Justice precedes the arrival of war; in this respect, it is not just the myth of Astraea but also that of the belligerent Iron Age of man that is implicated in this configuration of signs. On the day Pompey abandoned Italy for Greece and Pharsalus, the poet projects the theme of civil war onto a cosmic level by means of astronomical and astrological symbolism, just as he did earlier in the Figulus episode.

A further interpretative layer can be detected in the rising signs at Brundisium via an allusion to the catasterism of Octavian in the *Georgics*, a connection already noted by Haskins.[17] The passage may be responding to the Virgilian catasterism by engaging in a redefinition—or more precisely, a resetting—of its symbolic meaning. The name of Libra, with its astrological connotation of justice and equilibrium, is conspicuously absent from both passages. In Virgil, the *sidus Caesaris* is expected to fill the space left behind by the retracting Chelae, while in Lucan Chelae appears in its original position after Virgo. In the *Georgics* Virgil announces the retracing of this portion of the sky into the name and figure of a constellation which causes the signs of conflict to retreat. At the end of *Bellum Civile* 2, Chelae, related by name and figure to a creature that symbolizes war in astrology, remains fixed in its name and position. From the temporal perspective of Lucan's narrative about the civil war, the site of the Virgilian catasterism is reset as the *locus* from which the signs of conflict have not yet been banished.

Columbia University FRANCISCO BARRENECHEA
f676@columbia.edu

[17] C. E. Haskins, *M. Annaeus Lucanus. Pharsalia* (London, 1887), ad loc.

PEREGRINUS IN ARMENIA

The unsavoury doings of Peregrinus, according to Lucian, began at once upon his coming of age (Lucian, *De mort. Peregr.* 9):

τὸ γὰρ τῆς φύσεως τοῦτο πλάσμα καὶ δημιούργημα, ὁ τοῦ Πολυκλείτου κανών, ἐπεὶ εἰς ἄνδρας τελεῖν ἤρξατο, ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ μοιχεύων ἁλοὺς μάλα πολλὰς πληγὰς ἔλαβεν καὶ τέλος κατὰ τοῦ τέγους ἁλόμενος διέφυγε, ῥαφανῖδι τὴν πυγὴν βεβυσμένος.

For this creation and artwork of Nature, this canon of Polyclitus, when he began to be reckoned among men, was caught in adultery in Armenia and received a great many blows, and finally escaped by jumping down from the roof, rump stuffed with a radish.

The detail about Armenia is surprising, both as fact and as narrative. We do not expect, and have not been led to expect, that a teenager growing up in Parium in Bithynia might enter upon an affair with a matron in Armenia. In the telling, this sudden shift in geography is unprepared for and unexplained, in an account of colourful detail. And in the next sentence, Peregrinus molests a boy and can only be saved by bribing the governor—of Asia. He then proceeds to murder his own father, in Parium. The reference to Armenia seems on its face unintelligible.

There is more. As a result of the murder, Peregrinus is obliged to leave Parium. He wanders eventually to Palestine, and then returns home to face his enemies. After this, he leaves Parium for a second time (*τὸ δεύτερον*, 16), but then comes home again to claim his father's property. Finally, he goes on a third trip abroad (*τρίτη ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀποδημία*, 17), to Egypt. These voyages, detailed and numbered, exclude any previous

https://doi.org/10.1093/cq/54.1.317 Published online by Cambridge University Press

trip to Armenia; the numbers can only mean that Lucian was unaware of such a journey. The phrase 'in Armenia' is an error, and not Lucian's error but a copyist's.

How might this phrase have been intruded? I offer a speculation. In the sentence in question, what is most in need of an explanatory comment is 'the canon of Polyclitus', an ironic invocation of Polyclitus' scheme of ideal human proportions.[1] An ancient reader may well have felt this need. What frequently keeps company with 'canon', in various contexts, is 'harmony'. So we have the 'harmonic canon' in music;[2] in the *Canon* that was attributed to Aratus, 'making an account of the planets he wrote that their motions are in a kind of harmony and orchestration' (*ἐν δὲ τῶι ἐπιγραφομένωι αὐτοῦ Κανόνι τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ποιούμενος λόγον ἁρμονίαι τινὶ καὶ συμφωνίαι μουσικῆι τὰς κινήσεις αὐτῶν λέγει γεγονέναι*).[3] Lucian's list of the alleged characteristics of good writing includes 'consistency with the ancient canon' and 'harmony' (*πρὸς τὸν ἀρχαῖον κανόνα συγκειμένων . . . ἁρμονίας*, *Zeux.* 2). Again, it was a commonplace that harmony was one of Polyclitus' goals: *ἁρμονίας δὲ ἢ κάλλους ἕνεκα ἀρχιτέκτων ποῖος ἐς ἄμιλλαν Πολυκλείτῳ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀξιόχρεως* (Paus. 2.27.5); *προσάγουσι καὶ προσαρμόττουσιν ἕκαστον. ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν Πολύκλειτον οἰόμεθα λέγειν ὡς ἔστι χαλεπώτατον τὸ ἔργον οἷς ἂν εἰς ὄνυχα ὁ πηλὸς ἀφίκηται* (Plut. *Mor.* 86a). The association of harmony and the Polyclitan canon enjoyed a long life, for we find it still in Anna Comnena in the twelfth century: 'harmonized in keeping with the canon of Polyclitus', *κατὰ τὸν Πολυκλείτειον κανόνα ἐνηρμοσμένος* (of Bohemund: *Alex.* 13.10.4). The words 'in harmony' would be a clear and sufficient elucidation of Lucian's 'canon of Polyclitus'. I suggest that a gloss to a Lucian manuscript explicated the phrase by writing in the margin the words *εναρμονιαι*; this a copyist then mistook for *εναρμενιαι* and brought into the text.[4]

In sum: to specify 'in Armenia' raises questions which the immediate anecdote does not answer, and which the subsequent narrative refutes. Possibly the words instead replaced some other phrase. But simply delete them, and a reasonable story results: 'caught in adultery' is all the information that the reader needs to make sense of the comic escape that follows. We should in any case conclude that this farce was played out in Parium, and Peregrinus was never in Armenia.

Duke University KENT J. RIGSBY
krigsby@duke.edu

[1] 'This type of true proportion' (Fowler). Lucian uses the phrase at *Salt.* 75 literally and without irony, explaining *ἔμμετρος ἀκριβῶς*. Galen is especially fond of invoking the 'canon of Polyclitus' as a metaphor for the healthy body.

[2] For example, Porph. *In Ptol. Harm.* (I. Düring, *Goteb. Högsk. Årsskr.* 38.2 [1932], 22): *κανὼν καλεῖται ἁρμονικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς προσηγορίας τοῦ εὑρίσκοντος ὀργάνου τὸ ἐλλεῖπον ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν εἰς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, ὃ καλεῖται κανών, οὕτω κεκλημένος*. He proceeds to quote Ptolemais of Cyrene: *ἡ οὖν κανονικὴ πραγματεία, κατὰ τίνας μᾶλλόν ἐστι; καθόλου κατὰ τοὺς Πυθαγορικούς· ἣν γὰρ νῦν ἁρμονικὴν λέγομεν, ἐκεῖνοι κανονικὴν ὠνόμαζον*. Simpl. *in Phys.* (*CAG* IX.293): *τὴν ἁρμονικὴν ἤτοι κανονικήν*. Cf. *Suda P* 287–8, *ῥυθμίζει . . . κανονίζει* and *ῥυθμός . . . ἀκόλουθος ἁρμονίᾳ*.

[3] Quoted in Achilles Tatius, *Eisag.* 15 (p. 42 Maass).

[4] The earlier of the two chief manuscripts (*Vat.gr.* 90, tenth century) has *Ἁρμενίᾳ*, with rough breathing, for whatever that is worth (first reported by M. D. Macleod [OCT 1980]).

https://doi.org/10.1093/cq/54.1.317 Published online by Cambridge University Press