1813–1817).

<sup>68</sup> Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy* 346–347; G. Ferrero, *Marino e i Marinisti* (Milan 1954) xxxiv; J. V. Mirollo, *The Poet of the Marvelous: Giambattista Marino* (New York 1963) 50, 121, 203; cf. E. C. Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal* (New Haven 2007) 70, who discusses Marino's use of Anacreontean verse.

<sup>69</sup> F. Favaro, *Canti e cantori bucolici: esempi di poesia a soggetto pastorale fra Seicento e Ottocento* (Cosenza 2007) 21 n.32; cf. J. K. Newman, "Milton and the Pastoral Mode: The Epitaphium Damonis," *ICS* 15 (1990) 379–397, at 386, on Milton's familiarity with Marino and his circle. Marino was rumoured to have enjoyed a profligate life—to match the sensuality of his erotic verses—and may even have been charged with sodomy: Mirollo, *The Poet of the Marvelous* 12.

<sup>70</sup> Ed. M. Pieri, *Giambattista Marino, L'Adone* (Lavis 2007).

It was in the form of rain that Zeus came down to beautiful Danae from the sky, big vases brimful.

And a third in canto 17 stanza 76:

talor diffuso in preziosa piena  
quasi largo torrente al sen le scende  
e par, mentre si versa in ricco nembo,  
Giove che piova ala sua Danae in grembo.

sometimes, spread into a precious flood, it (i.e. Venus' golden hair) flows down like a broad stream and, as it pours itself in a rich cloud, it looks like Jupiter, as he rained into his Danae's bosom.<sup>71</sup>

In the last example, Zeus is compared to a stream from a heavy cloud, which evokes bad weather. Although Asclepiades' association of bad weather and excessive passion is only implicit in Marino, it probably inspired his admirer Thomas Carew, who first came to know Italian culture and its classical sources in 1613 when he entered the service of Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador to Venice.<sup>72</sup> By late 1616 Carew was making his presence felt at the court of Charles I.<sup>73</sup> In 1619 he travelled with Sir Edward Herbert (later Lord Herbert of Cherbury) to Paris, where he wrote several poems<sup>74</sup> and possibly met Marino.<sup>75</sup> Carew used Marino's lyrics as models

<sup>71</sup> With thanks to Prof. Aldo Setaioli for his assistance in translating this stanza.

<sup>72</sup> R. Dunlap, *The Poems of Thomas Carew* (Oxford 1949) xviii, cites a letter Carew later wrote to Carleton: "the knowledge which by your Lordships meanes' [Lord Arundel] had of me at Florence"; also, see pages xix–xx describing how after Florence, Carew and his entourage visited Rome and Naples in 1613. His later letters exhibit first-hand knowledge of Italian poetry and philosophy. Cf. A. Vincent, *The Poems of Thomas Carew* (London 1904) xv–xvii; K. Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge 1987) 110.

<sup>73</sup> Dunlap, *The Poems of Thomas Carew* xxxiii–xxxiv; Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* 110–112.

<sup>74</sup> Dunlap, *The Poems of Thomas Carew* xxxi; Vincent, *The Poems of Thomas Carew* xix–xxi; Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* 111.

<sup>75</sup> On Carew's possible meeting with Marino, see Dunlap, *The Poems of*

for his own verses, although I would like to suggest that probably he had independent knowledge of the Anthology as well:<sup>76</sup> in 1629 Thomas Farnaby, a highly influential schoolmaster, who taught a number of distinguished aristocratic and political figures, published an edition and translation of epigrams from the Anthology—including Paulus Silentarius' epigram on Danae.<sup>77</sup> Asclepiades does not feature in his edition at all, although a number of poems by Meleager and Philodemus appear. Still, Farnaby had entitled his edition "Anthology of the Anthology," which means that he was familiar with many more epigrams. This was certainly the case as early as 1566, for Enricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne) had published in Paris his own edition of the Anthology which included a number of Asclepiades' poems—including *Anth.Gr.* 5.64.<sup>78</sup> Stephanus was a close friend of Sir Philip Sidney, whom he had met in Heidelberg and to whom he dedicated his edition of Herodian in 1581.<sup>79</sup> Sidney (1554–1586) became an active member of the Elizabethan court, but before his return in England in 1575 he had acquainted himself with a number of prominent European intellectuals, having lived in Europe for many years. As Parfitt noted, Sidney was an important albeit often overlooked

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*Thomas Carew* xxxii: "It is of more special significance that while in Paris he may have known personally Giambattista Marino, in whose fantastic Italian lyrics he found an evidently congenial source and model. Marino, who resided in Paris from 1615 to 1623, was regularly to be seen at the Hôtel de Rambouillet and at court"; cf. L. V. Sadler, *Thomas Carew* (Boston 1979) 105, 145.

<sup>76</sup> Regarding Marino's influence on Carew, see Dunlap, *The Poems of Thomas Carew* lv; note that the title page of his *Coelum Britannicum* carried a motto from Ausonius, who had translated epigrams of Asclepiades (see n.61 above; Dunlap 151); also Sadler, *Thomas Carew* 18, 29, mentions in passing the influence of the Anthology on Carew's poetry.

<sup>77</sup> Th. Farnaby, *Ἡ τῆς Ἀνθολογίας Ἀνθολογία. Florilegium epigrammatum græcorum, eorumque latino versu à variis redditorum* (London 1629) 46–47.

<sup>78</sup> *Anthologia diaphoron epigrammaton palaion eis hepta biblia dierebene* (Paris 1566) 473.

<sup>79</sup> See A. Stewart, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London 2001) 246.

influence on Thomas Carew.<sup>80</sup> Therefore, not only were Elizabethan poets and intellectuals interested in publishing and translating poems of the Anthology, but works available to them included the particular poem of Asclepiades.

Danae's myth appears in Carew's "Coelum Britannicum" (542–547) which was performed at court in 1633:<sup>81</sup>

Mercury – *Plutus*, the gods know and confesse your power,  
Which feeble Vertue seldome can resist;  
Stronger than Towers of brasse, or Chastity;  
*Love* knew you when he courted *Danae*,  
And *Cupid* weares you on that Arrowes head,  
That still prevailes.

Many anecdotes survive concerning Carew's "scandalous life" as a courtier.<sup>82</sup> Crucially, the tempestuous lifestyle described in the Hellenistic epigrams seems to have been employed by Carew as a way of castigating the hypocrisy of court etiquette.<sup>83</sup> In his most sensual poem, "A Rapture" (81–90), Danae offers an ideal model for reducing ladies to prostitutes:<sup>84</sup>

Thou like a sea of milke shalt lye display'd,  
Whilst I the smooth, calme Ocean, invade

<sup>80</sup> G. Parfitt, *Elizabethan Poetry of the Seventeenth Century* (Harlow 1985) 21: "the inclination of critics to read seventeenth-century verse in the light of Donne and Jonson has obscured how strong is the influence of Sidney upon such poets as Thomas Carew"; also cited in R. Hillyer, *Sir Philip Sidney. Cultural Icon* (New York 2010) 103.

<sup>81</sup> Ed. Dunlap, *The Poems of Thomas Carew* 167; cf. Vincent, *The Poems of Thomas Carew* 211.

<sup>82</sup> Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* 113.

<sup>83</sup> K. Sharpe, "Cavalier Critic? The Ethics and Politics of Thomas Carew's Poetry," in K. Sharpe and S. N. Zwicker (eds.), *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley 1987) 117–146, at 134–135: "Carew contrasts the values of the court with those of the virtuous life ... Carew showed little sympathy for the courtly cult of Platonic love or for its ethical and political implications."

<sup>84</sup> Dunlap, *The Poems of Thomas Carew* 51; cf. Vincent, *The Poems of Thomas Carew* 72–73.

With such a tempest, as when *Jove* of old  
 Fell downe on *Danae* in a storme of gold:  
 Yet my tall Pine, shall in the *Cyprian* straight  
 Ride safe at Anchor, and unlade her freight:  
 My Rudder, with thy bold hand, like a tryde,  
 And skilfull Pilot, thou shalt steere, and guide  
 My Bark into Loves channell, where it shall  
 Dance, as the bounding waves doe rise or fall.

However, Carew is not just interested in objectifying the female characters of his poems by giving free reign to his male imagination. Indeed the milk-white lady and her erotic voyage recall Dioscorides (*Anth.Gr.* 5.193), while the poet's bark seems to come straight out of the verses of Meleager (12.52–53)—furthermore, Carew's Danae also exemplifies unrestrained emotion and the courage involved in shedding the yoke of conformity. Accordingly, in "Mediocritie in Love Rejected" (7–14) Carew celebrates Asclepiades' Danae in just these terms:<sup>85</sup>

Give me a storme; if it be love,  
 Like *Danae* in that golden showre,  
 I swimme in pleasure; if it prove  
 Disdaine, that torrent will devoure  
 My Vulture-hopes; and he's possesst  
 Of Heaven, that's but from Hell releast:  
 Then crowne my joys, or cure my paine;  
 Give me more love, or more disdain.

The comparison of the lover who welcomes bad weather vowing to carry on regardless, as well as his description of Danae's welcoming of Zeus' rain, are clearly reminiscent of Asclepiades. His vision of Danae may have faded through the centuries, but it was certainly not forgotten. Although Carew was known for depicting prostitutes in his verses,<sup>86</sup> he seems to

<sup>85</sup> Dunlap, *The Poems of Thomas Carew* 13; cf. Vincent, *The Poems of Thomas Carew* 16.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Dunlap, *The Poems of Thomas Carew* xlvii, and xxxix–xli on Carew's remorse for his profligate life just before his death.

appreciate Asclepiades not for the status of his female protagonists but for the intensity of his passion. Danae, he says, swam in pleasure, a sweet evil that gives one a taste of paradise. The torrent that compels the lover is the torrent also felt by the beloved. Caught in the bad weather of passion one can only ask for more bad weather. From this point of view, one may argue that Carew is, after centuries, the most accurate reader of Asclepiades. And his reading certainly deserves more attention.<sup>87</sup>

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