

TWO MEDIEVAL SAINTS' LIVES  
AND THE JUDGEMENT OF PARIS

In a recently published article<sup>1</sup>, I re-examined the familiar Greek myth of the Judgement of Paris under that aspect of it which represents the folk-tale pattern of a hero's choice of life or life-style. Following firstly the footsteps of Karl Reinhardt<sup>2</sup>, I compared the story of Heracles at the Crossroads confronted with the two female figures embodying Virtue and Pleasure; and the New Testament's tradition of Christ in the Wilderness offered three successive temptations, three different but appealing modes of existence, by the tempter Satan. Then, moving further afield, I evoked the Old Testament account of the Judgement of Solomon<sup>3</sup>, or rather the two consecutive episodes in *I Kings* 3.5ff., where we find first the dream in which God offers Solomon a choice of different types of life; and next the actual judgement between the two opposing women that exemplifies, concretely and directly, the very wisdom chosen by the king in the immediately preceding episode. Finally, I showed that the correct and judicious choice of life made by Heracles, Solomon and Christ is balanced not only by Paris' ruinous decision but also by the choice, in so many ways analogous, made by Macbeth, when confronted by the three sisters<sup>4</sup>.

I. A trip to Siena, shortly after the finalised article was out of my hands, drew to my attention a further instance, this time from medieval Christian legend, of the above-sketched pattern of early but decisive choice of life. The story in question is part of the biographical tradition concerning St. Catherine of Siena<sup>5</sup>. To be more specific, it is first attested within the *Legenda della mirabile vergine Beata Caterina di Siena* or *Legenda Maior*, the *Life* of that saint, composed A.D. 1385-1395 shortly after her death by Raymond of Capua<sup>6</sup>, who had for a time been her confessor. I give it here in a modern

<sup>1</sup> *The Judgements of Paris and Solomon*, “CQ” 53, 2003, 32-43.

<sup>2</sup> See my article n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See my article p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> See my article p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> For an introduction to the career of St. Catherine of Siena, with full bibliographical references, see the article on her by E. Dupré Theseider in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* s.v., 22 (1979), pp. 361ff. These references can be brought up to date by consulting, successively, the entries s.v. in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 18 (1989) 30ff., *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 5 (1996) 1333f, and *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (1997<sup>3</sup>). A useful biography: A. Lavasti, *Caterina di Siena* (Turin 1947) = *My Servant Catherine* (tr. D.M. White, London 1954).

<sup>6</sup> First published at Florence in 1477. Most generally available in the *Acta Sanctorum* (cf. H. Musurillo in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* s.v. [1.73]) published at Antwerp from 1643

English translation<sup>7</sup>:

“Then the Saviour of the World appeared to her, holding in his right hand a crown of gold studded with pearls and precious stones and in his left a diadem of thorns, and He said to her: ‘Dear daughter, you must know that it is necessary that at different times and different places you must be crowned with both these crowns. Choose, then, which you prefer: to be crowned during your life on earth with the crown of thorns, and I will keep the other for you for the life without end; or to receive the precious one now and to have the crown of thorns reserved for you after your death’. She answered: ‘O Lord, I have long renounced my own will and have chosen to follow yours; hence the choice is not mine. But since you wish me to reply, I will say at once that in this life I prefer to be always conformed to your most holy Passion and for love of you to embrace any pain as my refreshment’.

With these words she took the diadem of thorns passionately with both hands from the hand of the Saviour, and pressed it down so hard that the thorns pricked her head, so that, as she told me herself, even after the vision was over, her head felt sore from the pricks of those thorns.”<sup>8</sup>

In spite of some superficial disguising – especially with the characteristic Christian renunciation of personal choice – this story is clearly a version of the folk-tale pattern by which the hero – or here, uniquely, the heroine – near the start<sup>9</sup> of the relevant career, makes a decision about the nature of the life that is to be lived thereafter. Several of its features point to this conclusion. In the first place, we are informed, both at the beginning and at the end of the tale, that the poser of the choice appears *in a vision*. The vision or dream is frequently the context for the choice posed to the tale’s main figure. One

onwards: *Acta Sanctorum* Apr. III (1675) 853ff. The relevant passage is on p. 901 (§ 158).

<sup>7</sup> The earliest English translation (*The Lyf of St. Katherin of Senis*) was published by Caxton (1492). A later English rendering in 1609 by “John Fen, confessor to the English Nunnes at Louvaine” is republished in *English Recusant Literature 1558-1640*, vol. 373 (1978): the relevant passage is on p. 158f. I here reproduce the translation by G. Lamb (London 1960) p. 143.

<sup>8</sup> For a visual depiction of this vision by Bernardino Fungai (1460-1516) as a predella panel to the altarpiece by Francesco di Giorgio in the church of San Dimerico, Siena, see G. Kaftal, *St. Catherine in Tuscan Painting* (Oxford 1949) p. 68f., Fig. XVII. Also in *My Servant Catherine* (see n. 5 above) facing p. 86.

<sup>9</sup> Within Raymond’s *Life of St. Catherine*, the choice between the two crowns does not stand, relatively speaking, at a very early stage. But see Fawtier (as cited below n. 15) p. 129 for the almost total lack of chronological signposts within the work. Catherine’s choice of life is made or symbolised several times within the *Life*, because it is regularly met with (usually family) opposition: see the article by Sofia Bresch Gajano and Odile Redon in *Atti del Simposio Internazionale Cateriniano-Bernardiniano 1980*, Accad. Senese degli Intronati (Siena 1982) p. 25.

thinks immediately of the dream in which God confronts Solomon with a range of differing types of life as the first half of the Old Testament narrative of the hero's decision<sup>10</sup>. And then there are the dreams or visions of the Muses, experienced respectively by the poets Hesiod and Archilochus, in traditions which I have shown to be analogous to the pattern of the hero's choice of life which we are considering<sup>11</sup>. Secondly, observe the idiomatic contrast between the superficially appealing crown of gold, so tempting in the short run, and the initially repellent crown of thorns which, in the longer perspective, symbolises eternal life. This cannot but remind us very strongly of the dilemma faced by Heracles at the cross-roads; the immediate allure of Pleasure is there set against the ultimate reward offered by Virtue, which, after a long and arduous climb, again holds out the prospect of immortality. In their different ways the stories of Paris' Judgement, Solomon's verdict, and Christ's temptation also exhibit this antithesis between easy, short-term gratification and more lasting reward, with the heroes making the right or wrong choice as the subject-matter dictates. Power and wealth, symbolised in St. Catherine's case by the crown of gold<sup>12</sup>, often feature as the rejected option when the correct choice is made: so Solomon turns down the prospect of riches and long life, and Christ that of "the power and the glory"<sup>13</sup>.

We have no ground whatsoever to be surprised by the above correspondences, since the existence, within lives of the Saints, of patterns and motifs deriving from folk-tale has long been acknowledged<sup>14</sup>. It would be interesting, nevertheless, to know the source of the two antithetical crowns<sup>15</sup> in this

<sup>10</sup> See my article p. 42

<sup>11</sup> See my article p. 43

<sup>12</sup> One obvious ultimate source for these two objects is *I Corinthians* 9.24f. with its picture of the 'corruptible' and 'incorruptible' crowns.

<sup>13</sup> See my article p. 42.

<sup>14</sup> See, for instance, Lutz Röhrich, *Märchen und Wirklichkeit*<sup>3</sup> pp. 40ff. = *Folktales and Reality* pp. 36ff. (esp. the initial observation that "the folktale and the saint's legend constantly interact... The genres have exchanged numerous motifs during many centuries of adjacent development with oral tradition"). See further G.G. Loomis, *White Magic: an introduction to the Folklore of Christian Legend* (Cambridge 1948), F.C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: a handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, FF Communications 204 (Helsinki 1969), etc. For miraculous details in saints' lives reminiscent of motifs in Greek myths (Pelops restored to life, the ring of Polycrates) see K. Ranke's article s.v. 'Acta martyrum et sanctorum' in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (I.74 ff.).

<sup>15</sup> The question of the sources of Raymond's Life of Catharine was thoroughly investigated by R. Fawtier in "Bibl. des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome" 121, 1921. He was mainly interested in the issue of historical accuracy (which he inferred to be very small) but of relevance to the present study is his observation (p. 151) that "La vie de sainte Catherine de Sienne depuis son entrée dans le Tiers-Ordre jusqu' au début de sa carrière politique, offre relativement peu de faits susceptibles de contrôle, l'élément merveilleux y

particular episode. At which point the simple-minded will perhaps object that we do already know, since the end of Raymond of Capua's narrative makes clear that the saint herself related the vision to him ("as she told me herself"). As a counter to such simple-mindedness, another biographical anecdote, this time of much more recent provenance, may be quoted.

Towards the end of his life, E.R. Dodds published an autobiography<sup>16</sup> which included an account of an incident which occurred some twenty years before he was elected Regius Professor of Greek at the University of Oxford:

"On this voyage two things happened to me. At Malta when half drunk I paid my first and only visit to a brothel. It was a total failure, and left me angry and disgusted. This could have had a disastrous effect on my later sexual life, but fortunately the natural remedy was close at hand. A few days later I met Gwen, and was immediately involved in my first love-affair..."

In a witty note entitled *The Spurned Doxy: an unnoticed topos in English Academic Autobiography*<sup>17</sup>, W. M. Calder III quoted and compared this and two other similar anecdotes from autobiographies<sup>18</sup> by British academics roughly contemporary with Dodds and concluded:

"In each case the visitor is a youth who will become an outstanding British scholar in the humanities. In each case the temptation is in a southern European country, places known for their loose morality. In each case the narrator is not responsible; twice an immoral man seeks to corrupt him, once he is drunk. In two cases, it is wartime; in one a holiday. In two cases the narrator alleges that he has never again visited a brothel. In the later versions the youth enters the brothel. In the first he simply sees it from the gondola. In all three versions the doxy is spurned... We need no more to believe that young Wheeler, Ayers, or Dodds fled a doxy than that young Archilochus, Alcaeus, or Anacreon, not to speak of Horace, discarded a shield. Just as the latter shows that a poet serves the Muse not Ares, the former proves that an English scholar serves Athena not Aphrodite."

jouant naturellement un rôle prépondérant" and his conclusion (p. 214) that the formation of the work is "éminemment savante... dans laquelle la part de l'élément populaire est à peu près nulle".

<sup>16</sup> *Missing Persons* (Oxford 1971) p. 46.

<sup>17</sup> "The Classical World" 73, 1979/80, 305f.

<sup>18</sup> Mortimer Wheeler, *Still Digging* (London 1956) p. 55; A.J. Ayer, *Part of My Life* (Oxford 1977) p. 73. The relevant encounters occur in Venice and Spain respectively. It would be easy to accumulate other instances of the phenomenon in question. See, for instance, Kenneth Clark's autobiographical volume *Another Part of the Wood* (London 1974) p. 121: "Leigh [Ashton] sent down to call on me (no doubt with the kindest intentions) two ladies of the town... I was much embarrassed by this visit, and rang up Bobby to help me out. It ended with disillusion and boredom on both sides. What I required was not exercise but love and a few months later I got it". The scene here is Oxford.

One may suspect that some of this was written tongue-in-cheek, not least because two of the academics in question went on to enjoy a rich and varied sex-life (and even Dodds immediately adjoins to the fiasco an account of the beginning of an extended love affair). The final disjunction between Athena and Aphrodite is thus too schematic and simplistic. Nevertheless, at the risk of provoking talk of elephants and eggshells, I do think Calder's observations are suggestive in the context of the present discussion. This is not merely because Athene and Aphrodite constitute two thirds of the contestants at the Judgement of Paris, or even because that mortal exactly reverses the sequence alleged, and, so far from spurning the doxy, eagerly embraces her, or at least Helen, the woman of many husbands, and the *μαχλοσύνη* with which she is associated (to cite the formulation of *Iliad* 24.30).

Rather, this further comparative material reminds us that youth is a time when many young men<sup>19</sup> make formative decisions that shape their later lives, and that individual choices (and rejections) can assume symbolic and programmatic proportions<sup>20</sup>. When looking for the ultimate origins of life-choice stories such as the Judgement of Paris, we will do well to remember how frequently such choices feature in the ordinary lives of everyday human beings<sup>21</sup>.

II. Saints Catharine of Siena and Francis of Assisi have numerous features of their careers in common. By contrast, it would be hard to think of two more contrasting characters than Francis of Assisi and Archilochus of Paros. Nonetheless, two anecdotes within their respective biographical traditions link them as unlikely bed-fellows and also illuminate the issues relating to folk-tale which I have been discussing above.

Let us begin with the saint<sup>22</sup>, and a story related of him by one of his early biographers, Thomas of Celano, in his so-called *Vita Secunda* or *Memoriale in Desiderio Animae*<sup>23</sup>. St. Francis is hurrying towards Siena<sup>24</sup>,

<sup>19</sup> I observed above (p. 2) that Catherine's life-choice is unusual if not unique in involving a young girl rather than a young man.

<sup>20</sup> For the (ultimately Jungian) notion that the two brothers Hector and Paris, as well as the three goddesses Hera, Athene and Aphrodite, may be taken as different aspects of a single human personality see my article nn. 20-21.

<sup>21</sup> B. Gentili, "QUCC" 7, 1981, 175f. seeks to establish the literal veracity of these accounts with a parallel from his own youthful experience, but merely confirms the pattern's deep roots in the *psyche*.

<sup>22</sup> For a general introduction (with bibliography) to the influence of the folk-tale upon the earliest biographies of Francis see the article by F. Wagner s.v. 'Franz von Assisi, Hl.' in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (5.92ff.).

<sup>23</sup> On Thomas of Celano and his biography see the translation cited at the end of the next note pp. xvii ff. and *Francis of Assisi: the Saint: 1. Early Documents* pp. 171ff. The relevant text is best consulted in "Analecta Franciscana" (Quaracchi, Florence, Grottaferrata) 10,

“In the company of a certain doctor deeply attached to the fraternity. And behold, three poor women appeared beside the road when Francis was passing. They were all so similar in stature, age and appearance that you might think that a threefold matter had been perfected by a single form. When Francis approached, they reverently bowed their heads and praised him with this new greeting. ‘Welcome’ they said, ‘Lady Poverty’. Immediately the saint was filled with exquisite joy, inasmuch as there was nothing in him that he would rather have men salute than what these women had chosen. And at first Francis thought they were only poor women and he turned to the doctor... and said ‘I ask you for God’s sake, give me something that I might give it to these poor women’.”

The doctor does so and the pair then “proceeded a little further along their way... when the brothers and the doctor looked around immediately, they saw that the plain was completely empty of women. They were greatly surprised and they then considered the happening among the miracles of the Lord, knowing that these were not women who had flown away more quickly than birds.”

Francis’ biographer prefaces this tale with the claim that it is “of doubtful interpretation but most certain as regards the fact”. On the contrary, most scholars today would deny its literal veracity but see clearly how it is to be interpreted. Before we come to that, however, let us have the analogous episode from Archilochus’ life, as preserved on an inscription from the Hellenistic period<sup>25</sup>, deriving much of its material from considerably older sources. The similarities between the two will in fact clarify the interpretation of the saint’s legendary encounter:

As a young man, Archilochus rises early one morning to take his cow to market in order to sell it<sup>26</sup>:

“When he was at a place which is called Lissides, he thought he saw a group of women. Believing that they were on their way from [the fields]<sup>27</sup> to the town, he approached and bantered with them. They received him with jesting and laughter and asked if he was bringing the cow to sell it. When he

1924-6, 127ff. The passage that concerns us (LX.93) is on p. 138.

<sup>24</sup> I reproduce here the translation by Placid Hermann OTM (Illinois 1962) p. 134.

<sup>25</sup> T4 (*Mnesiepis Inscriptio*) E1 col. ii. 22ff. in Tarditi’s edition of Archilochus. For a useful survey of the evidence and of the relevant folk tale analogues see C.W. Müller, “Rh. Mus.” 128, 1985, 99ff. (cf. id., “Fabula” 33, 1992, 102ff. = *Kl. Schr.* pp. 120ff.), especially the observation that the narrative can be read “*mutatis mutandis* als eine antike ‘Heiligenlegende’” (p. 103 = p. 121).

<sup>26</sup> I quote the Loeb translation by D.E. Gerber (*Greek Iambic Poetry*, 1999), pp. 19ff.

<sup>27</sup> Gerber here mistranslates the relevant phrase and I have corrected his rendering: cf. M.L. West, “CR” 14, 1964, 142.

said he was, they replied that they would themselves give him a fitting price. After these words were spoken, neither they nor the cow were any longer visible, but before his feet he saw a lyre. He was astounded, and when he recovered his senses after a while, he assumed that it was the Muses who had appeared to him and that they had given him the lyre.”

In spite of some surface divergences (especially the respective banter and reverent greetings exchanged between the two heroes and the women they encounter) the two anecdotes clearly exhibit the same story-pattern. In each case, the hero is travelling when he encounters a group of women<sup>28</sup> whose identity he mistakes. An exchange of some sort is made, in consequence of which the women disappear, making clear to the astonished<sup>29</sup> hero that they are no mere mortals but beings of a higher standing. More important, however, than this coincidence of individual details is the underlying significance of each story. They represent, in a manner that relates them to the Judgements of Paris and Solomon and to St. Catharine's choice of crown, a crucial establishing of the hero's vocation<sup>30</sup> in life; they set him apart from the common run of humanity. That the women whom Francis encounters should be three in number is particularly striking in this context. Quite apart from the

<sup>28</sup> It is specifically stated in the case of St. Francis (and implied in the case of Archilochus?) that the hero takes pity on the assumed poverty of the women he meets. This detail is reminiscent of the pattern whereby questing heroes win over helper figures (before the latter's identity is revealed) by pitying their apparent dilemma, thus gaining their support (the *do ut des* principle). See e.g. L. Röhrich s.v. 'Bewährungsprobe' in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (2.276): "Nur wer anderen uneigennützig geholfen hat, findet selbst Hilfe".

<sup>29</sup> For *kataplexis* and wonder as appropriate mortal reactions to the sort of epiphany represented in the Archilochus legend see Müller (as cited above n. 25) p. 107. For stunned silence as mortal reaction to the epiphany and disappearance of a deity more generally see Richardson's commentary on *H.H. Dem.* 275ff. (p. 252) and 281ff. (cf. his notes on 188-90 (p. 208) and 188 on reactions to divine arrival and departure). The motifs of abrupt disappearance on the part of the relevant women and of consequent astonishment on the part of the mortals recur in the analogous episode (see above p. 1) of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. See the exchange between Banquo and the titular hero at I.iii.79ff: "the earth hath bubbles, as the water has, / And these are of them. – Whither are they vanished? // Into the air; and what seemed corporal, / Melted as breath into the wind. Would they had stayed! // Were such things here, as we do speak about, / Or have we eaten on the insane root, / That takes the reason prisoner?". See further Archibald Cameron as cited below (n. 33) p. 305 on this "disappearance motif" (what he calls ἄφαντος ἐγένετο).

<sup>30</sup> As with the parallel case of St. Catherine's vision (see above n. 9), Francis' encounter with the three ladies is not explicitly dated to an early stage of his life. Indeed, the meeting is located at a relatively late period within that chronologically deficient stretch of time (see e.g. J. Pope-Hennessy, *Sassetta* (London 1937) p. 133 n. 22).

general folk-tale propriety of that tally<sup>31</sup>, we are reminded of the three goddesses upon whom Paris must pass his judgement, and of the three sisters or nymphs whom Macbeth so decisively meets with near the start of his career (and Shakespeare's play)<sup>32</sup>.

Certain features of St. Francis' encounter seem initially anomalous or unique; but on further investigation the features in question turn out to be illuminating for the folk-tale mentality we have been considering. Thus at first blush it may appear odd that Francis encounters the three women while he is in the company of others<sup>33</sup>: a doctor is referred to at the beginning and at the end an unspecified number of brothers are mentioned. Encounters of this sort are usually experienced by the hero while *alone* (this applies to Paris, Solomon, Christ, Hesiod and Archilochus) and that is only to be expected if the encounter is to be interpreted as a vision<sup>34</sup> or dream which sets the hero apart from mankind. One might therefore take Francis' companions to be an *ad hoc* divergence relating to the importance of the Christian brotherhood he had established. But in fact the story-pattern under examination does sometimes supply the hero with companions. That Banquo accompanies Macbeth when they encounter the three sisters may be dismissed as a special case, since the women's prophecy concerns his future too<sup>35</sup>. But in Theocritus' *Seventh Idyll*, which can certainly be shown to reflect the relevant story pattern<sup>36</sup>, the narrating poet is in the company of two friends when he meets up with the mysterious goatherd Lycidas, who fulfills many of the functions of the poet's ambivalent helper figure.

Likewise, the undefined sum of money which Francis, with the doctor's help, bestows upon the three women, may seem at first a pointless and unmotivated detail. But it gains both point and motive when we realise that it is

<sup>31</sup> See my article n. 13. St. Francis' three women were later identified, by St. Bonaventura in his *Life of St. Francis* or *Legenda Maior* (translated by E. Cousins, New York 1978: the relevant passage is ch. 7 § 6 (p. 243f.)), as the three evangelical virtues Chastity, Obedience, and Poverty, and as such they are represented in the Sienese painter Sassetta's Borgo San Sepolcro Altarpiece (c. 1437-44), in that dismantled portion now in France (Musée Conde, Chantilly). See E. Carli, *Sassetta* (Milan 1957) pp. 68ff. and Pl. XXVII.

<sup>32</sup> See my article p. 37.

<sup>33</sup> For supernatural encounters as normally "tak[ing] place on the lonely road" and occurring "to a solitary traveller" see Archibald Cameron, in *Miscellanea di Studi Alessandrini* (Rostagni Festschrift, Turin 1963) pp. 298 and 300.

<sup>34</sup> On the vision aspect of such stories see Müller (above n. 25) pp. 102ff. and my article p. 43.

<sup>35</sup> Much the same consideration explains why, in the Gospel of *St. Luke* 24.13, Christ appears to *two* disciples as they travel to Emmaus.

<sup>36</sup> See my remarks in "RFIC" forthcoming.



a vestige of what has been called the “Gabe and Gegengabe”<sup>37</sup>, the reciprocal exchange of gifts which stands at the very centre of such stories’ significance. Thus Paris gives Aphrodite first prize in the beauty contest in return for Helen the loveliest woman in the world. Or Archilochus gives the disguised Muses a cow and receives in return a lyre that symbolises his calling as a poet<sup>38</sup>. It is perhaps characteristic of the naked humility of St. Francis, which this very episode so beautifully establishes, that the mere greeting as “Lady Poverty” can rank in his eyes as a valuable gift requiring an adequate reward.

Again, we may initially wonder why Thomas of Celano begins this particular episode by telling us that St. Francis is hurrying to Siena to seek treatment for a malady of his eyes. But here too reflection will produce a two-fold propriety. Encounters of the sort here exemplified, as with Archilochus’ journey to the town called Lissides, regularly occur on the road towards (or away from) a city or town<sup>39</sup>. And the unexpected benefit (or, in negative cases, bane) bought by the encounter is often contrasted with the banal, trivial or everyday nature of the journey’s original motive. Thus Archilochus is sent by his father to sell the family’s cow<sup>40</sup>; Epimenides is likewise despatched by his father into the country after an animal from the herd<sup>41</sup>. One is reminded of Matthew Arnold’s paraphrase of Goethe<sup>42</sup>: “it sometimes happens that

<sup>37</sup> See Müller as cited above (n. 25) p. 109.

<sup>38</sup> On a more sinister and metaphysical level we may compare the implication that, in return for being hailed as “king hereafter” by the three sisters (the tone here the very reverse of the three women’s greeting to St. Francis), Macbeth surrenders to them his soul: see my article p. 38.

<sup>39</sup> See Cameron as cited above (n. 33) p. 297f. in connection with Theocritus’ *Seventh Idyll*, a good example of the motif. Note too *Macbeth* I.iii.39 “How far is’t called to Forres?” (~ “as Macbeth and Banquo journeyed towards Forres” in Shakespeare’s source Holinshed: see my article n. 29). In the sort of stories we are discussing, it is tempting to distinguish (a) *active* visions experienced on a journey (Archilochus, Heracles, Christ in the wilderness, Simichidas in *Idyll* 7, Macbeth, St. Francis) from (b) *passive* visions experienced in repose (Paris, Hesiod, Solomon, St. Catherine). See my article p. 39 for pertinent remarks contrasting the active and passive life. Note, however, that Callimachus’ allusion to Hesiod’s vision in the prologue to the *Aetia* (fr. 2.1f. Pf.) was interpreted by Fronto *epist. ad M. Caes.* 1.4 (p. 9 Pf.) *vides quale sit, scilicet ambulanti obviam venisse Musas* with reference to the phrase ὄτ’ ἡντρίασεν. Note also that Heracles has turned off his journey’s road to sit and rest (Prodicus B2 Diels-Kranz) and that Epimenides (see n. 41 below) sleeps in a cave, again having turned off a road.

<sup>40</sup> See Müller, cited above (n. 25) p. 138.

<sup>41</sup> Epimenides T3A1 and B1 D-K = Epimenides *FGrHist* 457 T 71 = Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F 67.

<sup>42</sup> From *On Translating Homer: Last Words*, ed. W.H.D. Rouse (London 1905) p. 136. The reference is to Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* of the wrong road which a man’s

even on this false road a man finds, not indeed that which he sought, but something which is good, and useful for him; like Saul, the son of Kish, who went forth to look for his father's asses, and found a kingdom"<sup>43</sup>.

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ambitions and inclinations can take: see the whole work's penultimate paragraph ("du kommst mir vor wie Saul, der Sohn Kis, der ausging, seiner Vaters Eselinnen zu suchen, und ein Königreich fand"). Cf. *I Samuel* 9.1 ff., 10.14ff. The passage has been cited by F. Dornseiff, *Th LZ* 80 (1955) 499f. (cf. Müller [as cited above n. 25] p. 138) in a slightly different context.

<sup>43</sup> A final possible link between the stories of Francis and Archilochus: the latter seems to imply (see in particular the reconstruction by Müller (as above n. 25) pp. 110ff. and 147ff.) an hostility, easily paralleled from folk-tale, between Archilochus' father and his youngest son, an hostility connected with his new poetic vocation. Although it does not explicitly feature in the particular anecdote involving the three women, a like antipathy of his father towards the future saint's religious vocation was, of course, a rooted feature of St. Francis' biographical tradition from the earliest time. Cf. n. 9 above for something similar regarding St. Catherine.