

recognizing the “pedagogical value of teaching elegy in the post-#MeToo era in classrooms where the students are more sensitive to the (perhaps) predatory intent that defines, e.g., the Propertian lover’s near advances upon sleeping Cynthia” (p. 3). Although there are some valuable contributions that explore the darker, abject, or violent aspects of the genre, Gardner rightly argues that these ethical considerations warrant further investigation, as they have been largely overlooked in the study of Latin elegy.

Section four (“Elegiac Vulnerabilities: Scripting Desire in Augustan Rome”) explores the challenges faced by both the *puella* and the poet in relation to the civic and moral duties imposed upon them by the Augustan context. Gardner contends that “[w]hatever the status of the *puella*, whether didactic addressee of *Ars* 3 or the beloved in the elegiac poetry of Ovid and his predecessors, there is an unavoidably political aspect of reading, frequently a public, shared activity in the ancient world, and especially of reading poems about sexual behavior in Augustan Rome” (p. 69).

In section five (“Receptions and New Directions”), Gardner concludes her overview of Latin love elegy by exploring the genre’s afterlife in Imperial Rome and its presence in contemporary culture, particularly in cinema. This perspective adds considerable appeal to the book, not only by engaging with popular culture but also by demonstrating that the ‘limping pace’ of Latin love elegy—despite its brief period of prominence between the late Roman Republic and the Augustan era—persists.

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GREGSON DAVIS, SERGIO YONA, eds., *Afterlives of the Garden. Receptions of Epicurean Thought in the Early Empire and Late Antiquity*, Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2024, viii+182 pp., € 79,95, ISBN 978-3-11-102192-8.

This collection of essays complements the editors’ 2022 *Epicurus in Rome*. Gregson Davis and Sergio Yona are clear on the different aims of the present volume. It is specifically addressed to Epicurean themes in the literature of the late Roman republic and the Empire, Although the modes of reception range, as the editors comment, from “wholesale rejection” to “total acceptance” (4), the particular interest of the volume lies in the examples of positive uptake of, or at least strong engagement with some of the most appealing features of Epicureanism’s original and later Lucretian presentations. Approximately equal attention is given to poetry and to philosophy. The three topics treated most comprehensively are

the Epicurean attitude to romantic love, Epicurean epistemology and scientific explanation, and morality and divinity.

The individual chapters are well supplied with quotations and translations, so that claims for the imprint of specifically Epicurean ideas in a range of literary texts can largely be assessed on their merits. In a few cases, the inference to Epicurean influence requires a bit of stretch. As Enrico Piergiacomi warns, “Scholars who advocate the author’s commitment to a particular philosophical school are... obliged to demonstrate that a specific passage of [a text] conforms more closely to the basic principles of one sect than to those of another” (98).

Epicureanism is typically found on its back foot in philosophical commentary as allegedly amoral, insufficiently respectful of the animal- human divide, politically irresponsible, vulgarly hedonistic, and dismissive of such uplifting articles as providence and the immortality of the soul. Lucretius’s *De rerum natura*, assumed to be based on Epicurus’s partially recovered Greek text, *On Nature*, brought to the fore very different themes, including, as the volume’s title indicates, the beauty of nature, the value of peaceful co-existence, and the irrepressibility of the “*naturae extrema vestigia*” (3.308, 3.20), the deeply rooted tendencies that philosophy cannot altogether extirpate from our characters.

Two chapters, by Davis and by Erin Hanses deal directly with the Epicurean-Lucretian position on romantic love and sex at the end of Book IV. Should Lucretius be read as mocking the former and disgusted by the latter,¹ or rather as a somewhat mournful yet amused celebrant of the Venusian principle that renews nature generation by generation? Lucretius’s claim that women enjoy and seek sexual pleasure has remained a difficulty not only for philosophers but also for educators and legislators. At the same time, female choosiness, dramatically described in Lucretius 4.1133-40, is a misery-inducing feature of human life, and poets, lyricists, and dramatists have relished this source of material. Sex without emotional entanglement is generally good, according to Epicurus, and the philosopher is advised to restrict himself to friends with benefits, presumably the system of the Garden, to escape the predicament. Romantic fixation on the one cannot fail to bring suffering through uncertainty of possession and outright rejection. Davis discusses the presentation of the *amator miser*, in the *Carmina* (1.5., 1.33, and 2.9) of the satirist Horace. The experienced elder poet, who has escaped from the “sea of Aphrodite” and hung up his soaking clothes, addresses the naïve, smitten youth desperate for the attention of the lovely but indifferent courtesan. In a related essay, Erin Hanses examines the poetry of Sulpicia in the *Corpus Tibullianum* Book III, describing her as “the only extant female love elegist” (57). Here the shoe is on the other foot. Sulpicia depicts a lovelorn woman lamenting her inability to monopolise the attention of a preferred man. Perhaps encouraged by some of Philodemus’s own verse, Sulpicia, Hanses argues, presents a different solution to

¹ A position forcefully argued by P. Gordon, “Some unseen monster: rereading Lucretius on sex”, in D. Fredrick, ed., *The Roman Gaze: Vision, Power, and the Body*, Baltimore 2002, 86-109.

the Epicurean predicament, namely commitment and mutual enjoyment between equal partners, in place of constant turbulence, hierarchy, or causal promiscuity. The poet however “burns”—and apparently with enjoyment (Poem 3.11.5). As George Ainslie argues, uncertainty is wealth, and disappointment keeps appetite sharp.² With regard to our losses through death or defection, as Davis notes (33), the Epicureans, as reported by Plutarch, valued mourning. “It is better to be moved somewhat and to grieve and melt into tears.”

Emotionality is also the subject of chapter 2, dealing with the much-discussed question of Aeneas’s revenge killing of Turnus at the end of the *Aeneid*. Anger, deemed ethically permissible by Aristotle (EN 1149) when justified by the offense, but mostly rejected by the Stoics, notably Seneca in *De ira*, as unseemly loss of self-control, was the subject of another *De ira* by Philodemus, which favoured the former position. In the epic, Turnus is a thoroughly bad actor, cruel, cowardly, boastful, and treacherous, who has slain Aeneas’s protégé Pallas, but he is helpless in pleading for mercy. Aeneas hesitates in noble fashion, but apparently gives way to uncontrolled rage triggered by the sight of Pallas’s baldric conspicuously displayed by Turnus. Taking the side of Eler and Galinsky in the voluminous debate on Vergil’s intentions and their positioning in contemporary Roman ethics,³ Robert Hedrick argues that Aeneas has a “sure cognitive foundation for knowledge, judgement, and punishment” (54). The vividly depicted final scene is to be understood in terms of Epicurean epistemology, in which sense experience reveals unquestionable truths. Turnus’s belt is not an emotional trigger but visual evidence of an unforgivable crime. The hypothesis is thought provoking, though not all readers will be persuaded this was exactly what Vergil had in mind.

In Chapter 4, Nicholas Winters argues that the anonymous poem *Ciris* is written from an “explicitly Epicurean stance” (79). *Ciris* is about the other Scylla –not the Homeric sea monster, but the daughter of King Nisus of Megara who conceives a passion for King Minos, who is besieging their city. Winters argues that, despite the author’s *recusatio* in the form of an apology for the apparent absence of much Epicurean content after the opening lines and the conspicuous presence of myth, magical transformation, and divine interventions, the poem is an Epicurean project. Its themes include the dangers of *amor insanus*, the proper offices of friendship, the inevitability of change, and the folly of fear of death. The unhappy young woman refuses friendly advice, brings about her father’s death and the destruction of her city by ill-advisedly slicing off his protective lock of purple hair. She is not only spurned by the object of her desire but tied and dragged behind his ship until she is turned by the merciful goddess Amphitrite into a beautiful bird, with, however, her

² “Positive emotion is then limited by premature satiation of the appetite for it, a relentless process motivated by the impatience that is described by hyperbolic discount curves. This satiation can be restrained only by using adequately rare and unpredictable occasions as cues for the emotion.” G. Ainslie, “Uncertainty as wealth,” *Behavioural Processes* 64, 2003, 369-85.

³ Against commentators who find intentional moral ambiguity or even moral unacceptability in these passages; v. P. Burnell, “The death of Turnus and Roman morality”, *G&R* 34, 1987, 186-200.

father magically restored as her avian foe, the sea eagle. Was this punishment or reward? It is better to be free and alive than to be tortured, but it is punishment to leave human life so young and unsatisfied, and terrible to be eternally and fiercely pursued by one's metamorphosed father. Not all of this is textbook Epicureanism, but Winters remarks convincingly on the compatibility of poetry with philosophy. Poetry, as Philodemus found, can be more than Lucretius's honey that sweetens the bitter message of indifferent gods and death as final (4.10-14). It is "more than a mere ornament to attract the uninitiated to philosophy. It is an exercise of the Epicurean ideal of mental clarity, by which a wise man sees the physical world as it truly is: beautiful" (81).

Chapter 5 makes a sound case for the Epicurean background of the pseudo-Vergilian "Aetna" poem, while noting some fusion of Stoic and Epicurean elements. This attribution is not controversial, given the length and detail of the physicalist explanation for volcanic activity, involving heated air in subterranean wind tunnels, which follows Lucretius's account closely. Enrico Piergiacomi proceeds to deepen the analysis, reminding the reader of the Epicurean doctrine that the explanation of imposing natural phenomena not only removes fear of the anger of the gods but is a source of pleasure. "Scientific research represents the true wealth of human beings" (105). One form of "wonder" is scorned by the Epicureans as evincing untutored superstition and manipulability, but this does not rule out a commendable form of wonder, understood as admiration for the variety and unpredictable power of nature.

While Marcus Aurelius is known to have established chairs in philosophy in Athens for each of the prominent sects, including Epicureanism, in CE 176, and while the editors point out that there was considerable intellectual traffic between Athens, Rome, and Naples, information on the persistence of an Epicurean school or community in the imperial age is incomplete. Chapter 6 by Francesco Verde offers four brief case studies, above and beyond the familiar discussions of Epicureanism found in Cicero, Diogenes Laertius, and Plutarch, that testify to continuing engagement. The Peripatetic Aristocles presumably writing towards the end of the last century BCE or the first century CE in Messene insists that pleasure and pain are not principles of choice and avoidance; the correct principle is reason. The Platonist Atticus in Athens around 176 CE appreciates Epicurus's piety and his appreciation of the role of divine simulacra, which he considers preferable to Aristotle's impersonal theology. But Epicurus has no sense of providence, the goodness of the world, or the role of the gods in securing absolute justice. Dionysus of Alexandria in the 3rd century CE attacks atomism as inadequate to explain the order and beauty of the world; how can an irrational mass of atoms form two bodies as different as sun and moon? Epicurus's acknowledged piety is seen as subterfuge to save his life. Plotinus, who wrote his *Enneads* in the second half of the third century CE in Rome and Sicily, regards the Epicureans as better philosophers than the Gnostics with their dismal cosmology of evil, but their ontology and ethics are regrettable: they do not value the intellect and recommend an amoral life in a

universe of blind chance. Verde mentions in passing Trajan's widow and Hadrian's stepmother, the Epicurean sympathizer Pompeia Plotina. More information on this figure, who, consistently, one might argue, with Epicurean values, is "viewed as having provided Romans with fairer taxation, improved education, assisted the poor, and created tolerance in Roman society"⁴ would have been welcome.

An enjoyable and penetrating final chapter by Michael Erler points to St. Augustine's early Epicurean phase and its later traces as described in his *Confessions* 6.14.24. In his youth, not only was Augustine addicted to physical pleasure, he contemplated joining in the formation of a commune of like-minded young men, attracted by the idea of living apart and sharing goods. As the commune was not envisioned as admitting women in the fashion of the Garden, and as both wives and those hopeful of acquiring wives objected, the project failed to launch. Although the reaction of most of the Church Fathers to Epicureanism was strongly negative, Christian doctrine, Erler points out, overlapped with Epicurean to a significant extent. Both sects agreed in rejecting false prophets, oracles, and sacrifices, and denied the intervention of members of any pantheon in human affairs. Erler notes that Augustine appears to have accepted as well the doctrine that human society is not based on moral ideals or natural sociability but on convenience (144). To these points might be added the common Epicurean and early Christian aversion to military heroics and civic distinctions. And women's active role in early Christian communities is widely recognised, though the ideals of celibacy, virginity, and maternal nurturance do not belong to Epicurean doctrine.

While this short volume can offer only a taste of the "complexity, subtlety, and extent of Epicurean influence" in the period (1), it offers an excellent jumping in point for the nonspecialist as well as the specialist. Where the former are concerned, although individual chapters mention in passing the roles of Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, Diogenes Laertius, Philodemus, Herculaneum, and the Naples circle of poets, including Vergil and Horace, a short initial chapter on the transmission and dissemination of Epicurean doctrine from the late Republic onwards and the imperial context would have been welcome. The information is available elsewhere, however, and the volume is supplied with a comprehensive bibliography to that end.⁵ By way of a final comment, I note that the work is licensed under the Creative Commons Act, a gratifying development for readers everywhere.

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⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pompeia_Plotina. The only monograph I was able to identify is by S. Salomoni, "Pompeia Plotina, l'imperatrice filosofa", in *Filosofe, maestre, imperatrici: per un nuovo canone della storia della filosofia antica*. Studi di storia della filosofia antica 10, Roma 2020, 131-61.

⁵ For an overview, T. Dorandi, "Epicurus and the Epicurean School", *Oxford Handbook of Epicurus and Epicureanism*, Oxford 2020, 13-42.