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Abstract	This chapter shows how Homer's brief presentation of Bellerophon's solitude proved a fecund source for imagining loneliness both as privation and as resource from Homer to early modernity, in ways that only a thorough study of the classical and late antique archive can show. This chapter's demonstration proceeds in two stages. First, it shows how Homer's poems formulated the problem of Bellerophon's solitude, in ways that generated a complex nexus of phrases, forms, and figures from the time of Homer down to the time of the Church Fathers. Second, it shows how the resulting Bellerophontic archive informs some of the best-known works of early modern literature, with brief deep-dives revealing different faces of this multifaceted figure, from Petrarch's Ciceronian Bellerophon of lovelorn loss, Ronsard's hubristic Bellerophon of poetic flight, Spenser's adoption of Bellerophon's lonely landscape of Bellerophon for his Christian knight, Shakespeare's subtle and cerebral Bellerophon, and Milton's daring integration of tradition for his audacious middle flight. This chapter thus represents a contribution to the study of loneliness from antiquity to early modernity (and of their interconnectedness), as well as an experiment in classical reception and the generative figures of poetics.	
Keywords (separated by " - ")	Bellerophon - Loneliness - Milton - Solitude - Spenser - Hamlet	

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I shall remain silent about his [Bellerophon's] fate: but as for him [Pegasus], 5
the stables of Zeus welcomed him upon Olympus. 6
—Pindar¹ 7

It's no Bellerophoniad. It's a 8
THE END 9
—John Barth² 10

Thus Pindar and John Barth crystallise, millennia apart, the contrast 11
between Pegasus's convivial ascent and Bellerophon's descent into silence. 12

¹ Pindar, *Olympian*, 13.92–3. All translations of Greek and Latin, unless otherwise specified, are my own.

² Barth, 308.

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H. Yip, T. Clifton (eds.), *Writing Early Modern Loneliness*, Early
Modern Literature in History,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-55052-2_2

13 Into silence, that is, and loneliness, for while the flying steed Pegasus will
 14 turn figure of *Fama*, poetic glory, Bellerophon will turn figure of solitude.
 15 Throughout the classical tradition, writers and their subjects
 16 “Bellerophonize,” that is, turn themselves into Bellerophon, as figure at
 17 once of the invention of writing, of man’s war against monsters and drag-
 18 ons, and of the loneliness that accompanies hubris and our confrontation
 19 with mortal limitations. Scholarship has sometimes had difficulty address-
 20 ing the solitary sphere in pre-modernity and in classical antiquity³—and
 21 with it the question of *mala solitudo*, “bad solitude,” including loneliness.⁴
 22 Recent years have witnessed multiple studies of the ambivalence of soli-
 23 tude in early modernity, and the debt of such ambivalences to classical
 24 archives. Yet, although Bellerophon, when noticed, has been treated as a
 25 principal figure for loneliness in this or that corpus,⁵ this chapter aims to
 26 show the value of treating the archive of Bellerophontic loneliness across
 27 the *longue durée* of the classical tradition, with a special focus on the gen-
 28 erative nature of the classical archive on conceptions of loneliness in early
 29 modernity. To do so, it uses two linked approaches: on the one hand, a
 30 study of the terminological nexus of Bellerophon’s loneliness from Homer
 31 through to early modernity—as a *topos* in the terms of Ernst Robert
 32 Curtius;⁶ on the other, a study of the gestural vocabulary of Bellerophon’s
 33 fall and solitary wandering—as *Pathosformel*, in the terms of Aby Warburg:
 34 “antique formulas of intensified physical or psychic expression.”⁷

35 “Any revival of the past ... is two-edge, and cuts both ways,”⁸ as the
 36 case of Bellerophon shows: Homer’s brief presentation of Bellerophon’s
 37 loneliness proved a fecund source for imagining solitude both as privation
 38 and as resource from Homer to early modernity, in ways that only a thor-
 39 ough study of the classical and late antique archive can show.⁹ This chap-
 40 ter’s demonstration proceeds in two stages. First, it shows how Homer’s
 41 poems formulated the problem of Bellerophon’s solitude, in ways that
 42 generated a complex nexus of phrases, forms, and figures down to the
 43 Church Fathers. Second, it shows how the resulting Bellerophontic archive
 44 informs some of the best-known works of early modern literature, with

³ Kachuck (2021a).

⁴ Matuszewski; Barclay, Chalus, and Simonton.

⁵ Tarantino.

⁶ Curtius.

⁷ Warburg, 555.

⁸ Kantorowicz, 185.

⁹ On Warburg’s *Pathosformel*, see Settis; Becker.

brief deep-dives revealing different faces of this multifaceted figure, from Petrarch's Ciceronian Bellerophon of lovelorn loss, Ronsard's hubristic Bellerophon of poetic flight, Spenser's adoption of Bellerophon's lonely landscape of Bellerophon for his Christian knight, Shakespeare's subtle and cerebral Bellerophon, and Milton's daring integration of tradition for his audacious middle flight. This chapter thus represents a contribution to the study of loneliness from antiquity to early modernity—of the interconnectedness of the two—as well as an experiment in classical reception and the generative figures of poetics.¹⁰

BELLEROPHON'S LONELINESS IN THE CLASSICAL ARCHIVE: HOMER TO THE CHURCH FATHERS

Homer's *Iliad* makes Bellerophon the archetypal solitary hero. In the real time of Homer's *Iliad*, Achilles, who had earlier left behind the private sphere of his father's Phthia in search of "unwithering glory," also departs from the public sphere of the Greek army in response to Agamemnon's insult. When we see him in his isolation, on the far edge of the Greek camp, he is "in solitude, for company":¹¹ he sits "alone" in front of Patroclus, singing of the "glories of men"—several books later, Achilles will lose even Patroclus, rendering him, at last, alone, and not even in company, sparking the quick crescendo of godlike rage that leads ultimately to his reconciliation with human society—Greek and Trojan alike. Homer does not dilate upon interior emotional qualities—he evokes dramatic scenes (and he is, after all, "the father of tragedy") that might, however, suggest them. One such scene provides a prefiguration, typological cousin, and microcosmic concentration of Achilles's story: the micro-narrative of Bellerophon.¹²

Glaucus, Bellerophon's descendant, tells Diomedes the story on the battlefield: to Bellerophon "the gods gave beauty and every manly grace."¹³ Too much beauty, it turns out, and Bellerophon enters a Potiphar's wife tale with King Proetus of Corinth, who sends Bellerophon to the king of Lycia with infamous "baleful signs" that ask him to kill Bellerophon—these signs are the only mention of written communication

¹⁰ Kachuck (2021b).

¹¹ Auden, 80.

¹² On Bellerophon and Achilles, see King.

¹³ Homer, *Iliad*, 6.152–57.

in the Homeric poems. Threading the needle of hospitality and family ties, Proetus sends Bellerophon on several dangerous quests against the fire-breathing Chimaera, the Solymi, the Amazons, and, at last, an ambush of picked Lycian warriors. Bellerophon, victorious, is named successor to Proetus, has three children—but lives sadly ever after. Homer explains his fate:

But the time came when Bellerephon too was loathed (ἀπήχθετο) by the gods, and wandered off alone over the Aleian plain (κατὰ πεδίον τὸ Ἀλῆϊον οἶος ἄλᾱτο), eating his heart away (ὄν θυμὸν κατέδων) and shunning the path of men (πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων).¹⁴

His lamentable end, its cause mysterious, involves several non-interchangeable parts:

Social exclusion	“Hated by all the gods”	t1.1
A state (of solitude)	“Alone”	t1.2
An activity (of wandering (on foot))	“Wandering the Aleian plain”	t1.3
Internal self-affliction	“Eating his heart away”	t1.4
Active social self-exclusion	“Shunning the path of men”	t1.5

As Bellerophon’s solitude prefigures Achilles’s, it also looks forward to Odysseus, long kept from household and humankind. Bellerophon’s end prefigures Odysseus’s name, earned because his grandfather Autolycus was “angered with many, both men and women.”¹⁵ Homer’s description of Bellerophon’s sad end is diachronic and synchronic, genealogical and topological, a narrative of successive states and emotions, and an anatomy, in this case, of loneliness. Interesting structures emerge, causal and coincidental: hated by the gods, he avoids men; disliked by others, he attacks himself. His ending is oriented earthwards: he wanders a plain, and his self-consumption, κατέδων (*LSJ*: “eat up, devour”), contains the prefix κατ- (*LSJ*: “downwards”), emphasising the act’s totality and downward verticality.¹⁶

¹⁴Homer, *Iliad*, 6.200–02.

¹⁵Homer, *Odyssey*, 19.400–05.

¹⁶*LSJ*.

Homer's poems regularly feature formulaic repetition, but even the seemingly banal elements of Bellerophon's end are peculiar rarities. Bellerophon's thorough/downward consumption puts him in a league only with dogs, flies, corpse-devouring worms, or the suitors in Ithaca: "Cast down by the gods and fleeing from mortals, apart from any form of sociality, Bellerophon becomes to himself as predator to prey – a cannibal of his own spirit."¹⁷ The assimilation of Bellerophon's self-consumption with that word's twelve other occurrences groups Bellerophon with the beastly, or the anti-social, including the Cyclopes, who also avoid "the path of men," and whose archetypal representative, Polyphemus, is also described as "alone."¹⁸ Bellerophon's lonely end represents a failure of his lifelong quest for social integration, tempered by dedication to virtuous domesticity. His self-abnegation, rejecting the company of a married queen, gets him sent to far-away Lycia; there, he starts from scratch, eventually earning himself wife, kingdom, and children, only for those children to be killed one after another, and for Bellerophon to find himself, like Job, alone. This is not what Steven Shapin describes as typical of early modern solitudes, a withdrawal from one kind of social setting to another; nor is it what Fay Bound Alberti describes as typical of loneliness ahead of the eighteenth century, the deliberate choice to be alone for peace and calm, a kind of choice so richly explored in David Vincent's study of loneliness from the eighteenth century onwards. It is, instead, an interminable errancy, whose ending is despair.¹⁹

Bellerophon's wandering resembles, too, how the Ghost of Patroclus describes his post-mortem existence to Achilles: the other spirits keep him at a distance, preventing him from joining them across the river, "but just as I am (αὐτως) I wander (ἀλάλημαι) before the wide-gated House of Hades":²⁰ in this phrase, αὐτως, which I here translate as "just as I am," emphasises the extent to which Patroclus's deathly existence is one of isolation in, of, as himself. The echo suggests that Bellerophon's solitude is a living death, not in Hades, but in the "Aleian Plain," literally "Plain of Wandering." Bellerophon's solitary activity emerges from the place, and

¹⁷ King, 306.

¹⁸ Homer, *Odyssey*, 9.119; 188. It is worth making comparisons with Hannah Yip's analysis of a sermon by the English clergyman Nehemiah Rogers, which draws upon the tale of Androcles and the Lion to illustrate the loneliness of Androcles. See Yip's chapter in this volume.

¹⁹ Shapin; Alberti; Vincent.

²⁰ Homer, *Iliad*, 23.74; King, 306.

the place-name from Bellerophon's wandering and of avoidance. A tripartite *figura etymologica*—a repetition of the same word-root for different words—interiorises place and exteriorises self: Bellerophon wandered (ἄλᾱτο) alone on the Aleian [Ἀλήϊον=Wandering] Plain, wending (ἄλεείνων) from the path of men. The Greek word here for “alone” is οἶος, which means “alone” but also “one,” being cognate with Latin *unus* and, ultimately, English “one”; here, Bellerophon is alone, but he is also only one person, one activity, one place, in other words, one root word. He becomes singularity: his abject one-ness—one with himself and surroundings—begets self-consumption. Thus, in the great debate between the primacy of myth or ritual, the Bellerophon tale inscribes itself in a third path: language begets both ritual and myth.²¹ Bellerophon's end emerges out of these terms for wandering and avoidance, and for the place that becomes their allegorical extension: the Aleian, the Wandering, Plain. The fusion of Bellerophon with plain is pointed: the word plain (πεδίον) is related to the word for foot, and here, instead of rising upwards, he eats himself down to the roots (κατέδων).

Victory for Homeric heroes means, in this life, dining with family and friends, dying amidst friends and foes; Bellerophon dines alone (and, if only figuratively, upon himself!), the image of what will be called the monoposist.²² Later Greco-Roman tradition would increase Bellerophon's solitude: his fall turns him lame and blind. Bellerophon thus joins another Homeric figure, Lycurgus, hated by the gods, blinded.²³ Homeric intertextuality already fused the two, as scholastic tradition noted: the Aleian Plain could also be a place where one turns blind (ἄλαός). Thus, Homer's careful reader, and imitator, Nonnus of Panopolis (fifth century CE), followed Homer's lexical invitation, fusing Bellerophon and Lycurgus through the *figura etymologica* that Homeric intertextuality had suggested: Bellerophon's plain is miniaturised into Lycurgus's sandals.²⁴

Several centuries after Homer, Pindar gives a fuller account of Bellerophon's rise (on Pegasus) and fall, thus fusing Hesiodic and Homeric strands to make Bellerophon an emblem of heroism, and lesson in hubris. Although Homer ignored Bellerophon's conveyance, Hesiod discussed the winged horse Pegasus's birth—from the headless Gorgon—and

²¹ Scheid and Svenbro.

²² Steinhart and Slater.

²³ Homer, *Iliad*, 6.140–41.

²⁴ Nonnus, 21.163–6; Lowry.

Bellerophon's reliance on Pegasus in his fight against the Chimera.²⁵ 168
 Pindar recalls Bellerophon's fall from Pegasus in the ode he writes for 169
 Strepsiades of Thebes: 170

Winged Pegasus threw his master Bellerophon, who wanted to go to the 171
 sky's dwelling-places and Zeus's gathering (ὁμάγουριν). A thing sweet beyond 172
 measure ends in a most bitter (πικροτάτα) end.²⁶ 173

Bellerophon's solitude is present by supposed opposition: extreme bitter- 174
 ness through privation from idealised sociality, not only a gathering 175
 (ἄγουρις) but a gathering together (ὁμ-άγουρις), not only of humans, but of 176
 gods and their king. Too intense, too elevated, a desire for association, 177
 leads to the bitterness of its opposite: social privation, loneliness. 178
 Euripides's *Bellerophon* has Bellerophon simultaneously deny the gods' 179
 existence (making him thus all the lonelier) and seek Pegasus-bound heav- 180
 enly ascent; Aristophanes's *Peace* parodies Euripides's Bellerophon 181
 through Trygaeus, who ascends to heaven on a dung beetle, who, he 182
 claims, "alone (μόνος) can fly to the gods" (130), with that qualification 183
 ("only" the dung beetle can reach heaven) prefiguring the rider's fall 184
 ("only" the beetle/Pegasus and not the rider) and rider's future loneli- 185
 ness, following earthly descent. Trygaeus fears he will be cast down due to 186
 the dung beetle's characteristic stench—ordure.²⁷ 187

As we have seen in this chapter's opening citation, Pindar's ode for 188
 Xenophon of Corinth (*Olympian*, 13) remains ostentatiously silent about 189
 Bellerophon's end, presumably out of respect for the city of the ode's 190
 victorious honorand: "I shall remain silent (διασωπάσομαί) about his fate: 191
 but as for him [Pegasus], the stables of Zeus welcomed him upon 192
 Olympus" (ll. 92–3). Despite his silence, Pindar anticipated the repression 193
 of Bellerophon's death, and the return of his repressed solitude, in describ- 194
 ing the hero's greatest acts: the slaying of Amazons, the Chimera, and the 195
 Solymi (88 αἰθέρος ψυχρῶν ἀπὸ κόλπων ἐρήμου). Here, the solitary wil- 196
 derness of Bellerophon's Homeric end is lexically, imagistically, transferred 197
 to the empty wilderness (ἐρήμου) of the air from which he, mounted upon 198
 Pegasus, rains destructions upon foes. 199

²⁵ Hesiod, *Theogony*, 277–86; Hesiod, *Catalogues of Women*, 108–15.

²⁶ Pindar, *Isthmian*, 7.46–8.

²⁷ For Aristophanes's text, see Wilson. For Euripides's *Bellerophon*, see Dixon. For the contrast of bodily fluids with celestial aspirations, see Lucian, *Somnium*, 15; Strabo, l. 19.

And this very word, wilderness (ἐρημός), along with its Latin cognates, will indeed go on to dominate the *topos* of Bellerophon's loneliness, nowhere more influentially than in the afterlife of the Peripatetic mini-treatise that investigates why all (πάντες) distinguished philosophers, statesman, poets, and artists are melancholic; a list of legendary examples (Hercules, Lysander, Ajax) culminates with Bellerophon; Homeric commentaries could then read this melancholy back into Homer, as did Eustathius in twelfth-century CE Byzantium.²⁸ The *Problem* notes that Bellerophon "hunted for (ἐδίωκεν) solitary wildernesses (ἐρημίας)," then cites Homer's famous verses. The *Problem's* formulation is clever, and odd: usually, one hunts in the wilderness, one does not hunt the wilderness itself. This the melancholic does, with Bellerophon as *locus classicus*. The strange phrase was never normalised, but it was a favourite of Biblical exegetes in the late antique East, most especially John Chrysostom in his exegetical Biblical commentaries; for him, the Christian need not "hunt out solitary wildernesses" in order to philosophise and find God, but can even find his solitudes "in the midst of the city" (*Exp. in Psalm. ἐπὶ μέσης πόλεως* LV.60.39).²⁹ In this tradition, though, the melancholic (interior) loneliness of Bellerophon amidst solitary (external) surroundings, so crucial to the Aristotelian *Problemata*, is vacated by the Christian exegete's belief in his God's ubiquitous presence as in Athanasius's paraphrase: "And even if hunting you should go to the solitary wilderness, do not fear that you are alone there, while you have God there" (*Theol. Epist. ad Marcellinum de interpretatione Psalmorum. XXVII.33.21* Καὶ ἐὰν μὲν διωκόμενος εἰς ἐρημίαν ἀπέλθῃς, μὴ φοβηθῇς ὡς μόνος ὢν ἐκεῖ, ἔχων δὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἐκεῖ).³⁰ Here, Bellerophon's wilderness is one with David's "valley of the shadow of death," where the Psalmist fears no evil, he says to his God, "for you are with me."³¹

The *Problemata's* combination of Bellerophon's melancholy and genius had a vast influence on culture and science in the Latin West, in large part through translation and adaptation by Cicero in the first century

²⁸ Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, 6.200–05. On Bellerophon in the medical corpus, see Manjarrés.

²⁹ See Eusebius, *Quaest. ad Steph.*, XII.928.35; Chrysostom, *Exp. in Psalm.*, LV.168.56; Chrysostom, *In Matt.*, LVIII.735.8; Chrysostom, *In Joan.*, LVIX.359.18 [see BL, Burney MS 408, fols. 132r–139v]. For the early modern Catholic framing of loneliness in Chrysostom, see Frederick E. Smith's chapter in this volume.

³⁰ Aristotle, XXVII.33.21.

³¹ Psalm 23:4.

BCE. Cicero claims that “Aristotle says that all geniuses are melancholics” 231
 (*Aristoteles quidem ait omnes ingeniosos melancholicos esse*).³² When he 232
 comes to describing the work of mourning, he notes that people mourn in 233
 different ways, including Bellerophon’s way, whose emulators, 234

In distress, seek out solitary places (*solitudines captent*), as Homer says of 235
 Bellerophon, “Who miserable wandered, mourning, in the Aleaean fields, / 236
 himself eating his own heart, avoiding the paths of men.”³³ 237

Cicero wrote this in 45 BCE, following the death of his daughter, and his 238
 own period of mournful self-isolation, an isolation he described in a letter 239
 to his friend Atticus in Bellerophontic terms: “I seek out solitudes (*solitu-* 240
dines sequor).”³⁴ 241

Whether Cicero’s translation of Homer was of his own devising or from 242
 some earlier translation, it has a distinct Ennian feel, most notably in its 243
 use of alliteration (*miser... maerens; vestigia vitans*). And while the frag- 244
 ments of Ennius’s *Annals* contain no direct reference to Bellerophon, his 245
 greatest poetic model, Callimachus’s *Aetia*, contained references to 246
 Pegasus at both its beginning and its end, and Ennius’s own description of 247
 the dream of Ilia, which gives birth to the future history of Rome, seems 248
 to reflect gestures of, and towards, Bellerophon’s Homeric destiny: 249

Thus alone (*sola*), after that I seemed, dear sister, [in this dream] to wander 250
 (*errare*) and slowly (*tardaque*) to walk (*vestigare*), and to search for you, and 251
 not to be able to take hold you to my heart – no path (*semita*) was fixing my 252
 foot (*pedem*).³⁵ 253

The association of “slowness” with “wandering” may reflect a Latin folk- 254
 etymology attested from the first century BCE deriving *erro* from Greek 255
 ἔρρω, “go slowly” or “limp” (as for Hephaestus in Homer’s *Iliad*, 18.421), 256
 or even “wander,” as when the goddess Eidothea meets Menelaus as he is 257
 “wandering alone” (οἶω ἔρποντι).³⁶ Homer’s words, once more, generate 258
 new forms of loneliness ... and their fruits. As Bellerophon’s capture of 259

³² Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, 1.80; see Pohlenz.

³³ Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, 3.63; see Pohlenz.

³⁴ Cicero, *Att.*, 12.23.1; see Shackleton-Bailey, 262. On Cicero and solitude, see Kachuck (2021a, 45–82).

³⁵ Skutsch, xxix.

³⁶ Varro, *Ling.*, 6.96; Hyginus, 57. Bellerophon’s fall breaks his hip!

Pegasus will (at least from Pindar onwards) be the result of a dream, here the rise of Rome will be figured in a dream, but where Bellerophon's tale ended in solitary wanderings and the consumption of his own heart, it is in such despondency that Rome will find its beginning, but not its end.

Indeed, official Roman ideology from the Republic down through to the Empire of late antiquity generally agreed with Varro that “bees are not of a solitary nature (*solitaria*), as eagles are, but like human beings”—which is to say, social animals.³⁷ It was in tension with such a sense, then, that terms, gestures, and structures derived from Bellerophon's involuntary solitude became, through the mediation of the tradition derived from Peripatetic medicalisation of Bellerophon's melancholia, of use in late antiquity to attack those who voluntarily removed themselves from the normal and normative frameworks of society—namely, Christians attracted by hermeticism.

Thus, in the fourth century CE, Ausonius of Bordeaux (a Christian) grows frustrated that his friend, Paulinus of Nola, now sees Christian faith as requiring further distance from classical culture and its proponents, the Roman elite. Frustrated at Paulinus's infrequent correspondence, Ausonius writes his friend a letter that paints a sorry picture of Paulinus's pious retreat:

Sad (*tristis*), needy, let him dwell in wildernesses (*deserta*), and silently (*tacitusque*) roam (*pererret*) the borders of Alpine hills, just as it is said, long ago, deprived of his wits, Bellerophon, avoiding the company and paths of men (*vestigia vitans*) would wander, straying (*vagus*), through places untrodden by others (*avia loca*).³⁸

Ausonius's verse-epistle brilliantly adapts Cicero's own translation of Homer: *tristis* (sad) varies Cicero's *miser*, his *deserta* Cicero's *sola*, *vagus* Cicero's *errare*. The phrase *vestigia vitans* (“avoiding paths”) is straight from Cicero's Homer (and Ennius's *Ilia*), while *avia ... loca* here combines Bellerophon's sadness with a topos of Callimachean innovative poetic aesthetics. Meanwhile, Ausonius adapts a Virgilian passage that might have had Bellerophon's loneliness in the back of its mind, where Aeneas describes how, following Troy's fall, “I, myself, unknown

³⁷ Varro, *Rust.*, 3.16; Kachuck (2021a), 5.

³⁸ *Epist.* 26.69–72; see Green. Subsequent references to this text are indicated in brackets. For full discussion of Paulinus, Ausonius, and Bellerophon, see Sassi.

(*ignotus*), needy (*egens*), wander around (*peragro*) the wildernesses 293
 (*deserta*) of Libya, from Europe and Asia expelled.”³⁹ Ausonius’s descrip- 294
 tion also combines Cicero and Homer’s Bellerophon with Ovid’s por- 295
 trayal of the wandering Narcissus in the *Metamorphoses* (3.370, *per devia* 296
rura vagantem), who also avoids “the company of men” (3.403, *coetus ...* 297
viriles > Aus. *Epist.*, 21.71, *coetus hominum*).⁴⁰ 298

Paulinus, however, rejects his friend’s prognosis: “I do not suffer from 299
 Bellerophon’s perturbed mind (*anxia Bellerophontis / mens*,” he writes 300
 (Aus. *Epist.*, 31.191–92), nor “live deprived of my wits” (196, *mentis* 301
egentes). As Paulinus’s mind does not wander (156, *mens vaga*), nor his 302
 “life flee interaction with people” (156–57, *participantum / vita fugax* 303
hominum), he is nothing like “the Pegesean horseman [who] lived in 304
 Lycian caves” (157–58, *Lyciae ... in antris / Pegaseum vixisse equitem*). 305
 For Paulinus, as for the great teacher of the preceding generation, Ambrose 306
 of Milan, a Christian can be like Bellerophon in some respects, and not in 307
 others: thus, picking up Cicero’s Peripatetic expression, “We often hunt 308
 for solitudes” (*saepe ... solitudines captamus*) lest voices whispering to us 309
 within our mind should lead us from the truth path (*De bono mortis*, 310
 3.11).⁴¹ Further, even while, for Paulinus as for Ambrose, solitude would 311
 not be a bad thing, Paulinus insists that he does in fact live together with 312
 righteous men, even if not with men of whom Ausonius would approve. 313
 Further, Paulinus claims to live in communion with his heavenly God, in 314
 preparation for a Final Judgment that he later depicts in Platonic terms as 315
 a correction to Bellerophon’s own fall: he hopes his soul will be ready to 316
 lift itself skyward on its own wings, to go forth carried upon “soft clouds” 317
 (313, *teneris ... nubibus*). What seems like Bellerophon’s loneliness to 318
 Ausonius is, to Paulinus, quite the opposite: successful celestial ascent 319
 where Bellerophon failed. 320

Paulinus’s Christian twist on the *topos* of Bellerophon’s loneliness 321
 would not have convinced Claudius Rutilius Namatianus; his poem *De* 322
Reditu Suo, which recounts his voyage from Rome to Gaul in 416 CE— 323
 and in the wake of the sack of Rome six years prior—takes aim at 324
 Christianity’s monastic trends. He is describing Capraria, where on an 325
 island there “lives in squalor” (*squalet*) a group of people who “sun the 326
 light” (*lucifugis*) and who describes themselves using the Greek term 327

³⁹ Virgil, *Aen.*, 1.384–85.

⁴⁰ Ovid. See Fielding, 32.

⁴¹ See Wiesner.

328 “monachoi”; literally, “those who live alone”—whence our English
 329 “monks.”⁴² Multiple terms and motifs of the Bellerophontic nexus of
 330 loneliness come together here: they wish to live “with none to see them”
 331 (*nullo ... teste*), to escape being miserable (*miser*) by being miserable
 332 (*miser*). Socially speaking, there is something suspicious about the desire
 333 to escape witnesses (*teste*), a suspicion shared by the contemporary
 334 *Theodosian Code*, which, combining Cicero’s translation of the Peripatetic
 335 Bellerophon with the old Republican suspicion of secretive and solitary
 336 rites evident already in the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* (186
 337 BCE), speaks of those “lazy people who seek out settlements without
 338 (*desertis*) inhabitants (*civitatum*), and hunt for solitary and secluded places
 339 (*captant solitudines ac secreta*), and under the guise of religion group
 340 themselves together in monastic groups (*cum coetibus monazonton*
 341 *congregantur*).”⁴³ Building on this same paradox of solitary congrega-
 342 tions, Namatianus imagines these suspicious characters as being either like
 343 prisoners demanding punishment, or like those whose “sad hearts are
 344 filled with black bile, just as Homer assigned the sickness of black bile as
 345 the cause of Belleropontic anxieties, for it was after being struck by cruel
 346 sadness that he this youth was said to have come to hate mankind”
 347 (439–452). Here, monasteries combine Bellerophon’s self-imposed lone-
 348 liness in the wilderness with images drawn from the increasingly complex
 349 carceral institutions of late antiquity;⁴⁴ simultaneously, Homer turns
 350 Peripatetic physician, analysing Bellerophon’s humoral imbalance.

351 While Bellerophon’s proverbial loneliness allows Namatianus to mock
 352 Christian monasticism, for another contemporary, Eunapius, it shows how
 353 hermeticism, whether pagan or Christian, can correct Bellerophon’s fail-
 354 ure: in such tales, what begins in apparent isolation and sadness ends in
 355 communion and rejoicing. Eunapius’s *Lives of the Philosophers* describes
 356 how the young Porphyry was so impressed by his teacher Plotinus’s lec-
 357 tures on the need to ascend from material selves to spiritual existence, that
 358 he straightaway headed for Sicilian wilderness. There, he “would not allow
 359 himself to see a city or hear the voice of man” (456); no, he goes on, he
 360 “lay groaning and mortifying his body, and would eat nothing and avoided
 361 the path of men (ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων πάτον).” Eunapius’s Porphyry is
 362 thus a pagan version of Ausonius’s depiction of Paulinus: he voluntarily
 363 turns himself lonely and miserable to find putative enlightenment.

⁴² Wolff.

⁴³ Mommsen and Meyer, 12.1.63.

⁴⁴ On incarceration in late antiquity, see Hillner.

Eunapius's text continues: the teacher Plotinus "kept no blind watch (ἀλαοσκοπήν)"—a citation of Homer's *Iliad* (10.515) for Apollo's watchfulness—and, travelling to Porphyry in the wilderness, he used philosophical teachings to bring the student's soul back to his body just as it was about to speed forth. The result?: "He breathed again, and rose up (διανίστατο), with the result that he could bring forth his teacher's wisdom, in writing, 'to the light'" (εἰς φῶς). Like Bellerophon he fell, like Pegasus he arose.⁴⁵

From Homer down to late antiquity, then, Homeric language helped beget myths that, creating their own language, created a complex topological nexus to help express loneliness, but also loneliness's transcendence: for some, like Cicero and Ausonius, Bellerophon's Homeric loneliness represents the end of the road; for others, like the Aristotelian corpus and certain late-antique "corrections" of the tale, this loneliness can give way to higher artistic powers. As we shall see, early modern authors found this contradictory Bellerophontic nexus a valuable archive for their own explorations of loneliness, its costs, and its opportunities.

THE CLASSICAL ARCHIVE OF BELLEROPHON'S LONELINESS AND EARLY MODERN LITERATURE

If melancholye it selfe, wythout the admixtion of other humours be burned, than it maketh hym sad and solitarye, as Bellerophon, whyche as Homer sayeth, beyng full of sorowe and care, forsoke all companye, and wandered in desolate feyldes solitarye al alone. (Christopher Langton⁴⁶)

In the fourteenth century, Homer's own Bellerophon, and not solely through the prism of Cicero and the long Latin tradition, became again accessible to the Latin West, in part through new translations into Latin. Thus, Leontius Pilatus's word-for-word translation of Homer's *Iliad* appeared, preserving the *figura etymologica* inherent in Homer's Aleain Plain—*erratilem ... errabat*—as well as keeping the alliteration found in the Latin translation found in Cicero (*viam...vitans*).⁴⁷ Pilatus's

⁴⁵ Wright.

⁴⁶ Langton, fol. xlvi.

⁴⁷ BNF Lat. 7880, fol. 56v: "*Sed quando iam ille in odio erat omnibus diis / Certe hic per campum erratilem solus errabat / Suum animum comedens, viam hominum vitans.*" Compare Andrea Divus's translation (dating from 1538, fol. 67r): "*Sed quando iam et ille odio fuit omnibus deis / Hic in campo erratico solus errabat / Suum animum corrodens, consortium hominum fugiens.*"

contemporary Petrarch would figure himself as Bellerophon. In 1342–43, while living in Vacluse, Petrarch received a visionary visitation from Truth, who had taken the form of a beautiful woman, and from Saint Augustine. This vision was the groundwork for Petrarch’s answer to Augustine’s innovative *Soliloquium*, his *Secretum*, “My Secret Book,” as a recent translation puts it.⁴⁸ Saint Augustine here reminds of how Petrarch’s obsessive love for his beloved Laura led him to a hatred of life, and a death-wish (*desiderium mortis*). He goes on to describe his sad “love of solitude” (*amor solitudinis*) and “flight from humans” (*hominium fuga*), so that he became precisely what Homer said of Bellerophon (*Secretum*, III.7.1). His *Epistolae Seniles* (XI.v.8) would similarly figure him as “almost another Bellerophon ... wandering in the plains,” and the association would be at its closest in Petrarch’s celebrated adaptation of a Propertian elegiac persona, *Canzoniere* 35, which begins, “Solo e pensoso i più deserti campi / vo mesurando a passi tardi e lenti” (“Alone and pensive through deserted plains I go / measuring my steps long and slow”).⁴⁹ Petrarch has absorbed Cicero’s Bellerophon, as well as the slowness of Ilia’s wandering from (Cicero’s citation of) Ennius, and made it his own.⁵⁰ His love for Laura turns him into Bellerophon: not a monk, not a (successful) lover, but an individual alone, by himself, melancholic because filled with desire. Here, encapsulated, is the Renaissance image of the lonely lover, and all in Bellerophon’s image.⁵¹

Although Bellerophon in the Renaissance continued to figure largely as the ultimate symbol not of loneliness but of hubristic ambition—exemplified in Natale Conti’s *Mythologiae* (1567, IX.4), which sees Jupiter punish “the arrogant with great severity, decided to crush this rash fool for good ... he was struck blind and he wandered over the Aleian plain for the rest of his days”⁵²—Petrarch’s self-adoption of a more personal, more lonely, Bellerophon, cast a long shadow on Pierre de Ronsard. The opening poem (“Voeu” (“Vow”)) of his collection, *Les Amours*, had invoked Pegasus’s fountain of poetry (“sur le bord du chevalin crystal” (“on the banks of the equine waters”)). In 1552 and 1553, Ronsard was lamenting

⁴⁸ Mann.

⁴⁹ Durling, 95. For the *Epistolae Seniles*, see Petrarch.

⁵⁰ Kachuck (2021a, 223). On the Platonic and medical roots of Petrarch’s Bellerophontic solitude, see Gentili (2010, 2020); Rossi.

⁵¹ For Petrarch’s influence on the representation of love-sickness and melancholia, see Wells, 14–15, 139–40.

⁵² Mulryan, 2827.

the failure of his epic poem, the *Franciade*—an ambition as vaunting as Bellerophon’s—with much time spent in seclusion at Possonière; the one-hundred and third poem of the Cassandra cycle of his *Amours*, “Sur le sablon la semence j’épan” (“On the sand I scatter my seed”), adapts Petrarch’s isolation to Ronsard’s own sense of poetic failure, and resulting social isolation. William Kennedy has brilliantly shown how Ronsard spent this time working and reworking this poem with a specific interest in seeing his Bellerophontic, and Petrarchan, solitude as deeply connected to his art, his ardor, and their limitations;⁵³ looking forward to 1578, Kennedy shows how Sonnet 1.26 of the Helen-cycle—“Je fuy les pas frayez du meschant populaire” (“I flee the steps worn bare by the foolish populace”)—takes up these same Bellerophontic tones to turn his earlier loneliness into a proud asset.⁵⁴ To Kennedy’s excellent analysis, one might add that Ronsard’s claim in that poem that the voice without body “wouldn’t know how to keep silent” directly echoes Pindar’s own silence about Bellerophon’s fall, with this available to Ronsard both in Greek and in Stephanus’s Latin translation (“*reticebo eius mortem*” (“I will refrain from mentioning his death”)).⁵⁵

Some decades later, and across the Channel, Bellerophon’s loneliness as figure for the solitude and art of the poet himself became even more central to the poetic program of Edmund Spenser. The first three books of his *Faerie Queene* were published in 1590. It opens with what one takes to be a solitary figure against an empty backdrop—“A Gentle Knight was pricking on the plaine” is its first line (I.i.1)—but we soon learn that he is accompanied by “[a] louely Ladie” who rides “[v]pon a lowly Asse more white then snow” (I.i.4)—as well as by a “Dwarfe” (I.i.6).⁵⁶ The hero, meanwhile, rides on a mighty horse: “His angry steede did chide his foming bitt, / As much disdayning to the curbe to yield” (I.i.1). Bellerophontic elements have already begun accumulating—the Knight, the plain, Jupiter’s rage, the horse disdainful of his putative master’s direction, even the Ladie’s ass that, earthbound as it is, is so frequently in the classical tradition an antonym for the flying Pegasus—but nothing yet is certain. When the storm abates, the party seeks to discover their route, only to find (I.i.10)

⁵³ Kennedy, 148–50.

⁵⁴ Kennedy, 197–98.

⁵⁵ Pindar (1560, 151).

⁵⁶ All citations are from Spenser (2007).

460 They cannot finde that path, which first was showne,
 461 But wander too and fro in waies vnknowne,
 462 Furthest from end then, when they neerest weene,
 463 That makes them doubt, their wits be not their owne:
 464 So many pathes, so many turnings scene,
 465 That which of them to take, in diuerse doubt they been.

466 The Ladie recognises the place (I.i.13):

467 This is the wandring wood, this *Errours den*,
 468 A monster vile, whom God and man does hate:
 469 Therefore I read beware. Fly fly (quote then
 470 The fearefull Dwarfes:) this is no place for liuing men.

471 The Knight is however “full of fire and greedy hardiment” (I.i.14) and
 472 confronts “the ugly monster plaine” (I.i.14), this monster “[a]y wont in
 473 desert darknes to remaine, / Where plain none might her see, nor she see
 474 any plaine” (I.i.16).

475 Here, then, the setting of Bellerophon’s solitary end has been trans-
 476 ferred to the chimera-like monster the Knight confronts, with Bellerophon’s
 477 deserted plain having become the plain from which the Knight emerges,
 478 whence he enters, not the Wandering Plain, but “the wandring wood ...
 479 *Errours den*.” The monster also absorbs the hatred by and of men and
 480 gods, that might have attached to a Bellerophontic knight. Spenser’s con-
 481 tinual play on the word “plaine,” in turn, continues to remind us of not
 482 only Bellerophon, but also the poem’s opening line; meanwhile,
 483 Bellerophon’s misanthropy, shunning the ways of men, is transferred to
 484 the beast, who dwells “where plain none might her see.” The Dwarf’s
 485 command “Fly fly,” in this light, becomes yet another echo of Bellerophontic
 486 tradition. And yet, unlike Bellerophon, it is in Wandering where the
 487 Knight begins, not where he ends, as he quickly kills the monster, thus
 488 giving a (Christian) salvific, self-complacent, twist on the classical tradi-
 489 tion ... or so it would seem. For although the Knight goes on to slay the
 490 monster, he has not entirely escaped Error’s grasp.

491 In fact, this is only the beginning of his Wandering, for the Knight—
 492 now named as the Redcross Knight—will go on to find shelter with the
 493 Ladie—now named Una (“the one and (l)on(e)ly,” as it were)—in the
 494 house of a hermit, about whom they had heard from an aged Sire upon
 495 the road (I.i.32):

Far hence (quoth he) in wastfull wilderness 496
 His dwelling is, by which no liuing wight 497
 May euer passe, but thorough great distresse. 498

They arrive at this Hermitage, “far from resort of people” (I.1.34), a perfect image of the monastic isolation long associated with the nexus of Bellerophon’s loneliness. This hermitage, however, is no pious Christian haunt, but—a Catholic (monastic) den of error itself?—had been prepared in advance by a wicked Sorcerer looking to afflict the Redcross Knight, not least (and mostly lately) for his destruction of the monster of Error’s den. To effect this, Spenser Bellerophontises the Redcross Knight: Bellerophon’s tales of adventures began with his rejection of a seductress who then denounced his supposed aggression to the king of Corinth, and the Redcross Knight will isolate himself after being sent dream-visions showing Una as overly libidinous towards him, or even (worse) as involved in an affair with a squire. The Knight’s susceptibility to such deception—feeding upon his weakness, including pride, jealousy, and capacity for rage—leads him into what will be the true wood of Wandering, his and Una’s separate wandering through the world, with the two passing through many trials, including servitude, to find one another once more, and to live happily ever after, though only after the Knight himself experiences many a “fall” in battle before the dragon that he faces descends (I.xi.54):

So downe he fell, and forth his life did breath, 518
 That vanisht into smoke and cloudes swift; 519
 So downe he fell, that th’earth him underneath 520
 Did grone, as feeble so great lead to lift; 521
 So down he fell, as an huge rocky clift... 522
 So down he fell, and like an heaped mountaine lay.⁵⁷ 523

Down, down, down: dragon’s despair is Knight and Una’s delight, as they achieve the end Bellerophon might have dreamed of, if, like Odysseus and Penelope, only temporarily: soon the Knight leaves again, obeying his promise to return to his Faery Queene, “The which he shortly did, and Una left to mourne” (I.xii.41).

⁵⁷ On Saint George’s dragon debt to Bellerophon’s chimera, see Henig.

Spenser also in 1591 published his *Complaints*. The first poem, “The Ruines of Time,” makes Pegasus and Bellerophon’s dejection essential to its structure.⁵⁸ Only “Fame with golden wings aloft doth flie, / Above the reach of ruinous decay” (421–22) so that those who wish “to mount to heaven, on Pegasus must ride, / And with sweete poets verse be glorifide” (426–7). Spenser’s image builds on the widespread Renaissance association of Pegasus with Fama, and builds to the salvific hopes of the poem’s envoy, which ultimately concludes by enjoining the addressee (684–86),

And as ye be of heavenlie off spring borne,
So unto heaven let your high minde aspire,
And loath this drosse of sinfull worlds desire.⁵⁹

Yet these images of Pegasus’s successful flight are contrasted with the poet’s own Bellerophon-like state of misery. This juxtaposition is not merely conceptual, for in his vision, the poet sees “[a] Knight all arm’d, upon a winged steed, / The same that was bred of *Medusaes* blood” (646–47). Although this steed is given here to Perseus, rather than Bellerophon—a common association in Renaissance mythography—the comparison with the poet seems to have Bellerophon very much in mind, as (656–58)

Fainting at last through long infirmities,
He smote his steed, that straight to heaven him bore,
And left me here his losse for to deplore.

The knight upon his winged horse rises to heaven, while the poet remains below, alone in his mourning. Thus, imagery of Pegasus’s rise, which makes full use of the vast classical archive, also integrates what we have seen to be characteristic of the story of Bellerophon, here, as in the cases of Petrarch and Ronsard, transferred to the poet’s own dejection and loneliness.

The most famously solitary figure of English literature is, if obliquely, also imbued with Bellerophon’s spirit. Shakespeare’s Hamlet suffers from his first soliloquy onward with the challenge of celestial aspirations within this, our “unweeded garden” (I.ii.139).⁶⁰ His anxious thoughts bring him

⁵⁸ All citations are from Spenser (1989, 232–62).

⁵⁹ See Hardie (2012, 622–24; 2015, 189).

⁶⁰ All citations are from Orgel and Braunmuller.

constantly to draw attention to his broken heart, a key element in Bellerophon's lonely wanderings. Shakespeare seems to have Pegasus in mind around these years, as in *Henry V* (1599), he has Lewis the Dauphin beam with pride and delight about his horse (III.7.12–17),

Ça, ha! he bounds from the earth, as if his entrails were hairs; le cheval volant, the Pegasus, chez les narines de feu! When I bestride him, I soar, I am a hawk. He trots the air. The earth sings when he touches it. The basest horn of his hoof is more musical than the pipe of Hermes.

Anyone who knows the story of Pegasus, of course, knows that Lewis the Dauphin's pride goeth, here, before his fall. The Bellerophontic quality of Hamlet's solitude is more subtle, growing out on the one hand of Hamlet's fascination with vertical modalities, and, more importantly, from one of the play's story-plots that replays Bellerophon's own history. Hamlet discovers that, like Bellerophon, he carries a document that asks another king to put him to death, but, unlike Bellerophon, he succeeds not by besting all challengers, but by reading and altering the message so that it causes the death, not of himself, but of the messenger's carriers, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. Both these Bellerophontic elements were such as could be discovered even to the Greek-less—though Shakespeare's Greek has perhaps been underestimated⁶¹—in Erasmus's *Adagia*: Bellerophon's case is made emblematic to explain the Pythagorean proverb “Cor ne edito” (“Don't eat your own heart”) and “Bellerophontes litteras” (2.6.82), the letters Bellerophon carries much to his own peril.⁶² As Alan Stewart shows in his thorough demonstration of Hamlet's letters, including what they owed to Bellerophon's letters, Shakespeare's contemporary, George Chapman, referred to Erasmus's note in his translation of the *Iliad*, the first books of which were published as Shakespeare was writing his *Hamlet*.⁶³

The Bellerophontic archive is presented holistically in the text and notes of the Péré de Saumaize's paraphrase of Dionysius Periegetes's *Description of the Known World* (1597), and informs the historic encyclopaedism of Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621);⁶⁴ it is, however, in the total structure of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* that the *topos* and

⁶¹ Kachuck (2021b).

⁶² Erasmus.

⁶³ Stewart, 261–94.

⁶⁴ On Robert Burton, see the chapter by Helen Wilcox in this volume.

Pathosformel of Bellerophon's loneliness, as formed within both the classical and post-classical archive, is most fully and actively embodied. The role of one key element in this nexus—the invocation of Urania in Book 7—is well-known, while another—the Book's conclusion—can now come into greater clarity in light of the archive this chapter has explored. Book 7's invocation opens on verticality, urging Urania (literally, the “Sky” Muse) to “Descend from Heav'n,” with the poet meeting her half-way, “above th' Olympian Hill I soare, / Above the flight of Pegasean wing” (1–4).⁶⁵ Already, the poet is higher than Bellerophon, in part because his Pegasus is Christianised, thus allowing him in humility to “have presumed, / An earthly Guest, and drawn empyreal air,” (13–14) such that he may pray (15–20),

with like safety guided down
Return me to my Native Element:
Least from this flying Steed unreined, (as once
Bellerophon, though from a lower clime)
Dismounted, on th' Aleian Field I fall
Erroneous there to wander and forlorn.

Milton, pointing his message in Horatian moral colours thus goes higher than Bellerophon, but descends more safely, and one notes in passing Milton's adoption of so many Belleropontic terms, including the *figura etymologica* of “Aleian ... erroneous ... wander,” with “forlorn” pointing to the prototypical loneliness.⁶⁶ This seems a simple Christianising reversal of Bellerophon's pagan fall, and yet there is a twist, for Milton does share one feature of Bellerophon's misery: his blindness following his fall, “in darkness, and with dangers compassed round, / And solitude” (26–7). Here, though, redemption beckons, for, to paraphrase Athanasius on Psalm 23, even in solitude, his divine help is with him, as he continues, “And solitude; yet not alone, while thou / Visit'st my slumbers nightly, or when morn / Purples the east” (28–9). Milton thus corrects Bellerophon, even in their shared blindness, though Bellerophon remains ever-present, not least in the poet's choice of consolation: the dream, since the

⁶⁵ For a thorough reading of Bellerophon and *Paradise Lost*, Book VII, see Fallon (1994, 2008, 219–32). All citations are from Milton.

⁶⁶ Horace, *Odes*, 4.11.26–29. See also Martindale, 312.

Bellerophon of Pindar's own path to the taming of Pegasus, and celestial aspirations.⁶⁷

Bellerophon's loneliness returns at the poem's end, though in ways only the archive of Bellerophon as *topos* and *Pathosformel* reveals. As Bellerophon fell from the swift wings of Pegasus to wander the Aleian plain, to stay forever in those eastern lands to which he had come, so "the hastning Angel"—winged, of course—(638–40)

caught
 Our ling'ring parents, and to th' eastern Gate
 Led them direct, and down the cliff as fast
 To the subjected Plaine.

Deprived of the certainties of Paradise, and cast into the open-endedness of worldly Providence, "[t]hey hand in hand with wand'ring steps and slow, / Through Eden took their solitary way" (648–49 *fin*). Here we see united many of the terms long associated with, or possibly emanating from, Bellerophon, and the *topos* and *Pathosformel* of loneliness to which he contributed. Thus, downward motion to a Plaine gives way to solitude ("solitary way"), combined with errancy ("wand'ring steps"), as well as the retardation ("slow") reminiscent of mythographic accounts that stress Bellerophon's post-lapsarian lameness or blindness, but also the specific vocabulary drawn from the related tradition going back to Ennius's *Annals*—where Ilia, too, saw herself as "alone" (*sola*), wandering (*errare*), and "slow" (*tardaque*), her feet unsteady, her path unknown—and, more recently, to Petrarch's sonnet, which finds the poet walking "a passi tardi e lenti," "with steps long and slow." As with Ennius's *Annals*, though, but unlike the tale of Bellerophon (and perhaps Petrarch's own hopes of love), Milton's *Paradise Lost* looks forward to some future redemption. In the two great successors to *Paradise Lost*, both published in 1671, Milton divides Bellerophon's loneliness in two, one negative, one positive, rather after the fashion of his earlier diptych, "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" (1645). In *Samson Agonistes*, darker tones prevail: the opening sees him as a figure out of Sophocles's *Oedipus at Colonus*, but also as Bellerophon, taking "dark steps" (2), "retiring from the popular noise" and seeking "this unfrequented place to find some ease" (16–17). In *Paradise*

⁶⁷ On celestial aspirations, see Hardie (2022).

660 *Regained*, we find not *mala solitudo* but *bona solitudo*: Christ, he writes
 661 (189–95),

662 One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading;
 663 And his deep thoughts, the better to converse
 664 With solitude, till far from track of men
 665 Thought following thought, and step by step led on,
 666 He entred now the bordering Desert wild,
 667 And with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,
 668 His holy Meditations thus pursu'd.⁶⁸

669 Taken as a whole, then, this chapter has used the *topos* and *Pathosformel*
 670 of Bellerophon's fall to demonstrate how wrong we are to banish loneli-
 671 ness as a sense, sensibility, form, or type, in the literature from pre-
 672 modernity, and in particular from Greco-Roman antiquity to the
 673 Renaissance. It has shown how Bellerophon's loneliness grew out of major
 674 concerns of the Homeric poems, was developed by later classical tradi-
 675 tions—medical, philosophical, literary—in a variety of ways that connected
 676 that loneliness to, among others things, genius, and, in late antiquity, both
 677 pagan and Christian hermeticism as well as the chance for a corrective
 678 celestial journey. It has shown, too, how the classical archive of
 679 Bellerophon's loneliness served not only as a type for Renaissance litera-
 680 ture, but also as a structure for major literary works, as well as for the liter-
 681 ary *personae* of major authors who sometimes wandered, like their
 682 forebears, like us, upon the plains of Wandering, consuming each their
 683 own hearts, as the Square of the winged steed, welcomed to Olympus's
 684 stables, glimmers over our heads.

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Author Queries

Chapter No.: 2 0005896113

Queries	Details Required	Author's Response
AU1	Please check if edit to sentence “ Glaucus, Bellerophon’s descendant, tells Diomedes . . .” is okay.	
AU2	Please check if “ poetic program” is okay as is in sentence “Some decades later . .	
AU3	Please check if the quoted verse “ but thorough great distresse” is the same as in the original.	