

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Epic is an omniscient and objective narrative, one that looks down on its characters, and turns them into objects of its gaze, although the characters themselves strive to stand out.¹ The protagonists of epic are action heroes, fighting, doing, going places, changing the world around them. Yet the aim of epic glory requires them to be transfixed, becoming monuments, poetic artefacts. The narrative of epic is structured by the gazes of those watching, not just the gods (and goddesses) on the mountains above, but also the women (and old men) on the walls at the edge. Readers of epic acknowledge its characteristic mix of wonder (or shock) with pity and fear.² Two brief cameos to get the action going: Achilles on the walls in *Iliad* 18 and Parthenopaeus stripping in *Thebaid* 9.

Patroclus is dead and Hector is on the point of winning his body; Achilles cannot join the fighting because Hector has taken his armour. So Hera sends Iris to encourage him to intervene by other means, using his passive visual power:

Ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὥς εἰποῦσ' ἀπέβη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις,
 αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς ὄρτο Διὶ φίλος· ἀμφὶ δ' Ἀθήνη
 ὤμοις ἰφθίμοισι βάλ' αἰγίδα θυσανόεσσαν,
 ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κεφαλῇ νέφος ἔστεφε δῖα θεάων
 χρύσεον, ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ δαΐε φλόγα παμφανώσαν.

¹ This is in contrast to the first-person fictions of love elegy, or the mimetic performance of tragedy, or even the detached but determinedly human perspective of historiography. On definitions of epic, see Martin 2005a. Other discussions of the nature of epic: Oberhelman, Kelly and Golsan 1994, Beissinger, Tylus and Wofford 1999, Foley 2005, King 2009.

² Aristotle *Poetics* 1460a12 talks of τὸ θαυμαστόν ('the wondrous') in both epic and tragedy, but τὸ ἄλογον ('the improbable/contrary to nature') is particularly epic. See Feeney 1991: 28–9. On wonder, see Prier 1989. Another key word is ἐκπληξίς ('astonishment'), literally striking you out of your normal state of mind. *On the sublime* 15.2 associates it with poetry, while prose aims for ἐνάργεια ('vividness'); most of the examples, however, are from tragedy, and the text does not separate out here the different visual effects of different poetic genres. In fact, Plutarch (*Mor.* 347a) uses the same concept of ἐκπληξίς of Thucydides, therefore blurring even the distinction between poetry and prose. For rhetorical theory itself as persuasion, see Goldhill 2007.

ὥς δ' ὅτε καπνὸς ἰὼν ἐξ ἄστεος αἰθέρ' ἵκηται,
 τηλόθεν ἐκ νήσου, τὴν δῆϊοι ἀμφιμάχωνται,
 οἳ τε πανημέριοι στυγερῶ κρίνονται Ἄρηϊ
 ἄστεος ἐκ σφετέρου· ἅμα δ' ἡελίῳ καταδύντι
 πυρσοί τε φλεγέθουσιν ἐπήτριμοι, ὑψόσε δ' αὐγὴ
 γίγνεται αἴσσοῦσα περικτιόνεσσιν ἰδέσθαι,
 αἳ κέν πῶς σὺν νηυσὶν ἄρεω ἀλκτῆρες ἴκωνται·
 ὥς ἅπ' Ἀχιλλῆος κεφαλῆς σέλας αἰθέρ' ἵκανε.

(*Iliad* 18.202–14)

So speaking Iris of the swift feet went away from him;
 but Achilles, the beloved of Zeus, rose up, and Athene
 swept about his powerful shoulders the fluttering aegis;
 and she, the divine among goddesses, about his head circled
 a golden cloud, and kindled from it a flame far-shining.
 As when a flare goes up into the high air from a city
 from an island far away, with enemies fighting about it
 who all day long are in the hateful division of Ares
 fighting from their own city, but as soon as the sun goes down signal
 fires blaze out one after another, so that the glare goes
 pulsing high for men of the neighbouring islands to see it,
 in case they might come over in ships to beat off the enemy;
 so from the head of Achilles the blaze shot into the bright air.

(trans. Lattimore)³

The effects of this intervention are dramatic: the charioteers are put to rout; twelve Trojans are accidentally killed by their own side. From his vantage point on the walls, Achilles weeps at the sight of Patroclus. The change of scenes is complete when Hera drives the sun prematurely to its setting, and the Trojans assemble:

ὀρθῶν δ' ἐσταότων ἀγορὴ γένετ', οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
 ἔζεσθαι· πάντας γὰρ ἔχε τρόμος, οὐνεκ' Ἀχιλλεὺς
 ἐξεφάνη, δηρὸν δὲ μάχης ἐπέπαυτ' ἀλεγεινῆς.

(*Iliad* 18.246–8)

They stood on their feet in assembly, nor did any man have the patience
 to sit down, but the terror was on them all, seeing that Achilles
 had appeared, after he had stayed so long from the difficult fighting.

Many things in this passage anticipate arguments to come: the change of scene, the connection between the divine and the heroic gaze, beauty and terror. But first I want to emphasise the sheer visual power of

³ All translations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are from Lattimore 1951 and Lattimore 1967 respectively. Translations of Quintus of Smyrna are from James 2004, of Nonnus from Rouse 1940. The rest are my own, drawing heavily on previous versions.

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Achilles.⁴ Just seeing him from a distance terrifies the Trojans to such an extent that they not only retreat, but in the confusion some fall victim to their own weapons. This visual power is made concrete in the image of the flare (σέλας) and the aegis: Athene does not just protect and sponsor Achilles, she marks him out with a fiery halo. The simile of the beacon suggests that this is both a sign and an act that has concrete effects. It signals the need for help to the allies and their imminent destruction to the enemies, and causes this destruction actually to happen. Achilles' blaze signals his anger, his divine favour and his potential destructiveness. He is like a god in his terrifying visual power.⁵ The simile also moves the reader, in the wake of the narrator, out far beyond the immediacy of Achilles' vision, to dip briefly into another story, to be aware of the crafted nature of epic narrative. The roles of Hera, Iris and Athene have the simultaneous effects of raising Achilles beyond the normal mortal level, and making of him an object for their manipulation. Hera and Athene have opposed his plan, sponsored by Zeus, to make the Greeks feel his absence, throughout the earlier books of the *Iliad*. For them, Achilles is a means to an end, and that end is the destruction of Troy. This scene also shows the structural significance of divine viewing, with Hera's ox-eyed gaze (βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη, 'lady Hera of the ox-eyes', 239) intervening briefly to drive the sunset between the situation on the Greek side, focalised by Achilles, and the assembly of the Trojans. Achilles' gaze also follows more than one epic pattern: the blazing of the angry hero, whose gaze can form an assaultive weapon;⁶ the mourning of the concerned watcher who laments the deaths of their loved ones. His physical position, on the walls, moving to the ditch, mirrors his position in the poem between mortal and immortal, active hero and lamenting lover.

The second cameo appearance belongs to Parthenopaeus, the beautiful boy hero of Statius' *Thebaid*.⁷ In book 9 he performs his insubstantial *aristeia* before an admiring audience of other warriors, nymphs and gods. Statius' poem is roughly structured around the deaths of each of the seven heroes; in the first half of book 9 it is the death of Hippomedon. The change to the new narrative unit is mediated by two visual incidents: the ill-omened vision of Parthenopaeus' mother Atalanta, and the protective viewing of

⁴ Sound is also very important in this episode (217–24); sound and vision can never be entirely separated as means of communication and perception. See further below, p.23.

⁵ Edwards 1991: 169 calls this moment 'a kind of epiphany'; Griffin 1980: 38–9 cites similarities with descriptions of warrior gods.

⁶ Clarke 2004: 83: 'he enters a state that stretches the limits of human nature . . . Achilles is transfigured, superhuman, blazing.'

⁷ See Lovatt 2005: 67–71, arguing that Parthenopaeus is the beloved of the audience. The love relationship becomes hollow, when it is reduced to a visual encounter. See also Jamset 2004.

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Diana on Olympus. We then move back to the Theban battlefield, now following Parthenopaeus. Although he is the object of the gaze, subjectivity is injected into the details of his finery: his cloak, which is the only item of female work produced by the huntress Atalanta (690–2); his drooping shield and too-heavy sword (693–4); his pleasure in the golden clasp on his belt (694–5) and the sounds of his armour:

interdum cristas hilaris iactare comantes
 et pictum gemmis galeae iubar. ast ubi pugna
 cassis anhela calet, resoluto uertice nudus
 exoritur: tunc dulce comae radiisque trementes
 dulce nitent uisus et, quas dolet ipse morari,
 nondum mutatae rosea lanugine malae.
 nec formae sibi laude placet multumque seueris
 asperat ora minis, sed frontis seruat honorem
 ira decens. dat sponte locum Thebana iuuentus,
 natorum memores, intentaue tela retorquent;
 sed premit et saeuas miserantibus ingerit hastas.
 illum et Sidoniae iuga per Teumesia Nymphae
 bellantem atque ipso sudore et puluere gratum
 laudant, et tacito ducunt suspiria uoto.
 talia cernenti mitis subit alta Dianae
 corda dolor, fletuque genas uiolata . . .

(*Thebaid* 9.698–713)

Meanwhile it pleases him joyfully to toss his plumed crest
 and the radiance of his helmet decorated with gems. But when
 the helmet grows hot in breathless battle, he rises up naked with head
 released: then sweetly shines his hair with trembling rays
 and sweetly shines his gaze, and, which grieve him by their delaying,
 his cheeks not yet changed by rosy down.
 Nor is he pleasing to himself through praise of his beauty and he makes
 his face very harsh with stern threats, but righteous anger guards
 the honour of his brow. The Theban youth give ground voluntarily,
 mindful of their children, and turn back the weapons they had aimed;
 but he presses on and piles on the savage spears against those who pity him.
 Even the Sidonian Nymphs on the Teumesian ridges praise him
 as he fights, made more attractive even by sweat and dust
 itself, and they draw their sighs with silent prayer.
 For Diana, seeing these things, a gentle grief steals
 into the depths of her heart, and she violates her cheeks with weeping . . .

The double perspective of this passage represents him as an erotic object and a child to be wept over; he is both summed up by his clothes, accoutrements and parts of his body, and made more attractive by his subjectivity, strongly characterised by his resistance to his own typecasting. He refuses to admit

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that his role is that of the beautiful boy, even as he enjoys his own glamour. To admit it would be to have foreknowledge of his own inevitable death, to encounter heroic mortality. He is his own audience, looking at himself and listening to the sounds he generates. But he is also at the centre of a nest of audiences, like a gladiator or actor on display, watching himself and surrounded by ranks of different watchers. The other fighters are closest, then the nymphs on the ridges, then out to the goddess, and finally to us, the readers. The emotional responses of all these audiences tend to inspire emotion in us: pity from the warriors, and identification with their own children; desire and anxiety from the nymphs; grief from Diana. He is a substitute son for Diana, hence violating her untouchable virginity (and godhead) with a grief she should not have to feel. She responds by going down into the battle herself, like Athene looking after Telemachus, and protecting his body with ambrosia, as if he is a version of the dead Patroclus or Hector, before he has even died:

ambrosio tunc spargit membra liquore,
 spargit equum, ne quo uioletur uulnere corpus
 ante necem, cantusque sacros et conscia miscet
 murmura, secretis quae Colchidas ipsa sub antris
 nocte docet monstratque feras quaerentibus herbas. (*Thebaid* 9.731–5)

Then she scatters his limbs with ambrosial liquor,
 and she scatters his horse, so that his body will not be violated by any wound
 before death, and she mixes sacred chants with knowledgeable
 whispers, which she herself teaches the Colchian women at night
 in their secret caves and shows wild herbs to those searching.

The Colchian reference evokes the *Argonautica* and Medea's love for Jason, also expressed by making his body inviolable, further racking up the apparently erotic involvement of the goddess. This erotic viewing of the hero has the potential to blur the distinction between women and warriors, gods and mortals. Epic is, in its own way, a story of desire.⁸

But that is a tendentious statement: epic, as we all know, is about gods, kings and heroes, battles and journeys. The question of genre, how it is performed, constructed and contested, is central.⁹ In a sense, it is an artificial way to limit this study: rather than trying to look at all of ancient literature, or indeed all literature, I have chosen to focus on a group of texts from the ancient world which announce their affinity with each other. There is often as much difference between the different texts studied here as there is continuity:

⁸ See for instance Pavlock 1990, Reed 2007. ⁹ On genre: Fowler 1982, Depew and Obbink 2000.

but the *Iliad* is an important influence on them all; and for later Roman writers, the *Aeneid* always intervenes. We might debate whether Catullus 64, Ovid *Metamorphoses*, Lucretius *De rerum natura* and Hesiod count as epic; and definitions of epic changed over this enormous period. *Epos* is a much more capacious concept in Archaic Greece than epic after Virgil. But despite these differences, there is a great deal of continuity: the *Iliad* already contains many of the tropes and ideas that I will follow through the later poems, if they are adapted to new contexts in often surprising ways. Genre is an elusive concept, a weave of absences and denials, as much as a self-conscious stealing of other people's ideas. Perhaps it is the generic coherence of epic that makes it difficult for modern readers to take: not another set of games; not more gods intervening. On the other hand size is important: and the size of epic allows it to consume other genres. So tragedy, originally preying on epic itself, becomes the victim of Apollonius and Virgil, only to turn the tables (arguably) in Statius' *Thebaid*.¹⁰ The grand narratives of history, too, have always had a close relationship with the grandeur of epic, even in its mythological form.¹¹ The generic frame has proved more productive than problematic for this book. Whether or not 'the epic gaze' is ultimately fragmented, tracing the uses of vision in this high-profile ancient genre holds enduring fascination.¹² On the optimistic side, reading around in other genres suggests that epic uses lines of sight and ideas of viewing in distinctive ways. If the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* form two contrasting patterns of epic, battle narrative and quest epic, they both produce visual scenarios: the siege, with city looking out against attackers looking in, two armies drawn up in face-to-face confrontation, is a theatre of war; while the journey, whether towards home or away from it, is defined by a stream of new sights, monstrosities and marvels.¹³ The practicalities of dramatic performance have their own effects, creating important similarities and differences; other contrasts, for instance with Latin elegy, or Hellenistic epigram, can bring out the flavour of epic. There are numerous sieges in historical narratives, for instance, yet the women on the walls are much less prominent as viewers. This book focuses on the internal dynamics of epic, but uses comparison with other genres where necessary.

¹⁰ Excellent discussion of tragedy and epic, looking both forwards and backwards, in Schiesaro 2003.

¹¹ See for instance Ash 2002, Konstan and Raaflaub 2010, Miller and Woodman 2010. 'As in tragedy and history, so in Homer glory contains the promise of failure or death; and this is one important way in which the tragic habit of thought contributes to a historical concept of causation.' Macleod 1983: 157.

¹² I have decided in general to use 'vision' rather than 'visuality' because this is a book about how seeing is represented in literature, not about cultures of viewing in themselves. On the difference see Zanker 2004: 5: "'Visuality' denotes the way of seeing in a particular historical period; 'vision' the way of seeing which essentializes and universalizes.'

¹³ On the *Iliad* and the theatre of war, see Clay 2011; on different paths, see Purves 2010.

Approaches to vision and theories of 'the gaze'

'The gaze' once seemed a mysterious, exciting and confusing idea. This confusion results from the many different versions and theories of 'the gaze', all of which use similar terminology to mean quite different things. So what is 'the gaze'? We could start in any number of places or times: with Greek philosophers, early modern artists, twentieth-century psychoanalysts.¹⁴ However, the phrase 'the gaze' is probably most often associated with the seminal article by feminist film theorist Laura Mulvey from 1975 ('Visual pleasure and narrative cinema'), which argues that the gaze of classic narrative cinema is masculine and active, while the feminine becomes a passive object to be looked at.¹⁵ Mulvey used Freudian ideas about scopophilia (morbid pleasure in looking), through voyeurism (the desire to see the forbidden, especially the genitals and the primal scene – other people, especially your parents, having sex) and fetishism (in which sexual desire is transferred onto something other than the obviously sexual, i.e. feet, or shoes, or books) to analyse the pleasure of watching classic Hollywood cinema. The voyeuristic side of pleasure in watching the narrative and identifying with the male hero comes, in Mulvey's version, from a sadistic pleasure in gaining sexual power over the woman. The fetishistic side, on the other hand, takes us outside narrative, breaks the illusion of reality, with a two-dimensional fragmentation of the female body. The apparatus of the cinema is particularly appropriate for this sort of narrative pleasure: it puts the spectator in a position of power by keeping him hidden in the dark, by stitching together the gazes of audience, camera and male protagonist.

Mulvey's work is used in a classical context by Salzman-Mitchell 2005, which approaches Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as an interplay of intrusive and fixing gazes. Salzman-Mitchell develops Mulvey with her emphasis on sisterhood and women telling stories for each other, invoking criticisms of the monolithic nature of Mulvey's notion of the gaze: arguably a resisting reading of Ovid, for whose text rape is clearly a major source of narrative pleasure. It is certainly true that identification is a complex process, also true that viewers can identify with main characters, both male and female, with the setting and story as a whole, or change their identification from moment

¹⁴ For a differently slanted introduction to the gaze, see Fredrick 2002: 1–30, which concentrates on the tensions between essentialism and constructionism in applying psychoanalytical theory to the specific cultural context of ancient Rome, and on differentiating Rome and Greece. See also Bartsch 2006, with a philosophical and scientific emphasis.

¹⁵ Mulvey 1975.

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to moment.¹⁶ Just as there is no one reader and no one reading, so there is no one viewer and one process of viewing.¹⁷

This is not the place to tell the story of feminist film criticism: there are good introductory books to do that.¹⁸ This introduction lays out different ideas that can lie behind the term ‘the gaze’ and offers some orientation amongst the vast and still growing literature on the subject. Mulvey is only one starting point. We might attempt to understand the psychoanalytical substructure of her argument, which invokes both Freud and Lacan, and instantly antagonises many.¹⁹ But must we believe that the fetishised female represents the male fear of castration in order to agree that men find powerful female sexuality disturbing? The superstructure of the argument may retain its strength, even if we do not accept the Freudian underpinnings. Freud is not the only source of psychoanalytic inspiration: Lacan’s work is also importantly concerned with vision.²⁰

The work of Kaja Silverman, for instance, draws a great deal from Lacan.²¹ Lacan’s influential notion of the gaze develops not just Freud, but also phenomenology and Sartre.²² In this version, looking and being looked at are reciprocal relationships. Lacan’s ‘gaze’ describes a Sartrean field of vision, in which the self is paralysed by awareness of being looked at by everything that is other.²³ We might conceptualise this as a triangle with the field of vision converging on the subject who is being looked at. On the other side is the ‘look’ which is the word Silverman uses to convey the desiring gaze, from the subject to the single object. For Lacan the two types of looking are inextricable; we are always both looking and being looked at.

¹⁶ As incidentally suggested in Penley 1994.

¹⁷ Other developments of film theory are related to the post-colonial turn: emphasis on structures of power other than gender, different social and cultural contexts, especially the developing world. See for instance hooks 1996, Kaplan 1997, Furby and Randell 2005.

¹⁸ For instance Penley 1988, Humm 1997, Thornham 1999. There has also been a backlash against ‘theory’: Bordwell and Carroll 1996. But McGowan 2003 argues that this results from incorrect application of Lacan’s ideas about ‘the gaze’. Those who deplore psychoanalysis continue to disagree: see for instance Currie 1995 and Currie 2010 for a philosophical approach to the cognitive turn in film theory and literature.

¹⁹ See Oliensis 2009 for the appeal and limitations of Freudian approaches to ancient literature and the idea that literary critics may be looking for a ‘textual subconscious’, the meaning that lurks under the surface of a text, whether or not intended by its author.

²⁰ Lacan and Miller 1978: 67–122 on the gaze. Other models are also available, such as Nancy Chodorow’s sociological feminist psychoanalysis: Chodorow 1994.

²¹ Silverman 1988a, Silverman 1988b, Silverman 1992, Silverman 1994.

²² Sartre 1966, Merleau-Ponty 1968.

²³ Lacan’s concept of the ‘mirror stage’ is also important in forming concepts of identification in film theory.

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McGowan 2007 takes a different Lacanian perspective: he focuses on Lacan's concept of the gaze as the *objet petit a* in the field of vision. Every aspect of our experience requires us to negotiate with otherness, both the 'big Other', which embodies authority and the symbolic order, associated with writing and masculinity, but also the inaccessible, incomprehensible desire of the other. The *objet petit a* is this gap, this lack, this thing which does not exist, despite the fact that we imagine it does. Lacan's gaze, therefore, in McGowan's account, is the distortion in the field of vision caused by the imagined desire of the other. McGowan 2003 uses Spielberg's first feature, *Duel* (1970), to exemplify the Lacanian gaze: in this film, the Other is the driver of the truck which pursues David Mann, for no apparent reason, threatening, terrifying in his hidden inexplicability. From high in his cab, he looks down on Mann, who cannot see him (and neither can we). Neither audience nor protagonist ever find out why the truck driver is trying to kill him.²⁴ McGowan 2007 argues that confrontation with the gaze allows the subject to move beyond the domestication of fantasy, and the eternal repetition of desire, to take pleasure in the process of desire itself: film can act as a sort of psychoanalysis.²⁵

While various scholars have approached elegy from a Lacanian perspective, there has not been a great deal of work on epic.²⁶ Augoustakis 2010 uses Kristeva's concept of otherness to think about gender and nationality in Statius and Silius. Kristeva's idea of the abject is closely related to the Lacanian gaze, in that it too stages a confrontation with the Real. Augoustakis' approach to gender has been particularly helpful, although vision is not at the forefront of his study.

²⁴ Another example is Demme's *Silence of the Lambs* (1991), in which Hannibal Lecter is the desired and inexplicable 'other', of whom we are terrified, and whom we cannot understand. 'By enticing spectators to desire Lecter, the film impels them to acknowledge their affinity with a serial killer, thereby disrupting any sense of spectatorship from a safe distance.' McGowan 2003: 29.

²⁵ While McGowan's typology of film (cinema of fantasy, epitomised by Spike Lee and Fellini; cinema of desire, Orson Welles; cinema of integration, mainstream Hollywood, for instance *Schindler's List*; cinema of intersection, David Lynch) might be too schematic, it does offer a variety of psycho-analytical models for thinking about narrative. Fantasy is the spectacle too full to retain meaning; desire the ever-receding absence; integration solves desire by applying fantasy; intersection sets the two against each other to make us uncomfortably aware of the whole process. My feeling is that epic is continually mixing fantasy and desire: tentatively I associate the *Dionysiaca* with the epic of fantasy; Apollonius' *Argonautica* with desire; the *Odyssey* and the *Punica* with the epic of integration; the others all, in their different ways, create collisions between fantasy and desire.

²⁶ Especially Janan 1994, Janan 2001 and Miller 2004. On Ovidian epic Hardie 2002b, Janan 2009. Janan moves from interpersonal to political desire, also a feature of McGowan 2007; 224–51 explores the epic successors of Ovid to show how 'the intractable paradoxes on which epic dreams of a harmonious, organically-united polity are so uneasily founded'. (225)

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A phenomenological theoretical background lies behind Smith's reading of Virgil's *Aeneid*.²⁷ He reads Aeneas as Merleau-Ponty's *voyant-visible* and conveys the way that the hero is both powerful because spectacular, and disempowered by being watched.²⁸ Smith joins the contest of words versus vision that has been ongoing since antiquity, coming down squarely on the side of vision, at least in Augustan Rome. Words are deceptive, while vision successfully persuades.²⁹ He successfully shows the importance and pervasiveness of vision in the *Aeneid*, but he does not set this in the context of the epic genre (is the *Aeneid* really that much more visual than the *Iliad*?).

Persuasion is only one part of the workings of vision, one that owes more to the discourse of ecphrasis than is acknowledged. 'Ecphrasis' means different things in different times and places: there is a clear disciplinary disjunction between classicists, for whom ecphrasis can be a description of any sort (of a place, a person, a work of art) and those studying English literature, for instance, for whom ecphrasis usually refers to the description of a work of art in a text, and is essentially about the interaction of media.³⁰ For epic, the shield of Achilles forms the set-piece ecphrasis, making 'art and text' an important reference point. The insights of art historians into modes and varieties of viewing inform the way we talk about descriptions of works of art in texts, as do changes in viewing cultures, which I discuss below. The importance of the 'art and text' discourse is not limited to ecphrasis. Cultures of viewing have a close relationship to cultures of reading; thinking about approaches to art can also illuminate approaches to performance (and reading).

Not only art is on display in the ancient world: spectacle is equally important, from sacrifice and ritual in the Homeric poems, to grand Alexandrian processions, to Roman games, in theatre, circus and amphitheatre.³¹ Performance is another important aspect of viewing, and brings us to social history (or body history, as Fredrick calls it).³² Foucault cannot be ignored, although feminist film theory resists historicist models.³³ Foucault desired to mark off the ancient world from the modern: yet the Roman

²⁷ Smith 2005. ²⁸ See Rogerson 2007.

²⁹ Drawing on Feeney 1990. But as Rogerson points out, vision is even more open than words to multiple interpretation.

³⁰ Webb 2009 reclaimed the term, with Goldhill's *BMCr* review, which defines the disjunction as one within classics; also Goldhill 2007. For a thoughtful survey of the issues, see Elsner 2002, Squire 2009.

³¹ Nightingale 2004 on Classical Greek cultures of viewing and their philosophical resonances; Stewart 1993 on Hellenistic spectacle; Leigh 1997 on Lucan; Bartsch 1994 on imperial spectacle.

³² Fredrick 2002: 7–10. On theatrical performance, especially Shakespeare, and the gaze, see Freedman 1991, Armstrong 2000.

³³ For a confrontation between the two, see Copjec 1994.