

ISSN 1018-9017

SCHOLIA

Studies in Classical Antiquity



NS Vol. 11 / 2002

New Zealand / South Africa

ISSN 1018-9017

SCHOLIA

Studies in Classical Antiquity

Editor: W. J. Dominik

NS Vol. 11 / 2002

New Zealand / South Africa

SCHOLIA

Studies in Classical Antiquity

ISSN 1018-9017

Scholia features critical and pedagogical articles and reviews on a diverse range of subjects dealing with classical antiquity, including late antique, medieval, Renaissance and early modern studies related to the classical tradition; in addition, there is news about museums and articles on classical artefacts in museums in New Zealand and the J. A. Barsby Essay.

Manuscripts: Potential contributors should read the 'Notes for Contributors' located at the back of this volume and follow the suggested guidelines for the submission of manuscripts. Articles on the classical tradition and the teaching of Classics are particularly welcome. Submissions are usually reviewed by two referees. Time before publication decision: 2-3 months.

Subscriptions (2003): Individuals: North America, Europe and Asia USD25/NZD55; Australasia and South America NZD38; Africa NZD20. Libraries and institutions: North America, Europe and Asia USD38/NZD85; Australasia and South America NZD57; Africa NZD30. *Institutional and personal cheques should be made out to 'Scholia/University of Otago'. Credit card payments are preferred; please use the credit card authorisation at the back of this volume.* Foreign subscriptions cover air mail postage and bank charges on institutional and personal cheques. Payments from Africa, however, must be made with an international bank draft or by credit card in New Zealand currency because of foreign exchange regulations in many countries. After initial payment, a subscription to the journal will be entered. All back numbers are available at a reduced price and may be ordered from the Business Manager.

Editing and Managing Address: Articles and subscriptions: W. J. Dominik, Editor and Manager, *Scholia*, Department of Classics, University of Otago, P. O. Box 56, Dunedin 9015, New Zealand. Telephone: +64 (0)3 479.8710; facsimile: +64 (0)3 479.9029; electronic mail: william.dominik@stonebow.otago.ac.nz.

Reviews Address: Review articles and reviews: J. L. Hilton, Reviews Editor, *Scholia*, Programme in Classics, University of Natal, Durban 4041, South Africa. Telephone: +27 (0)31 260.2312; facsimile: +27 (0)31 260.2698; electronic mail: hilton@nu.ac.za.

New Series: *Scholia* is indexed and abstracted in *L'Année Philologique* and TOCS-IN, indexed in *Gnomon*, and listed in *Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory*. The contents of *Scholia* and information about the journal are available on the world wide web at <http://www.otago.ac.nz/classics/scholia>. Faxed copies of articles and other sections of *Scholia* are available through UnCover; photocopies are available from the British Library Document Supply Centre (BLDSC no. 8092.54348). *Scholia Reviews*, an electronic journal that features the pre-publication versions of reviews that appear in *Scholia*, is available on the world wide web at <http://www.classics.und.ac.za/reviews>.

Cover Illustration: Drawing by E. A. Mackay (University of Auckland) based on an Attic black-figure fragment (inv. L.1989.K) in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, University of Natal, Durban (on permanent loan from A. Gosling).

Typesetting: O. J. Banks, S. Pedersen, W. J. Dominik

Printing: Otago University Print

Copyright: Otago/Natal Classics 2002

SCHOLIA

Studies in Classical Antiquity

ISSN 1018-9017

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE (2001-02)

W. J. Dominik (Otago)	Editor and Manager
J. L. Hilton (Natal)	Reviews Editor
P. A. Hannah	In the Museum Editor
J. C. R. Hall	J. A. Barsby Essay Editor
O. J. Banks, S. Pedersen	Assistant Editors / Business Managers
B. Knowles	<i>Scholia</i> Web Site Manager (Otago)

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD (2001-02)

J. E. Atkinson	University of Cape Town, South Africa
J. A. Barsby	University of Otago, New Zealand
A. F. Basson	University at Buffalo, State University of New York, USA
D. J. Blyth	University of Auckland, New Zealand
R. P. Bond	University of Canterbury, New Zealand
G. Calboli	University of Bologna, Italy
J. M. Claassen	University of Stellenbosch, South Africa
J. Davidson	Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand
P. J. Davis	University of Tasmania, Australia
J. S. Dietrich	University of Maryland, College Park, USA
S. A. Frangoulidis	University of Crete, Greece
P. A. Gallivan	University of Tasmania, Australia
J. Garthwaite	University of Otago, New Zealand
A. Gosling	University of Natal, Durban, South Africa
J. C. R. Hall	University of Otago, New Zealand
R. N. A. Hankey	University of Otago, New Zealand
R. Hannah	University of Otago, New Zealand
J. G. W. Henderson	King's College, University of Cambridge, UK
W. J. Henderson	Rand Afrikaans University, South Africa
V. E. Izzet	Christ's College, University of Cambridge, UK
D. Konstan	Brown University, USA
B. P. P. Kytzler	University of Natal, Durban, South Africa
R. A. LaFleur	University of Georgia, USA
D. A. Little	University of Otago, New Zealand
E. A. Mackay	University of Auckland, New Zealand
C. W. Marshall	University of British Columbia, Canada
L. C. Montefusco	University of Bologna, Italy
S. T. Newmyer	Duquesne University, USA
A. J. Pomeroy	Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand
M. V. Ronnick	Wayne State University, USA
L. A. Sussman	University of Florida, USA
P. M. W. Tennant	University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa
S. Thom	University of Stellenbosch, South Africa
R. A. Whitaker	University of Cape Town, South Africa
F. J. Williams	Queen's College, University of Belfast, UK
M. J. Wilson	University of Auckland, New Zealand
A. V. Zadorojnyi	University of Liverpool, UK

SCHOLIA

Studies in Classical Antiquity

NS Vol. 11

2002

ISSN 1018-9017

CONTENTS

Editorial Note 1

ARTICLES

Chorus, Metatheatre, and Menander, *Dyskolos* 427-41 3
C. W. Marshall

Who is the Demosthenes at the End of Demosthenes 56, *Against Dionysodorus?*
An Exercise in Methodology 18
Ian Worthington

The *Urbanitas* of Catullus 6 25
Charles Fuqua

Transformation and Abandonment: Defining the Immigrant Experience in
Two Vergilian Metamorphoses 34
Sophia Papaioannou

Superbia in Vergil's *Aeneid*: Who's Haughty and Who's Not? 44
David Christenson

The *Morio* in Martial's Epigrams, with Emphasis on 12.93 55
Michael Garmaise

From Pompey to Plymouth: The Personification of Africa in the Art of Europe 65
J. A. Maritz

Orfeo e la scimmia 'musicista' in un Mosaico di Sousse (Louvre, inv. MNC
1145; cat. Ma 1798) 80
Maria Grazia Bajoni

Some Observations on the Vulgar Latin Verb <i>Plico</i> <i>Robert J. Smutny</i>	89
--	----

George Samuel Sale and Other Stories <i>J. A. Barsby</i>	92
---	----

REVIEW ARTICLES

Ecclesiastical Politics in the Fourth Century Timothy D. Barnes, <i>Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire</i> (André F. Basson)	109
---	-----

The Literature of the World Englished Peter France (ed.), <i>The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation</i> (Jo-Marie Claassen)	117
--	-----

Enlightened Imperialism or Oppression? Clifford Ando, <i>Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire</i> (Tom Stevenson)	122
---	-----

Reviews	129
----------------	-----

Books Received	154
-----------------------	-----

In the Museum	156
----------------------	-----

J. A. Barsby Essay	161
---------------------------	-----

Exchanges with <i>Scholias</i>	169
---------------------------------------	-----

Notes for Contributors	170
-------------------------------	-----

Forthcoming in <i>Scholias</i> (2003)	173
--	-----

Subscription Form	174
--------------------------	-----

EDITORIAL NOTE

Scholia 11 (2002) marks the second volume of the journal to be published since the main editorial office was moved to New Zealand although *Scholia Reviews*, which contains the electronic versions of its printed reviews, continues to be published electronically in South Africa under the editorship of John L. Hilton. As in the first decade of its publication, this volume of *Scholia* features articles on a wide diversity of topics, namely in Greek literature and history,¹ Latin literature, language and Roman art,² the classical tradition and the history of classical scholarship,³ and from a variety of theoretical, interdisciplinary and philological perspectives reflecting the national origins of the contributors. The contributors of the articles and reviews in this volume are from universities in New Zealand, Australia, Canada, United States, United Kingdom, Italy, Netherlands, Cyprus, South Africa and Zimbabwe, which attests to the continued international focus and standing of the journal.

A new *Scholia* web site, which will contain the contents of *Scholia* and information about the journal, has been set up at the University of Otago website at <http://www.otago.ac.nz/classics/scholia>. The complete printed text of every volume of *Scholia* is available online except the text of articles in the most recently printed volume. The electronic journal *Scholia Reviews* continues to be accessible at the University of Natal website at <http://www.classics.und.ac.za/reviews>.

Scholia 11 (2002) features the first In the Museum section featuring news about classical museums in New Zealand and articles on classical artefacts in museums. The subject of the In the Museum section in this volume is a number of new acquisitions by the Classics Museum at Victoria University of Wellington.⁴ Information about classical exhibitions and artefacts in museums is welcome and should reach the In the Museum Editor by 1 September.

This volume of *Scholia* also includes the first J. A. Barsby Essay, which is the winning submission in the 2002 New Zealand student essay competition. From this

¹ C. W. Marshall, 'Chorus, Metatheatre, and Menander, *Dyskolos*', pp. 3-17; I. Worthington, 'Who is Demosthenes at the End of Demosthenes 56, *Against Dionysodorus?* An Exercise in Methodology', pp. 18-24.

² C. Fuqua, 'The *Urbanitas* of Catullus 6', pp. 25-33; S. Papaioannou, 'Transformation and Abandonment: Defining the Immigrant Experience in Two Vergilian Metamorphoses', pp. 34-43; D. Christenson, '*Superbia* in Vergil's *Aeneid*: Who's Haughty and Who's Not?', pp. 44-54; M. Garmaise, 'The *Morio* in Martial's Epigrams, with Emphasis on 12.93', pp. 55-64; R. J. Smutny, 'Some Observations on the Latin Verb *Plico*', pp. 89-91; M. G. Bajoni, 'Orfeo e la scimmia "musicista" in un mosaico di Sousse (Louvre, inv. MNC 1145; cat. Ma 1798)', pp. 80-88.

³ J. A. Maritz, 'From Pompey to Plymouth: The Personification of Africa in the Art of Europe', pp. 65-79; J. A. Barsby, 'George Samuel Sale and Other Stories', pp. 92-108.

⁴ See pp. 156-60.

volume number the paper judged to be the best student essay in New Zealand submitted to *Scholia* by 1 September for the year preceding 1 July will be published annually as the J. A. Barsby Essay. There is a prize of NZD100. The essay competition, which is sponsored by the Classical Association of Otago, is open to undergraduate students every year and entries from fourth-year students are invited in even-numbered years. The essay is in honour of New Zealand classicist J. A. Barsby, whose article on the first Classics professor in New Zealand is featured in this volume.⁵ *Scholia* expresses its gratitude not only to the Classical Association of Otago for sponsoring this competition but also to the adjudicators and contributors.

Entries for the 2002 competition were received from the universities of Canterbury, Massey, Otago and Victoria, Wellington. The essays were judged by a panel of three New Zealand academics: Robin Bond (University of Canterbury), Dougal Blyth (University of Auckland) and Matthew Trundle (Victoria University of Wellington). The winning J. A. Barsby Essay has been composed by Beatrice Hudson (University of Otago) and is entitled ‘Gladiatorial Entertainment at Rome: Institutionalised Sadism?’⁶ The runner-up essay, ‘“This Charnel-Cur”: The Physical Image of Claudius in the *Apocolocyntosis*’, which the judges highly commended, was written by Emma Cole (Victoria University of Wellington).

Essays submitted for the 2003 New Zealand student competition should have been completed for first-, second- and third-year courses in the first half of 2003 and in the second half of 2002. Students from any tertiary institution in New Zealand may submit entries. Essay may deal with any area of Classical Studies, but since space is limited they should not exceed 3000 words in length. Essays submitted for the competition need not conform to the ‘Notes for Contributors’ set out at the back of this volume, but the author of the winning essay should be prepared to edit it if so requested.

William J. Dominik
Editor, *Scholia*

⁵ Barsby [3] 92-108.

⁶ See pp. 161-68.

CHORUS, METATHEATRE, AND MENANDER, *DYSKOLOS* 427-41

C. W. Marshall

Department of Classical, Near Eastern and Religious Studies, University of British Columbia
Vancouver, British Columbia V6T 1Z1, Canada

Abstract. The stage action of *Dyskolos* 427-41 has Menander creating a moment of contact between the chorus and the actors, effectively turning his chorus into a minor character in the overall narrative. This is unparalleled in extant Menander but shows continuity with Old Comedy and fourth-century tragedy. This is part of the playwright's overall metatheatrical programme for the play, which also makes reference to masks, role-sharing, and musical accompaniment.

Received wisdom tells¹ that the fourth century saw a marked decline in the role of the chorus in comedy by the time of Menander,² with the only textual indication of the chorus' existence being a brief coda at the end of the first act,³ and the notation XOPOY⁴ (“[song] of the chorus”) at each of the four

¹ Versions of this paper have been delivered to the Atlantic Classical Association (Halifax, Nova Scotia) in October 1999 and to the Department of Classics at the University of Natal (Durban) in February 2000 as part of an Overseas Research Fellowship at the University of South Africa, funded by the National Research Foundation of South Africa. I am particularly thankful for incisive comments on previous drafts from Ludwig Koenen, David Konstan, Dougal Blyth, and William J. Dominik, none of whom should be held accountable for the interpretation here presented.

² G. M. Sifakis, *Studies in the History of Hellenistic Drama* (London 1967) has epigraphic evidence for the chorus in new comedy. R. L. Hunter “The Comic Chorus in the Fourth Century,” *ZPE* 36 (1979) 23-38 is a survey of the evidence for the function of the chorus in Middle and New Comedy. Other important statements include K. J. Maidment, “The Later Comic Chorus,” *CQ* 29 (1935) 1-24; G. M. Sifakis, “Aristotle, *E.N.*, IV, 2, 1123 a 19-24, and the Comic Chorus in the Fourth Century,” *AJP* 92 (1971) 410-32; K. S. Rothwell, Jr., “The Continuity of the Chorus in Fourth-Century Attic Comedy,” *GRBS* 33 (1992) 209-25, later expanded in G. W. Dobrov (ed.), *Beyond Aristophanes: Transition and Diversity in Greek Comedy* (Atlanta 1995) 99-118. Good general discussions can be found in H. G. Nesselrath, *Die Attische Mittlere Komödie: Ihre Stellung in der antiken Literaturkritik und Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin 1990) and T. B. L. Webster, *Studies in Later Greek Comedy*² (Manchester 1970) 58-63.

³ W. G. Arnott, “Notes on Eight Plays of Menander,” *ZPE* 31 (1978) 1-32 at 18f., discusses the formulaic quality of these introductions; similarly, “In Alexis’ fr. 237, ‘Eubulus’ fr. 3 and 8, and Ar. *Plut.* 316-21, we have essentially the same situation: an actor tells the chorus to perform an interlude” (Sifakis [2 (1971)] 431, who believes these all refer to the first song).

act divisions.⁵ A chorus existed, though we do not know how big it was; it sang and danced songs,⁶ but we do not know if they were even composed by the playwright; these songs were incidental to the plot and were therefore perceived as being dispensable by those preserving the plays on papyrus.⁷ However, an unappreciated exchange in Menander's play *Dyskolos* lines 427-41, challenges this opinion, and requires a reassessment of the possible functions of the chorus available to a playwright at the end of the fourth century. Rather than being a superfluous holdover from earlier drama, Menander shows the chorus becoming part of an arsenal of metatheatrical devices used by the playwright.

Menander is not typically thought of as a playwright who employs metatheatre. For the present purposes, metatheatre can be seen as a dramatic recognition of the theatrical reality—those moments in a play where contact is made between the fictional world created on stage and the actual world of the actors and audience, and which are now generally recognized as being a regular component of ancient theatre. While it will always be possible to express skepticism about such moments (for a theatrical reference will usually be

⁴ The longer form of this notation, XOPOY MEΛOΣ, is found in a fragment of Astydamos' fourth-century tragedy *Hector* (*P. Hib* fr. 1 col. 2; cf. G. Xanthakis-Karamanos, *Studies in Fourth-Century Tragedy* [Athens 1980] 162). Earlier discussions of the notation XOPOY assume the chorus is a dispensable component to the drama, and consequently do not affect this discussion; see A. Körte, "XOPOY," *Hermes* 43 (1908) 299-306; F. Leo, "XOPOY," *Hermes* 43 (1908) 308-31; and cf. K. J. Dover, "Greek Comedy," in M. Platnauer (ed.), *Fifty Years (and Twelve) of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 123-58, at 143f.; and Maidment [2] 18-22. More relevant are the following, which deal with the late plays of Aristophanes: W. Beare, "XOPOY in the *Heautontimoroumenos* and the *Plutus*," *Hermathena* 74 (1949) 26-38; E. W. Handley, "XOPOY in the *Plutus*," *CQ* 3 (1953) 55-61; W. Beare, "XOPOY and the *Plutus*: A Reply to Mr. Handley," *CQ* 5 (1955) 49-52; Hunter [2] especially 23-33; A. H. Sommerstein, "Act Division and Old Comedy," *BICS* 31 (1984) 139-52; R. Hamilton, "Comic Acts," *CQ* 41 (1991) 346-55. *P. Oxy.* 4521 fr. 3 provides new evidence on this matter, with further discussion by A. H. Sommerstein, *Aristophanes: Wealth* (Warminster 2001) 160f., 199.

⁵ There is no doubt that the five-act structure, as it is thought of today, was a fixed pattern in comedy by the late fourth century. It is described by Donatus, *Adelphoe pr.* 1. 4 *quinque actus...choris divisos a Graecis poetis* (*P. Wessner, Aeli Donati Commentum Terenti* 2 [Stuttgart 1958] 4) which "suggests that if we had a play of Menander absolutely intact we should find XOPOY four times, dividing the play into five blocks of approximately equal weight" (Dover [4] 144).

⁶ Some scholars have adopted the Aristotelian term ἐμβόλιμα from *Poetica* 18, 1455a29, often calling these songs "interludes" (e.g., Sifakis [2 (1971)] 417) or "entr'actes" (e.g., W. G. Arnott, *Menander* 1 [Cambridge, Mass. 1979] 219)

⁷ E.g., "Lesser companies simply did without choruses, and the productions were no less intelligible" (N. W. Slater, "The Fabrication of Comic Illusion," in Dobrov [2] 29-45, at 41).

explicable in dramatic terms as well), there are enough instances in *Dyskolos* (of various degrees of certainty) to indicate that Menander can use the device if he so chooses. What might be the most explicit metatheatrical references in Menander are his integration of the chorus’ *aulos*-player, who is addressed by Sostratos’ mother directly with the words αὐλει, Παρθενί, / Πανός (“play the hymn of Pan, Parthenis,” 432f.).⁸ Later in the play, the official *aulos*-player is again addressed by the slave Getas: τί μοι προσαυλεῖς; (“why are you providing accompaniment?,” 880); and ἐγὼ προάξω πρότερος ὢν, καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν σὺ τήρει (“I’ll first set the time [lit. ‘lead the way’], and you keep the beat,” 910).⁹ The *aulos*-player is made part of the dramatic world—Goold rightly adduces the nightingale in Aristophanes’ *Birds* as a parallel¹⁰—as Menander naturalizes a stage convention.

An awareness of role-sharing by the audience allows for a recognition of some amusing parallelism in certain scenes of *Dyskolos*. It is at least plausible that Menander’s plays, like fifth-century tragedy and comedy before him,¹¹ were meant to be performed by three actors who between them deliver all the

⁸ There are very many questions concerning the presence of an *aulos*-player on stage, and I give only a cursory discussion here (drawing heavily from O. Taplin, *Comic Angels, and Other Approaches to Greek Drama Through Vase-Painting* [Oxford 1993] 70-78, 105-10). The character Parthenis is an *auletris*, and certainly appears on stage. The performance would have had an official *aulos*-player, who was probably (though not necessarily: cf. Taplin [above, this note] 75-78) male. What is the relationship between these two, both of whom are addressed in the play? If they are the same, then the official *aulos*-player is here being incorporated metatheatrically into the drama. It would also mean that this person, whether male or female, would be costumed as a slave girl, and not in the elaborate robes typically associated with the official *aulos*-player, and would not be wearing a mask, but only the musician’s *phorbeia*. I suspect that this is not outside of what was permitted on stage, but others will disagree. The alternative is that the official *aulos*-player (metatheatrically addressed at lines 880f.) plays music to which a masked Parthenis mimes accompaniment after the instructions to her at 432. South Italian iconography appears to give parallels for both of these possibilities, but the former seems less awkward in this context.

⁹ Taplin associates lines 432-34 with 880f. as “possibly relevant material” ([8] 108 n. 8) to the question of metatheatrical *auletai*. For this line, cf. A. W. Gomme and F. H. Sandbach, *Menander, A Commentary* (Oxford 1973) 267-69, 275; E. W. Handley, *The Dyskolos of Menander* (London 1965) 285f.; A. Pickard-Cambridge (rev. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis), *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*² (Oxford 1988) 165. For the *aulos*-player generally, cf. Handley [above, this note] 283-86.

¹⁰ G. P. Goold, “First Thoughts on the *Dyskolos*,” *Phoenix* 13 (1959) 139-60, at 153; cf. Taplin [8] 106f., esp. 107 n. 6.

¹¹ Cf. C. W. Marshall, “The Rule of Three Actors in Practice,” *Text and Presentation* 15 (1994) 53-61, and “Comic Technique and the Fourth Actor,” *CQ* 47 (1997) 77-84, with bibliographies.

lines,¹² assisted by the chorus, non-speaking extras, and the *aulos*-player. At lines 230-32, Daos is inconvenienced by the crowd coming on stage (the chorus). At line 430, Knemon is also inconvenienced by a crowd, this time the Pan-worshippers headed by Sostratos' mother. It is perhaps not too much of a stretch to see further connection between these two groups by the use of cognate words. At line 432 the Pan-worshippers are called ὄχλος τις. This might recall for some the earlier use of ἐνοχλεῖν in line 232 when Daos first sees the chorus.¹³ This provides a point of contact between the chorus and the sacrificers, but it also associates the roles of Knemon and Daos. This is reinforced metatheatrically by role-sharing, for both Daos at line 230 and Knemon at line 430 are being played by the same actor: the audience is aware that the person being bothered by crowds is in each case the same.¹⁴

¹² It is not possible to discuss all the ramifications of the use of three actors in Menander here, but many scholars have examined its effect on Greek New Comedy: cf. Goold [10] 144-50; J. G. Griffith, "The Distribution of Parts in Menander's *Dyskolos*," *CQ* 10 (1960) 113-17; Handley [9] 25-30; F. H. Sandbach "Menander and the Three-Actor Rule," in O. Bingen *et al.*, *Le Monde Grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels 1975) 197-204; K. B. Frost, *Exits and Entrances in Menander* (Oxford 1988) 2f.; A. Seeberg, "Heads on Platters," in J. H. Betts *et al.* (edd.), *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster* 2 (Bristol 1988) 121-32, at 129f. A contrary position is taken by J. M. Walton and P. D. Arnott, *Menander and the Making of Comedy* (Westport 1996) 65-67, who argue for six actors sharing roles, but not splitting them, which I do not find convincing. This seems to introduce a new attitude to acting and part allocation that is unprecedented in the fourth-century. The fact that *Dyskolos* can work with three actors, against probability, with its *dramatis personae*, suggests something. Modern prejudice against role-splitting ("cross-casting") is based on the lack of any apparent reward for the audience: why would a poet restrict himself thus? John Barton's 1973-74 production of *Richard II* provides a contemporary point of departure (cf. S. Wells, *Royal Shakespeare: Four Major Productions at Stratford-upon-Avon* [Manchester 1977] 64-81). Barton had the actors playing Bollingbroke and Richard exchange roles on successive nights to demonstrate how meaning from actor choice can be manipulated for characterization within a given production. With Menander, I can imagine good comic benefit from having all three actors interpret a role in a similar fashion, creating an appearance of continuity, though not excluding the audience from appreciating what is the role sharing. (The contrary effect, having Sostratos appear markedly different in terms of somatype, voice, etc. in each incarnation which thereby creates a deliberate discontinuity of character, does not seem to me to be a joke with ancient parallels.)

¹³ The verb returns at line 750, with Knemon describing those sacrificing to Pan next door.

¹⁴ A long-standing difficulty later in the act points to another possible instance of this kind of humour. At line 500, Knemon addresses Sikon with πάλιν αὖ σὺ; ("You back again?") which implies that Sikon has bothered him previously. As Ireland notes, the "question, taken at face value, suggests either that Knemon cannot tell Sikon from Getas, or that when Sikon enters he is accompanied by Getas, to whom the question is directed" (S. Ireland, *Menander*:

There are also potential metatheatrical references to the masks being worn by the actors. When Pyrrhias says Knemon picked up a lump of earth and ταύτην ἀφίησ’ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτό μου (“he tossed it at my face,” 111), it seems likely that at least some of the audience would be disposed to hear the theatrical term “mask” behind the words τὸ πρόσωπον. Because the lines are incorporated into the dramatic narrative as well, such recognition need not be forced. It remains, however, available to the audience. Similarly, Sostratos’ mother berates one of her servants, asking ποῖ κέχηνας, ἐμβρόντητε σύ; (“What are you gawping at, you dumbstruck fool?,” 441¹⁵). This could be a reference to the fixed expression of the comic mask, yet it comes at a moment where it describes a perfectly reasonable expression on a slave’s face.¹⁶

While each of these three types of reference (to the *aulos*-player, to role-sharing, and to masks) are found more than once in the play, it is perhaps worth noting that all types are found clustered in one brief passage, *Dyskolos* 427-41. The playwright has created at the beginning of the third act a passage full of

The Bad-Tempered Man [Warminster 1995] 147f.); this assumes Getas had bothered him at line 430. But Getas does not enter until line 434. Perhaps it is easier to look to the authority figure in the group, Sostratos’ mother (following the bold conjecture by Ritchie; cf. J. H. Quincey *et al.*, “Notes on the *Dyskolos* of Menander,” *Australian Humanities Research Council Occasional Paper* 2: 3-11 [distributed privately, by the University of Sydney 1959] 6f.) The actor playing the mother is the same actor playing Sikon at line 500: the same actor disturbs Knemon twice in the third act, but in different guises. This makes sense of Knemon’s question, which otherwise is problematic. There is need for neither a silent Getas nor a nearsighted Knemon: the “you” in σύ may refer, metatheatrically, to the common actor playing Sostratos’ mother and Sikon. It is perhaps significant that while both of these jokes require the audience to follow role-sharing, neither joke involves audience recognizing part-splitting (though Goold [10] 148 does find part-splitting jokes). Another way to avoid a silent Getas at line 500 is to assume that it is Sikon who appears on stage at 434 (cf. Gomme and Sandbach [9] 203), and that Knemon is remembering the group as a whole. One consequence of this is that Sostratos’ mother is then played by a different actor. In any case, the precise identity of the characters on stage and the line assignments do not affect the main argument of this paper.

¹⁵ Cf. Ar. *Eccl.* 793 for this insult.

¹⁶ Walton and Arnott [12] 59 see indications of a mask change at *Dyskolos* 551-53 and 754. It is possible that Sostratos was given a darker (or perhaps redder) mask to indicate his day’s labour, but this need not be so. Lines 551-53 represent a common trope of characters not recognizing one another on stage (cf. C. W. Marshall, “*Quis Hic Loquitur?*: Plautine Delivery and the ‘Double Aside’,” *SyllClass* 10 [1999] 105-31). Male masks were typically darker than female ones, to accord with the reality that men were usually darker because they worked outside (cf. D. M. MacDowell, *Aristophanes and Athens: An Introduction to the Plays* [Oxford 1995] 258, 304). Lines 535 and 754, which describe the effects of the sun, may be Menander’s recognition of this.

metatheatrical resonance. This clustering, and at this particular point, is noticeable, but it is also in some ways surprising, since so much else is happening on stage at the same time. Since this actively concerns the chorus, it is useful to describe what is known about its function in the fourth-century.

“It is well known that in the fourth century the comic chorus went through a period of decline, which ended with its standardization into a group of drunken youths, who invariably appeared in all plays of New Comedy”.¹⁷ while this claim may be true, the precise timing of the decline and its cause are open to question. The increased separation of stage from *orchestra*, the rise of the professional actor, and the elimination of the choregia in *ca.* 316/5 BC¹⁸ are all possible influences on the diminishment of the chorus, but none of them need be correlated directly to the change in choral performance itself. The first of these three will serve as an example. It is typically held that the chorus performed their songs in the *orchestra*,¹⁹ while the actors performed the episodes on a raised stage.²⁰ However, “the stage was never completely cut off from the orchestra level”²¹ and communication between these two areas of the performance space, while perhaps rarer than in earlier plays, remained possible. While the physical appearance of the stage buildings had changed, then, as is suggested by illustrations on red-figure vases, the principles governing their use had not, and movements permitted on a fifth-century stage were also possible in the fourth century. Xanthakis-Karamanos goes further than this, claiming that “the high stage seems not to have been raised until late in the fourth or early in the third century, and this, as far as our evidence shows, applies to both tragedy and comedy.”²² In either scenario, then, the chorus was not physically confined to the *orchestra*, and there is nothing about the performance space itself that restricted or had a necessary effect on choral development. The same is true of the professionalization of actors²³ and the elimination of the *choregia*.²⁴

¹⁷ Sifakis [2 (1971)] 416.

¹⁸ Pickard-Cambridge [9] 91f.

¹⁹ This is the assumption of Rothwell [2] 224, for example; cf. the longer discussion of Sifakis [2 (1967)] 126-32.

²⁰ Cf. Sifakis [2 (1967)] 113-15, 126-30.

²¹ Slater [7] 42; cf. Sifakis [2 (1967)] 130-35.

²² Xanthakis-Karamanos [4] 11.

²³ This possibility is discussed by Slater [7] 39-42 and Walton and Arnott [12] 34-36.

²⁴ Rothwell [2] 214-18 argues this. It is particularly suggestive for my present purposes because *Dyskolos*, which happens to survive, dates to the Lenaia of 316, and the *choregia* was most likely eliminated in 316/5, but there is no necessary connection between *Dyskolos*' stagecraft and the elimination of the *choregia*.

Certainly the appearance of the chorus had changed over time. For one thing, it was almost certainly smaller than the twenty-four comic choristers or the twelve or fifteen tragic/satyrical choristers of the late fifth century: evidence points to six, seven, or eight members in all kinds of choruses in the late fourth century.²⁵ Yet like the earlier choruses, “[t]he tragic chorus did sing and not merely dance;”²⁶ it does not necessarily follow that “the performance of the comic chorus in the fourth century was, on the whole, a dancing one”²⁷ merely because the words they sang no longer survive. Dancing was important to the Hellenistic chorus: a chorus would enter during the *parodos* (the chorus’ entry-song), remove their outer cloaks to enable ease of movement, and begin to dance vigorously.²⁸ But caution should be urged against over-interpreting this evidence. For one thing, the practice of choral stripping is attested in Aristophanes’ *Acharnians* of 425 BC,²⁹ and so this feature points to continuity with earlier choruses rather than disjunction. Similarly, these interludes would be accompanied by someone playing the *aulos*, as had been the case in the fifth-century.

²⁵ Sifakis [2 (1971)] 418 and 420 suggests there were seven or eight in the chorus, and this is corroborated by epigraphical evidence, such as the number of choristers at the Amphictyonic Soteria at Delphi, which seems to have been seven or eight (Sifakis [2 (1967)] 71-74, 156-65). Cf. Rothwell [2 (1992)] 217, Maidment [4] 13; Pickard-Cambridge [9] 241f. discusses the possibility of silent “choristers.”

²⁶ Xanthakis-Karamanos [4] 10. This is made clear by the use of ὄδουσι at Aristotle, *Problemata* 19.48, 922b10f.

²⁷ Sifakis [2 (1971)] 432; cf. Sommerstein [4] 140 for the evidence of Aristophanes’ *Ekklesiazusae* and *Plutus*.

²⁸ Sifakis argues that Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 4.2, 1123a19-24 implies that the costume would not be put on again because “after the opening song...the chorus-men remain inactive; a group of on-lookers who come to life, as it were, at convenient breaks in the action to perform their independent interludes” (Sifakis [2 (1971)] 417). Even if they did leave the performance area during acts (as I believe), there is no need to put on their outer cloaks again, and Sifakis’ reading of Aristotle is unaffected. The continued prominence of the chorus after the period of Old Comedy is seen from the comic plays with collective names which likely derive from choruses (cf. T. B. L. Webster, “Chronological Notes on Middle Comedy,” *CQ* 2 [1952] 13-26, at 25f.; for tragedy, cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos [4] 123). Again, continuity with the earlier comic tradition is suggested.

²⁹ R. C. Ketterer, “Stripping in the Parabasis of *Acharnians*,” *GRBS* 21 (1980) 217-21.

The chorus of *Dyskolos*, like that of every other Menandrian chorus, is a band of revelers, a κῶμος. The play's conventional reference to the chorus and its identity occurs at the end of the first act:³⁰

καὶ γὰρ προσιόντας τούσδε Πανιστάς τινας
εἰς τὸν τόπον δεῦρ' ὑποβεβρεγμένους ὄρω,
οἷς μὴ ἴνοχλειν εὐκαιρον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ.

(230-32)

Further, I see some rather drunk Pan-worshippers coming here to this place. It seems to me to be a good time not to meddle with them.

But even here difficulties exist, for this text involves an emendation to the papyrus at precisely the word that is most descriptive: Lloyd-Jones' emendation Πανιστάς³¹ ("Pan-worshippers") replaces the papyrus' παϊανιστάς ("paeansingers"), a word equally suggestive, though what Menander's audience would have considered a "paeon" is not certain. Handley gives the most detailed discussion of the emendation and ultimately rejects it,³² but most editions accept the alteration. However, during the performance of *Dyskolos* the difference between these two is meagre, since the setting of the play is before a shrine of Pan and the Nymphs (τὸ νυμφαῖον, 2), and Pan speaks the prologue (1-49). Either the chorus are Pan worshippers, or they are a generic κῶμος in front of Pan's shrine singing something called "paeans."³³ By Menander's day this term might refer to metre, melody, or even tone, and need not reflect the actual ritual function (and note the reference to "Paeon Phoebus" at line 192). It may even be a sarcastic and, to the audience, a clearly inappropriate description of the music. Whatever the case, even if the papyrus reading is correct, the chorus in *Dyskolos* is still to some extent characterized by the presence of Pan because of his appearance in the prologue. Pan governs all events on this stage. The association between chorus and performance area, then, means that all subsequent choral songs, because they are performed on the same space, are

³⁰ The text I use throughout is Arnott [6]. While minor differences do exist in certain readings in F. H. Sandbach (ed.), *Menandri Reliquiae Selectae* (Oxford 1990), none affects the present argument.

³¹ Frost [12] 46 n. 14 opts for Lloyd-Jones' Πανιστάς.

³² Handley [9] 171-74.

³³ A third possibility should be considered. The deme of Paiania is mentioned in line 408, specifically in the context of Pan worship. It is tempting to consider that the heart of line 230 may lie in the meaning "Paianians" and have an automatic association with Pan worship. However, without reference to the deme before this point in the play it remains uncertain. Even if this were correct, the audience's interpretation of line 230 is not significantly altered.

still associated with Pan in the minds of the audience, even though there is no explicit reference to the chorus in the text, apart from the act-dividing XOPOY.

For Sifakis, it does not matter whether the Menandrian chorus physically stays on stage during the episode or not, as one consequence of the raised stage is that plays are released from the chorus’ “immediate presence, which hampered the development of the plot, by splitting the performance into two levels”³⁴—they are, for him, effectively out of the performance area during the episodes, since the high stage prevents the audience seeing them, at least by convention.³⁵ Sifakis claims that “[a]s far as their participation in the plot is concerned, [the chorus] are brought into direct contact with it *only in the parodos*,”³⁶ that is, between acts one and two. As has been demonstrated, contact of a different sort—metatheatrical contact—has been identified at the next act-boundary, between acts two and three. Even if our evidence were sufficient to allow a generalization about Menander, Menander’s decision “not to incorporate the chorus into the action [does not mean] that other fourth-century playwrights made the same choice.”³⁷ A fourth-century *Medea*³⁸ has a chorus addressed by an actor immediately following an act-dividing XOPOY. The line contains a direct verbal allusion to Euripides’ *Medea* 214,³⁹ and this

³⁴ Sifakis [2 (1967)] 135.

³⁵ I should reiterate that this is not what I believe. It does, however, mean that one can discuss the chorus “leaving the performance area” meaningfully without knowing exactly what happened historically: either the chorus physically leaves the performance area, or the *orchestra* is removed from the performance area by an act of will by the audience. Arist. *Pr.* 19.48 (922b26-28) suggests the chorus is a well-meaning but ineffectual witness to stage events, but (assuming this refers to productions contemporary with Aristotle) this does not require the chorus to remain on stage constantly. I believe it is preferable to assume the chorus members stagger on, remove their cloaks, sing a song accompanied by vigorous dance, and then leave to return later.

³⁶ Sifakis [2 (1971)] 417, italics are in the original, and serve to emphasize Sifakis’ contention that the *parodos* is “the only [song] specially composed for the play,” because it is only there that characters refer to the chorus. As will become clear, I disagree.

³⁷ Rothwell [2 (1992)] 223.

³⁸ *P. Lit. Lond.* 77, British Museum inv. 186, verso. Cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos [4] 10, 173-77; C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta* (Berlin 1973) 347-53 (I am discussing his fr. 350: 113f.); D. F. Sutton, *Papyrological Studies in Dionysiac Literature. P. Lit. Lond. 77: A Postclassical Satyr Play and P. Ross. Georg. I.11: A Hymn to Dionysus* (Oak Park 1987) 7-60. As is clear from his title, Sutton believes the papyrus presents a satyr play. While I disagree with this assessment, his study remains relevant for the issues discussed here.

³⁹ Various other possible sources are discussed by Sutton [38] 38-43. In Euripides’ *Medea* (as at Sophocles, *Electra* 255), the address of the chorus immediately follows the *parodos*.

certainly implies that the chorus remains on stage after their song (in at least this tragic instance).⁴⁰ There are two things to notice for now. First, this could be evidence for the continued presence of the chorus during the acts of a play generally. Second, since tragic titles exist that apparently refer to the identity of the chorus,⁴¹ this *Medea* may be merely indicative of a difference between tragic and comic practice. The evidence would seem to support Sifakis' conclusion that the chorus of Menander "has invariably become a *komos*, a band of revelers who are not present in the course of the play but enter the scene between episodes or acts, and have nothing to do with the plot of the play,"⁴² though perhaps this is so only when tempered with some interpretative caution.

There is no *a priori* reason why dramatic contact between the chorus and audience need be associated with the metatheatrical contact between actors and audience described earlier. Still, both effects can be seen as the characters integrating theatrical stage conventions into their dramatic world, and this is perhaps sufficient to warrant further scrutiny. The anonymous *Medea* demonstrates that in at least some fourth-century drama contact between character and chorus could take place after an act-division; it need not be restricted exclusively to the end of the first act as implied by the extant fragments of Menander. The second act division in *Dyskolos* has already been seen to be marked by the playwright since it is infused with metatheatrical nuance: it is also a good candidate for examining contact between the chorus and the characters.

The slave Getas and the cook Sikon leave the stage and enter into the shrine after line 426,⁴³ and the chorus returns (or, in Sifakis' understanding, re-animates) for another vigorous song and dance. The flurry of stage activity continues after the end of the song, however, which marks the awkwardness of the passage and would draw out its length considerably to its length in performance. Here is what happens in the first fifteen lines of act three (427-41):⁴⁴

This does not mean that the fourth-century imitation also represents the introduction of the first episode (rightly Sutton [38] 41-49, who also questions the ordering of the papyrus fragments [cf. especially the citation of C. Austin at 44 n. 72]).

⁴⁰ It also, of course, implies a level of textual awareness by the audience that can be seen, broadly, as metatheatrical.

⁴¹ Sifakis [2 (1967)] 114, and see n. 27.

⁴² Sifakis [2 (1967)] 114; cf. the similar statement by Dover [4] 143.

⁴³ Frost [12] 49.

⁴⁴ This is based on Frost [12] 49-53, whose study can be considered the *communis opinio*; it does not at any rate differ in any substantial respect with any edition or translation I have

1. The chorus leave the stage after their song, after line 426.
2. At line 427, Knemon, the grumpy old man of the title, enters from his house, which is next door to the shrine of Pan. It is possibly desirable within the Menandrian performance aesthetic to avoid an empty stage. If so, Knemon nevertheless pays no attention to the departing chorus because he is shouting inside to his elderly servant.
3. At line 430, Sostratos’ mother, Plangon,⁴⁵ the *auletris* Parthenis, and some mute characters (who are probably slaves, but perhaps fellow-sacrificers) enter from a wing. The size of the group is uncertain, but it seems to be as many as 6-8.⁴⁶ The mother is being played by the Sikon actor, who has changed character and then run around from backstage to the wings since line 426.
4. At line 434, Getas enters from the shrine, and all three speaking actors are now on stage.
5. At line 441, Sostratos’ mother, Plangon, the *auletris*, and the slaves enter the shrine, as does Getas,⁴⁷ leaving Knemon on stage to soliloquize. The actor playing Sostratos’ mother changes back to Sikon using the mask and costume he left there after line 426,⁴⁸ and will re-emerge as the cook at line 487.

Most striking is the entry of the large crowd including Sostratos’ mother, whose identity has been anticipated since lines 260-64. Frost describes the entry: “The group is unannounced, which contributes to the surprise effect as they burst suddenly on to the stage bringing noise and bustle: their arrival startles Knemon whose attention is directed away from the stage back into the house as he issues instructions to Simache.”⁴⁹ However, the phrases “surprise effect,” “burst suddenly,” and “noise and bustle” are inappropriate descriptions when it is remembered (as Frost does not) that the chorus has departed a mere three lines

consulted. Frost, however, does not consider choral movements at all, presumably because they are largely unproblematic and perceived to be incidental to the plot, so I have added them here to his stage directions.

⁴⁵ It is not clear whether Plangon is the sister of Sostratos, or a slave. The commentaries are split, but Ireland ([14] 144) may be correct that “this may be one of those details that creates problems only for a reading audience.” The present argument is unaffected in either case.

⁴⁶ Handley [9] 209.

⁴⁷ This is not mentioned by Frost [12]. Getas emerges from the shrine again at line 456, and this is the only opportunity for him to leave the stage without interrupting Knemon’s soliloquy. His departure here is affirmed by Arnott [6] 253 *inter alia*.

⁴⁸ This is why it is important for him to change characters before the run: backstage economy is preserved by leaving the mask and costume of Sikon by the door to the shrine. For backstage economy as a factor for role division, cf. Marshall [11 (1994)] 53-61.

⁴⁹ Frost [12] 49.

earlier: the level of activity associated with the fourth-century chorus means that the noise and bustle continues, rather than begins. The sacrificers' arrival rather becomes a part of the larger overall commotion on the stage.

A singing and vigorously dancing group of six to eight in front of a shrine to Pan who are accompanied by an *aulos*-player depart, and are replaced by another group of six to eight Pan-worshippers accompanied by an *aulos*-player (cf. line 432 ἀΐλει) within seconds. Further, Maidment suggests that extras in Menander would typically be played by the members of the chorus.⁵⁰ If true, the chorus departs in the role of exuberant youths (who circumstantially, and perhaps explicitly at line 230, have been associated with Pan), changes costume almost instantly into Pan-worshippers proper who will then be given a more developed identity in order to re-enter the stage for only eleven spoken lines. Any surprise effect is eliminated (or at least greatly diminished), and replaced by a redundant creation of minimal consequence. Such messy stage action is, I submit, an intolerable result, from which there are two means of extraction. Gomme and Sandbach believe:

The fact that the chorus has become a purely conventional survival is shown by Knemon's conduct here. He pays no attention whatever to the tipsy Panistai, but is shortly to be greatly upset by the arrival of a respectable household party.⁵¹

In other words, the chorus is so removed from the events of performance that it is essentially invisible and has no impact on the audience reception of the surrounding text. This is possible, but I do not believe it gives sufficient weight to the importance of the vigorous musical presence of the fourth-century comic chorus in performance.

The alternative is that the chorus represents not a generic group of Pan-worshippers (or paeon-singers) but the rather specific group, which at the end of the second act includes Sostratos' mother. While without an exact parallel in extant New Comedy, this is the most economical account of the required stage movement. The chorus then does not depart immediately after their second choral song, but remains onstage until they enter the shrine at line 441, crossing from the *orchestra* onto the stage and into the shrine of Pan. This does create a surprise effect, and one that clarifies all the movements in this passage and gives a more natural persona to the chorus, who now become a character and

⁵⁰ Maidment [2] 20-22.

⁵¹ Gomme and Sandbach [9] 200.

rise above the status of a conventional holdover.⁵² In terms of the catalogue of movements outlined above, this solution eliminates number one and greatly simplifies number three: only the mother and Plangon need arrive now. The initial injunction to Plangon from Sostratos’ mother to hurry (430) is now seen as a dramatically integrated acknowledgement that they arrive after the rest of the group, as Getas also observes (435f.).

Nor is the effect achieved by identifying the apparently extra-dramatic chorus with the dramatic group of Pan-worshippers unique. The fourth-century *Medea* already mentioned affords the closest parallel, as a character entering after a choral song immediately acknowledges the choral presence.⁵³ This need not mean that the chorus remains on stage throughout the act: the Corinthian women could be in the process of departing. Both post-XOPOY exchanges constitute an effort by the playwright to incorporate the chorus into the dramatic world he has created. It is a gesture towards naturalism, acknowledging the group and giving them some dramatic definition within an extension of the fictional world. This effect is similar to that advocated for Menander by Maidment, and Leo and Körte before him: but they were writing before *Dyskolos* was discovered, and they lacked this clear example.

If the chorus in *Dyskolos* is identified as the entourage of Sostratos’ mother, then there are some necessary consequences for production. Information about the groups is additive, and what is true of one becomes equally true of the other. The group which περιέρχεται θύουσα τὸν δῆμον κύκλῳ ἅπαντ’ (“travels around the whole deme in a circle, sacrificing,” 262f.) is also ὑποβεβρηγμένους (“rather drunk,” 231), or at least appears so to Daos, the hard-worked household slave who before the first act is completed has already cursed Poverty (209f.) and Knemon (220f.). The slaves could easily be called Pan-worshippers (if that is the word used at line 230), and it would be natural for them to remove their cloaks as they prepare the sacrifice for Sostratos’ mother who is following behind them (and will appear at line 430). Whether the characters are actually drunk or only carrying wine jars to be imbibed at the post-sacrifice banquet (cf. lines 927, 946-49) is not a distinction Daos seems likely to make. By acknowledging the chorus’ presence and giving

⁵² The chorus of Euripides’ *Helen* leaves the *orchestra* and enters the palace at line 385, so while rare the action is not unparalleled in extant Greek drama.

⁵³ Parallel in a different way are the many instances in fifth-century tragedy, where the chorus examine the propriety of their function within a drama. There have been several studies of choral self-reference in recent years, but the best introduction remains A. Henrichs, “Why Should I Dance?: Choral Self-Referentiality in Greek Theatre,” *Arion* 3.1 (1995) 56-111; cf. K. Heikkilä, “‘Now I have a Mind to Dance’: The Reference of the Chorus to Their Own Dancing in Sophocles’ Tragedies,” *Arctos* 25 (1991) 51-67.

a reason for its existence on stage, Menander provides an explanation for subsequent act-dividing songs: the celebrations, at whatever stage, temporarily spill out onto the street. Menander has integrated the chorus naturalistically into his play.

It will be clear that giving the chorus this dramatic character potentially affects its every appearance. Visual cues likely are available to the audience throughout the play. The costume that the chorus wears from its initial entry will be consistent with whatever would be expected of members of Sostratos' mother's party, and this costume will be maintained throughout the play. If this differs in any way from what an audience would expect a chorus to wear (assuming there was a standard, which there may have been), then the costume marks the chorus as non-standard from its initial entry, even though the text of lines 230-32 appears to be entirely formulaic. Certainly, this interpretation implies a variation from modern expectations in terms of the chorus' departure. If the chorus does typically leave the stage during the acts (as seems likely), then, as in Euripides at *Helen* 385, the chorus leaves the stage by means of the central door (representing the shrine of Pan), and subsequently emerges from there as well. It must however be asked: were these modern expectations also held by Menander's audience? The stagecraft implied by *Dyskolos* suggests that they need not have been. It is possible that integration of the chorus into the dramatic narrative could occur without upsetting the play's action. This is increasingly likely when the technique is seen in the larger context of metatheatrical reference in Menander.

There are clear markers that *Dyskolos* 427-41 is charged with metatheatrical nuance, incorporating reference to the *aulos*-player, role-sharing, and masks. To these three, reasons have been given to add a fourth—the chorus—and so *Dyskolos* alludes to the four most obvious features of a Greek comic performance. None of these references functions in isolation; each ties to another passage somewhere else in the play. It may be that *Dyskolos* is exceptional in this way, and direct acknowledgement of theatrical conditions does not exist to this extent in other contemporary plays. But *Dyskolos* employs theatrical techniques that show continuity with earlier comic practice. Menander works to blur the naturalism of dramatic illusion for which he is typically praised with explicit acknowledgments that this is a fictional world. By doing so, the world of the play presses out and absorbs the whole theatrical space, which even in 316 BC is a representation of the *polis* at large. All the world is a stage, as Democritus said (68 fr. 115 [*84] D-K).

In *Dyskolos*, Menander does not allow the audience to believe that the chorus “was hardly more relevant than the advertisements that today punctuate

television programmes.”⁵⁴ They are given a character, albeit a small one, that helps to define the entire performance space as the area before a shrine of Pan. Menander does this by integrating the Pan-worshippers, briefly, into the plot, thereby removing their artificial presence as a group of generic “drunken revelers.” A useful comparison may perhaps be made with another conventional chorus, that of the fifth-century satyr play. There, genre determined that the nature of the chorus was fixed. Nevertheless, fragments and play-titles of satyr drama demonstrate that some individuation could take place from play to play. A chorus might become net-fishermen, hammer-wielders, shepherds, nurses of Dionysus, or lovers of Achilles depending on the plot, while still always remaining satyrs. Such innovation in the use of the chorus may have been possible in New Comedy as well.

Menander’s metatheatre is in no fundamental conflict with his supposed naturalism. Quite the contrary: by acknowledging the existence of a chorus, the *aulos*-player, role-sharing, and masks, the playwright is able to further naturalize his dramatic world by presenting rational explanations for the presence of each. This is a technique Euripides also used.⁵⁵ If the tendency in fourth-century comedy suggests that “the decline of the chorus (apparent already in late Menander) goes hand in hand with the fabrication of comic illusion,”⁵⁶ then *Dyskolos* demonstrates how the artificial features of the theatrical event can be used to help preserve and reinforce illusion. Menander establishes continuity with earlier playwrights, turning the vestigial chorus, at least in *Dyskolos*, into an integrated dramatic character. Metatheatre helps Menander reinforce dramatic illusion, and adds to the types of humour that can be identified as Menandrian.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Ireland [14] 18.

⁵⁵ C. W. Marshall, “Theatrical Reference in Euripides’ *Electra*,” *ICS* 24-25 (1999-2000) 325-41.

⁵⁶ Slater [7] 39.

⁵⁷ W. G. Arnott has provided two useful overviews of Menander’s comic techniques, neither of which incorporates metatheatrical humour: Arnott [6] xxxviii-xlv, and “Humour in Menander,” in S. Jäkel *et al.* (edd.), *Laughter Down the Centuries* 3 (Turku 1997) 65-79.

WHO IS THE DEMOSTHENES AT THE END OF DEMOSTHENES 56, AGAINST DIONYSODORUS? AN EXERCISE IN METHODOLOGY¹

Ian Worthington

Department of History, University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri 65211, USA

Abstract. The common opinion is to identify the Demosthenes at 56.50 with the orator. However, this identification is extremely unlikely, especially on chronological grounds. This article attempts to narrow down the identification by proposing another Demosthenes, and in the process points out the methodological danger of identifying a homonym with the famous bearer of the name.

At the end of this speech (50), the speaker Darius calls for one of his friends to come forward to speak on his behalf, whom he names as Demosthenes (ἀξιῶ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων μοί τινα συνειπεῖν. Δεῦρο Δημόσθενες). The common opinion is to identify Darius' friend with Demosthenes the orator, and, on the face of it, that would seem plausible. However, just because we have famous names in speeches does not necessarily mean they belong to those people whose fame stems from their political activity—and history. As we shall see, it is extremely improbable that the Demosthenes named in this speech is the orator. The most recent editors of the speech, Carey and Reid,² drew attention to the problems associated with the identification, and say that it could be Demosthenes himself, or a different Demosthenes, or that Δημόσθενες has been erroneously emended from ὁ δεῖνα. They do not commit themselves to any of the alternatives. I would like to narrow down the identification if possible, and in the process point out the methodological danger of identifying a homonym with the famous bearer of the name.

References within the speech place it after the death of Alexander the Great. At that time, Demosthenes was either still in exile following his disgrace in the Harpalus affair of 324/3,³ or he had returned to Athens and was occupied with the Lamian War of 323/2 (see further below). He committed suicide in

¹ *In memoriam* N. G. L. Hammond.

² C. Carey and R. A. Reid, *Demosthenes, Selected Private Speeches* (Cambridge 1985) 201-03, 232.

³ On this affair see in detail I. Worthington, *A Historical Commentary on Dinarchus* (Ann Arbor 1992) 41-77.

October 322 (Plut. *Dem.* 30.5). The problem is further compounded by the fact that Demosthenes took an active role in political life during the Lamian War, a desperate struggle against Macedonian hegemony, and so is unlikely to have concerned himself with what was essentially a trivial case, even if for a personal friend.⁴ Blass even suggested that the text which we have today is wrong; that originally the reading was δεῦρ’ ὁ δεῖνα, and that this was changed to Δημόσθενης when this speech was included in the Demosthenic corpus.⁵

The date of the speech is the most crucial factor. At 56.7, Darius refers to the former governorship of Cleomenes: τοῦ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρξαντος. The aorist participle used here can only mean that Cleomenes was no longer the actual governor of Egypt; in other words, in sole power.⁶ In 331, Alexander had given Cleomenes specific duties in Egypt including financial responsibility and the overseeing of the building of Alexandria (Arr. 3.5.2-5, 7.23.7; Curt. 4.8.5), but some time afterwards appears to have made him an actual satrap (Paus. 1.6.3; Arr. *Succ.* 1.5).⁷ Despite his venal administration (Arr. 7.23.7f.), Cleomenes was still the satrap when Alexander died in Babylon on 10 June 323.⁸ In the distribution of Alexander’s empire by his generals (e.g., Diod. Sic. 18.3), Ptolemy received Egypt, and Cleomenes then became his second-in-command (Arr. *Succ.* 1.5). This does not mean that Cleomenes was no longer a force to be reckoned with; probably because of his long familiarity with the peculiarities of Egyptian society and administration, which to Ptolemy were quite new, Ptolemy depended on him a great deal. Cleomenes may thus have continued to enjoy great power, but at the same time he was subordinate to Ptolemy; he was no longer *the* satrap. However, his loyalty, or perhaps more likely his great wealth and power, came to be viewed suspiciously by Ptolemy. We are told that Ptolemy thought that Cleomenes was favourably disposed towards his rival Perdikkas, and so at some point had him executed (Paus. 1.6.3).

The passage at Demosthenes 56.7 is ambiguous, for it could refer to either Cleomenes’ fall from sole power (as governor) or perhaps even his death. If the former, then the Demosthenes in question could have been the orator

⁴ On the case, see Carey and Reid [2] 195-200.

⁵ F. Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*² 3 (Leipzig 1898) 523f. The speech is generally regarded as spurious on stylistic grounds: for arguments in favour of this (which I follow) see Blass [above, this note] 524-27 and Carey and Reid [2] 203f.

⁶ See Carey and Reid [2] 201f.

⁷ On Cleomenes see further H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* 2 (Munich 1926) no. 431.

⁸ On the date see A. E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (Munich 1962) 46f.

cited in the passage. If the latter, then the Demosthenes at 56.50 cannot have been the orator. A consideration of both will allow us to form some opinion on the identity of the Demosthenes in question, and so I begin with the former.

Alexander died on 10 June. We do not know when the generals' settlement at Babylon occurred, but there is no reason to believe that, in all the confusion, it happened immediately.⁹ At some point Ptolemy moved to Egypt to consolidate his new empire, and if Porphyry is to be trusted Ptolemy did not enter Egypt for over a year (*FGrH* 260 F 2). This long gap is hard to accept; however, Ptolemy may not have arrived in Egypt until late in 323. After all, it would seem from the Babylonian astronomical tablets that Peithon did not leave Babylon to deal with rebellious colonists until December 323.¹⁰ Thus, events in the aftermath of Alexander's death may have moved more slowly than is often assumed. Cleomenes' governorship would not have continued once Ptolemy went to Egypt, but there is nothing in our sources to imply that he was executed as soon as Ptolemy arrived—if anything, his knowledge of Egyptian customs and administration would have made him a valuable asset for Ptolemy in the transition period between his arrival and the consolidation of his power. I will return to this point below, but for our purposes here Cleomenes may have remained governor until late 323 when Ptolemy himself arrived. We must then allow time for the news of his loss of sole power to reach Greece and become common knowledge. Demosthenes 56, then, cannot have predated late, even December, 323.¹¹

At this time, the Greeks were involved in the Lamian War and Demosthenes was very likely still in exile following his involvement in the Harpalus affair. When news of Alexander's death reached Athens, the city, amongst other things, sent out embassies to several states to raise troops for a revolt against the Macedonian hegemony (Diod. Sic. 18.9.5), and Demosthenes, under his own auspices, also toured Greece to marshal such support. The Lamian War began in about September 323 (Diod. Sic. 18.10), and it was not probably until that winter, when Antipater was besieged in Lamia and the war was going relatively well for the Greeks (Hyp. 6.12, Diod. Sic. 18.12.4-13.5, Plut. *Dem.* 27.1), that Demosthenes was officially recalled to Athens (Plut. *Dem.* 27, [Luc.], *Enc. Dem.* 31). The battle of Crannon, which ended the

⁹ I am grateful to Professor A. B. Bosworth for his email comments on chronology and on Cleomenes' demise. For some discussion of the chronology of the years immediately following Alexander's death see, for example, R. M. Errington, 'From Babylon to Triparadeisos: 323-320 BC,' *JHS* 90 (1970) 49-77 (although he may have compressed the events of 323-321 perhaps more than necessary).

¹⁰ Cf. A. J. Sachs, *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts* (Rhode Island 1955).

¹¹ Cf. Carey and Reid [2] 202.

Lamian War, was fought in August 322 (Diod. Sic. 18.17.3-5, Plut. *Cam.* 19.8). It would have taken some time for Antipater to deal with each state individually before he turned to Athens (Diod. Sic. 18.17.6-8). Moreover, we also need to allow time for an embassy to go from Athens to hear his terms and to report them to the Athenians (Diod. Sic. 18.18.1-3). At that point, it seems that Demosthenes and Hyperides fled into exile and that Demades had them condemned to death. They were eventually hunted down, and Demosthenes, as Plutarch tells us (*Dem.* 30.5), committed suicide on 16th Pyanepsion, approximately late October. I do not believe that they fled earlier since a second embassy went to Antipater, which might well have hoped to curry his favour with the news that the two most influential anti-Macedonians had been condemned to death and had fled. This would give us a date plausibly in September for Demosthenes’ flight, and thus this month is the last chance for him to have appeared in court. It is unlikely that the speech would have been delivered once Antipater had abolished the Athenian democracy at the end of 322, but in any case by then Demosthenes the orator was dead.¹²

Thus, based on the above chronology, the speech is not likely to have predated the end of 323, and Demosthenes could only have been present in court to support his friend Darius between winter 323 and September 322. In fact, the time available for Demosthenes to have supported Darius is narrowed by the fact that once Crannon was fought and lost (August), Demosthenes would hardly have bothered going to court when Antipater could have arrived on the scene at any time. This chronology is not affected even if the generals’ settlement at Babylon had occurred immediately after Alexander’s death and Ptolemy had left for Egypt at once, for Demosthenes still could not have been in Athens before the end of 323.

Demosthenes, then, could have appeared in court only between winter 323 and August 322, which is a sufficiently long period for him to have supported Darius. However, the question is not so much did he as would he have done? The answer has to be in the negative. It must be remembered that the conflict with Macedon was not merely a revolt but a full-scale war

¹² The reference τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ at 56.50 would indicate a democratic jury, as Carey and Reid [2] 202 say (but see their n. 58), which would not exist once Antipater had abolished democracy. Accordingly, as a *terminus ante quem* for the speech, they posit 20 Boedromion (mid-September) 322, for it was then that a Macedonian garrison occupied Munychia (Plut. *Phoc.* 28). This does not necessarily follow, for it was one thing to occupy a state militarily and another to interfere with its constitution; the actual abolition of democracy could have taken place some time after Munychia was occupied. However, for the purposes of this paper, the key argument is the date of Demosthenes the orator’s flight and death.

involving thousands of men on both sides.¹³ Regardless of the extent of his friendship with anyone, Demosthenes' political survival now depended on the outcome of the war; hence, he devoted all his energies to it. The war was soon to take a turn for the worse for the Greeks with the death of the general Leosthenes when trying to take Lamia (Diod. Sic. 18.13.5, Justin 13.5.12), and then Antipater's escape thanks to Leonnatus' timely arrival with reinforcements (Diod. Sic. 18.15.1-7, Plut., *Phoc.* 25). It was a gloomy time for the Athenians; the capture of Antipater would have made a major difference, and against this background, on which his survival depended and with so much taking place, we cannot imagine Demosthenes would have had time for the courts. We cannot plausibly imagine him taking the time to write a speech for such a trivial incident as the present case: Darius, with his partner Pamphilus, was merely prosecuting two traders for renegeing on repayment of a bottomry, or maritime, loan. Therefore, it is extremely improbable that the Demosthenes of 56.50 is the orator.

The second possible interpretation of Demosthenes 56.7, that the speaker refers to Cleomenes when dead, would help us to date the speech a little more accurately and to discount Demosthenes completely. Pausanias 1.6.3, despite its problems, places Cleomenes' death immediately before Ptolemy captured Alexander's body as the funeral cortege made its way back to Macedon. More importantly, Pausanias says that Ptolemy killed him because he thought he was favourably disposed to Perdiccas. Since there is nothing to suggest that Cleomenes was put to death as soon as Ptolemy went to Egypt, the fact that Ptolemy was suspicious of Cleomenes' loyalty would suggest a date when relations between himself and Perdiccas were hostile. A probable date is the second half of 322 or early 321, when Ptolemy suspected that Perdiccas would attempt to seize Egypt for himself, and so made an alliance with Antipater, who himself had just declared against Perdiccas (Diod. Sic. 18.4.2, 18.25.4). This would thus place Cleomenes' execution in late 322 or early 321, and hence assign Demosthenes 56 to this time. By then, the Lamian War was well over, and Demosthenes had again fled Athens—if he were not already dead (he died in mid-October, see above). That being so, the Demosthenes at the end of this speech cannot be the orator.

¹³ In the first year of the war, the Greeks were able to muster a land army of about 30 000 men, which was reinforced after the battle of Thermopylae by 2000 Thessalian cavalry (Diod. Sic. 18.12.3f.). Their fleet also numbered 240 vessels (Diod. Sic. 18.10.2), of which 170 were Athenian. Antipater's forces were at first inferior, but that changed dramatically once Leonnatus and Craterus had brought reinforcements. At Crannon the Macedonians had 48 000 soldiers including 5000 cavalry, and the Greeks 25 000 soldiers and 3500 cavalry (Diod. Sic. 18.17.1f.).

Both of the above interpretations, given the implications of the aorist tense at 56.7, support the view that we are not dealing with Demosthenes the orator. The solution is simple: if it is not that Demosthenes, then (based on *eikota*) it must be another Demosthenes, someone who was politically active (we can presume) and hence known to the people, and so would be a worthy *synegoros* for Darius. One possibility (and I stress possibility; see below) is Demosthenes, son of Democles, of the deme Lamptrae.¹⁴ He was politically active at the time,¹⁵ for we know that he proposed a decree in 329/8 bestowing honours on the *epimeletai* of the Amphiaraic Games at Oropus,¹⁶ and another decree in 325/4 bestowing honours on Heracleides of Salamis for his gift of grain to the city.¹⁷ He was connected with some of the most influential political leaders of the period including Lycurgus and Demades (both of whom had been amongst the ten *epimeletai* of the Amphiaraic Games in 329/8), and so would have made an excellent choice as a supporting witness in Darius’ case.

However, it must be stressed that Demosthenes of Lamptrae is only a possible choice, for in questioning the reasons why we identify Demosthenes in this speech with the orator, it is important to be just as careful when suggesting anyone else. In fact, Demosthenes was not an uncommon name in Athens: the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* shows no fewer than 68 Attic instances of the name, of which about 16 are of an appropriate date for identification with the man cited at the end of this speech.¹⁸ Yet, there is no reason to believe that one of these, let us say a demarch of Aixone, or a member of the Boule, or a known homonym of the orator in Paeania, should not be preferred over Demosthenes of Lamptrae; we just happen to know more about the latter at this time. However, what all of this does show is the very real need not to jump to conclusions and to identify homonyms, where possible, with the famous bearer of the name (a feature of prosopographical studies of the last century).

In conclusion, taking famous names cited in our texts at face value can be convenient, but it can also lead to incautious identifications and hence erroneous arguments. Demosthenes 56 is a case in point. Chronology and his

¹⁴ *PA* 3593, M. J. Osborne and S. Byrne, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* 2 (Oxford 1994) *s.v.* Δημόσθενης.

¹⁵ See, for example, M. H. Hansen, *The Athenian Ecclesia* 2 (Copenhagen 1989) 25-72, especially 41.

¹⁶ *IG* 7 4254 = *SIG* 1³ 298 = C. J. Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander: The Dated Laws and Decrees of “the Lykourgan Era,” 338-322 B.C.* (Chicago 1985) no. 50, with bibliography.

¹⁷ *IG* 2² 360 = Schwenk [16] no. 68, with bibliography.

¹⁸ Osborne and Byrne [14] *s.v.* Δημόσθενης. They may not all be separate individuals since information, especially the demotic, is often missing.

preoccupation with the Lamian War and its aftermath argue against identifying Demosthenes at 56.50 with the famous orator. Nor is there reason to agree with Blass' theory of textual emendation (a practice which should be avoided where possible), for the problem is solved if we accept that the Demosthenes in question was not that orator but another. We have plenty to choose from, but perhaps Demosthenes, son of Democles, of Lamptrae, is the most obvious—for now.

THE *URBANITAS* OF CATULLUS 6

Charles Fuqua

Williams College, Williamstown
Massachusetts 01267, USA

Abstract. Catullus 6 has commonly been regarded as a light-hearted work that offers an interlude between poems 5 and 7. This short article argues that it is a great deal sharper than it first appears and casts a disturbing light on the nature of Catullus' *urbanitas* ("sophistication").

Catullus 6 has not been the subject of many independent studies. For the most part the poem has been cited as an example of Catullus' "smartness and sophistication" in which "exuberant fantasy is allowed to run its delicious course."¹ A frequent approach to 6 has been to posit that it offers a pause to make 5 and 7 stand out all the more.² This article argues that the poem is also significant because of the light it casts on Catullus' *urbanitas* ("sophistication") as borne out by his attitude to women.

The ties between poems 5 and 7 are well established; they are the first poems in which the *puella* ("girl") of 2 and 3 is specifically named. In 2 and 3 the lovers are bound together by the girl's relation to the *passer* ("sparrow"); in 5 and 7 the tie between the poet and Lesbia is much more explicit. While the structures of 5 and 7 are quite distinct, they are linked in an unmistakable manner. Lesbia's question at the start of 7 is a direct response to the close of 5:

Quaeris, quot mihi basiationes
tuae, Lesbia, sint satis superque?
(7.1f., cf. 5.10-13)

¹ K. Quinn, *The Catullan Revolution* (Melbourne 1959) 63. Other authors have stressed the contrast of its coarse humor with 5 and 7; P. Forsyth, "Catullus 6: Theme and Content," *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 5 (Brussels 1989) 94-97 stresses negative aspects of Catullus' fantasy in this poem. She is also one of the few critics to see poems 5-7 as forming an integrated sequence.

² Recent studies of Meleager suggest that Catullus may have developed this technique from his predecessor of a generation before. On Meleager's structural use and placement of his epigrams see S. L. Tarán, *The Art of Variation in Hellenistic Epigram* (Leiden 1979) 2f, 167-68 and K. Gutzwiller, "The Poetics of Editing in Meleager's *Garland*," *TAPA* 127 (1997) 169-200; see also the latter's *Poetic Garlands* (Berkeley 1998) 276-322 including tables 2-6, at 326-32.

You ask, Lesbia, how many kisses of yours
might be enough or more than enough for me?

Both poems address the same themes from different perspectives, and it has been argued with some frequency that 7 is less impetuous and more reflective than 5.³ The ties that bind the two poems are reiterated in their conclusions; each poem ends with the wish that the reckoning of their kisses be cancelled or made indecipherable so that neither the *malus* (“hostile,” 5.12) nor the *curiosi* (“curious,” 7.11) may be able to cast a spell on the lovers.

The intervening poem is quite different in terms of both subject matter and tone. It deals with Flavius, his *scortum* (“whore”), and Catullus’ response to the pair. The form of the poem is not complex; its structure is readily described as units of 5 + 9 + 3 lines.⁴ The conversational tone of poem 6 makes it more akin to 10 than 5 or 7. As Syndikus observes, Catullus’ use of hendecasyllabics in 6 give the poem a liveliness not easily achieved in prose.⁵ The poem begins with the assessment of Flavius’ girl friend:

Flavi, delicias tuas Catullo,
ni sint illepidae atque inelegantes,
velles dicere nec tacere posses

(6.1-3)

Flavius, if your little charmer were not without polish or taste,
you would want to tell Catullus about her and you could not be silent

The opening lines draw a contrast between *delicias* (“little charmer”) and *illepidae atque inelegantes* (“without polish or taste”). The double elision of the second line fuses the two qualities together in the reader’s mind. The poet’s judgment is clearly negative. Nutting has shown how the form of the condition of the opening lines offers a reason why Flavius is reticent and that Catullus is taunting Flavius.⁶

³ C. Segal, “Catullus 5 and 7: A Study in Complementaries,” *AJP* 89 (1968) 284-301; in “More Alexandrianisms in Catullus VII?,” *Mnemosyne* 27 (1974) 139-43, Segal examines the Alexandrian qualities of 7 in greater detail.

⁴ See J. Ferguson, *Catullus* (Lawrence 1985) 25; H. P. Syndikus, *Catull: Eine Interpretation, erster Teil, Einleitung, die kleinen Gedichte* (Darmstadt 1984) 96f.; D. F. S. Thomson, *Catullus: Edited with a Textual and Interpretative Commentary* (Toronto 1997) 221.

⁵ Syndikus [4] 97.

⁶ N. C. Nutting, “Catullus VI, 1sqq.,” *CQ* 20 (1926) 86-89 describes how the grammatical construction in the opening lines developed to express polite regret, apology or an explanation and Catullus has taken this “formula” and turned it back against his subject.

The third line brings out the disparity between speech and silence. Skinner has drawn attention to the importance of this theme throughout the poem.⁷ Fitzgerald has shown how the parallel motifs of revelation and hiding are also used to characterize Flavius’ behavior.⁸ In various ways all these motifs are combined throughout the poem. Catullus and the bed cannot keep silence but Flavius is pointedly so. The combination of speech and silence and Catullus’ assessment of Flavius’ mistress comes to a head in the statement of the next two lines:

verum nescioquid febriculosi
scorti diligis: hoc pudet fateri.

(6.4f.)

Indeed you are entranced with some sort of feverish
whore. This is what you are ashamed to admit.

Commentators have frequently noted the effectiveness of the enjambment of *scorti* in line 5, but the careful, measured manner in which line 4 sets it up is noteworthy as well.⁹ *Verum* (“indeed”) opens the lines with a note of assurance, the indefinite *nescioquid* (“some sort of”—whether printed as one word or two) supplies the central choriamb, and the emphatic polysyllabic *febriculosi* (“feverish”) completes the line.¹⁰ The meaning of this term is not clear. For Quinn it is simply “‘feverish’, probably vaguely pejorative.”¹¹ Morgan draws attention to the arguments that, while it might have implied syphilis or another venereal disease, malaria is most probably implied.¹² Morgan also notes Baehrens’ view that the term was meant, “to typify the girl as a prostitute of the lowest possible level,” a usage which is supported in the only occurrence of the term before Catullus in Plautus’ *Cistellaria* 405-08.¹³ Clearly the term implies a

⁷ M. B. Skinner, “Semiotics and Poetics in Catullus 6,” *LCM* 8 (1983) 141f.

⁸ W. Fitzgerald, “Catullus and the Reader: The Erotics of Poetry,” *Arethusa* 25 (1992) 419-43.

⁹ The structural care with which Catullus uses meter to reinforce invective can be seen in a number of poems; see, for example, Cutt’s comments on poem 41 in T. Cutt, *Meter and Diction in Catullus’ Hendecasyllabics* (New York and London 1979) 20f. The effect of the enjambment of *attritus* (“worn out”) in 10.10 parallels that of *scorti* in 6.5 but with less intensity.

¹⁰ On Catullus’ fondness for polysyllabic line endings see Cutt [9] 11, 45-47.

¹¹ See K. Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems* (London 1970) 111, on 6.4.

¹² M. G. Morgan, “*Nescio Quid Febriculosi Scorti*: A Note on Catullus 6,” *CQ* 27 (1977) 338-41, 338 n. 6.

¹³ Morgan [12] 339 n. 1.

combination of physical and social qualities in an unattractive manner. In the next line *scorti diligis* (“you are entranced with some sort of whore” [picking up the *nescioquid* of l. 4]) echoes the *verum* in position, and the line concludes with the direct censure of Flavius’ silence *hoc pudet fateri* (“you are ashamed to admit this”). These two lines pick up the opening of the poem and set the stage for what follows in a very explicit manner.

In the lines that follow the bed displays no reticence whatsoever and the graphic description of its activities proceeds until the climax of the sound effects in *argutatio inambulatioque* (“squealing and moving about”) of line 11.¹⁴ Catullus then proclaims his apparent shock at Flavius in the three coarse expressions in the lines that follow, *stupra* (“debaucheries,” 12), *latera ecfututa pandas* (“you display your fucked out flanks,” 13),¹⁵ *ni tu quid facias ineptiarum* (“unless you were doing something gross,” 14). Moral superiority is not voiced with the best of taste. The harshness of lines 12-14 contrasts clearly with the final three lines and the problems of interpretation they pose. In poem 6 disjunctions in form as well as in content are much more significant than in poems 5 and 7.

The condition at the start of 6 provides a significant clue to the understanding of the poem. With differing emphases Nutting, Ferguson, and Syndikus have described these lines as an example of forensic oratory.¹⁶ Catullus, in short, is making a charge against Flavius. The “indictment” of the opening lines is not only that Flavius has adopted an unsuitable new mistress but also that he has concealed her from Catullus. The mock prosecution is continued in the enjambment of 4f., the description of the bed and, finally, the effect on Flavius himself. The force of the charge is brought home by the manner in which the woman is described in negative terms (*ni sint illepidae atque inelegantes*, 2; *scorti*, 4). Unlike the *scortillum* (“little whore”) of 10 who is *non sane illepidum neque invenustum* (“not indeed without polish and charm,” 4), no sense of her as an individual emerges.¹⁷ The focus is on Flavius, his aggressive “macho” behavior and the woman is little more than an object, a reeking, worn, noisy bed. This description of the scene is cleverer than it first

¹⁴ S. V. Tracy, “ARGUTATIOINAMBULATIOQUE (Cat. 6.11),” *CPh* 64 (1969) 234f.

¹⁵ The text of line 13 has been subject to many suggestions; I follow Haupt’s *nil stupra valet*. A. Allen’s *nam in prava ista valet nihil* (“Love Gone Awry,” *Maia* 34 [1982] 225f.) is attractive because it preserves the force of *ista* and sets the poet’s personal accusations against Flavius off with greater clarity. See H. C. Fuchs, “Zu Catulls Gedicht an Flavius,” *MH* 25 (1968) 54-56.

¹⁶ Nutting [6] 88f.; Ferguson [4] 25; Syndikus [4] 96f.

¹⁷ The parallels between 6.2 and 10.4 offer a clear demonstration of how Catullus could completely change the effect of a phrase by means of a slight variation.

appears, for, while it demonstrates that the relationship is purely physical, it does so by reversing the force of a number of Hellenistic epigrams. Morgan points out that Catullus has drawn on such examples as Callimachus (*A.P.* 12.71), Asclepiades (*A.P.* 5.175), and Meleager (*A.P.* 5.175) and used traditional characteristics of the lover to depict the scene itself.¹⁸ The portrayal of the bed, the general scene, and Flavius’ state are an amalgam from Hellenistic poems or *topoi*. The conceits may not be elegant but they are clever. The emphasis of the central part of the poem is on the nature of the affair. Catullus has adopted the sophisticated language of his Hellenistic predecessors to create a very different impression. The language makes it clear that the woman’s effect on Flavius is as cheapening as she is tawdry. Her qualities are, in a sense, simply transferred to his behavior. The woman exists only in terms of her impact on Flavius and in the concluding lines she is only referred to in oblique terms. Everything is directed towards Flavius and the woman remains an object of anonymous derision.

The final lines offer a change in tone. They have been seen as ranging from a sarcastic comment on the affair to a friendly entreaty to Flavius to mend his ways:

quare, quidquid habes boni malique,
dic nobis: volo te ac tuos amores
ad caelum lepido vocare versu.

(6.15-17)

Therefore, whatever good or bad you have,
tell us; I want to proclaim to heaven you and your
loves in elegant verse.

The desire to raise Flavius and his loves to heaven *lepido . . . versu* (“in elegant [or charming] verse”) suggests a positive attitude to Flavius but this contrasts sharply with the description of the liaison in the body of the poem. A possible “resolution” of this conflict may lie in Roman attitudes to obscenity and gender politics. Recent literature on sex in Catullus and other authors has frequently maintained that sex has an unattractive streak in which dominance, not mutual respect, is the moving force. Skinner, for example, follows Foucault in believing that obscenity involves an alliance of masculinity and hegemony.¹⁹

¹⁸ Morgan [12] 340f.

¹⁹ M. B. Skinner, “The Dynamics of Catullan Obscenity: Cc. 37, 58, 11,” *SyllClass* 3 (1992) 1-11; see also M. B. Skinner, “*Ut Decuit Cinaediorum*: Power, Gender, and Urbanity in Catullus 10,” *Helios* 16 (1993) 7-23.

The work of Forsyth and Fitzgerald has shown a similar ambivalence about the boundaries between affection and domination in Latin poetry.²⁰

The question is how far this position should be extended both as a means for the interpretation of Catullus and even the political tensions of the first century?²¹ I believe an important *caveat* or “limit” to this critical approach must be raised. Johnson and Fitzgerald have insisted that, while obscenity and the erotic are central to Catullan art, they must be considered in light of Catullus’ Callimachean *lepos*, that indefinable charm and elegance with which even the coarsest can be portrayed.²² Obscenity is not an “absolute” but a vehicle of expression the poet can employ in a variety of ways. It can and does overlap with dominance, *urbanitas* and Neoteric elegance. In poem 6 we can see the latitude with which it can be employed within the context of a single poem. Despite Catullus’ apparent disapproval of Flavius’ conduct he can still extend a bond of friendship to him that is reminiscent of Cicero’s *De Amicitia*.²³ As a male and a friend Flavius can be excused, the *scortum* can simply be dismissed in her feverish anonymity. She lacks even the sense of identity that an Aemeana has in 41.

Poem 10 offers some useful parallels to 6 that can clarify the latter’s effect. 10 is commonly seen as a *jeu d’esprit* in which Catullus is caught short by his own bravado. The poem is a carefully constructed vignette in which Catullus is his own “Flavius” and the woman is much more of a character in her own right. The manner in which she is introduced contrasts markedly with the *scortum* of 6:

²⁰ Forsyth [1], Fitzgerald’s article [8] and his full-length study *Catullan Provocations* (Berkeley 1995) 59-86. See also T. P. Wiseman, *Catullus and his World* (Cambridge 1985) 5-14. At the same time, as one of the anonymous referees for this paper suggested, Catullus may also be expressing a certain admiration for the athletic, exhausting performance of Flavius’ partner and seeing it as an appropriate subject for “good” verse. These two attitudes do not rule one another out.

²¹ See M. B. Skinner, “*Ego Mulier*: The Construction of Male Sexuality in Catullus,” *Helios* 20 (1993) 107-30. An extreme example is given in C. A. Rubino’s discussion of poem 76, “The Erotic World of Catullus,” *CW* 68 (1975) 289-98, which concludes with the view that the erotic world of Catullus turns out to be deranged with darkness and madness at the center.

²² W. R. Johnson, *The Idea of Lyric* (Berkeley 1982) 108-23, esp. 108-10. The same limit tempers Fitzgerald’s discussion of Catullan obscenity [20].

²³ For this reason this question of Flavius’ identity may be more important than commonly presumed (see Thomson [4] 221). Just as M. B. Skinner argues in “Among Those Present: Catullus 10 and 44,” *Helios* 27 (2001) 57-73, if the Varus of 10 was Quintilius Varus, this adds an additional note of irony and satire to that poem; the same may be true of Flavius’ identity in 6.

scortillum, ut mihi tum repente visumst,
 non sane illepidum neque invenustum
 (10.3f.)

A young whore, she immediately seemed to me,
 but indeed not without polish or grace

A *scortillum* she may be, but, as the two elisions underscore, *non sane illepidum neque invenustum*. Poem 10’s meter and sentence structure are looser than 6, 10 has a greater number of colloquialisms (cf. for example 5-8) and metrical irregularities (cf. 26f.).²⁴ Sedgwick believed that 10 preserved the purest example of colloquial Latin we have from the period.²⁵ The manner in which 10 shifts from reported speech to actual dialogue adds to the vitality of the poem. As the poem progresses, the dramatic situation of the poem becomes more focused. By the end we have moved from the forum and all its implied activities to only Catullus and the girl. Her spirited manner demonstrates that in the demi-monde of the *literati* the woman is a fit companion and the poet’s discomfort is only the fault of his own ego.

If 6 is a poem that exploits the tensions between speech and silence, 10 is dominated by different uses of speech. The lively conversation progresses over a wide variety of topics to which Catullus responds in a number of ways, most of which do not cast much credit on him as narrator. Finally, Catullus is caught by his own inability to tell the truth. His response is quite direct:

sed tu insulsa male et molesta vivis,
 per quam non licet esse neglegentem.
 (10.33f.)

but you are really tasteless and a bother
 because you won’t allow one to be careless.

²⁴ One of the most amusing and effective of these is the hiatus in Catullus’ reply in 27. The short ‘a’ in *commoda* in 26 has caused more trouble than it is worth (cf. Thomson [4] 239). V. Coulon, “Observations critiques et exégétiques,” *RhM* 99 (1956) 245-54, esp. 248f. is probably correct in seeing it as an analogy to various examples in Plautus. Although W. B. Sedgwick, “Catullus 10: A Rambling Commentary,” *G&R* 19 (1947) 108-14, esp. 112 does not develop the position in full detail, I share his view that Cicero may have been more important in developing Latin poetic diction than is commonly recognized. For an extended discussion of Cicero’s manipulation of poetic forms as well as diction see E. Courtney (ed.), *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford 1993) 149-79.

²⁵ Sedgwick [24] 108.

This reply is commonly seen as a final note of comic relief or the poet's discomfiture but it is also little more than a crude sexual and social put-down.²⁶ Catullus plays the one card to which the woman cannot respond because of her gender and social status. A seemingly amusing comedy of Roman social manners ends on a sharp note that parallels the treatment of the *scortum* in 6. Fitzgerald has shown that *urbanitas* could have in practice some very unpleasant and self-limiting features. By Catullus' day the term extended beyond a general contrast with *rusticitas* ("country life" or "rural behavior") and was used to denote a general attitude of educated taste and sophistication.²⁷ This new "cosmopolitanism," however, was inclined to place a greater emphasis on excluding rather than including other individuals and points of view. In 6, 10 and many poems of social or political commentary we can see this in practice; *urbanitas* and "dominance" can come together in an unattractive manner.²⁸ The irony of this stance is compounded by the fact that Catullus is writing in the same period when Parthenius and Philodemus were beginning to insist literature should be guided not by traditional Roman *mores* or social standards but by a sense of art for art's sake.

Catullus 6, then, is a telling intermezzo between 5 and 7. If we consider Skinner's suggestion that the poems of Catullus were meant for some form of dramatic recitation and not just a reading audience, the effect of the poem would have been all the more striking.²⁹ The coarseness of 6 not only interrupts the reveries of 5 and 7 but also casts them in a different light. There is an unstated parallel between the uncountable kisses of 5 and 7 and the behavior of a Flavius. Love and crude passion are juxtaposed and reflect upon one another. The three poems also raise the question of friendship. Friendship and its violation are constant themes throughout the corpus; they define the relationship of Catullus and Lesbia, but the poet seems rarely to be able to resolve their interplay with one another. Restricted by the traditional roles of Roman society, Catullus had little latitude in which to operate and faced by a woman as formidable as Lesbia his response becomes confused. Sometimes, as with 45, 63, and the similes of 68, he may project the tension into other

²⁶ Skinner [18 (1993)] 15. Forsyth [1] 95f. notes similar unpleasant characteristics in the behavior of the poet in 6 and how he plays the role of a peeping tom like the old men of 5 and 7. Quinn [1] 72 draws attention to the "slick cynicism" of poems 6, 10, and 55 in which Lesbia does not appear.

²⁷ Fitzgerald [20] 87-113.

²⁸ It is this element that makes the poems where Catullus and Lesbia appear to exchange sexual roles all the more pointed.

²⁹ M. B. Skinner, "Catullus in Performance," *CJ* 89 (1993) 61-68.

contexts, at others, as with 8, 76, 85, he may deal with it directly. In 5-7 we see two responses to Lesbia in a loose counterpoint with one another.³⁰ The sequence is short but in our admiration for 5 and 7 poem 6 and the harsh *urbanitas* it displays must not be neglected.

³⁰ To what extent the Catullan corpus is deliberately designed remains a matter of contention but what can be said with some assurance was expressed by P. A. Miller, *Lyric Texts and Lyric Consciousness* (London 1994) 51 in the following manner: "Between the various single incidents presented in the poems, a variety of potential narrative relations is possible, so that any one poem could appear in multiple narrative sequences, and ultimately be interpreted in light of its dialogical relations with the other poems of the collection."

TRANSFORMATION AND ABANDONMENT: DEFINING THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE IN TWO VERGILIAN METAMORPHOSES

Sophia Papaioannou

Department of Classics and Philosophy, University of Cyprus
Nicosia 1678, Cyprus

Abstract. The transformation of Aeneas' ships into nymphs (*Aen.* 9.77-122), and the change of Diomedes' companions into birds (*Aen.* 11.271-78) underline the parallel course in the post-Homeric adventures of the two heroes. For both Aeneas and Diomedes, these metamorphoses result in an abrupt severance of all past ties, and they communicate in a spectacular way that both warriors have reached the end of their wanderings, while declaring that Italy is destined to be their new, common *patria*.

For almost two generations before its celebration in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*, the metamorphosis theme claims a distinct, consistent presence in Roman poetry. A reflection, among other things, of the anxiety felt by Roman intellectuals in view of the political changes and the ensuing instability of the civil wars and the fall of the Republic in favour of Augustus' new Rome,¹ transformations mark the work of the Republican poet Lucretius² and feature in Propertius³ and the early poetry of Vergil.⁴ It is in the *Aeneid*, however, the poetic redefinition of traditional epic from the Roman point of view, that metamorphosis is elevated from an isolated poetic technique to an elaborate structural narrative pattern. Transformations dominate the later books of the epic, since they run parallel to Aeneas' change into Roman leader, and Latinus' Latium into Augustus' Rome. The centrality of the metamorphosis theme in book 7, the book recording Aeneas' arrival in Italy, has been

¹ Cf. P. Hardie, *Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford 1986) 52f.

² On change in *De Rerum Natura*, and on the association of Lucretian change to Ovid's treatment of the topic in the *Metamorphoses*, see L. C. Curran, 'Transformation and Anti-Augustanism in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', *Arethusa* 5 (1972) 71-91.

³ A statue of the god Vertumnus is the speaker in 4.2, answering a spectator's inquiry about his multiformity; cf. E. C. Marquis, 'Vertumnus and Propertius 4.2', *Hermes* 102 (1974) 491-500.

⁴ *Metamorphoses* appear consistently throughout Vergil's work. In his earlier poetry, Silenus' song in the sixth *Eclogue* contains transformation tales, while the shape-shifter Proteus features in the fourth *Georgic* (388-414).

discussed by Putnam.⁵ Segal analysed the significance of the presence of Circe and her island at the very beginning of book 7, the first in the transformation sequence that so successfully describes the only ostensibly peaceful and humane civilisation in Italy before the arrival of the Trojans.⁶ Finally, Hardie establishes a pattern of parallelism between the Circe motif that permeates book 7 in its relations with the rest of the epic, and especially books 6 and 8, which focus particularly on the history of Rome down to the time of Augustus.⁷

The presence of metamorphosis episodes in the course of a traditional heroic epic is well-attested, since it appears to be an especially powerful literary technique that promotes allusion and flexibility. In addition to being an impressive description of extraordinary events, a metamorphosis has also a cause and an effect, and often a hidden symbolism that expands beyond the restriction of the particular passage.⁸ It is only to be expected, then, that the insertion of two metamorphoses in the latter third of the *Aeneid*, namely the transformation of Aeneas’ ships into sea-nymphs early in book 9 (9.77-122) and the change of Diomedes’ comrades into birds two books later (11.271-78), calls for an interpretation somewhat more elaborate than the too-readily asserted ‘dramatic effect’.⁹

The episode of the miraculous transformation of Aeneas’ fleet into sea-nymphs, one of the many Vergilian inventions in the *Aeneid*, has generally attracted the reproach of scholars for being an awkward and unfortunate

⁵ M. Putnam, ‘*Aeneid* VII and the *Aeneid*’, *AJP* 91 (1970) 408-30 (= *Essays on Latin Lyric, Elegy, and Epic* [Princeton 1982] 288-310).

⁶ C. P. Segal, ‘Circean Temptations: Homer, Vergil, Ovid’, *TAPA* 99 (1968) 419-42.

⁷ P. Hardie, ‘Augustan Poets and the Mutability of Rome’, in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (London 1992) 59-82.

⁸ Metamorphosis is present both in the *Iliad* (Calchas’ recollection, at 2.317-20, of the transformation into stone of the snake that ate the sparrow and her nestlings in Aulis, and Achilles’ narrative of Niobe’s transformation, at 24.602-17) and the *Odyssey* (the transformation of Odysseus’ comrades into pigs by Circe, the shape-shifter Proteus, the change of Odysseus’ physical appearance upon his return to Ithaca, the rejuvenation of Laertes at the end of the epic, and the metamorphosis of the Phaeacian ship into a sea-rock). On various intertextual approaches of Homer’s Niobe story, see J. T. Kakrides, ‘Die Niobesage bei Homer’, *RhM* 79 (1930) 113-22, and M. M. Willcock, ‘Mythological Paradeigma in the *Iliad*’, *CQ* 14 (1964) 141-54; also, P. M. C. Forbes Irving, *Metamorphoses in Greek Myths* (Oxford 1990) 9-11; on metamorphosis in Homer, with special emphasis on the petrification of the Phaeacian ship in *Od.* 13.163f., see W. Fauth, ‘Zur Typologie mythischer Metamorphosen in der homerischen Dichtung’, *Poetica* 7 (1975) 235-68.

⁹ K. W. Gransden, *Vergil: Aeneid XI* (Cambridge 1991) 2, on the transformation of Diomedes’ companions.

interruption of the epic action.¹⁰ According to E. L. Harrison, the metamorphosis of the ships into sea-nymphs is only a sideshow to the dialogue between Cybele and Jupiter which Vergil makes the central focus in his attempt to stress Jupiter's omnipotence over the other gods.¹¹ A few years earlier, Fantham saw the same episode as a Vergilian attempt to 'mediate the transition from the marvelous Odyssean or Apollonian world into the more realistic Iliadic narrative'. In her view, the actual episode of the metamorphosis at 9.77-122 and the scene at 10.215-59—when the newly transformed nymphs hasten to greet Aeneas' return from Pallanteum to the battlefield of Latium, and alert him to Ascanius' danger—are integral parts of the same narrative unit, complementing Aeneas' introduction to native culture in the Evander episode and the portrait of the new Italian world from which Rome will emerge.¹²

Philip Hardie alone discerned the intratextual as well as intertextual significance of the transformation of the ships episode. He pointed out that the disappearance of the ships marks the end of his journey and the predestined arrival in the new country for Aeneas, just as the petrification of the Phaeacian ship in *Odyssey* 13 does for Odysseus. A part of a series of significant ship episodes throughout the *Aeneid*, such as the ship contest in book 5, the sea-battle of Actium described on Aeneas' shield in book 8, and Turnus' salvation and the catalogue of ships in book 10, Aeneas' ships are 'paradoxical and anything but conventional'.¹³

The metamorphosis of Diomedes' comrades into birds has received even less attention. If not labelled as a loan from earlier (second and first century BC) poets of metamorphoses or as an allusion to some traditional Italian material,¹⁴ it was merely cast as one among the 'lesser transformations'

¹⁰ For example, J. W. Mackail, *The Aeneid* (Oxford 1930) 335: 'many readers are inclined to wish [Vergil] had discarded the incident', also R. D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Vergil: Books 7-12* (London 1973) 283: 'the most incongruous episode in the whole *Aeneid*'.

¹¹ E. L. Harrison, 'The Metamorphosis of the Ships (*Aeneid* 9.77-122)', in R. Brock and A. J. Woodman (edd.), *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 8 (1995) 143-64.

¹² E. Fantham, 'Nymphas . . . E Navibus Esse: Decorum and Poetic Fiction in *Aeneid* 9.77-122 and 10.215-59', *CP* 85 (1990) 102-19, at 103.

¹³ P. Hardie, 'Ships and Ship-names in the *Aeneid*', in M. Whitby et al., (edd.), *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble* (Bristol 1987) 163-71.

¹⁴ A. Russi (ed.), *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* 1 (Rome 1985) 81, s.v. Diomede, dates the borrowing to the third century BC. F. Della Corte, *La mappa dell' Eneide* (Firenze 1972) 220, moves the date down to the second and first centuries, and argues for the presence of strong Italian tradition behind the portrayal of Vergil's Diomedes (p. 219f.). Traditional Italian background behind the story has been discerned also by J. Gag e, 'Les Traditions "diom diques" dans l'Italie ancienne, de l'Apulie a l' trurie m ridionale', *MEFRA* 84 (1972) 763-66.

included in the *Aeneid*.¹⁵ Thus, it was quietly dismissed as not deserving further critical consideration. Yet a detailed comparison of the episode to the miraculous change of Aeneas’ fleet will prove that the two metamorphoses strengthen the pattern of similarities that distinguish the fates of Aeneas and Diomedes in the *Aeneid*.

This paper argues that these two metamorphoses have an essential function in the structure and interpretation of the *Aeneid*, because they emphasise a parallel course in the lives and destinies of Aeneas and Diomedes. The transformation of Aeneas’ ships into sea-nymphs signifies the end of Aeneas’ wanderings¹⁶ and the beginning of the *labor* for the conquest of Latium and establishment of the Roman nation. Likewise, the transformation of Diomedes’ comrades into birds marks the hero’s irrevocable interruption of all ties with the past and the end of his wanderings, and bolsters the similarities between his fate and that of Aeneas.

A fair number of critics have outlined the many parallels between the characters of Diomedes and Aeneas and have underlined the appearance of both heroes in Vergil’s epic as successors of Achilles: Diomedes as the legitimate one, Aeneas as the one appointed to this role by fate.¹⁷ As Vergil’s epic approaches its conclusion, dominated by the single combat between Aeneas and Turnus (12.896-914), the two transformations bring together Aeneas and Diomedes. This final episode replicates the fight between Aeneas and Diomedes in *Iliad* 6, yet it is Aeneas now acting as Diomedes and therefore as ‘*alius Achilles*’.¹⁸ Diomedes and Aeneas flesh out, each in a different way, a

¹⁵ Hardie [7] 62.

¹⁶ K. Büchner, *P. Vergilius Maro. Der Dichter der Römer* (Stuttgart 1966) 384; G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen 1964) 271.

¹⁷ The impending emergence of an ‘*alius Achilles*’ in Italy is first spelled out in the Sibyl’s prophesy in *Aeneid* 6: *alius Latio iam partus Achilles, / natus et ipse dea* (‘Another Achilles, born of a goddess, is brought forth now in Latium’, 89f.). This cannot be other than Aeneas, although the role is contended by Turnus until the end of the epic; cf. W. S. Anderson, ‘Virgil’s Second *Iliad*’, *TAPA* 88 (1957) 26-30; Knauer [16] 317-20; L. A. McKay, ‘Achilles as Model for Aeneas’, *TAPA* 88 (1957) 11-16.

The identification of Diomedes with Achilles is captured in Diomedes’ encounter with Venulus’ embassy. The ambassadors, under the impression that they speak with the Homeric hero, approach and touch his hand ‘under which the land of Ilium collapsed’ (*contigimusque manum qua concidit Iliā tellus*, 11.245). The phrase, Homeric in style, recalls Priamus’ supplication to Achilles in *Iliad* 24.478f. (χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος λάβε γούνατα καὶ κύσε χεῖρας / δεινὰς ἀνδροφόνους, αἳ οἱ πολέας κτάνων υἱᾶς, ‘with his hand he caught Achilles’ knees, and kissed the hero’s dire, murderous hands, that had killed so many of his sons’).

¹⁸ D. Quint, *Epic and Empire* (Princeton 1993) 68-70.

reborn version of Achilles.¹⁹ Aeneas' additional portrayal as Homeric Diomedes at the epic's closure causes the two parallel heroic figures to converge in his redefined character as uncontested leader of both Trojans and Greeks.

The similar experience shared by Aeneas and Diomedes, both involuntary exiles in Italy, is a theme that builds up steadily and gradually through the course of the entire *Aeneid*. The parallel course in the life and adventures of the two heroes, after the end of the Trojan War, had already been developed by popular tradition preceding Vergil. The king of Argos was one of the few Greek survivors of the Trojan War fortunate to return home. Yet, shortly afterwards, he discovered that during his absence his wife Aigialeia had been unfaithful to him.²⁰ Aigialeia and her adulterer(s) forced the hero to embark on an involuntary exile and to wander for years. In the course of his new adventures, Diomedes, like Aeneas, landed in North Africa and aroused the anger of a local king. This king, like the Numidian Iarbas, Dido's suitor, was of divine descent, and he fell in love with the local princess, who killed herself after he left. According to this source Diomedes never made it to Argos from Troy because Aphrodite caused a sea-storm that blew the hero off course, to Libya, where Diomedes was arrested by the local king Lycos, who advertised himself as Ares' son. But the king's daughter fell in love with the Greek hero and helped him to escape in the hope that Diomedes would stay with her. Nevertheless, Diomedes fled Libya and the princess committed suicide upon his departure from Africa.²¹ Finally he landed in Italy and, exactly as Aeneas did, founded a city and joined the local king Daunus in a war that Diomedes himself did not want to fight. His contribution secured a victory for Daunus. Notably Diomedes is addressed as *victor* by Venulus' embassy, which places emphasis on the hero's conquest of Apulia (11.246f.). Diomedes' reward included marriage to the king's daughter and the offer of a part of the Messapian land for the establishment of a new kingdom.²² The Italian tradition

¹⁹ On Aeneas' depiction in the light of the Iliadic Diomedes, the striking similarities in their post-Homeric adventures, and their close association with the portrayal of Achilles, see S. Papaioannou, 'Vergilian Diomedes Revisited: The Re-evaluation of the *Iliad*', *Mnemosyne* 53 (2000) 193-217; also S. Ford Wiltshire and A. H. Krickel, 'Diomedes and Aeneas: a Vergilian Paradox', *CB* 58 (1982) 72-77.

²⁰ Aphrodite, on account of her wounding in *Iliad* 5, caused his wife to commit adultery with several suitors (Dictys Cretensis 6.2, Lycophron 592-632, Diod. Sic. 7.2); for a complete list of the sources, see L. von Sybel, *Roscher's Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 1.1 (Leipzig 1884-86) 1024.

²¹ Cf. Papaioannou [19] 197f.; Ford Wiltshire and Krickel [19] 74.

²² E. Bethe, *RE* 5 (Stuttgart 1905) 820-22; von Sybel [20] 1205-227.

seals the similarities between the biographies of Aeneas and Diomedes in the recording of nearly identical supernatural deaths: like Aeneas, Diomedes does not die, but vanishes in a miraculous way.²³ In several accounts, that go back as early as the early fifth century BC, Diomedes is transformed soon after his death into an immortal by Athena, and he is worshipped thereafter as a god.²⁴ The strange metamorphosis of the hero’s companions into birds deprives the hero of the last link with the past, and as a result it appears to have functioned as the turning-point in the transformation of the former Greek hero into an immigrant in Italy.²⁵

nunc etiam horribili visu portenta sequuntur
 et socii amissi petierunt aethera pennis
 fluminibusque vagantur aves (heu, dira meorum
 supplicia!) et scopulos lacrimosis vocibus implent.

(*Aen.* 11.271-74)

Portents, also, terrible to see, were now following, and my friends, lost, sought the sky with their wings, and as birds they wander above the waters (alas, what a harsh punishment for my men!) and fill the cliffs with their mournful cries.

Scholars have noticed here Vergil’s digression from the traditional account of the story, in which the men change after Diomedes’ death.²⁶ The metamorphosis of Diomedes’ companions is a replication of the miraculous transformation of Aeneas’ ships into sea-nymphs two books earlier.

Book 9 opens with the Rutulians marching against the Trojan camp. Turnus takes advantage of Aeneas’ absence at Pallanteum to command an attack. In the course of the action, his eyes fall upon the Trojan fleet which

²³ On the different traditions regarding the presence of Diomedes in Southern Italy, see E. Paratore, ‘La leggenda apula di Diomede e Virgilio’, *ASP* 6 (1953) 34-42; J. Bérard, *La Colonisation Grecque de l’Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l’antiquité*² (Paris 1957) 368-76; Della Corte [14] 216-32; Gagé [14] 735-88, especially 746-77; O. Terrosi-Zanco, ‘Diomede “greco” e Diomede “italico”’, *RAL* 8.20 (1965) 270-82.

²⁴ Cf. Ford Wiltshire and Krickel [19] 76, n. 17. A brief but very detailed reconstruction of most of the sources on Diomedes’ adventures is provided by F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen* 6 (Heidelberg 1986) 148-50.

²⁵ The only earlier extant source on the episode of the transformation is Lycophron 594-609. The metamorphosis is also treated by Ovid, *Met.* 14.483-511, where Diomedes once again explains the portent as a punishment for his impious wounding of Venus.

²⁶ So Antoninus Liberalis (37.1f.); Varro, *De Gente Populi Romani* fr. 17; H. Peter, *HRR*² 2 (Leipzig 1967) 20f. (= Aug. *De Civ. D.* 18.16); Strabo 6.3.9; *Mir. Ausc.* 79; Serv. *A* 11.271; *Schol. ad Il.* 5.412; *Scholia ad Lycophron* 592, 601. For a complete list of the sources, see Forbes Irving [8] 230-32; Russi [14] 81; also Della Corte [14] 219-21 with special emphasis on Antoninus Liberalis; Gagé [14] 763f.

happens to be anchored at the river-bank next to the Trojan camp. Immediately, he urges his warriors to burn it (9.70-76). The scene is an adaptation of a well-known part of the *Iliad*, the Trojan counterattack and arson of the Greek fleet by Hector in *Iliad* 15 and 16.²⁷ The miracle following the attempted burning of the Trojan fleet (9.69-122), however, like the transformation of Diomedes' comrades upon the hero's arrival in Italy rather than after his death, is nowhere to be found in earlier tradition.

The vessels were constructed from wood from the sacred grove of Cybele on the Trojan mount Ida, which Cybele herself had gladly (*laeta*, 9.89) offered to Aeneas to construct a fleet (9.85-89). At the same time, the Great Mother of the Gods had requested from Jupiter the guarantee that the fleet would complete their journey unscathed (*ne cursu quassatae ullo neu turbine venti vincantur*, 'so that they may not be conquered by any wreckage or windy storm', 9.91f.). Jupiter, initially surprised at the request of a favour that should not be granted to mortals (*certusque incerta pericula lustret / Aeneas?* 'is Aeneas to cross risk-free through risky dangers', 9.96f.),²⁸ eventually consents to the wish of Cybele:

immo, ubi defunctae finem portusque tenebunt
 Ausonios olim, quaecumque evaserit undis
 Dardaniumque ducem Laurentia vexerit arva,
 mortalem eripiam formam magnique iubebo
 aequoris esse deas . . .

(*Aen.* 9.98-102)

Anyway, when they will eventually reach the Ausonian harbours, having done their duty, I shall take the mortal body from those that will have escaped the waves and transported the Dardanian leader to the fields of Laurentium, and I shall bid them be goddesses of the great ocean . . .

The two most important points in Jupiter's promise are, first, his guarantee that Aeneas will arrive safely at the end of his journey (*certus*, 9.96), and, secondly, the fact that the end of that journey will be signalled by the transformation of the ships into divinities of the sea. Vergil emphasises that the nymphs will resume divine appearances only after the Trojan has reached his final destination.

Indeed, seconds after Turnus and his men hurl the first torches against the divine ships, they witness a miraculous transformation of the vessels into

²⁷ Cf. Anderson [17] 17-30; also Quint [18] 65-68.

²⁸ Harrison [11] 148-50 misses the point here when he expresses surprise at Jupiter's reluctance to satisfy Cybele's wish and tries to attribute it to the god's playful mood and his desire to see Cybele humiliated before him.

sea-nymphs (9.107-22), while Vergil asserts: ‘the promised day had arrived and the fates had granted the completion of the due time’ (*ergo aderat promissa dies et tempora Parcae / debita complebant*, 9.107f.). The Rutulian soldiers remain astounded (9.123), but Turnus tries to dismiss their fear, and offers his own interpretation of the portent: the miracle is a divine indication that the Trojans will not be able to leave the Ausonian land (*nec spes ulla fugae*, 9.131). Turnus is confident that the ultimate victory belongs to the Rutulians. The siege he draws around the Trojan camp is so tight that his enemies could escape only through flight by sea.²⁹ The burning of the fleet deprives them of the only means of escape and allows the Rutulian chief to dream of a complete triumph.

Yet, despite the obvious bias that leads him to incorrect conclusions, Turnus’ interpretation of the miracle is correct. The supernatural disappearance of the ships validates one more prophecy about the Trojan future. There is no way, indeed, for the Trojans to leave the land of Italy, not because they will be eliminated under Turnus’ sword, but because Italy is meant to be their ultimate destination. The ships will no longer be needed, and they naturally vanish. Turnus’ decision to attack and burn the Trojan fleet became the catalyst for the fulfilment of the divine promise at that particular moment. Given these considerations, then, the Rutulian leader not only did not deprive the Trojans of their last hope of salvation, but he even guaranteed that destiny’s decrees would be accomplished.³⁰

The elimination of the fleet, apart from marking the end of the Trojan journey, also symbolises the ultimate rupture of all ties of Aeneas’ people with their Trojan past. Significantly the fleet functions primarily as a factor essential for the preservation of the unity of the Trojan exiles as a nation seeking a new country, rather than as a group of individual refugees. The burning of the ships

²⁹ For Turnus the Tiber (or the water in general) is connected not simply with flight but with escape from death. Twice following the burning of the Trojan fleet, Turnus will evade death by throwing himself into the waters of the Tiber. The first time, at the end of book 9, when trapped inside the Trojan camp (789-818), he plunges into the water of the Tiber that conveniently aligns with one side of the camp (9.815-18). On the second occasion, in book 10 (633-88), Juno seduces the Rutulian away from the battlefield and onto a ship anchored at the Tiber’s bank which transports him safely back to his home at Ardea.

³⁰ An important element in Turnus’ behaviour is the frequency with which the hero copes with ambiguity. Strikingly enough, his explanations are rational and correct, but they turn out to be misinterpretations. Soon after his interpretation of the ships’ metamorphosis, the Rutulian leader, in an attempt to encourage his comrades, will utter the strange phrase *sunt et mea contra / fata mihi* (136f.), an unclear phrase that may mean ‘I, from my part, have my fates too’ (*sc.* as Aeneas has the guidance of his mother, likewise I have my personal guide, too) as well as ‘the fates are against me’; on Turnus and the fates, see C. Mackie, ‘*Quisquis in arma vocas*: Turnus and Jupiter in the *Aeneid*’, *Antichthon* 24 (1990) 75-85.

in book 9 replicates an occasion that first occurred in the later part of book 5 (5.604-99), when an arson orchestrated by Juno initially threatened to destroy the Trojan fleet. The event takes place in Sicily, while the Trojans and the people of Acestes commemorate with games and sacrifices the first anniversary of Anchises' death. In her indignation Juno dispatches Iris to the island to arouse the already weary Trojan women to burn their fleet and thereby force Aeneas to give up the quest for Italy.³¹ Having initially failed to dupe the Trojan women into action, Iris, finally, inspires the minds of her victims with frenzy. Anticipating Turnus, himself also a victim of divine fury necessitated by Juno and inflicted by one of her orderlies (Allecto), the infuriated Trojan women hasten to set the anchored fleet on fire and to destroy the last symbolic material representation of Troy that they carry with them. Five ships are lost in that incident, and a number of Trojans equal to the crew of the lost vessels end their journey there (5.750f.).³²

The fleet actually constitutes a symbol of Troy herself, since it not only carried the Trojan *Penates* to Italy, but was also constructed of Trojan wood. The symbolic presentation of the ship as city-in-movement is reaffirmed by the almost identical description of Augustus' ship at Actium, which sails forth *cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis* ('along with our fathers and the people, and also the images of our ancestors and the great gods', 8.679), a line which echoes Aeneas' initial description of his fleet as soon as they leave Troy behind: *feror exsul in altum / cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis* ('an exile, I am carried across the ocean along with my comrades, my son, the images of our ancestors and the great gods', 3.11f.). What is more, Juno herself identifies Aeneas' fleet with the city of Ilium, when at the beginning of book 1 she complains that, despite her efforts, Ilium has survived: *Ilium in Italiam portans victosque penatis* ('carrying Ilium and his defeated gods over to Italy', 1.58).³³ We can claim, accordingly, that the ships' spectacular disappearance

³¹ On the parallelism between book 5 and book 9, see, for example, G. E. Duckworth, 'The *Aeneid* as Trilogy', *TAPA* 88 (1957) 17-30, and G. E. Duckworth, 'Tripartite Structure in the *Aeneid*', *Vergilius* 7 (1961) 2-11; also, W.A. Camps, 'A Note on the Structure of the *Aeneid*', *CQ* 4 (1954) 214f.

³² Fantham [12] 111, also, sees the women's attack on the ships as anticipatory to Turnus' attack in book 9; she further suggests that the rescue of Aeneas' ships in books 1, 5, and 9 should be viewed along the same line. Yet the absence of Aeneas from the arson scene of book 9, contrary to the other two episodes in which he is the protagonist—he invites the gods to intervene and rescue his fleet—is a detail much too important to be disregarded.

³³ Cf. Hardie [13] 167, who claims 'that floating cities and floating mountains are alike unnatural' and discusses the comparison of Vergil's ships to the moving islands of the Cyclades, to mountains suggesting gigantomachy, and, most important, to the image of the city, both Rome and Troy.

destroys this last reminiscence of the old country, this image of *parva Troia* (little Troy), and points to a definite end of Aeneas' journey and a completely new future that does not look toward reviving a past lost for ever.

The comparative examination of the two arson episodes elucidates one additional detail that appears in both scenes: both Turnus and the Trojan women in Sicily become infuriated by Iris who executes Juno's orders. The significant and decisive difference is that, although in the case of book 5 Juno specifically expresses her desire to burn the Trojan fleet, in Turnus' case her plan involves only the arousing of the Rutulian leader's frenzy for fighting. Once the Trojans reach Italy, the fleet loses its importance in the goddess' anti-Trojan machinations.³⁴

In *Aeneid* 9.96-122 the Trojan ships miraculously disappear as a transformed Aeneas is returning from Pallanteum to assume with renewed determination his leadership-role, not as Trojan exile, but as leader of Italy. Two books later, as the war enters its conclusive phase, Aeneas' duplicate, Diomedes, relates another strange transformation that caused him to review his life in new perspective. Vergil's readers may detect the significance of the portent of Diomedes' comrades' metamorphoses in association with the earlier transformation recorded in the *Aeneid*, that of Aeneas' ships into nymphs. In Aeneas' case, the Fates had predetermined the disappearance of the ships, which represented a continuation of the land of Ilium for the Trojans, once Aeneas and his people had reached their final destination. From that point on, all the ties with the past should be undesirable, as they may be distracting rather than beneficial; therefore, they had to be forgotten. Diomedes fulfils a similar destiny. The loss of his fellow warriors broke the last bonds tying him to his former life as a Greek king and leader. From that point onwards the hero is alone, escorted by nothing that might remind him of his past. Just like Aeneas, he is to view Italy as his final destination, and the loss of his companions as the starting-point towards a new identity.

³⁴ Hardie [13] 168 argues that the transformation of the Trojan ships into nymphs should be understood as symbolising the freedom of the sea and, quite contrary to Turnus' assumptions that the sea is denied to the Trojans (9.130f.), as a 'stage in the process whereby the natural world is progressively taken into a Roman sphere of influence'.

***SUPERBIA* IN VERGIL'S *AENEID*: WHO'S HAUGHTY AND WHO'S NOT?**

David Christenson

Department of Classics, University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona 85721-0067, USA

Abstract. This paper examines the use of *superbus*, etc. in Vergil's *Aeneid* by taking into account narratological (and other) factors. It concludes that the poem provides no secure perspective as to who the *superbi* of the *Aeneid* are, and that this insecurity regarding the important Roman concept of *superbia* contributes to the ambivalence many readers have seen in the poem's ending, as well as in its broader vision of human affairs.

Superbus ("haughty") and its derivative noun (*superbia*) and adverb (*superbe*) are affective terms that usually bear a sense of extreme opprobrium in Latin.¹ In various sources the repeated use of *superbia* is associated with cruelty, violence, savagery and tyranny. Rome conventionally attributed *superbia* to its bitterest enemies to suggest that their fundamental "arrogance," left unchecked, invariably would lead to violations of international law as recognized by civilized nations, if not utter barbarism.² Rome's foes were already stereotyped as recklessly possessed of *superbia* by the time of Plautus. There Sosia in his famous messenger's speech (*Amph.* 186-261)³ characterizes Amphytrion's campaign as consistent with the Roman concept of "just war"⁴ by having the Teleboans respond to the Theban legates' formal demands for restitution *superbe nimis ferociter* ("with the utmost arrogance and ferocity," *Amph.* 213).⁵ Caesar in *Bellum Gallicum* similarly stresses the *superbia* of the

¹ *Superbia*, like ὑβρις (see N. R. E. Fisher *Hybris: A Study in the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece* [Warminster 1991], an exhaustive study which is summarized in his *OCD*³ entry 732f., s.v. *hubris*), typically points to arrogant and often violent displays of superiority. For some distinctions between the Greek and Roman notions see J. M. J. Murphy, "Hubris and Superbia: Differing Greek and Roman Attitudes concerning 'Arrogant Pride'" *AW* 28.1 (1997) 73-81.

² Cf. H. Haffter, *Römische Politik und Römische Politiker* (Heidelberg 1967) 51-61.

³ Cf. D. M. Christenson (ed.), *Plautus: Amphitruo* (Cambridge 2000) nn. *ad* 204-15 at 181, *ad* 213 at 183-84, *ad* 247 at 190.

⁴ For a concise account of this and related topics of Roman imperialism see P. A. Brunt, "Laus Imperii" in P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker (edd.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (Cambridge 1978) 159-91.

⁵ All translations throughout this paper are my own.

demonized Ariovistus to justify the eradication of the German king to his readers: *Ariouistum . . . superbe et crudeliter imperare . . . hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium* (“Ariovistus rules arrogantly and cruelly . . . he is barbaric, hot-tempered, reckless,” *B. Gall.* 1.31.12f.; the speaker is the Aeduan Diviciacus).⁶ According to the standard Roman view, *superbia* was not to be brooked, in the case of individuals or states, and the defeat of Rome’s “haughty” enemies was routinely regarded as divinely sanctioned proof that the war had been undertaken with just cause.

Though the substantive is used only once in the *Aeneid*,⁷ the importance of the theme of arrogance is evidenced by the occurrence of a form of *superbus* thirty-nine times in the epic.⁸ In 1972 R. B. Lloyd analyzed the instances of *superbus* and *superbia* in the *Aeneid* with the aim of determining “who are the *superbi* of Vergil’s poem?”⁹ Lloyd correctly observed that *superbus* most frequently is used “to describe or taunt an enemy,”¹⁰ whether in contentious direct speech of the battlefield, the primary narrative, or “embedded focalizations” in this narrative.¹¹ In some cases the adjective “[forecasts] immediate doom”¹² or is applied “with hindsight from the point of view of a disastrous outcome—the sense . . . becomes virtually ‘once proud, but proud no more.’”¹³ Lloyd ultimately concluded that the slaying of Turnus (whom he deems *superbissimus*) “cannot be regarded as inconsistent with the higher mission enjoined by Anchises: *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*,”

⁶ In Roman internal politics cf., e.g., Cicero’s characterization of Verres: *Quis contumacior, quis inhumanior, quis superbior? . . . Quis acerbior, quis insidiosior, quis crudelior umquam fuit?* (“Who is more proud, who more brutal, who more haughty . . . who has ever been so harsh, who so treacherous, who so cruel?,” *Verr.* 2.192).

⁷ Cf. p. 47 below.

⁸ The adjective occurs only once in the *Eclogues* and four times in the *Georgics*; *superbia* and *superbe* do not occur in either work.

⁹ R. B. Lloyd, “*Superbus* in the *Aeneid*,” *AJP* 93 (1972) 125-32, at 126.

¹⁰ Lloyd [9] 127, e.g., when Creusa’s ghost states that she will not have to look upon the *Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumue superbas* (“the haughty homes of the Myrmidons or Dolopians,” 2.785).

¹¹ For focalization in Vergil see now D. Fowler, “Virgilian Narrative: Story-telling” in C. Martindale (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (Cambridge 1997) 259-70, at 266f. (with further references).

¹² Lloyd [9] 128, e.g., Camilla’s vaunt (11.715) over the son of Aunus in the course of her ill-fated *aristeia* (‘display of excellence’).

¹³ Lloyd [9] 128, e.g., Aeneas’ description of the mutilated Priam: *tot quondam populis terrisque superbum / regnatorem Asiae* (“once the proud ruler of Asia, with its many, many peoples and lands,” 2.556f.).

(“spare the humbled and war down the arrogant”).¹⁴ A. Traina generally follows Lloyd in separating out, with admirable philological rigor, the various senses of *superbus* in the Vergilian corpus¹⁵. He begins by identifying several uses as “neutral” (or even “positive”),¹⁶ as, for example, at 7.630 *Tibur . . . superbum* (“lofty Tibur”), where the primary force of the adjective is to describe Tibur’s geographical position,¹⁷ or 3.475 *coniugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo* (“Anchises, worthy of Venus’ love, one that brings pride”), where Helenus deems Anchises to be worthy¹⁸ of his union with Venus, in which, it is implied, he understandably takes pride.¹⁹ Traina deals with the “negative” senses of *superbus* at some length, which, he concludes, predominate in the *Aeneid* and can be divided into four “codes”: the epic-heroic, erotic-elegiac, ethical-philosophical, and sociopolitical.²⁰ Traina’s article concludes with discussion of the death of Turnus, where he follows Lloyd closely in asserting that “[d]al punto di vista dell’ideologia romana la conclusione dell’*Eneide* è perfettamente ortodossa. . . .”²¹ By reassessing here some of the more provocative attributions of *superbia* in the *Aeneid*, this paper will take exception with Lloyd’s and Traina’s general conclusions and suggest that the poem defies such simple resolution of the question “who’s haughty and who’s not?”.

The notion of *superbia* is prominently introduced at the opening of the *Aeneid*, where the primary narrator (henceforth, for convenience, “Vergil”) relates that Juno has heard of a *populum late regem belloque superbum* (“a people ruling far and wide and *superbus* in war,” 1.21) that is destined to destroy her beloved Libya. Servius *ad loc.*²² notes that Vergil through *populum regem* here nods to the Roman *imperium* of his own day, but apparently was troubled by *superbum*, which he glosses *nobilem*.²³ Modern commentators

¹⁴ Lloyd [9] 132.

¹⁵ A. Traina, *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* 4 (Rome, 1988) 1072-076, s.v. *superbia*.

¹⁶ Traina [15] 1072f.

¹⁷ Cf. the etymology of *superbus* (< *super*). C. J. Fordyce (J. D. Christie [ed.], *Vergil: Aeneid VII-VIII* [Oxford 1977] 174, *ad* 630f.) suggests that “perhaps it [*superbum*] has an oblique anachronistic reference to the prosperity she [Tibur] enjoyed as as the resort of well-to-do Romans”.

¹⁸ Or “thought worthy of” (R. D. Williams [ed.], *Aeneidos: Liber Tertius* [Oxford 1962] 156, *ad* 3.475).

¹⁹ Lloyd [9] 129 sees a more sinister allusion to “the marriage’s disastrous outcome.” Cf. 2.647-49 and R. G. Austin (ed.) *Aeneidos: Liber Secundus* (Oxford 1964) 247f. *ad* 649.

²⁰ Traina [15] 1075.

²¹ Traina [15] 1075.

²² E. K. Rand *et al.* (edd.), *Servii in Aeneidem 1-2 Commentarii* 2 (Lancaster 1946) 25f.

²³ Similarly Serv. Dan.: *id est eminentem, gloriosum*.

usually ignore Servius' semantic legerdemain and more reasonably suggest that the designation of the Trojans' Roman descendants as "arrogant" here is from Juno's point of view,²⁴ that is, an embedded focalization. Similar focalizations occur throughout the *Aeneid*, as when Vergil narrates Turnus' rush against Pandarus and Bitias as they lure him into the Trojan camp; the description of the "arrogant brothers" (*fratresque superbos*, 9.695) there presumably focalizes Turnus' point of view. This embedment of a character's perspective reflects what traditionally has been called Vergil's "subjective style" and does not in and of itself invite further critical scrutiny. But the contention, at such a privileged position in the epic, that the Roman people will prove to be "*superbus* in war" is especially provocative; the embedded voice of the angry and vindictive Juno, like the voices of the lengthy cast of other characters who suffer defeat in the epic, is not so easily ignored, as perhaps Servius' discomfort alone demonstrates.

This initial suspicion that arrogance may become problematical in the epic is confirmed in the speech of Ilioneus, who represents Trojan interests to Dido at 1.522-58. At the opening of his rhetorically deft appeal to the queen's civility, Ilioneus praises Dido for receiving Jupiter's sanction to found her new city and to "curb through justice the arrogant peoples" (*iustitiaque . . . gentis frenare superbas*, 523) among whom she has settled.²⁵ Dido in other words, he asserts, rules in accordance with the Roman ideology of *iustum bellum* ("just war"). He and his fellow Trojans, Ilioneus continues, are a *pium genus* ("a responsible people") and should be "spared" (526). They have not put in to North Africa like aggressive raiders in search of plunder or intending to ravage Libyan *Penates* "by the sword" (*ferro*, 527): *non ea uis animo nec tanta superbia uictis* ("we bear no such violence in our hearts, nor do the conquered possess such arrogance," 529; the only occurrence of the noun *superbia* in the poem). By expediently asserting that *uicti* ("the defeated") such as the Trojans necessarily are free of *superbia*, Ilioneus in effect has anticipated—and simplified—Anchises' imperative to Aeneas, and by extension the future Roman race,²⁶ to "spare the humbled and war down the arrogant" (6.853).²⁷

²⁴ E.g., Austin *ad loc.*: "'arrogant', from Juno's standpoint" (R. G. Austin [ed.], *Virgil: Aeneid I* [Oxford 1971] 37).

²⁵ On the question of whether these *gentes* are Carthaginians or Libyans, see Traina [15] 1074.

²⁶ Aeneas is addressed as *Romane* (6.851).

²⁷ It is assumed here that Anchises advocates not only vigorously conducting war with perceived *superbi*, but also denying them the *clementia* ("leniency") traditionally granted in defeat. Cf. Augustus' own propaganda, *externas gentes, quibus tuto ignosci potuit*,

The speech has its intended effect upon Dido, whose precarious position in North Africa, she explains (563f.), has precipitated her subjects' seemingly "barbaric" (cf. "*barbara*", 539) vigilance, and she warmly receives the Trojan band, unaware that her approval of Ilioneus' speech and its underlying ideology will commence the chain of events leading to her demise. Ilioneus and his party are soon reunited with Aeneas, and owing to the machinations of Venus and Cupid, Dido, whom Vergil at this point designates as *praecipue infelix, pesti deuota futurae*, ("unfortunate beyond all others, doomed to future disaster," 712), is tragically overcome by her passion. The subsequent events at Carthage need not be rehearsed here; let us leap ahead to Dido's ultimate assessment of her relationship with Aeneas. To Aeneas' impassive contention that he must pursue his mission to Italy, Dido angrily replies that he must have been sprung from rocky Caucasus and suckled by Hyrcanian tigers rather than humankind (4.365-67). After Aeneas leaves and Vergil poignantly captures the queen's isolation as she watches the Trojans prepare to set sail (401-15), Dido enlists Anna to make one last appeal to Aeneas on her behalf: *i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum* ("go, sister, and humbly address our haughty enemy," 423). As *supplex* indicates, Dido now conceives of herself as abjectly defeated by her "enemy" Aeneas, who, she insists, remains *superbus* in victory, and from whom she can expect little pity.²⁸ Her figurative use of ideologically charged terms recalls the speech of Ilioneus, which also had prefigured Anchises' injunction to reap violence or bestow mercy upon the enemy according to whether or not he manifests arrogance. But by having Dido attribute *superbia* to conqueror rather than conquered here, and the epic's proto-Roman hero at that, the poem complicates Anchises' formulation in advance. At the same time, Dido's conception of her situation prefigures the death of Turnus and helps engender the uneasiness many readers have felt in connection with the poem's ending.²⁹ And when Dido finally despairs of the possibility of the Trojans' *rates superbae* ("haughty ships," 540) offering her sanctuary and resolves to die by falling upon the weapon Aeneas has left behind—thereby ironically calling to mind Ilioneus' assertion that the Trojans had not come to devastate

conseruare quam excidere malui ("I preferred to preserve rather than exterminate foreign peoples who could be safely pardoned," *Mon. Anc.* 3.13-15).

²⁸ For Dido's transfer of standard Roman ethnic slurs against Carthaginians to Aeneas here see J. H. Starks, "*Fides Aeneia*," *CJ* 94.3 (1999) 274-76; for Aeneas' overall "inhumanity," see C. G. Perkell, "On Creusa, Dido, and the Quality of Victory in Virgil's *Aeneid*" in H. P. Foley (ed.), *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (New York 1981) 362-73.

²⁹ For some other connections between the deaths of Dido and Turnus see the note of Williams on 12.843f. (R. D. Williams [ed.], *Virgil: Aeneid VII-XII* [Basingstoke 1973] 499).

Libya “by the sword” (*ferro*, 527)³⁰—readers cannot be deaf to the repeated charge of Trojan *superbia* made by such a compelling tragic figure. Vergil in these first four books has masterfully constructed a narrative framework that readily admits multiple voices and viewpoints, even when these potentially challenge the ideology of Augustan Rome.

The extent to which the *Aeneid* problematizes *superbia* is perhaps most clearly seen in a startling inversion of reader expectation in the parade of future Romans in the underworld. Following his encomium of Augustus as a second Romulus (6.777-807), Anchises restores chronological order to the pageant when he introduces the Roman kings. Aeneas eventually is directed to view the Tarquins, who are mentioned without elaboration, and, immediately after them, *animamque superbam / ultoris Bruti fascisque . . . receptos* (“the haughty spirit of the avenging Brutus and the *fascis* regained,” 6.817f.). Servius, who is easily disturbed by attributions of *superbia* to Roman grandees, either deliberately or subconsciously misconstrues *animamque superbam* here, taking it in reference to Tarquinius Superbus, a stylistic and syntactic improbability requiring an unparalleled postponement of *-que* in 818.³¹ On what score the first consul of the Republic might be regarded as *superbus* is explained by Anchises’ ambivalence regarding Brutus’ execution of his own sons. Though Brutus is said to act out of patriotic motives and the desire for public glory, Anchises deems him *infelix*, despite whatever praise he may win from posterity (822), and father and sons (*natosque pater*, 820) are pointedly juxtaposed. Furthermore, the “cruel axes” (*saeuasque securis*, 819) Brutus is said to receive associate him not only with the preceding Tarquin but also with Manlius Torquatus, who marches next in the parade, and is succinctly tagged “cruel with the axe” (*saeuumque securi*, 824). Regarding Torquatus, P. Knox³² has shown convincingly that, despite the “smokescreens” sent up by the Servian commentaries, Anchises here unmistakably betrays his disapproval of Torquatus’ beheading of his son. Returning to the pointed transfer of the second Tarquin’s *superbia* to the founder of the Republic, are we not also provoked to ask whether the newly reorganized community of Rome, in which idealized fathers privilege public duty over natural affection, is an unequivocal improvement on the immediately preceding tyranny? Is there a suggestion here

³⁰ P. 47 above. Cf. in this connection *infixum stridit sub pectore uulnus* (“the wound, driven deeply, hissed in her breast,” 4.689). For further suggestions of Trojan “invasion” in Libya see W. R. Nethercut, “Invasion in the *Aeneid*,” *G&R* 15 (1968) 90f.

³¹ Cf. Austin’s note on 817 (R. G. Austin [ed.], *Virgil: Aeneid VI* [Oxford 1977] 251-52).

³² P. Knox, “Savagery in the *Aeneid* and Virgil’s Ancient Commentators,” *CJ* 92.3 (1997) 225-33, at 231.

that patriotism and boundless competition for public acclaim (823 *laudumque immensa cupido*) under some circumstances may become a monstrous thing? As G. Williams writes, “The moral ambiguity here resides in the tension between paternal love (an emotion of keen interest to Anchises and Aeneas) and the requirements of patriotism. The address *infelix* (822) expresses Anchises’ pity for that unhappy clash of the two imperatives, but *superbam* with *laudumque immensa cupido* injects a note of disapproval of the man who interpreted the demands of patriotism with such barbarous rigour.”³³ At an important historical moment the epic challenges the reader to weigh the *superbia* of the heroic liberator of the Roman people against that of the archetypically cruel tyrant.

Arrogance also figures prominently in the second, “Iliadic” half of the *Aeneid*, where (especially) warriors on both sides of the conflict bandy charges of *superbia*. Here I shall focus on a few provocative attributions that seem to bear deeper resonance for the epic as a whole. At 8.185-275 Evander relates the aetiological tale of Hercules’ defeat of Cacus on the Aventine. The story pits a savage, subhuman monster, the very personification of evil (cf. *κακός*, “evil”), against the saviour-hero Hercules, whose opportune arrival at Evander’s valley rids the future site of Rome’s cattle-market of a chaotic menace.³⁴ But as sharply contraposed as Cacus and Hercules appear to be in a straightforward reading of the episode, there is one thing they share: *superbia*. Evander describes the gruesome trophies to be found at the monster’s cave as follows:

... semperque recenti
caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis
ora uirum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.

(8.195-97)

The ground was forever warm with fresh slaughter, and grimly pale and putrid heads of men hung tacked to his haughty portals.

It is thus most striking when, only a few lines later (201f.), Hercules is heralded as *maximus ultor / tergemini nece Geryonae spoliisque superbus* (“the greatest avenger, *superbus* because of the slaughter and spoils of triple

³³ G. Williams, *Techniques and Ideas in the Aeneid* (New Haven 1983) 216.

³⁴ Interpretation of the episode along sharply polarized lines is perhaps best represented by G. K. Galinsky, “The Hercules-Cacus Episode in *Aeneid* VIII,” *AJP* 87 (1966) 18-51. L. Morgan, “Assimilation and Civil War: Hercules and Cacus” in H. P. Stahl (ed.), *Vergil’s Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context* (London 1998) 175-97 offers circumspect discussion of how Vergil here attempts to mediate issues of violence in contemporary Roman society.

Geryon," 201f.).³⁵ Here we could resort to Servian sleight of hand and declare that *superbus* in connection with Hercules must mean something like "ennobled" or "justifiably proud" without any of the pejorative connotations that attach to Cacus and his sinister domain. Alternatively, we may question whether the polarization of Cacus and Hercules, as evil itself and antipodal eradicator of evil respectively, merits further thought. Given the occasion of his narrative, Evander naturally omits any mention of Hercules' own savagery, but, as an ancient audience knew well, his myths feature numerous acts of disturbing violence. His function as a creator or restorer of order, then, is fraught with ambiguity, as has been suggested in connection with Vergil's later description of the Hymn to Hercules sung by the Salii.³⁶

Nonetheless, many commentators focus exclusively on the (seemingly) positive aspects of the Herculean model. Gransden, for example, writes: "The 'triple death' of Geryon emphasizes the parallel between Hercules *triumphator* and Augustus *triplici inuectus . . . triumpho* (714)."³⁷ But in that same description of the triple triumph on Aeneas' shield, Augustus is said to affix the spoils of various conquered peoples to the entrance of Apollo's temple, specifically 8.721f. *superbis / postibus*.³⁸ Readers here will recall the "haughty portals" of Cacus' cave and thus any attempt to equate the triumphant arrival of Hercules in Italy with Augustus' celebrations in 29 BC must also meet the challenge posed by this allusion to the trophies of the savage monster.³⁹ Moreover, the spoil-laden *postes superbi* ("haughty portals") of the temple also recall an especially tragic moment for Trojan stock. When Aeneas narrates the destruction of Troy, he recounts the horrors he finds at Priam's besieged palace:

³⁵ Even if the *spolia* in which Hercules here exults are simply the cattle of Geryon, language associates him with other figures in the poem whose actions seem to violate ancient taboo regarding the dead: cf. R. Heinze, *Vergils Epische Technik*³, (Leipzig 1915) 209f. With *nece . . . superbus* here cf. also the characterization of Turnus as *superbum / caede noua* ("*superbus* with fresh slaughter," 10.514f.) after slaying Pallas.

³⁶ B. Heiden, "*Laudes Herculeae*: Suppressed Savagery in the Hymn to Hercules, Verg. *A.* 8.285-305," *AJP* 108 (1987) 660-71.

³⁷ Note on 8.201-03 (K. W. Gransden [ed.], *Virgil, Aeneid VIII* [Cambridge 1976] 110).

³⁸ The designation of the doorposts as *superbi* seems to reflect Augustus' attitude (i.e. it is an embedded focalization) as he views the triumphant spectacle (rather than reflecting on Apollo). Cf. also *foribus domus alta superbis* ("the lofty home with its haughty portals," Verg. *G.* 2.461), where the urban mansion is negatively contrasted with the simple life and dwellings of rustics, who live *procul discordibus armis* ("far from the clash of arms," 459).

³⁹ For additional links between Cacus and Augustus (and Aeneas) see R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford 1987) 27-35.

uidi Hecubam centumque nurus Priamumque per aras
 sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacrauerat ignis.
 quinquaginta illi thalami, spes tanta nepotum,
 barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi
 procubuere . . .

(2.501-05)

I saw Hecuba and her hundred daughters, and amid the altars Priam, by his own blood defiling the fires which he himself had consecrated. The fifty famous chambers (such a promise of offspring), the doors proudly displaying barbaric gold and the spoils of war were all brought down . . .

The entrances to Priam's collapsing palace, Cacus' cave prior to its destruction by Hercules,⁴⁰ and Apollo's temple are in fact the only ones in the epic said to be *superbus* in their display of enemy spoils. It also is significant that *superbia* is linked to only two figures on the shield of Aeneas: Augustus and his commander at Actium, Agrippa, who wears a naval crown of victory, the *belli insigne superbum* ("proud emblem of war," 8.683). By contrast, none of the historical villains represented on the shield, from Tarquin to Catiline, is said to be *superbus*. Nor is Cleopatra, who often emblemizes foreign arrogance in Augustan poetry,⁴¹ though she and her host of Egyptian men and gods are figured as the disorderly embodiment of "barbaric otherness."⁴² At the supremely triumphant moment for the Augustan regime that is the shield's focal point, *superbia* is reserved for the *princeps* and his general.

The last character to be labeled *superbus* in the epic is Turnus. Commentators on 12.326 routinely note the restoration of Turnus' confident arrogance as he departs upon the final path toward his destruction, as if this were simply a case of "pride coming before a fall."⁴³ But by the end of the epic, the issue of arrogance has become sufficiently problematized so as to render such a reading most unpersuasive. After Turnus is wounded, he abjectly prostrates himself before the warrior he publicly admits is his conqueror

⁴⁰ Cf. 8.262 *foribus . . . reuulsis*, "with the tearing off of the doors."

⁴¹ E.g., Prop. 3.11.47-49, where the prospect of Cleopatra's reign is equated with that of Tarquinius Superbus. For the representation of Cleopatra in the Augustan poets see M. Wyke, "Augustan Cleopatras: Female Power and Poetic Authority" in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (London 1992) 98-140.

⁴² Cf. D. Quint, *Epic and Empire* (Princeton 1993) 21-31.

⁴³ Williams [29] on 12.324f., at 459: "Turnus now again becomes the proud and confident warrior, very different from the pale young man preparing to face Aeneas (219f.). Notice the strong word *superbus*. . . ." Cf. his note on 12.930, at 507: "thus is the proud Turnus brought low."

(12.936-38); Vergil describes Turnus as *supplex* ("suppliant," 930),⁴⁴ that is as manifesting precisely the attitude with which Dido had ordered Anna to beseech her "conqueror" Aeneas, and in light of which Anchises had enjoined his son to grant clemency to the vanquished. Though Aeneas here is by no means entirely devoid of humanity,⁴⁵ Turnus' plea to be spared falls upon deaf ears when Aeneas spots the belt and baldric of Pallas, and this *saeui monimenta doloris* ("memorial of his own savage grief," 945) transforms him into a furious agent of vengeance (946-52). Aeneas is not explicitly termed *superbus*,⁴⁶ but readers must confront here some of the most arrogant and savage violence in the epic; from Turnus' point of view (at minimum), Aeneas has become the *hostis superbus* Dido had envisioned taking cruel delight in his enemy's defeat. This disturbing conclusion in which readers are left wondering if Aeneas' brutal and final assertion of superiority over Turnus is necessary, suggests (if it offers any secure closure at all) that *superbia*, far from being the exclusive province of monsters and reputed barbarians, is a persistent theme in human affairs that spans both the mythic and historical worlds, where it results in seemingly endless eruptions of violence and vengeance among even the best of men.⁴⁷ Vergil's audience could draw upon ready analogies from their own experience, whether Octavian's proscriptions of 43-42 BC, the Perusine War, or more recent acts of political vengeance by either party in the civil wars, but there is nothing at the poem's end that specifically exhorts them to do so. Instead, the ultimate perspective of the poem seems more catholic. The very last occurrence of *superbus* in the *Aeneid* falls immediately before the slaughter of Turnus, when Juturna characterizes Jupiter's orders for her to abandon her

⁴⁴ Or *humilis supplexque* ("submissive and suppliant," as in some manuscripts).

⁴⁵ Cf. W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry* (Berkeley 1987) 99: Touched "in his inmost being, Aeneas hesitates . . . an extraordinary moment of humanity; for the epic warrior never hesitates. He kills almost mechanically, showing no mercy, exulting in his success—as Turnus kills the young and inexperienced Pallas, as even Aeneas, in rage and frustration, can kill."

⁴⁶ He has, however, been pointedly described as *saeuus* earlier in the book (12.107): see further Knox [32] 231-33.

⁴⁷ That Vergil saw *superbia* as a kind of universal factor in the competitive worlds of both human beings and (other) animals is also suggested by the similarity of *hic uictor superans animis tauroque superbus* ("the victor then glorying in his spirit and *superbus* because of the bull," *Aen.* 5.473, i.e. the victorious boxer Entellus just before he delivers the fatal blow to the bull's head) and *uictus . . . multa gemens ignominiam plagasque superbi / uictoris* ("the defeated . . . much bewailing his disgrace and the blows dealt by the *superbus* victor," *Verg. G.* 3.225-27, i.e. the bull defeated by a rival in amorous pursuit of the female).

brother to his fate as *iussa superba* (“haughty orders,” 12.877).⁴⁸ At the epic’s close, yet another angry voice of the defeated goes so far as to suggest that the universal order (as the Romans conceived it) which Jupiter’s edicts represent is itself subject to *superbia*.⁴⁹ We need not wholly agree with Juturna or any other of the variously compelling viewpoints of the *Aeneid*, but their inclusion in the epic, as G. B. Conte has eloquently argued, “stands as a reminder against the permanence of every victory.”⁵⁰ This sense of insecurity is powerfully conveyed in the oppressive persistence of arrogance and the cyclical violence it engenders in the *Aeneid*, where from constantly shifting perspectives, and often at the most decisive moments of the epic and of history, *superbia* afflicts characters of all stripes: as readers we are left with a grim asservation of the mantra that “history repeats itself.” In the end, the *Aeneid* offers no stable vantage point from which to determine who the true *superbi* of the epic are, and inspires doubt regarding even its central character, who, like so many other characters, is prone to aggressive displays of power. My initial question perhaps should be amended to “who isn’t haughty?”⁵¹

⁴⁸ Cf. 10.445 *iussa superba*, where Pallas’ point of view regarding Turnus’ brash words (441-43) is focalized.

⁴⁹ For the embedding of sympathy for Juturna in the narrative see R. F. Thomas, “The Isolation of Turnus” in Stahl [34] 289f. Cf. also D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (Oxford 1991), 137-55.

⁵⁰ C. Segal (ed. and tr.), *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets* (Ithaca 1986) 184.

⁵¹ I wish to thank Frank Romer and Cynthia White, my colleagues in the Department of Classics at the University of Arizona, for reading and commenting on an earlier version of this paper.

THE *MORIO* IN MARTIAL'S EPIGRAMS, WITH EMPHASIS ON 12.93

Michael Garmaise

Department of Classics, Brock University
St. Catharines, Ontario L2S 3A1, Canada

Abstract. The *moriones* mentioned in Martial's epigrams are always intellectually impaired, but there is no specific invariable physical pathology: when his purposes require it, Martial supplies further information on their physical abnormalities. The *morio* in 12.93, for example, is a dwarf. This is explicated in several ways and is particularly appropriate because of his role in this parody of amatory 'cup-kissing.'

Part of the Roman poet Martial's appeal, for his own contemporaries as well as for us, lies in the rare skill with which he employed the epigram to lay invective at the feet of an array of well-chosen victims. Although he claimed not to be satirizing real people, even under fictitious names (Mart. 1 *praef.*), his readers would certainly have recognized in *others* much of the pretension, licentiousness and hypocrisy that Martial attacked. But Martial's audience also found appeal in his targeting of those who were physically disadvantaged: the aged, the diseased, the homely. As summed up by John Sullivan: "Such black humour, however, has a moral basis in ancient thought: physical defects mirror moral deficiencies."¹

We find, as well, several occurrences in Martial of those unfortunates whom Latin speakers sometimes termed *moriones*. Whatever other deficiencies they may have suffered, they are viewed foremost as feeble-minded. This is also reflected in our few ancient references, not found in Martial, to the *morio*. Pliny the Younger, of whom Martial was an admired protégé, comments: *nequaquam me . . . delectat, si quid . . . stultum a morione profertur* ("It does not charm me at all when something inane is uttered by a fool," Plin. *Ep.* 9.17.12). In the same passage, he has listed *moriones* with other classes of dinner entertainers, *scurrae* and *cinaedi* (jesters and effeminates). This foreshadows the *Historia Augusta* (SHA *Alex. Sev.* 34.2.1) which reports Alexander Severus' release of *moriones* from the royal court, to be made public property. We learn by implication that they are distinguished from other classes of court denizens: *nanos et nanas, exsoletos, omnia acroamata* and *pantomimos* (male and female dwarfs, singing degenerates, all kinds of entertainers, and pantomimists). Julianus more specifically draws the connection between *moriones* and half-wittedness:

¹ J. P. Sullivan, *Martial, the Unexpected Classic* (Cambridge 1991) 168.

quibusdam eorum paene sensus pecorum conferatur (“to some of them are granted almost the wits of an animal,” Julian. 3.4.10). Saint Augustine mentions them twice in a similar vein: *Illi quos vulgo moriones vocant, quanto magis a sensu communi dissonant, magisque absurdi et insulsi sunt. . .* (“The more that they who are generally termed *moriones* depart from common sense, and the more irrational and absurd they are, [the less willing they are to take back any words which they have ever uttered],” August. *Ep.* 143.3); and *Quidam . . . tantae sunt fatuitatis, ut non multum a pecoribus differant, quos moriones vulgo vocant* (“Certain people, who are commonly called *moriones*, are of such foolishness as to differ little from beasts,” August. *Ep.* 166.17). Finally, four and a half centuries after Martial, Justinian expresses a law which helps to protect slave purchasers: *quamvis non valide sapientem servum venditor praestare debeat, tamen si ita fatuum, vel morionem vendiderit, ut in eo usus nullus sit, videri vitium* (“Although a slave-seller does not have to advise [a customer] that a slave is dull-witted, nevertheless if he sells one who is a *morio* or so foolish as to be useless, then he is treated as defective [merchandise],” Justinian. *Dig.* 21.1.4). Latin lacked the clinical and legal vocabulary to express with greater rigour what a *morio* was, but clearly the *morio* was understood to be mentally deficient.

In Martial, ironically, a total reversal of the situation in the *Digesta* provides the grounds for complaint made by a purchaser of a slave:

Morio dictus erat: viginti milibus emi.
redde mihi nummos, Gargiliane: sapit.

(Mart. 8.13)

He was described as a morio: I bought him for 20 000.
Give me my money back, Gargilianus: he’s got his wits.

It is significant that the merchandise was *said to be a morio*. This suggests that the buyer could not judge by appearance alone, otherwise he would not have been swindled. If there was any physical handicap present, then it was not one which was *automatically* associated with the concept of *morio*. The buyer had willingly paid an exorbitant price for a *morio* because such slaves were a great deal rarer than those of normal intellect, and for this exceptional quality evidently commanded a higher price.²

² Their natural feeble-mindedness was a prodigious trait that enhanced their value by imbuing them with amuletic properties. The amuletic functions of specific objects and people is discussed by Plutarch *Quaest. Conv.* 5.7.3, and revisited latterly in C. A. Barton, *The Sorrows of the Ancient Roman: The Gladiator and the Monster* (Princeton 1993) 168 and R. Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Greco-Roman World* (Ithaca 1995) 45 who wisely adds that the “vogue for collecting human monstrosities may

In another couplet, which is titled *Morio* in the manuscripts, Martial makes the observation that a certain *morio*’s stupidity, unlike that displayed by the *morio* in 8.13, is *not* feigned:

Non mendax stupor est nec fingitur arte dolosa.
quisquis plus iusto non sapit, ille sapit.

(Mart. 14.210)

Not faked is his stupidity, not shaped by crafty trickery.
He who is too clever at displaying half a wit, is too clever by half.

Here, the implication is that natural feeble-mindedness is difficult to imitate: he who tries too hard at contriving it is likely to give himself away.

In Martial’s day, the wealthy could buy a slave whose very mental vacuity was his selling point. As Justinian’s *Digest* indicates, many buyers could not afford such an ostentatious squandering of money and needed human tools better than human pets and showpieces.

In 3.82, the target is one Zoilus, a very rich but vulgar *parvenu*, whom the poet criticizes for his graceless style of dinner entertaining. The poet complains that the properly invited guests are offered unremarkable fare while pets, household staff and slaves are awarded more luxurious comestibles. He elaborates:

Ligurumque nobis saxa cum ministrentur
vel cocta fumis musta Massilitanis,
Opimianum³ morionibus nectar
crystallinisque murrinisque propinat

(Mart. 3.82.22-25)

While *we* are served with the produce of Liguria’s rocks
or must cooked in Massiliot smoke,
he pledges his naturals in Opimian nectar
with crystal and murrine cups.⁴

also have been prompted by . . . *ennui* on a massive scale, combined with a perverse and seemingly inexhaustible appetite for the exotic and bizarre, which induced the emperor and many wealthy Romans to pay exorbitant prices for human ‘freaks.’”

³ Aged wine of renowned quality, connected not with a specific place, but rather with the year 121 BC, when L. Opimius was consul. The autumn heat was credited for an unusually fine vintage.

⁴ D. R. Shackleton Bailey (tr.), *Martial: Epigrams* (Cambridge, Mass. 1993) 1.260. The poet’s persona recognizes the inferiority of Massilian wine for being oversmoked, but suggests that Opimian wine is still top drawer. It is recently pointed out that Opimian wine was, by Martial’s day, “undrinkable unless mixed with other wine” (T. J. Leary, “Martial’s Christmas Winelist,” *G&R* 46.1 (1999) 37). If so, is the indignant persona humorously and

The *moriones*' presence is not otherwise unusual: they seem to be typical members of the sort of human menageries kept by 'Zoilus' and others of his wealth. Perhaps Zoilus' guest is exasperated that delicacies are wasted on such persons as *moriones*, who are too innocent to appreciate them. Perhaps he considers them more animal than human, like the *catellas anserum exta lambentis* ("little dogs lapping up goose innards," Mart. 3.82.19).

The term *morio* has been translated into English as "fool,"⁵ "idiot,"⁶ "natural,"⁷ or "cretin."⁸ These English words all correctly recognize the low intelligence of the afflicted.

In 8.13 and 14.210, we saw that Martial is concerned strictly with the *morio*'s feeble-mindedness. That a *morio*, however, could be physically deformed as well as mentally disadvantaged is necessary for a correct reading of 6.39. Here Martial charges the wife of "Cinna" with high promiscuity on the grounds that the physical features of her seven children betray that they were sired by seven different men. One lad

acuto capite et auribus longis,
 quae sic moventur ut solent asellorum
 (Mart. 6.39.15f.)

with the pointy head and the long ears,
 which move just the way asses' ears normally do

is derided as the son, surely, of the *morio* *Cyrta*: *quis morionis filium negat Cyrtae?* ("Who denies that he is the son of the *morio* *Cyrta*?," 6.39.17). If all *moriones* looked like this, then the purchaser in 8.13 might not have been taken in by the vendor's sales pitch. What we needed to know in 6.39 is precisely what Martial told us, namely *Cyrta*'s appearance, indirectly: that of other *moriones* is

unawares displaying his own ignorance of the best vintages of his day, or valuing snob appeal over all else?

⁵ F. A. Paley and W. H. Stone (edd.), *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammata* (London 1896) 245 on 8.13 (along with "idiot" and "cretin"); R. T. Bridge and E. D. C. Lake (edd.), *Selected Epigrams of Martial, Books VII to XII* (Oxford 1906) 27 on 8.13; J. A. Pott and F. A. Wright (edd. and trr.), *Martial: The Twelve Books of Epigrams* (London 1925) 177 on 6.39; J. Michie, *The Epigrams of Martial* (London 1972) 197 on 12.93; Shackleton Bailey [4] 3.165 on 12.93.

⁶ Paley and Stone [5] 245 on 8.13; Shackleton Bailey [4] 3.309 on 14.210.

⁷ Shackleton Bailey [4] 1.261 on 3.82, 2.31 on 6.39, 2.169 on 8.13.

⁸ Paley and Stone [5] 245 on 8.13; Garland [2] 46 on 12.93.

irrelevant.⁹ The comparison to asses is significant as well, because of their identification (in antiquity as well as modern times) with stupidity.¹⁰ The joke is further multifaceted: it is made more urbane because Cyrta’s very name suggests that he is *curtus* (deformed, short) or *κυρτός* (bent), and real-life household *moriones* were unlikely to gain the opportunity to mate with the lady of the house, provided that they were capable of reproducing at all.¹¹

I now turn my attention to epigram 12.93 because here Martial shows particular skill in treating both the mental defectiveness of the *morio* and his physical deformity, in this case dwarfism.

Qua moechum ratione basiaret
 coram coniuge repperit Labulla.
 parvum basiat usque morionem;
 hunc multis rapit osculis madentem
 moechus protinus et suis repletum
 ridenti dominae statim remittit.
 quanto morio maior est maritus!

Labulla has discovered how to kiss her lover
 in her husband’s presence.
 She gives repeated kisses to her dwarf fool,
 whom, slobbered with many kisses, the lover at once pounces upon
 and whom, brimming with his own kisses,
 he hands right back to his smiling mistress.
 How much bigger a fool is the husband!

The subtlety of Martial’s humour is expressed both in the situation described and in his use of wordplay.

Let us begin by examining the setting of the poem. Martial’s actors seem to be participating in a *convivium*. It shows obvious parallels to the *convivium* in amatory poetry, particularly the de-emphasis or absence of details which are extraneous to the purely amatory focus of the tableau: we are introduced to no

⁹ A pointy head and prominent ears were also symptomatic of the old-time circus sideshow exhibit who was more often called a “pinhead” than the more scientific *microcephalic*. Cyrta could in theory have suffered from microcephalus, too; we cannot know.

¹⁰ See F. Grewing, *Martial, Buch VI: Ein Kommentar* (Göttingen 1997) 283, for further citations.

¹¹ Nevertheless, liaisons between a free woman and fit male slaves are noted not only in satire (e.g., Martial’s *lecticariola* [“litter-bearer’s mistress”] [12.58]) but also in mime, Old Comedy, later Greek prose literature, and the Greek novella (see J. Yardley, “Propertius’ Lycinna,” *TAPhA* 104 (1974) 429-34, particularly 432).

unessential actors, and we are deprived of the vicarious pleasure of their food and drink.

The scene is acted out by three participants. The *coniunx*'s role is completely passive, as is suggested by the very term, one which is more often applied to the female spouse. His presence, however, is necessary because it is the catalyst for the actions of the second actor—Labulla—and the third—the *moechus*—that is, her suitor, the *cultus adulter* of mime. Were it not for the presence of the doltish husband, the other two would not need to resort to the comical subterfuge which represents the key element of the plot: a small object gets passed back and forth as a conduit for kisses. Martial specifies that the *morio*, who serves as this object, is *parvus* because this is what the lovers' situation demands; and while other *moriones* might have been deformed in other ways, or even in no obvious way, this particular *morio* was dwarf-sized.¹² *Parvus* also marks a contrast with the word *maior* in the last line, thereby helping to bring home the pun more effectively: "How much bigger a fool is the husband." While *maior* means ostensibly that the husband exceeds the *morio* in stupidity, it also indicates that the *maritus* is bigger in size. Although *coniunx* or *vir* would be semantically correct, *maritus* not only lets the line scan correctly, but also provides effective alliteration for bringing the epigram to a close. Certainly, a salient feature of the genre is a last line which brings the poem to a sharp and clever conclusion.

To understand the implications of the *morio*'s role, one must recall the subterfuges employed by Roman lovers—at least in the literary tradition—in order to communicate surreptitiously in the presence of husbands and other interested and potentially disapproving third parties.¹³

A first method consists of using wine to spell out a brief message, as when Paris writes on a table the word *amo* under Helen's name: *deducta mero littera* ("writing which is traced in wine," Ov. *Her.* 17.88).¹⁴ Some lovers exchange

¹² Robert Garland [2] 48 recognizes this characteristic by translating *morionem* as "cretin." Clinical descriptions of "cretinism" make clear that it is caused by a malfunction of the thyroid gland and is characterized not only by arrested mental development, but also physical, including dwarfism. Modern texts which discuss the pathology of cretinism include: W. A. N. Dorland (ed.), *Dorland's Illustrated Medical Dictionary*²⁸ (Philadelphia 1994) 392; K. N. Anderson and L. E. Anderson (edd.), *Mosby's Medical, Nursing and Allied Health Dictionary*⁵ (St. Louis 1998) 415; J. Walton *et al.* (edd.), *The Oxford Companion to Medicine* (Oxford 1986) 267.

¹³ For more on these, see J. Yardley, "The Symposium in Roman Elegy," in W. J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context* (Ann Arbor 1991) 149-55.

¹⁴ Other examples include Ov. *Am.* 1.4.20, 2.5.17f., *Ars Am.* 1.571f., *Her.* 17.87f., *Tr.* 2.454; Tib. 1.6.19f.; Prop. 3.8.25 (probably).

secret signals which escape the notice of the husband or rival. For example, Ovid observes that: *saepe tacens vocem verbaque vultus habet* (“a silent look often has voice and words,” Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.574).¹⁵ A third ruse revolves around *cup-kissing*.¹⁶ Ovid continues:

Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis
Pocula, quaque bibet parte puella, bibas:

(*Ars Am.* 1.575f.)

See that you are the first to grab the cup that was touched by her lips,
and the part where she drinks from, you drink.

We can detect here a clear relationship between Martial 12.93 and the *topos* of cup-kissing, whereby a lady puts her lips to a cup and places it on the table; after that the lover lifts the cup, applies it to his lips, and then replaces it.¹⁷

In the amatory verses this is accomplished with elegance and discretion. In Martial’s parody, the picture changes, and what was elegant and discreet has now become crass and zany, albeit still funny. Where we would normally expect the use of a cup, Labulla and the *moechus* do not use one. But neither do they use any other typical dining paraphernalia, such as a napkin. On what basis does a *morio* constitute an appropriate alternative?

Several observations come to mind. Part of the humour, on a superficial level, lies in the external deformity of the *morio*. The very idea of slobbering over the deformed hapless creature will not have struck many of Martial’s readers as a satisfying substitute for exchanging real kisses with one’s beloved, even those readers who were well-disposed towards, and perhaps owned, dwarfs. As well, although the popularity of dwarf ownership among the Roman wealthy can be traced back to the late Republic, their appeal was not universal. For example, the emperor Augustus was described (Suet. *Aug.* 83) as having a horror of dwarfs: while they found favour among other members of the imperial house, Augustus preferred to relax in the company of those small attractive children sometimes called *pueri minuti*.

¹⁵ See also Ov. *Am.* 1.4.17f., 2.5.15f., 3.11.23f., *Ars Am.* 2.549f., *Her.* 16.258, 17.81f., *Tr.* 2.453; Tib. 1.6.19; Prop. 3.8.25; Maximianus 3.26; Juv. 6.140; R. Pichon, *Index Verborum Amatorium* (Hildesheim 1966) 218 *s.v. nutus*.

¹⁶ My first acquaintance with the *topos* of cup-kissing was through conversation with Prof. William J. Slater (McMaster University, Canada), to whom I remain grateful.

¹⁷ Further examples from poetry include Ov. *Am.* 1.4.31f., *Her.* 16.25f., 17.80. The theme of cup-kissing continued to find favour in amatory literature: it occurs in the ideal Greek romances, which are later than Martial; see Ach. Tat. *Leucippe and Clitophon* 2.9 and Longus *Daphnis and Chloe* 3.8. The latter even describes an episode of “reed-kissing” (1.24).

There is humour, too, in the witlessness of the *morio*. He is certainly oblivious to what is going on. He has no more awareness of the manner in which he is used than would an inanimate object such as a cup, which is conventionally what the lovers would have used.

Then we have the dwarfishness of the *morio* to consider.¹⁸ It is explicit in the adjective *parvus*, but also implied in the verb *remittit*, in that the lover is evidently handing over a portable object back to Labulla, and certainly the dwarf's size makes the punch line of the poem funnier: *quanto morio maior est maritus*. That the role of the *morio* in 12.93 is contingent on his dwarfishness as well as his feeble-mindedness has been recognized by others. For example, Friedländer equates *morio* with “*crétin*,” Shackleton Bailey retains Walter Ker's “dwarf fool,” even while modernizing the rest of Ker's English; and Garland calls the *morio* a “diminutive cretin.”¹⁹

One more factor, a crucial one, may now be considered: the dwarf, in one sense of the word, is *literally* a vessel. The encyclopedist Marcus Varro mentions a type of pitcher (*futis*) used for the washing of hands in the *triclinium*. He adds that the same purpose was later served by a vessel termed in Greek *nanus* (whose primary meaning is “dwarf”), and in Latin *barbatus* (or “bearded man”), because of the Greek shape.²⁰ Similarly Sextus Festus, in his epitome of Verrius Flaccus' lexicon, defines *nanus* in this way: *Nanum Graeci vas aquarium dicunt humilem et concavum, quod vulgo vocant situlum barbatus* (“The Greeks apply the word *nanus* to a low curved water vessel, which is called colloquially a ‘bearded

¹⁸ Where humour relates strictly to size, Martial uses the standard Latin terms *pumilio* (noun) and *pumilus* (adjective). The relevant verses are: *nudus aper, sed et hic minimus qualisque necari / a non armato pumilione potest* (“an undressed boar—indeed, one so small that it can be killed by an unarmed dwarf,” Mart. 1.43.9f.); *Mulae pumilae: His tibi de mulis non est metuenda ruina:/ altius in terra paene sedere soles* (“Dwarf mules: You needn't fear falling off these mules. Usually you're almost higher sitting on the ground,” Mart. 14.197); *Pumilus: Si solum spectes hominis caput, Hectors credas: si stantem videas, Astyanacta putes* (“The Dwarf: If you looked only at the man's head, you would believe him Hector; if you saw him standing, you would think him Astyanax” [baby son of Hector], Mart. 14.212, tr. Shackleton Bailey [4] 3.311); *Parma: Haec, quae saepe solet vinci, quae vincere raro, parma tibi, scutum pumilionis erit* (“The Buckler: Accustomed to being frequently defeated and rarely victorious, this will be a buckler to you, but a shield to a dwarf,” Mart. 14.213).

¹⁹ L. Friedländer (ed.), *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Libri mit erklärenden Anmerkungen* (Leipzig 1886) 101; W. C. A. Ker, *Martial: Epigrams* (London 1919) 383; Shackleton Bailey [4] 3.165; Garland [2] 46.

²⁰ *Vas aquarium vocant futim, quod in triclinio allatam aquam infundebant; quo postea accessit nanus cum Graeco nomine et cum Latino nomine Graeca figura barbatus* (Varro *Ling.* 5.119). *Nanus* is of course Varro's Latinization of the Greek *vâvoç*.

bucket”).²¹ He adds that *pumiliones* (the purer Latin word for dwarfs) are also called *nani* because of their physical resemblance to the vessel. I take this etymology with a grain of salt, because it seems unnecessarily indirect, but it at least suggests that the vessel called *nanus* was an unremarkable everyday object. If so, then the connection between the vessel and the human might have been obvious enough to Martial’s readers that instead of calling his human receptacle for impassioned osculations a *nanus*, he exercises more subtlety by using the less explicit *morio*. The vessel terminology is also extended to the word *repletum* in line 5; the same word which describes the dwarf as filled up with kisses, is equally suitable for a vessel which becomes full.²²

Conclusion

The term *morio* was applied in antiquity to an individual exhibiting very low intelligence. This characteristic is true of virtually all *moriones*, and it is central to the point of some of Martial’s epigrams (8.3, 14.210). In real life, however, some forms of mental handicap are part of an overall pathology which includes physical handicap as well. For this reason, a *morio* might suffer both physical deformity and mental debility: this sort of combination is exploited by Martial in 6.39 and 12.93.

Since *morio* is not a clinical term, it is used with a liberal degree of imprecision. Interpreters of the Latin employ various English words to express *morio* because the translation is dependent on the specific context.

In spite of the presence of *moriones*, it must not be assumed that Martial regarded them with the cruel attitude which many Romans had towards those who faltered in mental or physical wholeness. In fact, Martial’s humour as applied to the *moriones* is clever but reasonably benign. Even where they appear in his epigrams, he is actually more caustic when assailing the more pretentious

²¹ See W. M. Lindsay (ed.), *Festi De Verborum Significatu Quae Supersunt Cum Pauli Epitome* (Leipzig 1913) 185. The grammarian Sextus Pompeius Festus (ca. 300 AD) wrote this as an abridgement of Verrius Flaccus’ *De Verborum Significatu*. There are modern parallels for vessels which are named for human figures. E. C. Brewer (ed.), *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (London 1967) 418, 92 reports two of doubtless many more: a “greybeard” is not only an old man but also “an earthenware pot for holding spirits; a large stone jar.” A “Bellarmine” was a stone beer-jug which crudely represented and ridiculed Cardinal Bellarmine (1542-1621), the bloodthirsty persecutor of Flemish Protestants.

²² Further to the theme of double meanings and tableware, we recall that the mistress of the house is called Labulla. The errant wife is appropriately named, because “Labulla” bears more than a passing resemblance to *labellum*, the diminutive of “lip,” and kissing is the most significant activity in this epigram.

and hypocritical characters. In 3.82, he is attacking the rich and uncouth Zoilus; in 6.39, the imagined promiscuity of a *matrona*; in 8.3, an unscrupulous dishonest slave dealer; and in 14.210, those who try to feign stupidity to another's deliberate disadvantage.

The most interesting of the *morio* epigrams is 12.93. Here, Martial's victims are primarily the cuckold and the immoral lovers, who deceive him in a highly peculiar manner. The *morio* is really only a hapless innocent here. The focus of this paper has been the complexity of the humour, which arises both from the lovers' conniving exploitation of the feeble-minded dwarf and the convergence of vessel associations. The latter help to underscore nicely the *topos* of cup-kissing, readily traced to precedents in amatory poetry, and the double meaning of the Latin term *nanus* as both dwarf and water vessel. That dwarfs did assist at actual *convivia* we know from archaeological evidence²³ and from literary testimony (Prop. 4.8.41). Here in Martial 12.93, we see the marrying of a real-life fashion with the unrelated *topos* of cup-kissing, to bring fresh variation to both.

²³ A mosaic panel found on the Aventine shows entertainers at a *convivium*, with a dwarf holding a pitcher in attendance. See B. Nogara, *Mosaici antichi conservati nei palazzi pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano* (Milan 1910) 6.

FROM POMPEY TO PLYMOUTH: THE PERSONIFICATION OF AFRICA IN THE ART OF EUROPE

J. A. Maritz

Department of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy, University of Zimbabwe
Harare, Zimbabwe

Abstract. The standard personification of Africa in Roman art, namely a female figure wearing an elephant-scalp headdress, appeared in many media. This type survived the Middle Ages and was a favourite subject in the major art forms and in media such as textiles and ceramics. This discussion not only traces the transmission of the type and its main trends but also considers *inter alia* the attributes used with the personification, its function and changing appearance.

The standard personification of Africa in Roman art was a female figure wearing an elephant-scalp headdress. It was a very popular form in many media; although other types were used both in Antiquity and in later European art,¹ this paper concentrates on the elephant-scalp and can do no more than sketch the transmission and suggest the main trends.

The type has received some attention recently. Opinions as to its origin differ,² but it is unlikely that the elephant-scalp with small, round, lion-like ears and long neck pelt that appears on an aureus of Pompey³ is the earliest Roman

¹ E.g., a Late Roman terracotta plaque shows Africa (identified by legend) wearing an elaborate crescent-shaped coiffure; see *LIMC* 1.252 Africa 17 illus. 17. In European art from the fifteenth century onwards artists used Helios-like rays, a large hat, feathers, a fez or turban, a tusk, or simply Negroid features or dark pigmentation, instead of an elephant-scalp, to personify Africa. See J. H. Hyde, 'L'Iconographie des quatre parties du monde dans les tapisseries' *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 66.2 (1924) 253-72; J. H. Hyde, 'The Four Parts of the World as represented in old-time pageants and ballets 1' *Apollo* 4 (1926) 232-38, J. H. Hyde, 'The Four Parts of the World as represented in old-time pageants and ballets 2' *Apollo* 5 (1927) 19-27; C. Le Corbeiller, 'Miss America and her Sisters' *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 19.8 (1961) 209-23; E. Köllmann *et al.*, 'Erdeile' in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart 1967) 1107-202.

² See, e.g., J. A. Maritz, 'The Face of Alexandria—The Face of Africa?', in A. Hirst (ed.), *Alexandria, Real and Imagined* (Aldershot forthcoming 2003); F. Salcedo, *Africa Iconografia de una provincia romana* (Rome 1996) and for a different opinion, see the review of this by J. A. Maritz in *Epistula Zimbabweana* 35 (2000) 16-29.

³ H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (London 1910) (hereafter *BMCR*) East 20; M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge 1974) (hereafter *RRC*) no. 402.

example of 'Africa', as is sometimes claimed. However, during Pompey's lifetime and immediately afterwards, several issues of Republican and related coinage featured a bust that was probably intended to symbolise Africa;⁴ an elephant-scalp headdress, sometimes fairly realistic, appears on coins of Metellus Scipio/Eppius (*RRC* no. 461); Juba I (*CNNM* nos 89, 93)⁵ and Bogud of Mauretania (*CNNM* no. 103) who were minting for Pompey; Cestius/Norbanus (*RRC* no. 491) and Cornificius (*RRC* no. 509) in Rome; Juba II (*CNNM* nos 125-33) and Ptolemy of Mauretania (*CNNM* nos 400-02, 497) sometimes in conjunction with spears, a plough or ears of corn, that is, attributes that signified warfare and fertility, the qualities Romans associated with Africa.⁶

On coins of Cornificius, Cestius/Norbanus and Juba II, 'Africa' wears her hair in two or three long locks falling over her shoulder. They are not the same as the unique style that appears on denarii of Juba I (*CNNM* nos 84f.), assumed to be his portrait, and do not appear on his coinage that features Africa, nor on that of Bogud or Ptolemy. The so-called 'Libyan' locks were apparently not a necessary attribute for Africa. Nor did she have specifically 'African' facial features or dress; both followed the Graeco-Roman tradition.

From the time of Augustus onwards, one finds a similar type in other media, for example in sculpture and on gems, used not only as a bust but also as a full figure, often not alone but as part of a larger group, to represent an extended allegory that has other connotations.⁷ A carnelian in Vienna, dated to

⁴ Personifications of places were becoming common in Rome at this time; for the use of personifications as connected to the ideology of war and demarcation of Roman provinces in the time of Sulla see Salcedo [2] 17f. For Caesar's map and the possibility of personifications on illustrated maps from the time of Varro, see O. A. W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (London 1985) 39f. On the triskeles for the personification of Sicily on coinage see *RRC* nos 329, 439, 401, 445, 457 and for Spain or Spanish cities see *RRC* nos 372, 470). Roma was different, as it could be an ethnic or refer to Dea Roma. For personifications of places in the pre-Hellenistic Greek world, see F. W. Hamdorf, *Griechische Kultpersonifikationen der vorhellenistischen Zeit* (Mainz 1964) *passim*; and for later personifications see J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1934) 7-23; M. Jatta, *Le rappresentanze figurate delle provincie romane* (Rome 1908) *passim*; P. Gardner, 'Cities and Countries in Ancient Art' *JHS* 9 (1888) 47-81.

⁵ J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque* (Paris 1955) (hereafter *CNNM*). See J. A. Maritz 'The Classical Image of Africa: The Evidence of the Coinage' *Acta Classica* 44 (2001) 105-25 for discussion.

⁶ For fertility see Hom. *Od.* 4.85; Hdt. 4.199; Diod. Sic. 3.50; Varro, *Rust.* 1.44.2; Plin. *HN* 15.8. For Africa as a land of war see Enn. *Ann.* 358; Cic. *De Or.* 93; Varro *Sat. Men.* 225; Verg. *Aen.* 1.37, 339.

⁷ See *LIMC* 1.251-55 for examples.

30-20 BC, shows a nude man holding a figure of Victory, and with his foot on a head wearing an elephant-scalp. On a nicolo in Cambridge, the goddess Roma holds in her hands a head which wears what may be an elephant-scalp. Both these have been interpreted as referring to Roman conquests in Africa.⁸ On a cup from Boscoreale the woman wearing an elephant-scalp is forced along with a crowd of prisoners⁹ and on the Belletti relief¹⁰ she sits dejectedly, like a captive, without attributes. In these, Africa is definitely subordinate. On the other hand, several frescoes from Pompeii show a woman in an elephant-scalp, in the company of personified Spain, with wheat and weapons, or setting the scene as Africa for the story of Dido. These are self-assured, standing figures. At Ostia a black and white mosaic from the time of Claudius shows a head in an elephant-scalp as part of a design which also features personifications of the other grain-producing provinces: Sicily, Spain and Egypt.¹¹

From the coinage of Hadrian, the figures wearing elephant-scalps are retrospectively identified as Africa.¹² In each of the three Hadrianic series, the *Provincia*, the *Restitutor* and the *Adventus* series, Africa appears, identified by legend, and wearing an elephant-scalp. The coinage was part of a very specific programme of image-building, showing the emperor’s arrival during his grand tour of the Empire, and his role as ‘restorer’ of the provinces. On these coins Africa is a full figure in a subordinate position, kneeling before the emperor or sacrificing in front of him. On one she has ears of corn, on another she holds a vexillum, that is, again her attributes refer to fertility and warfare. On one coin of the *Provincia* series Africa is shown reclining with a basket, ears of corn and a lion; on a different type she holds a scorpion and a cornucopia with corn or fruit. Dangerous wild animals have joined fertility as the hallmark of Africa.¹³

⁸ Vienna inv. IX B 760, inv. 1821, 77 no. 417. SK. 443 no. 760; see E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien 2* (Munich 1979) 127 no. 1089 pl. 83 for identification. Fitzwilliam Museum B 157 (CM), McLean bequest 1904, previously Hertz, Meyer and Charles Roach Smith collections. See M. Henig, *Classical Gems. Ancient and Modern Intaglios and Cameos in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge* (Cambridge 1994) 140 no. 280.

⁹ See A. L. Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus. The Case of the Boscoreale Cups* (Berkeley 1995) *passim* for a full discussion and bibliography.

¹⁰ See Toynbee [4] 36 pl. 23 no. 1.

¹¹ For the mosaic see LIMC 1.252 Africa 6 and bibliography; for the frescoes see W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (Leipzig 1868) nos 1113-1116.

¹² For discussion and references, see Toynbee [4] 34.

¹³ In literature, wild animals were the hallmark of Libya, the parent and nurse of wild beasts (Livy 8.3.24; Polyhistor 3.239.135 [C. Müller (ed.), *Fragmenta Historicorum*

What does she look like? Arguments that the Romans portrayed her as 'African' or Black are unconvincing.¹⁴ On the Pompeian fresco three women (often identified as Africa, Asia and Europe) all have similar Classical features and long locks; the one with dark skin is not the one who wears the elephant-scalp. Though her hair may be long or short, straight or curly, usually the Romans portray Africa as a Roman, with regular Classical features, invariably portrayed in normal Classical dress, though on Hadrianic *Provincia* coinage the chiton is 'slipped' over the shoulder and on the *Adventus* series it is short.¹⁵ Only on the lamps, made in the African provinces from the second century AD, and on a few of the sculptures from there, do the facial features show any sign of a different ethnic group,¹⁶ and usually one has to rely on the attributes to identify the figure as a personification. Even then there is room for dispute, for coin legends prove that the elephant-scalp was also used for the personifications of Alexandria and Mauretania.

Frescoes, sculpture, mosaics and lamps were covered over; some coins and gems were apparently never lost, but survived the Middle Ages in collections of the old aristocratic families, keeping alive the image of Africa. A catalogue made in 1457 of the antiquities of Cardinal Pietro Bardo, later Pope Paul II (1464-71), included the aureus of Cestius and Norbanus.¹⁷ Ancient coins provided the models, not only for coinage, like the *Africa Capta* issued by

Graecorum (Paris 1849)]. They were not considered an attraction but a plague, grouped with all the other plagues nature designed to keep people out of Africa (Man. 4.664-71; see also Luc. 9.854f.). Lions and panthers were referred to merely as Libyan or African beasts (Cat. 45.6f.; Man. 4.666; Ov. *Fast.* 5.178; Sil. *Pun.* 3.459; Varr. *Rust.* 3.13.3; Livy 44.18.8; Plin. *HN* 8.64; Plin. *Ep.* 6.34.3). Africa was also the parent and nurse of serpents (Livy 8.3.24; see also Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.101; Man. 4.664; Luc. 9.628, 855f; Flor. 1.18.17; Hor. *Carm.* 3.10.18); many different kinds of serpents sprang from the blood of Medusa in Africa (Luc. 9.619f); there were snakes in the desert (Diod. Sic. 3.50) and in the land of the Garamantes (Mela 1.8.44); rich land had to be abandoned because of spiders and scorpions (cf. Str. 16.4.12; Ael. *NA* 17.40).

¹⁴ F. M. Snowden, 'Iconographical Evidence on the Black Populations in Greco-Roman Antiquity' in L. Bugner (ed.), *The Image of the Black in Western Art* 1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1976) 133-245 provides excellent examples of depictions of various ethnic, specifically Negroid, facial features in Roman art, but the five examples he chooses as personifications of Africa are unconvincing.

¹⁵ Toynbee thinks this represents the African army and perhaps the nomad tribes on the frontier; see Toynbee [4] 34.

¹⁶ For a bibliography of lamps, see *LIMC* 1.251f. Africa 16, illus. 16a, 16b, 16d; for the terracottas see *LIMC* 1.253f., Africa 43, 47.

¹⁷ J. Cunnally, *The Role of Greek and Roman Coins in the Art of the Italian Renaissance* (diss. Pennsylvania 1984).

Alfonso II d’Avalos to commemorate his expedition against Tunis in 1534, but also for artists in other media. Correggio’s *Tellus*, painted in 1518, appears to have been inspired by the Africa of Hadrian’s *Provincia* series.¹⁸

The discovery of the Americas literally changed the face of the earth for the Europeans. Suddenly there were four continents,¹⁹ and the concept of the ‘Four Quarters of the World’ became more literal. Artists wanting to portray them usually showed them as women, according to the Classical model for personifications (although America was often male); indeed, for Africa the model was already at hand on the Roman coinage. This became more widely known as some of the earliest printed books were catalogues of antiquities, among them the *Discorsi* of Enea Vico in 1558 and of M. Sebastiano Erizzo in 1559, the works of Hübner Goltzius in 1569 and Hendrik Goltzius in 1588, and of Antonio Agostini in ca 1593, in Italian and Spanish. Erizzo’s *Medaglie degli Antiche* of 1578 contained illustrations, among others, of the Hadrianic *Restitutori Africae* coin.²⁰ Agostini had a whole section on Africa (*Dial.* 3.5), with plates of the coins of Scipio Metellus/Eppius and of Hadrian’s *Provincia* series. He described this in detail: a seated woman with a scorpion in one hand, a basket at her feet, and on her head a cap that looks like an elephant, with ‘teeth’ (tusks), trunk and a very big ear.

¹⁸ Fresco by Correggio, 1518, Parma, Camera di San Paolo; see E. Panofsky, *Iconography of Correggio’s Camera di San Paolo* (London 1961) figs 61, 64; Toynbee [4] pl. 22 no. 3; Hyde [1 (1924)] 256 n. 1.

¹⁹ North and South America were not distinguished at the time, at least as far as the personification of a fourth continent was concerned.

²⁰ E. Vico, *Discorsi di m Enea Vico sopra le medaglie de gli antichi divisi in due libri* (Ferrari 1558); J. Francus (ed.), *Reliqua Librorum Aeneae Vici Parmens ad Imperatorum Historiam ex Antiquis Numis* (Venice 1601) containing *Caesarum Magines et Numismata* (Venice 1554), *Augustarum Imagines* (Venice 1557-58), *Discorsi sopra le Medaglie* (1558), *Tabula Hieroglyphia* (Venice 1559), *Stemma Cognationum* (Venice and Rome), *C Julii Caesaris Numismata cum Commentariis* (Venice 1560), *Reliqua Librorum* (1601), *Ex Libris XIII Commentariorum in Vetera Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata Aeneae Vici Liber Primus* (Paris 1619); S. Erizzo, *Medaglie degli Antiche* (Venice 1578); A. Occo, *Imp. Romanorum Numismata* (Antwerp 1579); and D. Agostino, *Discorsi del S Donantonio Agostini sopra le Medaglie et altre Anticaglie Divisi in XI Dialoghi tradotti dalla Lingua Spagnola nel Italiana con Lagivnta alcune Annotatione* (1593) (according to *British Museum Printed Books*); W. L. Strauss (ed.), *Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: The Complete Engravings and Woodcuts* (New York 1977); H. Goltzius, *Thesaurus Rei Antiquariae* (Antwerp 1618); J. Oudaans, *Roomsche Mogentheid* (Amsterdam 1664); J. Gronovius, *Dactyliothecae* 1-2 (Leiden 1697); G. Kuyper, *De Elephantis in Nummis Obviis* (The Hague 1719); also in J. G. Graevius et al. (edd.), *Novus Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanorum* 3 (Venice 1735).

The newly-learned geography combined in art with the personifications and mythology inherited from Rome. In the Villa Farnese at Caprarola in *ca* 1574 di Vecchi covered the whole wall in the Sala del Mappamondo with maps, adding personifications at the corners.²¹ His Africa is a European, wearing European clothes, but wearing an elephant-scalp.

The representation of virtues, vices, human sentiments and passions—or geographical concepts—was typical of this period, in which learned societies discussed and composed symbolic images, derived from both Classical and Christian sources, each of which had its own hidden meaning. A canonical iconography was needed, and this duly appeared, when Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* was published in Rome in 1593. A second edition appeared in 1602, and in 1603 a third edition, enlarged by more than 400 images, and illustrated with woodcuts. This contained the figures of the Four Continents, including Africa with the elephant-scalp headdress. Ripa himself said that he had collected his material from classical statues and coins, and the best Greek and Roman writers. His work was immediately popular, with many editions in Italy and translations in English, German, French and Dutch.²²

Ripa describes Africa as a Moorish woman, almost nude, with curly and loose hair, on her head as a helmet the head of an elephant, coral around her neck and two pendants from her ears, holding a scorpion in her right hand and a cornucopia of grain in her left. She is flanked by a 'very ferocious' lion, a viper and poisonous snakes.

Ripa justifies each of these. She is a Moorish woman since Africans are naturally brown or black because Africa is situated in the torrid zone, and is nude because the country does not abound in riches. She wears an elephant-scalp because that appears on coins of Hadrian, and because war elephants terrified the Romans. Her hair is dark and 'crisp' and she wears coral because that is typical of Moors. The lions and snakes show that she has a great supply of such creatures, while the cornucopia denotes abundance and fertility. He quotes various Classical authors—Horace, Ovid, Claudian—to justify this.²³ See also notes [6] and [13] above.

²¹ Fresco, *ca.* 1574, di Vecchi, Caprarola, Villa Farnese, in the Sala del Mappamondo; see I. Faldi, *Gli affreschi del Palazzo Farnese di Caprarola* (Turin 1962) pl. 22.

²² P. Buscaroli (ed.), *Cesare Ripa: Iconologia* 1f. (Turin 1986); J. Becker (ed.), *Iconologia of Uytbeelding des Verstands* (Soest 1971); E. A. Maser (ed.), *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery: The 1758-60 Hertel edition of Ripa's "Iconologia" with 200 engraved illustrations* (Dover 1971); E. Mandowsky (ed.), *Iconologia* (Hildesheim 1970); P. Tempest (ed.), *Iconologia or Moral Emblems* (London 1709); *Iconologie ou la Science des Emblèmes* (Amsterdam 1698); C. Ripa, *Iconologia* (Rome 1603 / Padua 1611).

²³ See also notes [6] and [13] above.

Ripa exerted a tremendous influence on later art, but before considering that it is worth noting a few points:

1. The illustrations (Grandi's woodcut in 1603) did not follow the text. In this case, Africa is white, with long hair. Some later editions 'corrected' this, but not all.
2. The text is contradictory; Africa is nude because there are no riches, but has a cornucopia to portray fertility and prosperity. This mirrors a contradiction that existed in Antiquity.
3. Africa is in fact not depicted nude, but in some state of semi-nudity—bare feet, bare leg, bare breast, etc. This was foreshadowed by the slipped chiton on the Hadrianic coinage.
4. The text specifically mentions Hadrianic coinage as a source for the elephant-scalp, and also incorporates the scorpion, cornucopia and lion that occur there. However, other features, for example the snakes, are derived not from visual art but from the Classical texts; see note [13] above. Likewise the dark skin and 'crisp' hair prescribed by Ripa were mentioned in texts (see, e.g., Juv. 5.53; Sil. 7.682, 8.266f; Mart. 6.39.6; Verg. *Mor.* 32-35), but were not the norm in Roman art. Nor were they invariably portrayed in European art, see (1) above. Some features, for example the coral, are derived neither from Classical texts nor from Classical art, but from Ripa's perception of the Africa of his day. Although he would not have known the works, he was however following a Classical precedent for ornamentation; the Pompeian fresco wears bracelet and earrings (though not of coral), and holes in the earlobes of the Boscoreale patera and a marble bust from Cherchel indicate that earrings would have been inserted. Earrings appear frequently on post-Ripa works, bracelets less often.
5. Depictions of animals, especially the elephant-scalp, were not realistic, for example later editions show an elephant-scalp with a trunk but no ears.

Ripa became the handbook for artists in the seventeenth century in particular, but also throughout the Baroque and Rococo periods.²⁴ For example, Von der Osten has shown how the statues at Herrenhausen and Salzdahlum were derived from engravings in Ripa, and has pinpointed the local libraries which owned copies of Ripa in 1700, which could have been consulted by the artists.²⁵

²⁴ Even today the *Iconologia* is a standard work and has formed the basis of, for example, the ICONOCLASS system and bibliography at Leiden. See Y. Okayama, *The Ripa Index Personifications and their Attributes in Five Editions of the Iconologia* (Doornspijk 1992).

²⁵ G. Von der Osten, 'Zur Barockskulptur im südlichen Niedersachsen' *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1961) 239-58 illus. 202 for the sandstone garden statue at Herrenhausen, 2.45 m., ca. 1705, commissioned by Sophie Electress of Hanover and ascribed

It was, however, not only the attributes that followed the Classical model. As in Classical times the iconography had to carry a political message. As the kingdoms of Europe vied with each other to expand, display was a sign of power, and rulers tried to impress both their subjects and their peers with large-scale public and luxurious private entertainments that mimicked the ancient world. As images of defeated countries had formed part of Roman triumphal processions or appeared on arches, so 'the whole world', in the form of the Four Continents, appeared in pageants and processions at royal weddings, funerals, entries into a city, abdications,²⁶ ballets, or balls²⁷ to honour the ruler. Engravings of some of these are still extant.

The Continents became part of the decorative scheme in palaces and churches, for within the Counter-Reformation the Four Corners of the Earth symbolized the universality of the Church, as well as 'the whole world' that had to be evangelized.²⁸ Africa was only one of four, not a subject of interest in her own right. In the religious as in the political field she was often represented bowing down in submission or worship, as to Queen Anne at Hampton Court.²⁹

Often, but not always. At Versailles, in one of the earliest large-scale programmes, the mere presence of the Continents seems to have enhanced the prestige of the ruler. The theme was repeated in various media: as groups of statuary on the balustrade of the courtyard, in stucco in the vestibule outside the

to Antonio Laghi, and for the sandstone garden sculpture *ca* 1.85 m., 1714, from Salzdahlum, the castle of Duke Anton-Ulrich of Braunschweig-Lüneberg, but now at Hildesheim, Römer-Pelizaes Museum. See also S. Poeschel, *Studien zur Ikonographie der Erdteile in der Kunst des 16-18 Jahrhunderts* (Augsburg 1985) 376 cat. no. 62, illus. 40.

²⁶ For example, there are records of the continents appearing at the entry of the Archduke Ernest of Austria into Antwerp in 1549, Le Corbeiller [1] 211; the funeral of Philip II of Spain in 1598 and of the Queen of Philip III, Hyde [1 (1926)] 238, Philip IV in 1665, M. Fagiola dell'Arco and S. Carandini, *L'Effimero Barocco* 1 (Rome 1977) 214; the anniversary of the funeral of Pope Gregory XV (d. 1623), Hyde [1 (1926)] 238; the coronation of Charles II in 1661, Hyde [1 (1926)] 237; the Lord Mayor's Procession and Goldsmiths Jubilee in London in 1674, Hyde [1 (1926)] 236; the marriage of Louis XIII in 1612, Hyde [1 (1927)] 24 and the birth of the son of Philip IV of Spain in 1658, Hyde [1 (1927)] 25.

²⁷ For a bibliography of ballets see Hyde [1 (1927)].

²⁸ Only those where Africa wears an elephant-scalp are relevant in this article, thus important sites like Würzburg and the S. Ignazio are not considered, but see, e.g., the fresco 'La Trinità coi Santi Gregorio e Romaldo', in S. Gregorio Magno, Rome, done by Costanzi in 1727; see A. M. Clark, 'An Introduction to Placido Costanzi' *Paragone* 19 (1968) 39-54; Poeschel [25] 350 cat. 38.

²⁹ Verrio, oil on plaster, 1703-05, in Queen Anne's Drawing Room, Hampton Court. Africa is shown kneeling as Queen Anne receives homage from the Four Quarters of the Earth.

chapel, as garden statues, as busts or paintings. In the courtyard Africa was grouped with America and a crocodile; in the garden she appeared alone, standing half naked and with a lion, showing the influence of Ripa.³⁰

Other rulers followed the example of Louis XIV; aristocratic families followed the rulers, and used the theme of the Continents in many media. Tiepolo painted an 'Apotheosis of the Spanish Monarchy' at the Royal Palace in Madrid, and an 'Apotheosis of the Pisani Family' at Strà.³¹ Statues at Herrenhausen and Salzdahlum have already been mentioned; there are also statues of Africa at Grossedlitz³² and Schloss Moritzburg,³³ the latter depicted as a chubby black boy holding a long snake that twists around to bite him in the penis. Castle Howard has paintings and Holkham Hall a set of tapestries.

Another set of tapestries, by Auwerckx, is now at Groote Schuur, Cape Town. Ripa's influence is obvious, for example in the depiction of the snakes. The tapestries show how the iconography could be misunderstood and change; the traditional scorpion looks more like a crayfish at Holkham Hall and has become a tortoise at Groote Schuur. Like the paintings, large tapestries could include historical persons and extra personifications, such as a river god and crocodile, based on the Classical representations of Nilus and Aegyptus, and

³⁰ Sculptured group, ca. 2 m., balustrade of the Cour de Marbre courtyard at Versailles, 1672, designed by Etienne Le Hongre; see Poeschel [25] 379 cat. no. 64; F. Souchal, 'Les Statues aux façades du château de Versailles' *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 9 (1972) 69. Statue, 2.10 m., begun by Georges Sibrayque in 1682, finished by Jean Cornu in 1694, from the design of Charles Le Brun, Parterre du Nord, Versailles, inv. 1850 no. 9446. Statue, 7 foot, sculpted by Guerin for the Parterre du Nord, Versailles, shown in an engraving by N. Bertin and L. Desplaces. Stucco relief, ceiling of the vestibule of the chapel at Versailles, 1709-10 by Lemoyne; see G. Brière, *Le Chateau de Versailles* 1 (Paris 1912) pl. C; Poeschel [25] 379 cat. no. 65. Marble bust, 0.95 m. including the base, French school of the seventeenth century, Jardins du Grand Trianon, Versailles inv. 78 Jn 6759i. Painting, oil on canvas by J. B. Oudrey, 1722, 'Still Life with attributes of the Chase, and the Bust of Africa', 1.75 m. x 1.40 m., Versailles MV 8315.

³¹ Ceiling fresco, 15 m. x 9 m., 'Apotheosis of the Spanish Monarchy', by Tiepolo in 1764-66; see A. Morassi, *A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings of G. B. Tiepolo* (New York 1962) 21; Poeschel [25] 416 cat. no. 99. Sketches for this are in New York in the Metropolitan Museum. Ceiling fresco, 23.5 m. x 13.5 m., 'Apotheosis of the Pisani Family', by Tiepolo in 1771-72 at the Villa Pisani, Strà; see Poeschel [25] 413f. cat. 97; Morassi [above, this note] 49. The same subject appears on an oil sketch, 80 cm., of ca. 1770, now at Angers, Musée de Beaux Arts, and on an oil painting, 1.4 m. x 0.96 m., done as a study in ca. 1760, also at Angers, Musée des Beaux Arts, inv. MBA J 273 (J1881) P; see A. Pallucchini, *L'opera completa di Giambattista Tiepolo* (Milan 1968); Poeschel [25] 413f. cat. 97; Morassi [above, this note] 49.

³² See figure 1.

³³ See figures 2 and 3.

conflating the geographical regions. The scenery could be any amalgam of current knowledge of Africa, including Egypt—forests or pyramids. Printed textiles also featured the Continents.³⁴

One medium served as a source for another. Statues became the subject of engravings, which in turn became the models for porcelain figurines.³⁵ The type also spread through the use of ‘mail order’ firms and catalogues, such as that of Cavaceppi which illustrates the head of Africa now at Broadlands.³⁶ There was not necessarily direct reference to Ripa or his Classical sources. One of the clearest examples is porcelain figurines, which parallel representations that are found in engravings, paintings and sculpture, but also introduce features not found on the models which inspired them.

The Continent-type as a female figure astride an animal characteristic of the place was popularised by the work of Martin de Vos, who sketched similar figures for the entry of the Archduke Ernest of Austria into Antwerp in 1549. This representation remained popular in Flemish and German art until the nineteenth century. In 1707, Giuliani’s models for the architectural sculpture of Liechtenstein Palace featured the Continents riding on animals.³⁷ A black chalk drawing by Goetz, a designer for the Meissen factory, shows Africa seated on a lion in a mountainous, wooded landscape surrounded by people in strange headgear and a girl who holds a parasol.³⁸ An adaptation of the drawing appears on a painted dish in *ca* 1740. Africa on a lion becomes the central, solitary figure in a setting of pyramids and minarets, exchanging the context of a fantastic landscape for an Egyptian one. More significantly, the leggings worn by Africa in the drawings are taken over by the figurines produced in the

³⁴ For the tapestry, see P. Brooke-Simons, *Groote Scur: Great Granary to Stately Home* (Vlaeberg 1996). For textiles, see J. Brédif (tr. N. Bogin), *Toiles de jouy: classic printed textiles from France 1760-1843* (London 1989) 56 and New York, Metropolitan Museum Hyde collection 59.208.88.

³⁵ J. Poole, *Plagiarism Personified. A Catalogue of the Exhibition in the Fitzwilliam Museum 15 July-31 August* (Cambridge 1986) 23.

³⁶ The restorer Cavaceppi in 1768-69 published two volumes of *Raccolta d'antiche statue busti teste cognite ed altre sculture antiche restaurate* which included a head of Africa. For this see D. Grassinger, *Antike Marmorskulpturen auf Schloss Broadlands (Hampshire)* (Mainz 1994) 66f. no. 12, 158 figs 101-04; A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge 1882) 222 inv. 19; *LIMC* 1.253 Africa 32.

³⁷ Clay models for architectural sculpture on the attic of the side wings of Lichtenstein palace, 26.5 cm. Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsmuseum inv. no. B 14; see E. Baum, *Giovanni Giuliani* (Vienna 1964) fig. 35; Poeschel [25] 365 cat. 52.

³⁸ Black chalk drawing, 22.8 cm. x 34.6 cm., by G. B. Goetz, *ca.* 1725-50, New York, Metropolitan Museum, Hyde collection; see Le Corbeiller [1] 220 fig. 16.

factory, and perhaps the inspiration for the costume of tunic and pantaloons worn by some later figurines of Africa.³⁹

In 1745 Kändler, at Meissen, designed a set of the Continents. Africa is very much on the Goetz model, with leggings. Meyer created a more elaborate set at Meissen in *ca* 1750, and within the same year also a set which followed the trend of the other allegories and depicted the Continents as children. These must have been immediately popular. By 1759 they were copied at Chelsea and a year later at Derby. After 1760 Meyer produced a set of paired seated children, from which he later made standing versions. At Bow, England, a group of Africa and Asia appeared in *ca* 1762, and was later re-issued in a semi-miniature version on a pierced pedestal, and as paired chamber candlesticks. It is clear that figurines of one centre were quickly copied by another, or modelled directly from their prototypes. For example, the large Continents of Longton Hall were reproduced, evidently from the same moulds, at Plymouth.⁴⁰ In Denmark, the 1783 version was still being copied in the late nineteenth century. This was the 'standard version', a barefoot Black female figure holding a cornucopia and seated on a lion. The use of the elephant-scalp headdress for Africa occurs on porcelain in many countries, *inter alia* Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Denmark, England and possibly Russia. There were variations; for example in Spain in the nineteenth century Africa, also black, with a cornucopia, scorpion, snakes and lion, was accompanied by a bearded

³⁹ For the Meissen hardpaste porcelain dish with painted decoration, *ca.* 1740, from a design by Goetz, see Le Corbeiller [1] 221 fig. 18. For a figure with pantaloons, see a figurine from Niderviller, New York, Metropolitan Museum Hyde Collection 59.208.24.

⁴⁰ For Meissen see I. Menzhausen and J. Karpinski, *In Porzellan Verzaubert* (Basel 1993) 172f.; Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden inv. P.E. 3927, P.E. 3535, P.E. 3532; New York, Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum 1960-1-28 C; Christie's sales catalogue (30 May 1963) no. 41 and Sotheby's Belgravia (14 March 1974) lot 80. For Bow see P. Bradshaw, *Eighteenth Century English Porcelain Figures 1745-1795* (Wappingers Falls, NY 1981) 166, pl. 84; P. Bradshaw, *Bow Porcelain Figures ca. 1748-1774* (London 1992) B 42 and B 43, 210 C 25; A. Gabszewicz and G. Freeman, *Bow Porcelain: The Collection formed by Geoffrey Freeman* (London 1982) 129 fig. 202, 140 fig. 231, 144 pl. 239; Poole [35] 23. For Derby see D. G. Rice, *Derby Porcelain. The Golden Years 1750-1770* (Newton Abbott 1983) 47, 130 pl. 86; Bradshaw [above, this note (1981)] 199 pl. 113 colour pl. R; P. Bradshaw *Derby Porcelain Figures 1750-1848* (London 1990) 117, 119 pl. 102, 303 pl. 249; J. Twitchett, *Derby Porcelain* (London 1980) pl. 104. For Longton Hall see A. Lane, *English Porcelain Figures of the 18th Century* (London 1961) 47. For Plymouth see London, Victoria and Albert Museum C555.1920 and Christie's sales catalogue (11 March 1974).

and wreathed river god similar to the one on tapestries. At Ludwigsburg, Africa was used not as a figurine but as the knob on the lid of a soup-tureen.⁴¹

Occasionally Africa wore not only the scalp of the elephant, but its skin as well, as on a porcelain statuette by Linck dating from *ca* 1765,⁴² and the statue at Schloss Moritzburg.⁴³ On the monumental group to Queen Maria I of Portugal in Queluz (1794-98), Africa wears a full lion pelt, complete with head and paws, as well as the elephant-scalp headdress. Did the artist know the aureus of Pompey, with its strange headdress showing an elephant trunk, lion-like ears and possibly a piece of pelt?

From the time of Pompey to the porcelain figurines at Plymouth and beyond, the depiction of Africa in art retained certain features:

1. It used the elephant-scalp headdress as an identifying attribute. Although this usage lapsed during the Middle Ages, and other forms occur in the Roman, Renaissance and later periods, the elephant-scalp was retained for the personification of Africa until the nineteenth century when it became more common to depict Africa wearing a vulture headdress, or simply as a Negro woman, as, for example, at the Albert Memorial and the Foreign Office in London, and the old Customs House in New York. The only twentieth century version of the traditional elephant-scalp personification of Africa known to this writer is on the cover of the publication by Fabiola Salcedo [2], a water colour by the author.

⁴¹ For Africa in an elephant-scalp from Vincennes, see New York, Metropolitan Museum Hyde Collection 59.208.3; from Frankenthal, see New York, Metropolitan Museum Hyde Collection 59.208.13 and Köllmann *et al.* [1] 1170 fig. 39, 1201; from Niderviller, see New York, Metropolitan Museum Hyde Collection 59.208.24; from Fulda, see New York, Metropolitan Museum Hyde Collection 59.208.6, Le Corbeiller [1] 219 fig. 15; from Schreizeim at Schloss Augustusburg, see W. Hansmann, *Stadt Bruhl* (Berlin 1977) 105 who refers to *Lempertzz-Auction Alte Kunst*, Katalog 534 no. 970; from Adam Bros, France, see New York, Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum 1960-1-90 A; from Alcora, see New York, Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum 1960-1-69 C; from Buen Retiro, see New York, Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum 1960-1-51 C; from Le Nove, see New York, Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum 1960-1-54 C; from Royal Copenhagen, see New York, Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum 1960-1-55 C. For the lid from Ludwigsburg, see Stuttgart Landesmuseum inv. no. 1981-77.

⁴² New York Metropolitan Museum Hyde Collection 59.208.13.

⁴³ On the third century BC bronze statuette now in the British Museum (EA 38442), and that in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (55.11.11), the elephant-scalp continues as a full elephant-skin cloak. These however probably represent Ptolemy II and either Alexander the Great, Demetrius I or II or some other Hellenistic ruler; neither is a personification, and neither would have been known to the eighteenth century artists.

2. The elephant head was seldom realistic; at times it appears simply as a trunk stuck on a human head, as in the 1618 edition of Ripa's *Iconologia*,⁴⁴ or Carlone's ceiling fresco, ca 1750, at Schloss Augustusburg.
3. The same is true of the human figure and its clothing. Ethnic 'African' features are not a *sine qua non* at any period. In Roman times Africa is sometimes shown with long 'Libyan' locks, but not with Negroid features. In later European art she may be shown as European, although increasingly she is depicted as Black or with Negroid features. These are not synonymous; in porcelain figurines for example Negroid features appear in white glaze and faces painted black may have 'European' features.
4. From being only a bust, it soon became a full figure, used with other figures in allegorical scenes. A full figure implies dress. In Roman times it was standard Roman dress though at times with a 'slipped' chiton; this is picked up in later European art when Africa appears half-naked, but she is also shown in strange outfits like feather skirts or leggings.
5. In both Roman and later periods the personification frequently forms part of a political programme in which Africa enhances the prestige of a non-African ruler or institution, and is shown as subservient.
6. In both Roman and later periods it can, however, also be a decorative feature without political overtones, or an allegorical indication of place.
7. Attributes are similar at all periods, and generally represent products which are valuable to the Roman/European trade or strange to them. The corn of the Roman period becomes a cornucopia, the lion which appears late in Rome becomes standard after the Renaissance, and the scorpion is misunderstood to become a crab or lobster, as on some porcelain figures, and a tortoise on tapestries. In general Classical literature appears to have had a greater influence than Classical art; a clear instance is the use of snakes, including winged snakes or 'dragons', and the mating snakes which appear in Ripa and on tapestries.
8. This perpetuates ambiguities and an ambivalence towards Africa, for example as being simultaneously a land of riches and of poverty, that were already apparent in Roman times. 'Africa' and parts of the continent (Mauretania, Alexandria, Egypt) are sometimes distinguished, sometimes conflated in both Roman and later periods.⁴⁵
9. From the Renaissance onwards Africa is usually featured as one of the group of Four Continents, not individually.
10. The use of a child as the personification is an eighteenth century innovation, implying a trivialization of the theme since Roman times. Occasionally a male figure was used instead of the female one known in Classical times.

⁴⁴ P. P. Tozzi (ed.), *Cesare Ripa: Iconologia* (Padua 1618).

⁴⁵ See Salcedo [2] and J. A. Maritz, 'The Classical Image of Africa: The Evidence from Claudian' *Acta Classica* 43 (2000) 81-99 for discussion of conflation of geographical terminology of Africa.

11. All this is a typically 'European' art form and conceptualization, corresponding with other personifications of place. It is likely that even the Numidian and Mauretanian coins were inspired by the Romans, and not vice versa. Where an elephant head occurs in later African art, for example on masks, it is not a personification of place, instead it symbolizes qualities. Personified Africa sporting an elephant-scalp is a European form.
12. It is however a very popular one, occurring in many media for over two millennia.



Figure 1. Over lifesize sandstone statue at Grossedlitz in Germany, eighteenth century.
(Photo author's own)



Figure 2. Sandstone putto from Schloss Moritzburg, Germany, *ca.* 1.20 m.
(Photo author’s own)



Figure 3. Sandstone putto from Schloss Moritzburg, Germany (detail).
(Photo author’s own)

ORFEO E LA SCIMMIA ‘MUSICISTA’ IN UN MOSAICO DI SOUSSE (LOUVRE, INV. MNC 1145; CAT. MA 1798)¹

Maria Grazia Bajoni

Istituto di Filologia Classica, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore
20123 Milan, Italy

Abstract. A fragmentary mosaic from Sousse dating to late antiquity features a horse, a panther, a monkey and a lion. Each of these animals has been placed within a series of interlaced bands of laurel comprising a looped pattern. The most interesting figure is the monkey, who is portrayed playing a mandolin. A comparison of this portrayal of a simian ‘musician’ with contemporary Orphic iconography hints at an important cultural change.

Nella sua dissertazione sulla caricatura nel mondo antico Cèbe² ascrive alla tipologia degli esempi di parodia religiosa la presunta raffigurazione di Orfeo come scimmia ‘musicista’ in un mosaico conservato al Museo del Louvre nella sala 30, dedicata alla civiltà romana.³ Questo mosaico (inv. MNC 1145; cat. Ma 1798), proveniente da Sousse (Hadrumetum) dove fu rinvenuto nel 1882, fu acquisito dal Louvre nel 1884 come donazione da parte del luogotenente-colonnello Malaper; misura 1.97 m. x 1.11 m., è incompleto ed era parte di un pavimento. La superficie lascia vedere una forma quadrangolare in cui è inscritto un cerchio suddiviso in sei spazi curvilinei da un complicato intreccio di ghirlande di alloro, policrome, a foglie doppie disunite, incluse entro linee continue. I quattro triangoli curvilinei superstiti conservano, a

¹ Sono grata alla Dr. Agnès Scherer del Dipartimento delle Antichità Greche, Etrusche e Romane del Museo del Louvre, la quale mi ha fornito dati tecnici e informazioni bibliografiche relative al mosaico. Ringrazio vivamente la Dr. Patricia Hannah della University of Otago, New Zealand e il Dr. Vedia Izzet del Christ’s College, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom, per i commenti e i consigli che mi hanno gentilmente offerto.

² J.-P. Cèbe, *La Caricature et la parodie dans le monde romain antique des origines à Juvénal* (Paris 1966) 364. Sulla presenza degli animali nell’iconografia parodistica antica, si veda T. Wright, *Histoire de la caricature et du grotesque dans la littérature et dans l’art*² (Paris 1875) 1-57.

³ V. figura 1. F. Baratte, *Catalogue des mosaïques romaines et paléochrétiennes du Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1978) 84-86, no. 42: Sousse. Mosaïque fragmentaire: animaux dans un lacs de guirlandes (Ma 1798); L. Foucher, *Inventaire des Mosaïques de Tunisie, feuille de Sousse* (Tunis 1960) 60, no. 57.125, pl. 32b; K. M. D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford 1978) 270 cat. no. 15; *LIMC* 7.1, 98, no. 192, dove il mosaico è catalogato sotto ‘X. Documents d’identification incertaine. 10. Musicien parmi les animaux’.

partire dalla sinistra dell’osservatore: un cavallo, di profilo, con il manto marrone chiaro e le zampe marcate da segni neri sopra gli zoccoli; una pantera tigrata, di profilo; una scimmia dal pelo bruno-grigiastro, che suona una *pandura*, seduta su una roccia colore ocre molto chiaro, con la zampa sinistra piegata sulla coscia destra; un leone, di profilo. Il restauro interessa parte delle ghirlande e della pantera. Ciascun animale è su una zona scura di terreno che simula l’ombra, o indica, come spesso nelle raffigurazioni musive, una striscia di terreno. Le parti mancanti del mosaico sono colmate da malta beige. In alto, nel triangolo curvilineo ritagliato dal contorno del cerchio all’esterno e da quello della ghirlanda all’interno, è disegnato un uccello di profilo (l’ala è ocre, il corpo bruno-rossastro, la testa nera), posato su un ramo, decoro diffuso che rinvia a note descrizioni, per esempio: Verg. *G.* 4.514; Sen. *H.f.* 146; Ps.-Sen. *Oct.* 921-922.⁴ Nelle angoliere vi sono triangoli rettangoli delimitati da una greca a zeta, la cui ipotenusa è curvilinea; quello nella parte destra è rifatto.

La datazione è fatta risalire alla tarda antichità: la didascalia sottostante lo colloca nella prima metà del III secolo d.C., mentre la descrizione data nel catalogo informatizzato del Louvre lo data al primo quarto del IV secolo d.C.⁵

Considerando la simmetria speculare fra la parte superiore e la parte inferiore caratteristica dei mosaici del Nord Africa appartenenti alla stessa epoca e al medesimo stile,⁶ non è impossibile ricostruire lo schema complessivo dell’intero pavimento: un intreccio di ghirlande incluso in un cerchio a sua volta incluso in un quadrato. In origine c’erano probabilmente tre lunghi intrecci e quello orizzontale, di cui rimane soltanto una parte, doveva estendersi ad arco a destra e a sinistra oltre l’attuale cornice del frammento; l’esagono curvilineo centrale doveva essere occupato dal protagonista, e pertanto l’area in cui si trova la scimmia, che adesso appare centrale, non era tale.

⁴ A. Sauvage, *Étude de thèmes animaliers dans la poésie latine. Le cheval. Les oiseaux* (Bruxelles 1975) 194.

⁵ La datazione rimane incerta: L. Foucher, ‘La mosaïque d’Orphée de Thysdrus’, in M. Renard (ed.), *Hommages à Albert Grenier* (Bruxelles 1962) 649: ‘cette mosaïque ne nous paraît pas antérieure au début du III^e siècle’; *LIMC* 7.1, 98, no. 192 e Dunbabin [3] 269 cat. no. 2 suggeriscono una data intorno alla metà del III secolo; tuttavia K. M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge 1999) 101, n. 3 raccomanda cautela nell’accogliere per i mosaici del Nord Africa la datazione tradizionale.

⁶ Per i mosaici con decoro ad intreccio si veda, ad esempio, il mosaico nei bagni ad Aquileia, P. Lopreato, ‘Le Grandi Terme di Aquileia. I Mosaici del *Frigidarium*’, in J.-P. Darmon e A. Rebourg (edd.), *La Mosaïque Gréco-Romaine IV. Trèves 8-14 août 1984* (Paris 1984) 87-99 (confrontato con i mosaici di Sousse a 91); e il mosaico del VI secolo nella cappella a Khirbet Munya, M. Piccirillo, ‘The Byzantine Mosaics of Jordan as an Historical Source 2 (1980-1984)’, in J.-P. Darmon e A. Rebourg [*op. cit.*] 219-25 (in particolare, 220).

Dal confronto con un analogo decoro musivo di Sousse raffigurante Orfeo fra gli animali,⁷ nei quali l'immagine del divino cantore occupa la parte centrale, Foucher⁸ desume che anche nel mosaico esposto al Louvre, l'esagono curvilineo centrale fosse occupato da Orfeo: si pone in tal modo un'importante riserva all'ipotesi secondo cui la scimmia 'musicista', rappresentata nel tentativo di imitare Orfeo, potrebbe essere un sostituto zoomorfo burlesco dell'eroe,⁹ ipotesi che sembra fondata, più che sull'osservazione e su confronti contestuali del reperto, sul *topos* antico della scimmia considerata animale ridicolo, cattivo imitatore dell'uomo e, al tempo stesso, inquietante 'antropoide' finalizzato, per le sue stesse caratteristiche psicofisiche, al divertimento per bambini: così, ad esempio, in Galeno, *De Usu* 1.22.¹⁰

Secondo la classificazione formale dei mosaici di Orfeo in quattro categorie, proposta da Guidi (1. mosaici che presentano una scena fortemente articolata; 2. mosaici in cui Orfeo è attorniato da animali isolati, ma convergenti al centro; 3. mosaici in cui gli animali non convergono al motivo centrale; 4. raffigurazioni puramente decorative con gli animali, separati da motivi geometrici, disposti liberamente intorno ad Orfeo), il mosaico del Louvre è inserito nella quarta tipologia,¹¹ e ciò rafforza la probabilità che ci fosse Orfeo in posizione centrale.

L'ipotesi che la scimmia 'musicista' possa considerarsi un sostituto burlesco dell'eroe non trova alcun sostegno oggettivo. Anzitutto si deve osservare che, di solito, Orfeo è rappresentato seduto, visto di fronte o di tre

⁷ L. Foucher [5], tav. 139, 5sg.

⁸ L. Foucher [5] 649, seguendo R. Eisler, *Orphisch-Dionysische Mysterien-Gedanken in der christlichen Antike* (Leipzig 1922-23) 2.2, 14 e 111.

⁹ Sull'ipotesi della parodia cfr. MacDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity* (Baltimore 1938) 288-90; J.-P. Cèbe [2] 364; J. Thirion, 'Orphée magicien dans la mosaïque romaine: A propos d'une nouvelle mosaïque d'Orphée découverte dans la région de Sfax', *MEFRA* 65 (1955) 178, n. 1; *LIMC* 7.1, 98, no. 192; I. J. Jesnick, *The Image of Orpheus in Roman Mosaic: An Exploration of the Figure of Orpheus in Graeco-Roman Art and Culture with Special Reference to Its Expression in the Medium of Mosaic in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 1997) 131 e 270, no. 153, 'Monkey parody'. Si veda anche F. Fremersdorf, *Römisches geformtes Glas in Köln* (Köln 1961) 78sg., no. 292, per l'attestazione di un'altra presunta caricatura di Orfeo. R. Eisler [8] 14, 111 respinge l'interpretazione parodistica.

¹⁰ C. G. Kühn (ed.), *Galen Opera Omnia* (1821-33) 3.80. Sulle motivazioni ideologiche e antropologiche che sono alla base del motivo della scimmia 'comica' si vedano M. Vegetti, *Tra Edipo e Euclide: Forme del sapere antico* (Milano 1983) 59-70; F. Lissarague, 'L'homme, le singe et le satyre', in B. Cassin e J. L. Labarrière (edd.), *L'animal dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1997) 455-72 e tav. 10-15.

¹¹ G. Guidi, 'Orfeo, Liber Pater e Oceano in mosaici della Tripolitania', *Africa Italiana* 6 (1935) 138, no. 4.

quarti, nell’atto di suonare la lira, mentre la scimmia appare accovacciata, spesso in alto a destra rispetto a Orfeo (o in basso a sinistra): l’atteggiamento della scimmia, dunque, allude a quello di Orfeo in modo superficiale, ma data la propensione mimetica dell’animale comunque, destinata a produrre esiti maldestri, può darsi che l’artista non abbia voluto raffigurare una perfetta imitazione. Tuttavia, vale la pena di raffrontare la posa assunta dalla scimmia in questione con quella di Orfeo in un mosaico delle terme di Perugia (2^a metà del II secolo d.C.).¹² Il cantore, seduto su una roccia, tiene la lira con la mano sinistra, la gamba destra è tesa con il piede appoggiato a terra, la gamba sinistra è piegata: una posizione molto simile quella della scimmia del Louvre; la differenza consiste nel fatto che Orfeo ha la gamba sinistra piegata sotto la destra, mentre la scimmia ha la zampa sinistra piegata sopra la destra evidentemente per potervi appoggiare la *pandura*.

La fisionomia antropomorfa e la propensione mimetica della scimmia hanno spesso fornito all’uomo uno spregevole termine di paragone cui rapportare i propri simili: in diverse variazioni si incontra l’insulto ‘avere la faccia di una scimmia’, ‘essere una scimmia’: per esempio, Aristoph. *Av.* 440; *Ach.* 907; *Eccles.* 1072; Plaut. *Mil.* 989; Cic. *ad fam.* 8.12.2; in Hor. *sat.* 1.10.18 con *simius iste* (‘codesta scimmia’) si allude a un cantore alla moda.¹³ D’altra parte, in un’iscrizione di Alessandria, l’espressione ‘Ο ἀναγινώσκον πῆθηκος (letteralmente: ‘scimmia chi legge’, ma in italiano si dice comunemente ‘scemo chi legge’) dichiara la stupidità dell’anonimo lettore assimilandolo a una scimmia.¹⁴ Inoltre, la tendenza ad imitare i gesti e gli atteggiamenti umani, nonché una certa docilità del carattere, consentivano di

¹² LIMC 7.2, 70, no. 129; Jesnick [9] 218, no. 54.

¹³ A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Hildesheim 1962) 323, no. 1651. L’imbarazzo provocato nell’uomo dall’antropomorfismo della scimmia ha determinato un’etologia negativa dell’animale, e.g.: *simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis* (‘quanto ci assomiglia la scimmia! E’ il più turpe degli animali’, Enn. *sat.* 8.69 [J. Vahlen (ed.) *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae*² (Leipzig 1928) 211]; *et portentosos cercopum ludit in ortus* (‘si diverte a generare scimmie dall’aspetto mostruoso’, Manil. 4.668); Κακοηθέστατον δὲ ἄρα τῶν ζῴων ὁ πίθηκος ἦν, καὶ ἔτι πλέον ἐν οἷς πειρᾶται μιμεῖσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον (‘Fra tutti gli animali, i più malvagi sono certamente le scimmie, in particolare per quanto vogliono imitare gli uomini’, Ael. *Hist. anim.* 7.21); Arist. *Hist. anim.* 502a16-b24 e Plin. *nat.* 8.80.215f. si attengono invece alla mera osservazione dei *simiarum genera* ‘generi delle scimmie’. Cfr. RE 1.706-08 s.v. ‘Affe’, 20.2.1843 s.v. πίθηκος. La mimesi della scimmia diventa metafora (e.g., Plin. *epist.* 1.5.2 *Stoicorum simia* ‘scimmia degli Stoici’). Cfr. E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*² (Bern 1954) 522sg.

¹⁴ F. Preisigke (ed.), *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunde aus Ägypten* 1 (Strassburg 1915) no. 2009.

inserire le scimmie in alcuni tipi di spettacolo: *vidi et ursam mansuem cultu matronali, <quae> sella vehebatur, et simiam pilleo textili crocotisque Frygiis Catamiti pastoris specie aureum gestantem poculum* ('vidi anche un'orsa addomesticata—in abito da matrona, condotta nella portantina—e una scimmia con un berretto di stoffa e un vestito giallo come usano i Frigi, che portava una coppa d'oro a raffigurare Ganimede', *Apul. met.* 11.8.15),¹⁵ o nella favola di tradizione esopica in cui βασιλεύς τις Αἰγύπτιος πιθήκους ποτὲ πυρριχίζειν διδάξει ('una volta, un re egizio aveva insegnato a ballare a delle scimmie', *Lucian. Pisc.* 36),¹⁶ tradizione che si rintraccia, variata: ἐπὶ τῶν Πτολεμαίων οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τοὺς κυνοκεφάλους καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδασκον καὶ ὄρχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀυλεῖν καὶ ψαλτικὴν ('durante il regno dei Tolomei, gli Egiziani insegnavano ai cinocefali l'alfabeto, a danzare, e a suonare il flauto e l'arpa', *Ael. Hist. anim.* 6.10): al riguardo, tenuto conto della diversa cronologia, non si può tralasciare la menzione del noto papiro, conservato al Museo Egizio di Torino, risalente al Nuovo Regno, nel quale è rappresentato un quartetto musicale formato una scimmia, un coccodrillo, un leone e un asino.¹⁷

E' difficile leggere il mosaico del Louvre in chiave satirica; una parodia di Orfeo sarebbe in contrasto con il persistere dell' alto valore ideologico del personaggio attraverso i secoli:¹⁸ anche in ambito favolistico, laddove cioè la parodia o il sarcasmo non stonerebbero, il richiamo ad Orfeo è nobile: Fedro pone in sede prologica Orfeo quale autorità poetica esemplare: *ego, litteratae qui sum propior Graeciae, / cur somno inertī deseram patriae decus? / Threissa cum gens numeret auctores suos, / Linoque Apollo sit parens, Musa Orpheo, / qui saxa cantu movit et domuit feras / Hebrique tenuit impetus dulci*

¹⁵ P. Bruneau, 'Ganymède et l'aigle: images, caricatures et parodies animales du rapt', *BCH* 86 (1962) 193-228, in particolare 201.

¹⁶ Cfr. Anche B. E. Perry (ed. e tr.), *Babrius and Phaedrus* (Cambridge, Mass. 1965) 517sg., no. 463.

¹⁷ T. Baldacci, 'Musica, danza, giochi', in A. M. Donadoni Roveri (ed.), *Civiltà degli Egizi. La vita quotidiana* (Torino 1987) 239.

¹⁸ Sulle interpretazioni del mito di Orfeo v. J. Block Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970), ora a disposizione nella traduzione francese *Orphée au Moyen Âge* (Fribourg 1999) con una postfazione di J.-M. Roessli, 'De l'Orphée juif à l'Orphée écossais: Bilan et perspectives', 285-345. Le principali versioni letterarie della *fabula* di Orfeo sono analizzate da C. Segal, *Orpheus: The Myth of the Poet* (Baltimore 1989); sull'evoluzione ideologica del mito si vedano, a titolo orientativo: M. Détienné, 'Orphée au miel', *QUCC* 12 (1971) 7-23; M. L. C. Buescu, 'Orphée à la poursuite de l'Occident', in *Actes du troisième symposium international de thracologie: Palma de Mallorca, 16-19 novembre 1981* (Rome 1982) 152-56; L. Brisson, 'Orphée et l'Orphisme à l'époque impériale: Témoignages et interprétations, philosophiques de Plutarque à Jamblique', in W. Haase (ed.) *ANRW* 2.36.4 (1990) 2867-931.

mora (‘io, che sono più vicino alla Grecia cultrice di sapienza, perché in un sonno inerte dovrei abbandonare l’ onore della mia patria? Anche il popolo dei Traci vanta i suoi poeti e Apollo generò Lino, la Musa generò Orfeo, che con il suo canto mosse le pietre, domò le belve e trattenne il corso impetuoso dell’Ebro con un dolce freno’, Phaedr. 3 *prol.* 54-59). Un Orfeo, per così dire, degradato, si trova nel mimo: *apud Q. Hortensium cum in agro Laurenti essem, ibi istuc magis θρακικῶς fieri vidi. Nam silva erat, ut dicebat, supra quinquaginta iugerum maceria saepta, quod non leporarium, sed therotrophium appellabat. Ibi erat locus excelsus, ubi triclinio posito cenabamus, quo Orpheia vocari iussit. Qui cum eo venisset cum stola et cithara cantare esset iussus, bucina inflavit, ut tanta circumfluxerit nos cervorum aprorum et ceterarum quadripedum multitudo* (‘quando ero nella villa di Q. Ortensio, nella campagna laurentina, vidi uno spettacolo più simile a una scena tracia. Infatti, c’era un bosco, come egli diceva, di oltre cinquanta iugeri, cinto da un muro, che non chiamava “riserva di caccia”, ma “luogo d’allevamento delle fiere”. Vi era un’altura dove, allestito un triclinio, pranzavamo: qui fece venire un novello Orfeo. Appena questi fu giunto, con una lunga veste e in mano una cetra, lo invitò a cantare e quello suonò il corno: una grande moltitudine di cervi, di cinghiali e di altri animali accorse intorno a noi’, Varro *r.r.* 3.13.2sg.); e, talvolta, con esito tragico: *Adfuit inmixtum pecori genus omne ferarum / et supra vatem multa pependit avis, / ipse sed ingrato iacuit laceratus ab urso* (‘Belve di ogni tipo si mischiavano al bestiame e molti uccelli scendevano sul vate, ma egli morì dilaniato da un orso ingrato’, Mart. *De spect.* 21.5-7).

Salvo involontarie omissioni nella mia ricerca, la raffigurazione della scimmia che suona uno strumento musicale non è attestata in altri reperti musivi in cui ricorra il motivo di Orfeo:¹⁹ pertanto, si potrebbe pensare che alla raffigurazione dell’animale inequivocabilmente mimetico per natura si sia sovrapposta la variazione di un *topos* letterario e iconografico diffuso: il rinvio più immediato è all’ ὄνος λύρας (‘asino della lira’) varroniano che riprende le parole iniziali dell’ aforisma ὄνος λύρας ἀκούων (‘l’asino che ascolta la lira’)—nella formulazione completa: ὄνος λύρας ἀκούων κινεῖ τὰ ὠτα (‘l’asino che ascolta la lira muove le orecchie’)—di cui si è ipotizzata la derivazione da una favola di tipo esopico,²⁰ forse modello della più nota versione fedriana *Asinus ad lyram* (‘L’asino e la lira’, Phaedr. *App.* 14), in cui un asino, vedendo una lira per terra in un prato *accessit et temptavit chorda*

¹⁹ Cfr. Jesnick [9] 210, tav. 38.

²⁰ Cfr. J.-P. Cèbe, *Varron, Satires Ménippées* (Rome 1990) 1479f.; M. Salanitro, ‘Su un frammento metrico delle menippe di Varrone’, *Sileno* 2 (1976) 107f.

ungula; sonuere tactae ('si avvicinò e tentò con lo zoccolo le corde; al tocco risuonarono', 2sg.) e si rammarica perché non conosce quell'arte (4). In questa favola non c'è intonazione sarcastica nei confronti dell'ignoranza dell'asino, che anzi si dimostra saggio nel dire: *Si repperisset aliquis hanc prudentior, / divinis aures oblectasset cantibus* ('Se L'avesse trovata uno più esperto, avrebbe diletto le orecchie con canti divini', 5sg.). Vale la pena di ricordare che il tema iconografico dell'asino suonatore di lira ebbe fortuna durevole attraverso i secoli, pur con significati diversi, dalla civiltà mesopotamica, in cui non presentava alcuna connotazione parodistica, fino al Medioevo.²¹ Fra una scimmia che imita un musicista (per caso o forse perché addestrata per uno spettacolo) e l'asino del proverbio non c'è ideologicamente alcuna relazione immediata, l'atteggiamento di un animale non implica quello dell'altro anche se, ad esempio, in Porfirio, *De Abst.* 3.15 la scimmia suona oltre al flauto anche l'arpa; se poi si considera l'asino fedriano, si nota che esso ha un comportamento intelligente e razionale, al contrario della scimmia che non va oltre la specificità del ruolo animalesco che la tradizione le ha attribuito.

In conclusione: (1) nel mosaico del Louvre si nota una distribuzione simmetrica degli spazi per cui ad ogni animale è riservata una superficie quasi equivalente, fatta eccezione per l'uccello che, occupando il triangolo curvilineo, si configura come mero elemento decorativo; (2) la scimmia si trova nello spazio sopra l'esagono curvilineo centrale, è sullo stesso piano del cavallo, della pantera e del leone, quindi non occupa una posizione privilegiata che potrebbe far pensare a un ruolo da protagonista; (3) l'interesse per la scimmia 'musicista' nasce dal fatto che nell'atteggiamento tenta di imitare, sia pure in modo goffo, Orfeo e la *pandura*, strumento di origine egiziana o assira, suonato quasi sempre da una donna,²² sostituisce la lira di cui è una variante semplificata: la scelta della *pandura* sembra suggerire un'allusione, impossibile dire se intenzionale o inconsapevole, al fatto che Orfeo fu ucciso dalle Menadi; (4) è assai poco probabile la presenza dell'eroe teriomorfo che implicherebbe una lettura del mito 'bassa', 'favolistica', comica: una interpretazione in questa prospettiva rischia, in assenza di un contesto narrativo, di essere deviante; (5) la scimmia è raffigurata nella sua specificità di animale mimetico: gli occhi

²¹ Cfr. H. Frankfort (traduz. G. Scandone Matthiae), *Il dio che muore: Mito e cultura nel mondo preclassico* (Firenze 1992) 100sg.; J.-P. Cèbe [20] 1480, n. 10. Sul *Fortleben* del motivo v. H. Adolf, 'The Ass and the Harp', *Speculum* 25 (1950) 49-57; E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux en France*² (Paris 1924) 339, fig. 197 cita la raffigurazione dell'asino suonatore di lira su un capitello della cattedrale di Nantes; D. Shanzer, 'The Late Antique Tradition of Varro's *Ornos Lyras*', *RhM* 129 (1986) 272-85.

²² Cfr. C. Daremberg e E. Saglio (edd.), *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* 3.2 (Paris 1918) 1450 s.v. 'Lyra'.

ravvicinati e la fissità dello sguardo rendono cupa l'espressione e in ciò è forse da notare l'influsso di taluni ritratti rinvenuti a Sousse.²³

Se nel mosaico Orfeo appariva nell'esagono centrale secondo la più diffusa caratteristica iconografica tradizionale, l'osservatore che vedeva una scimmia accanto a lui, nell'atto di suonare con lui o di imitare sia pure goffamente la sua attività, intuiva l'originalità di una deviazione dal modello iconografico tradizionale. La novità non consisteva nel proporre la semplice parodia dell'eroe, suggerendone magari la trasformazione in scimmia, e neppure nel ripetere il motivo della bestia da spettacolo, dell'animale 'sapiente', addomesticato per il divertimento privato e pubblico,²⁴ 'strumento del riso' (Plutarch. *Adulat.*: *Mor.* 64E): a partire dal III secolo d.C. il *topos* della scimmia come bestia comica in quanto pessima imitatrice dell'uomo si sfalda. Porfirio (*De Abst.* 3.15) toglie la scimmia dal suo tradizionale ruolo degradato: essa non solo imita, ma comprende le *technai* dell'uomo e condivide una razionalità che non è più considerata prerogativa soltanto umana: nell'ambito della prossimità fra uomo e animali, l'abilità mimetica della scimmia costringe l'uomo a ripensare sé stesso e le proprie abilità.²⁵ Può darsi che l'eco di riflessioni simili sia giunta in qualche modo all'artista che ha prodotto il mosaico del Louvre o al committente: ciò potrebbe spiegare l'atteggiamento serio e lo sguardo severo della scimmia, davvero molto lontano da ogni intento parodistico che è ancora presente invece, ad esempio, nella scimmia del mosaico di Sakiet-es-Zit. Questa scimmia, ai piedi di Orfeo, è seduta su una roccia rosso mattone presso un cespuglio e presenta un atteggiamento forzato e maldestro, il corpo girato di tre quarti a sinistra, la testa rovesciata guarda a destra verso Orfeo: l'effetto grottesco è accentuato dal gesto della mano che gratta la testa.²⁶

Da ultimo si può considerare che se Orfeo non fosse stato presente nel mosaico del Louvre, o se vi fosse stata un'allusione a lui, il mosaico avrebbe presentato solo animali derivati dal repertorio popolare dei combattimenti di animali, dalle corse di cavalli e dai vari tipi di divertimenti musicali. In un caso simile, gli spazi interni potrebbero essere stati occupati da diversi tipi di animali, con o senza la figura di Orfeo al centro.²⁷

²³ In proposito si veda G. C. Picard in *Enciclopedia Universale dell'Arte* 1 (Firenze 1958) s.v. Sousse (Susa) 146-50.

²⁴ Cfr. R. Cagnat e V. Chapot, *Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine* 2 (Paris 1920) 211-14.

²⁵ Vegetti [10] 68sg.

²⁶ Thirion [9] tav. 3, fig. 3.

²⁷ Cfr. S. Charitonidis et al., *Les Mosaïques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilène* (Bern 1970) tav. 1, 10-14.

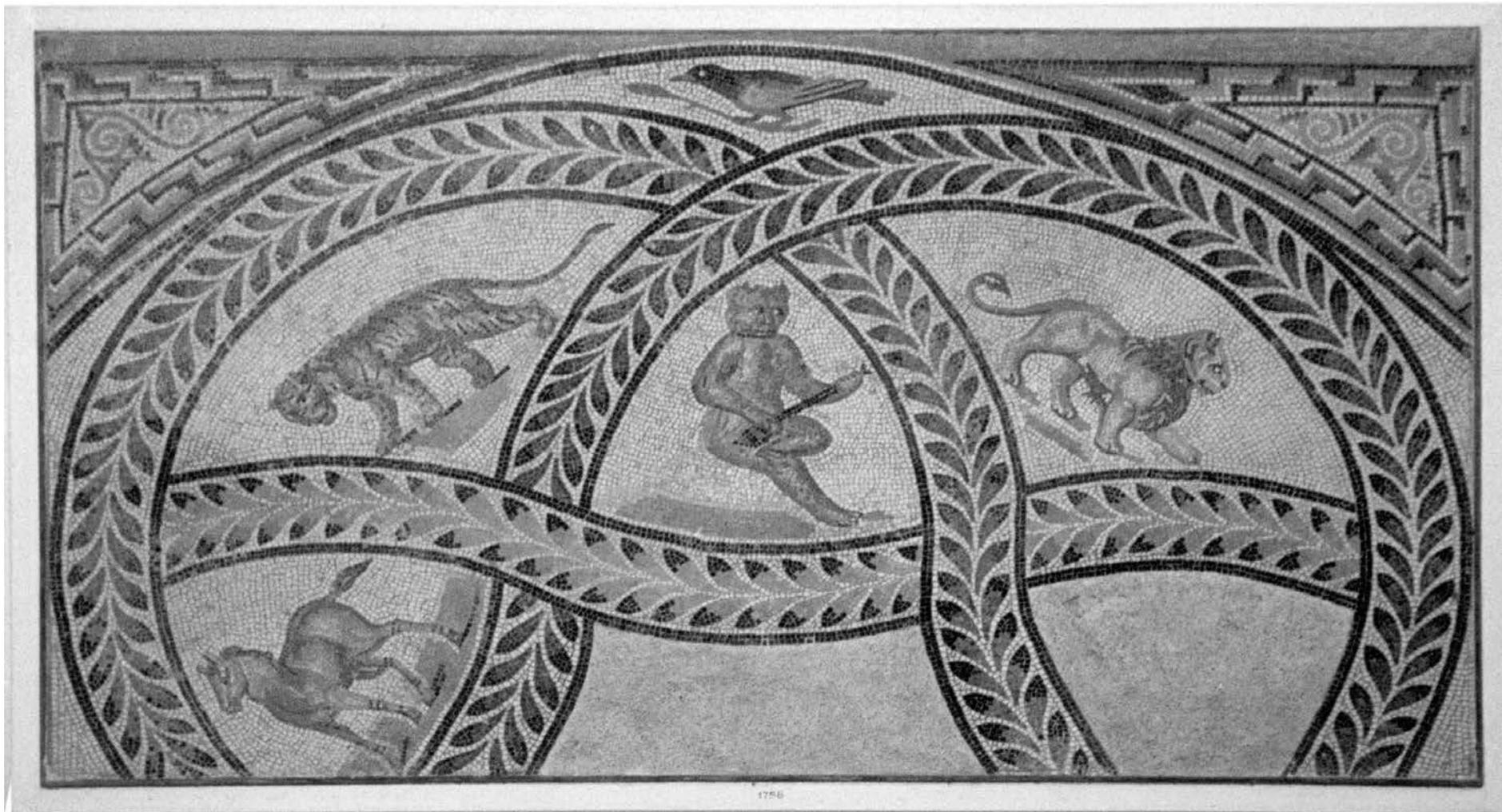


Figura 1. Louvre, inv. MNC 1145; cat. Ma 1798.
Mosaico frammentario : animali in un intreccio di ghirlande.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE VULGAR LATIN VERB *PLICO*

Robert J. Smutny

Department of Classics, University of the Pacific
Stockton, California 95211, USA

Abstract. Scholars have found the discrepant meanings of the Latin verb *plico* puzzling. A possible solution is suggested positing the existence of two homonyms containing unrelated roots.

The brief etymologies given in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* for the various compounds of the verb *plico* (*con-* + *plico*, *ex-* + *plico*, *in-* + *plico*, etc.) are undoubtedly correct for all with the exception of *aplico*. The only entry for *plico* is the verb meaning “to fold, bend, twine, etc.” and the semantic connection between the simple verb and the compounds is obvious. In the case of *aplico* (*ad-* + *plico*), however, the connection is not apparent. The meanings of this verb center around the notion of “motion toward, approaching, adding to, etc.” *Plicare* is generally assumed to be related to *plectere* (“to plait, braid, twine”) and to Greek πλέκω (“to twine, weave, etc.”),¹ the form *plic-* being regarded as a back-formation from the vowel-weakened form of the compounds.

The verb *aplico* was in general use in classical Latin. In the Vulgar Latin period another verb *plico* is first attested with the meaning “to approach, draw near, reach,” in sense closely related to *aplico*. Four occurrences of this verb are known to me: three in the *Itinerarium Egeriae*² and one in the manuscript containing the *Glosas Emilianenses*.³

¹ P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1968-82) 1391; A. Ernout and A. Meillet (ed.), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*⁴ (Paris 1959) 514.

² O. Prinz (ed.), *Itinerarium Egeriae (Peregrinatio Aetherae)* (Heidelberg 1969) *plecaremus*, 2.4; *plicauimus*, 6.3; *plicarent*, 19.9. A. Souter (ed.), *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Oxford 1949) lists all three occurrences under the entry *pleco*.

³ Madrid, Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia, cod. 60, fol. 66v, line 2 *plicabitur*. The text of the passage as published by S. Larragueta, *Las Glosas Emilianenses* (Logroño 1984) is as follows: *Et post his temporibus exiebit qui dicitur Antichristus, album oculum sicut stella matutina. Et ambulabit ad mare mortuum et a mare maiore et non illi plicabitur aqua usque ad genua* (“And after these times will come forth the one called Antichrist, (with) a white eye like the morning star. And he will walk to the Dead Sea and from the greater sea and the water will not reach his knees.”). It may be noted that the verb is here used as a deponent, whereas Egeria uses it twice reflexively and once as an active intransitive.

Since both this verb and its compound *aplico* diverge semantically from *plico* (“to fold”), it would appear that we are here dealing with an entirely different root, one possibly related to the Slavic root *bliz-* (“near”). The affinity in sense between the Slavic *bliz-* and Vulgar Latin *plico* is evident. The Latin root *plic-* and the Slavic *bliz-* both consist of a labial, an *l*, a vowel, and a velar, the latter represented by a sibilant in the Slavic languages since they belong to the *satem* group.

Machek in his Czech etymological dictionary states that the origin of *bliz-* is unclear. He believes that it is most likely related to the Greek adverb πέλας (“near”) and the adjective πλησίος (“near”), though he adds that the relationship is limited only to the *bl-*; he regards the voiced *b* as merely a softened form of *p*.⁴ There appears to be a small group of words with initial *p* and containing an *l* in the same syllable, in which the *p* undergoes voicing in Slavic. Examples that I have found are:

1. Latin *pulex*, *pulicis* (“flea”)—Czech *blecha* (“flea”).
2. Latin *palus*, *paludis* (“swamp”)—Czech *bláto* (“mud”), Russian *bolóto* (“swamp”). Olivieri associates *palus* with Old Church Slavonic *blato* (“lake”) and *Lake Balaton*, a shallow lake in southwestern Hungary.⁵
3. Latin *pallidus* (“pale”)—Czech *bledý*, Russian *blédnyj*, Polish *bladny* (“pale”; Slavic with metathesis of the vowel and *l*).
4. Latin *plaga* (“blow, stroke”), Greek πληγή (Doric πλαγά; “blow, stroke”; cf. ἀποπληκτεύομαι, “to be senseless,” ἐμπληκτος, “stunned, senseless”)—Czech *blázen* (“insane or crazy person”;⁶ cf. similar idea in ἐμβρόντητος, “thunderstruck, stupefied, stupid”).

To the foregoing may probably be added the following, though the initial syllable does not contain a velar:

5. Latin *pellis* (“skin, hide”), Greek πέλλας (accusative plural; “skin, hide”)⁷—Czech *blána* (“membrane”).

If similarly the Latin root *plic-* (“to approach”) and the Slavic *bliz-* are related, it appears that Latin possessed two homonymous verbs *plicare*. This distinction is supported by the fact that *plicare* (“to approach”) yields Spanish *llegar* (“to

⁴ V. Machek (ed.), *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého* (Prague 1968) s.v. *blizký*.

⁵ D. Olivieri (ed.), *Dizionario etimologico italiano* (Milan 1953) 508 s.v. *palude*.

⁶ Machek [4] 55 s.v. *blázen* states that the origin of this word is unclear.

⁷ Ernout-Meillet [1] 494 s.v. *pellis*; J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern/Munich 1959) 803.

arrive, reach”),⁸ whereas *plicare* (“to fold, etc.”) yields Spanish *plegar* (“to fold, to plait”). Since the latter does not follow the normal rules of phonetic development from Latin to Spanish (pl>ll), it is regarded as a semi-learned formation, a *cultismo*.⁹ Additional support for the distinction between the two *plicare*’s is afforded by the fact that Egeria (Aetheria), who probably antedates the seventh century, twice uses the verb reflexively (*plecaremus nos*, 2.4; *plicauimus nos*, 6.3)—undoubtedly a forerunner of Spanish *llegarse*.

⁸ J. Corominas (ed.), *Breve diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Madrid 1983) 370.

⁹ Corominas [8] 463.

GEORGE SAMUEL SALE AND OTHER STORIES

J. A. Barsby

Department of Classics, University of Otago
Dunedin, New Zealand

Abstract. George Samuel Sale was a remarkable man. He was educated in England at Rugby School and at Trinity College, Cambridge before coming to New Zealand out of a sense of adventure. He was successively sheep-farmer, newspaper editor, provincial treasurer and goldfields commissioner before being appointed to the Classics Chair at the newly founded University of Otago in 1871. He had an immense influence on the development of the fledgling university until his retirement in 1907.

We have a large framed photograph of George Sale at home in our sitting room, a formidable figure with a full grey beard, a stern look, and piercing blue eyes (it's actually a black and white photo but I'm sure his eyes were a piercing blue or perhaps a steely grey).¹ When I explain to visitors that this was the first Professor of Classics at Otago University and I am the sixth (I'm now of course having to get used to saying 'I *was* the sixth'), I often find myself remarking that I have grave difficulty in living up to the image. Sale was actually aged seventy-five at the time of this photograph, which gives me a few years to develop the beard, but I don't think I'm going to make it.²

I fully realised what a remarkable man Sale was when I undertook to write up his career for the new *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.³ He was born in May 1831 at Rugby in the English West Midlands, and at the age of eight went to Rugby School, where his father, John Sale, was Writing Master under the great headmaster Thomas Arnold. It was Arnold who established the nineteenth century public school ideals, sometimes summed up in the phrase 'muscular Christianity', including moral principle, gentlemanly conduct, intellectual achievement, and manly sporting prowess. In fact Arnold left Rugby for Oxford soon after George Sale became a pupil there, and Sale's schooldays were largely spent under another formidable headmaster, Archibald Tait, who later became Archbishop of Canterbury.

¹ This article originated as a talk given to the Classical Association of Otago and the Association of Friends of the Otago Museum on 13 June 2002. It is here reproduced as delivered with only minor changes and the addition of footnotes.

² For this photograph see figure 1.

³ C. Orange (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 2: 1870-1900* (Wellington 1993) 438f.

We don’t have much documentary evidence of Sale’s schooldays. He will certainly have learned Latin from the age of eight (if not before) and probably Greek soon afterwards. He will have taken part in the kind of activities immortalised in *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*, written by Thomas Hughes, who was a boy at Rugby just before Sale’s time, including of course the cricket match described there, which bears a reasonable resemblance to the modern game, and the Rugby Football match, which bears very little resemblance at all to rugby as we know it today.

From Rugby Sale went up in March 1850 to Oxford, to University College, thus making the first big mistake of his life, which to his credit he was quick to rectify, transferring after only six months to Cambridge, where he became an undergraduate at Trinity College. In those days one went up to Oxford to read Classics and to Cambridge to read Mathematics with Classics as a second choice (there wasn’t much else on offer, though the Natural Sciences Tripos and the Moral Sciences Tripos were in the process of being introduced). Sale in fact did both Classics and Mathematics, graduating with first class honours in Classics in 1853 and second class in Mathematics in 1854.

One of Sale’s achievements as a Classics undergraduate was to win the Members’ Prize for Latin Composition in 1853, and I have recently acquired from his sole surviving grandson (about whom more later) the original copy of his prizewinning essay. It consists of fourteen pages of elegant hand-written Latin, of which part of the first page is here reproduced.⁴ The title (to translate it into English) is ‘Whether it is from a desire for glory or from an honorable zeal for the republic that great and heroic deeds for the most part arise’, and, if the non-Latinists will excuse me just for a moment, there’s a fascinating bit of textual criticism which can be practised on the first sentence. Sale begins by referring to the recent death of a great man which, he says, has grieved not only his friends and relatives, including the most humble and obscure. For ‘humble and obscure’, the Latin as corrected reads *humillimo atque ignotissimo*: the question is, what did Sale originally write in the erasure? I have no doubt that the answer is *humilissimo*. Sale was, I’m sure, tempted by the assonance with *ignotissimo* and had momentarily forgotten the rule which all schoolboys are taught, by which the superlatives of adjectives in *-lis* don’t end in *-issimus* like most of the others but in the less resonant *-illimus*.

In 1856, two years after graduating, Sale became a Fellow of Trinity, and remained there for four years as an assistant tutor in Classics. In 1860, however, at the age of twenty-nine, he decided to emigrate to New Zealand, leaving on the *Minerva* in November 1860 and arriving at Lyttelton in February 1861. His

⁴ See figure 2.

reason for emigrating is variously given in the biographies as ill health or overwork, neither of which I find particularly credible. In fact a different motivation is suggested by the story related some years afterwards by his daughter Margaret that on their arrival Sale and his companions burned their top-hats and tail-coats on a bonfire on the beach to signify their rejection of the stuffy English conventions which they had left behind.⁵

Sale's first job was as manager of the Lake Coleridge sheep station in Canterbury owned by Charles Harper, where an archdeacon visiting his hut found 'a tall well-built man, in very rough clothes, which do not disguise the fact that sheep-farming was not his original vocation', to say nothing of the row of Greek and Latin classics on his bookshelf.⁶ Sale was by no means the only Cambridge graduate who was sheep-farming in the area at the time. Among others were Samuel Butler of *Erewhon* fame, who is recorded as having visited Sale at Lake Coleridge during his five years in New Zealand; and William Rolleston, who had previously himself worked at Lake Coleridge, and had now bought the neighbouring Rakaia Forks station, which, being a good classicist, he had renamed Mount Algidus after a well-known ode of Horace's.⁷

The world of the Canterbury settlers was evidently a small one, and after only three months as a sheep-farmer Sale was invited (May 1861) to become the first editor of the Christchurch *Press*. The proprietor was James Edward Fitzgerald, who used his newspaper to conduct a furious campaign against the extravagant borrowing schemes of the Canterbury Provincial Government; Sale's main contribution was to write elegant and well informed articles on European affairs.⁸

Sale's newspaper editing phase lasted a little longer than his sheep farming one, but not by much. Before the end of the year (December 1861), his sense of adventure led him to resign from the *Press* in order to join the Otago gold rush at Blue Spur above Gabriel's Gully outside Lawrence, where he was to stay for nine months or so, though we have no documentary record of his doings there.⁹

⁵ W. D. Stewart, *William Rolleston: A New Zealand Statesman* (Christchurch 1940) 10.

⁶ H. W. Harper, *Letters from New Zealand 1857-1911* (London 1914) 58.

⁷ Stewart [5] 16.

⁸ R. B. O'Neill (ed.), *The Press 1861-1961: The Story of a Newspaper* (Christchurch 1963) 16-21.

⁹ For a reconstruction see A. M. Davie, *George Sale 1831-1922* (unpublished honours thesis, University of Otago, 1943) 25-29.

So that was Sale's first year in New Zealand: station manager, newspaper editor and gold miner. Not a bad first year for a man allegedly of poor health or suffering from overwork!

Sale's next move brought him back to Canterbury. Here his friendship with Rolleston was an important factor. Rolleston was now the Canterbury Provincial Secretary, and it was on his nomination that in 1864 Sale became Canterbury Provincial Treasurer, obviously an important position. Next year, when gold was found on the west coast, Sale was appointed Goldfields Commissioner there, again at Rolleston's instigation. Before he left, though, Sale played cricket for Canterbury in its first-ever provincial game (which was against Otago in January 1864) and played twice against George Parr's first-ever All England XI to tour New Zealand in February of that year, once for a Canterbury XXII and once for a combined Otago-Canterbury XXII (it was customary in those days for the locals to field teams of twenty-two players against visiting England XIs).¹⁰

But back to the west coast. It was a considerable task to establish an orderly community among the rough mining population. Sale was given almost autocratic powers, and he seems to have behaved almost autocratically, which earned him the nickname 'King Sale' among the miners; at the same time he took care to make himself accessible, and once received a deputation in his bathtub in his tent.¹¹ Inevitably Sale made enemies, among them the proprietor of the *West Coast Times*, who made several attacks upon him. But when Westland was separated from Canterbury in 1868 Sale was appointed County Secretary, and, when the first Westland County Council was set up in 1869, he was elected by the Hokitika community as one of their representatives. In general he seems to have been held in high regard: when he left Westland in 1869 to return to England, the local newspaper *The Tomahawk* paid him high praise, declaring that 'a man of more business capacity, purer disinterestedness and sterner integrity never trod the shores of Westland'.¹²

The reason for Sale's return to England was apparently the ill health of his father, who in fact died in June 1869. Sale then entered Lincoln's Inn with the intention of being called to the Bar. But meanwhile the newly founded University of Otago advertised for its first professors, and from a list of sixty-two applicants Sale was selected for the Chair of Classics and English Language and Literature, naming both Fitzgerald and Rolleston among his

¹⁰ T. W. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914* (Christchurch 1927) 149-55.

¹¹ *Otago Daily Times* (30 October 1907) 3.

¹² *The Tomahawk* 21 May 1870, quoted in G. O. Preshaw, *Banking Under Difficulties, or Life on the Goldfields of Victoria, New South Wales and New Zealand* (Melbourne 1888) 141.

referees. He thus arrived back in New Zealand two years after having left, in fact in June 1871, in time for the official opening of the university on 5 July.

All of that sounds very straightforward, but there are in fact one or two puzzles about the sequence of events. Consider the following dates:

19 March 1870: Chair advertisements forwarded to Britain.¹³

31 March 1870: Sale writes application from Rugby.¹⁴

30 September 1870: Sale appointed to Chair of Classics.¹⁵

21 November 1870: Sale enters Lincoln's Inn.¹⁶

20 March 1871. Sale sets sail for New Zealand.

The first pair of dates suggest that post from New Zealand in 1870 could arrive in England in time for Sale to see the advertisement and write a reply in only twelve days, which would be good going even by today's standards. The second pair suggest (on the assumption that Sale would not have entered Lincoln's Inn once he had been appointed to the Chair) that mail took something like two months to arrive, as it certainly would if it had travelled by sea. It is remarkable that Sale's letter of application was written so soon after the advertisement, and this has given rise to the speculation that he had inside knowledge, that he was in fact invited to apply and even unofficially offered the job rather than winning it in open competition. As for entering Lincoln's Inn, I leave you to devise your own scenarios: maybe Sale, having been offered the Chair, was hedging his bets.

Before we go on, Willy Morrell's *Centennial History* of the University has a photograph of Sale taken at the time of his application in 1870 at the age of thirty-nine. Morrell gives no attribution:¹⁷ I like to think that it is the photo which Sale submitted with his application.¹⁸

Sale held the chair of Classics at Otago for thirty-seven years to his retirement in 1907, relinquishing English Language and Literature on the creation of a separate chair in 1877. He was a member of the Professorial Board for thirty-four years and of the Council for fourteen, and was a towering influence on the development of the fledgling university. He took a leading part

¹³ G. E. Thompson, *A History of the University of Otago 1869-1919* (Dunedin 1920) 26.

¹⁴ G. J. Griffiths, *Sale, Bradshaw, Manning, Wills and the 'Little Enemy'* (Dunedin 1971) 4 (quoting *Otago University Letters Received 1869-70*).

¹⁵ W. P. Morrell, *The University of Otago: A Centennial History* (Dunedin 1969) 9, 19; Thompson [13] 30.

¹⁶ J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses 1: 1752-1900 5* (Cambridge 1953) 402.

¹⁷ Morrell [15] facing p. 19.

¹⁸ For this photograph see figure 3.

in the often acrimonious negotiations which led to the setting up of the University of New Zealand and to Otago becoming an affiliated institution in 1874; and he was a member of the Senate of the University of New Zealand all the time from its inception to his own retirement. Sale also sat on the important Royal Commission on Universities and Schools of 1878-80, which sought to impose and maintain the distinction between school and university education. Seamless education was not then the name of the game.

One very clear thing about Sale is concern for the highest standards, which is evident in the causes for which he fought on these various bodies. Among these were his opposition to the affiliation of secondary schools to the University of New Zealand (Auckland Grammar was at one time affiliated to the University of New Zealand, as were Wellington College and Nelson College), his concern for the level of the matriculation examination, and his insistence that university examination scripts should be marked by examiners in Britain.

Sale’s teaching was informed by a belief both in the civilising effect of a classical education and in the benefits of a close study of the classical languages and literatures.¹⁹ His great love was for Latin literature, especially Lucretius, though his published articles reveal also an interest in the subtleties of language, both Greek and Latin.²⁰ He demanded high standards from his students, and was evidently a bit of a disciplinarian. On one occasion he reportedly reduced a female student to tears and was reprimanded by her boyfriend (brave fellow!), on another he was taken to task in print by the *Otago University Review* for his lack of sympathy with weaker students.²¹

One story that I rather like concerns a student in Sale’s very last class in 1907, in which the final examination included a passage from Tacitus’ *Annals* for translation. As often happens in passages excerpted for examination purposes, it was not clear without the surrounding context who the subject of the first Latin sentence was, and Sale had helpfully written on the examination paper in brackets ‘Tiberius’. The student however had worked out that the subject must in fact be Tiberius’ mother Livia and had been bold enough to write ‘Livia?’ on his answer. At the end of the examination, as he handed in his

¹⁹ See his inaugural lecture of 10 July 1871, quoted briefly by Morrell [15] 30 and at greater length by Davie [9] 64-75.

²⁰ His published work seems to be limited to four articles in the *Classical Review*: ‘On the Consecution of Tenses After a Principal Verb in the Perfect-Absolute’, *CR* 3 (1889) 6-8; ‘Notes on Horace’, *CR* 5 (1891) 137-39; ‘On the Word ἀντηρίδες in Thucydides VII.36.2’, *CR* 10 (1896) 7-9; ‘On the Word παρεξίρεσις and on Greek Substantives Compounded with Prepositions’, *CR* 12 (1898) 347-48.

²¹ Davie [9] 86-89.

script, the student had stutteringly ventured to try to explain to Sale what he had done and had been waved away: 'Yes, Mr Wild, the subject was suppressed, so I supplied it.' 'Yes, Professor, I understood that but . . .' and the student withdrew in some confusion. However, later that evening he found a note from Sale in the letter rack which read: 'Dear Mr Wild, You were quite right in changing "Tiberius" into "Livia". I apologise for contradicting you. Yours truly, G. S. Sale. Tuesday evening.' Sixty-one years later the aforesaid Mr Wild, living at Otaki and presumably now in his eighties, sent Sale's letter to the Hocken Library, saying that he had treasured the letter but could keep it no longer, with a covering letter of his own which I have just summarised describing the circumstances. Mr Wild's final verdict on Sale was that he was 'a very grim forbidding man, but as this incident showed, also a gentle one.'

As I have already hinted, Sale was something of a sportsman, and he played a major part in the development of both cricket and rugby at the University. In September of 1871, three months after his arrival, Sale and a Scot named George Thomson, the resident tutor of Otago Boys' High School, arranged the first ever rugby match in Dunedin, to be played between the students of the two institutions. There had been some sort of football game in Dunedin in the previous year, but this had apparently been played under a mixture of rugby, association (soccer) and Australian football rules. The match lasted for three and a half hours, after which the score was one goal to nil, and it was decided to continue it on the following Saturday (it seems that rugby games in those days were played for the best of three goals). Interest was further increased by an announcement in the *Otago Daily Times* that both Professor Sale (now aged forty) and the OBHS Rector, a man called Stuart Hawthorn, would play in the game. On this occasion the match lasted until 5 p.m., by which time the scores were drawn at one goal each, and the *ODT* announced that that was enough of that, and the match would not be further continued.²²

Sale continued to play a major part in the development of rugby football in Otago. In the following year, 1872, when Dunedin's first rugby club, called the Dunedin Football Club, was founded, Sale was unanimously elected President, though he must have been somewhat disappointed when in both 1875 and 1876 the Club elected to play under association football rules rather than the rugby rules which Sale himself had recently drafted.²³ Meanwhile Sale had been fostering rugby at the university, and became the first president of the

²² R. W. Thomson, 'Provincial Rugby in New Zealand: Otago's Academic Pioneers', *Journal of Sport History* 23 (1996), 211-27, at 212-14.

²³ Thomson [22] 215-20.

University Football Club when that was eventually founded some years later in 1884. He remained President for the next fourteen years until 1898. The Hocken Library has a photograph of the University team of 1896, with Sale (now aged sixty-five) standing on the far right.²⁴ It is interesting that his two sons were in the team, John, third from left in the back row, who was to die tending war veterans in the influenza epidemic of 1918 and thus predeceased his father, and Geoffrey, sitting second from the right in the middle row, who, after a distinguished military career in World War I, became a mining engineer in South Africa and was killed in an accident there in 1930.

But back to 1871, Sale’s first year. In October, a month after he had taken part in the epic rugby match which I have described, Sale was playing cricket for the University in its first-ever cricket match, against the local club team which was known as the Citizens. Sale opened the batting for the University, and the scorecard reads: Sale b Lambert 3. The University team in fact only amassed twenty-nine runs between them against the Citizens’ sixty, with Sale picking up two wickets at the end of the innings. In a return match played in November the scores were very similar: University 30, Citizens 69: this time, however, Sale starred with the ball, taking eight of the Citizens’ wickets.²⁵

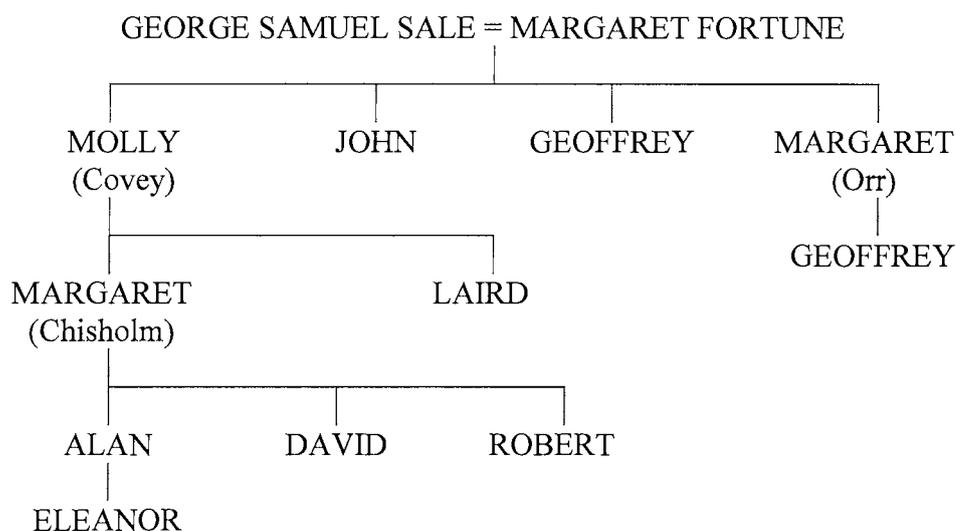
Sale lived and taught in the Professorial House on campus which still bears his name and which continued to be the home of the Classics Department right up to 1969. But the family also had a house at Sawyer’s Bay, which I haven’t been able to trace and is probably now destroyed, though I have in my possession a photograph, discovered quite recently by his grandson among his mother’s (Sale’s daughter Margaret’s) effects. Sale incidentally conducted his own choir at Sawyer’s Bay; he was apparently a talented musician with a good bass voice. He was also Vice-President of the Dunedin Philharmonic Society for a number of years.

The ‘other stories’ of my title were going to be about some of Sale’s successors in the Chair, but I’ve decided instead to talk about Sale’s family, in particular his wife and his two daughters, who were very interesting women in their own right. I hope, though, to have a couple of minutes at the end to say a few words about Sale’s successor in the Chair of Classics, Thomas Dagger Adams, who was another very impressive figure.

It may be helpful to have in mind this simplified family tree of Sale’s family.

²⁴ See figure 4.

²⁵ G. Griffiths, *Otago University at Cricket* (Dunedin 1978) 6.



My most recent visitor was Sale's great-great-granddaughter Eleanor Chisholm, who was here in 2000 on a blind honeymoon, if that's the right phrase for a situation where her newly wedded husband had whisked her away on an aeroplane to an unknown destination, which turned out to be the home of her great-great-grandfather. Eleanor knew a lot about the whole family and was a great help in filling out the family tree. In addition I was in email correspondence last year with one of Eleanor's uncles, Sale's great-grandson David Chisholm, now a professor in Arizona, who had some good stories about his Aunty Marg, Sale's daughter Margaret. But my most significant contact has been with Sale's sole surviving grandson, whom I've mentioned several times already, Geoffrey Orr, a retired lawyer now living near Twickenham in England, who came over to Dunedin with his wife in 1998. I showed them around the campus and gave them a copy of the longer version of my article for the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, and on their return home he wrote me a nice letter, which included the following:

It was for me the completion of a circle. From day one, GSS was held up to me [by my mother] as the living example, and I guess I got fed up with his reputation. However, he was indeed an outstanding character, as I now see clearly. . . .

Geoffrey Orr has since been a generous source of information, including documents as well as anecdotes, and I have had a flurry of email exchanges with him while preparing this talk.

Sale was still a bachelor when he arrived back in Dunedin in 1871, but within three years he had married; this was in 1874 when he was aged forty-

five. His bride was Margaret Fortune,²⁶ daughter of James Bonwell Fortune, of Coburg, Ontario, Canada, and I have long wondered how Sale came to marry a Canadian woman. The answer, which I found out from Geoffrey Orr last week, is that her father, James Bonwell Fortune, was an Irishman who emigrated to Canada. He had two daughters, known as Minnie and Maggie, of which the older (Minnie) was evidently a rather masterful lady and Maggie was very much the meek younger sister. Minnie married a man called James Davidson, who proposed that they should go to New Zealand after the wedding to make their fortune, and Minnie replied very firmly that she was not going unless her younger sister came with them. Thus it was that Maggie was available in New Zealand to marry George Sale; they were actually married at Kaitangata, where Minnie and her husband were living. Maggie was only twenty-two years old at the time, twenty-one years younger than Sale, and I have it on good authority that for several months after they were married she continued to call him 'Mr Sale'.

Sale and Maggie had two sons and two daughters. I've said a little about the sons; there is quite a lot to say about the daughters. The older daughter, Mollie, born in 1880, was a talented artist, and you can still see a portrait which she did of her father in 1902, hanging on the wall upstairs in the Pictures Collection of the Hocken Library. Last year we had a query from the Brinkman Gallery in Nelson, which possesses another of her paintings, which prompted some research into her artistic activity, and we unearthed the catalogues of her entries in the Otago Art Society's Exhibitions from 1902 to 1907. They are all watercolours except for one solitary oil painting, for which the asking price was seven guineas; the going price for the others seems to have been three guineas. The list is chiefly interesting in that the paintings tell the story of Molly's travels: there are scenes in Normandy (1902 and 1903), Bruges (1906) and Yorkshire (1907).

More interesting still is her friendship with the famous New Zealand artist Frances Hodgkins,²⁷ who was eleven years her senior. Frances Hodgkins went on her first visit to Europe in 1901, and there is a letter from her to her mother, written from Caudebec outside Paris, in August of that year, in which she says:

Our sketching party has increased this month and we now number nearly 40. There are some nice girls, no one particularly clever. Molly Sale is here for a

²⁶ See figure 5 for a photograph of Margaret Fortune.

²⁷ Orange [3] 219-23

month. I am proud of my two countrywomen [the other was her good friend Dorothy Richmond], they are both so nice looking.²⁸

In another letter, sent to her sister Isabel Field from Paris a month later, Frances Hodgkins writes:

Molly and I have now been here for 10 days and had a glorious time and yesterday morning I saw Molly off for England.

She goes on to describe going to the Opera with Molly and sitting up in the gods, and to confess that, truth be told, their happiest moments were spent in the cafés. And I can't resist quoting a revealing little snippet from later in the letter:

Molly and I stood for quite a long time the other day in front of what they call a 'shocking machine' which undertakes for the price of 1d. to shock any person disposed to put a penny in the slot. As Molly was about to succumb I dragged her away & have regretted it ever since. . . .²⁹

This is Frances Hodgkins at the age of thirty-two and Molly Sale at twenty-one. I think the phrase is 'innocents abroad'.

Molly subsequently married an American muralist named Arthur Covey, whom she met when both were studying in London under Frank Brangwyn, who was born in Bruges and apparently took his students on study trips to his birthplace (hence Molly's watercolours of Bruges scenes). Molly and Arthur went to live in America, and had two children there, though, sadly, Molly died in 1917 (at the age of thirty-seven) giving birth to the second. Sale's second daughter Margaret, who was born in 1884, four years after her sister, was a talented amateur violinist, and there are pleasant stories of her playing at home accompanied by Molly on the piano. As a young woman in Dunedin Margaret played in the orchestra of the Dunedin Philharmonic Society under its long-time Italian-born conductor Raffaello Squarisi.³⁰ In 1906 (at the age of twenty-two) she travelled to England to study at the Royal College of Music, where her teacher nearly put her off the violin for life, and she abandoned plans to study in Brussels under the great Belgian violinist Ysaye. She then switched to painting and studied art in Paris. She continued to live in London, and in 1924 at the age of forty after a whirlwind courtship she married a fifty-one-year-old

²⁸ L. Gill (ed.), *Letters of Frances Hodgkins* (Auckland 1993) 94.

²⁹ Gill [28] 98-99.

³⁰ Orange [3] 474-76.

widowed doctor, Vivian Orr, who was actually a third-generation Australian whose family had moved to London at the beginning of the century. They had one son, Geoffrey, who is the grandson to whom I have been referring, and lived in Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire to a ripe old age, Vivian dying in 1957 aged eighty-four and Margaret in 1974 aged nearly ninety.

By all accounts Margaret was a grand old lady, and, apart from contacts with her son Geoffrey, I have a picture of her in an email from her great-nephew, David Chisholm, who describes a visit to her in 1961 as follows:

Auntie Marg was very proper: we had breakfast separately at pre-arranged times, and I always found *The London Times* on the breakfast table next to the silverware and toast. She insisted that I have a 'proper' English tweed suit made by her tailor in London (which lasted long after I outgrew it), and the following year she sent me a *World Atlas* for Christmas with a note saying that I didn't know the map of Europe well enough. I always enjoyed the books she sent for Christmas, *Sherlock Holmes*, Buchan's 'The Thirty-Nine Steps and Other Stories', and 'The Man Who Never Was' . . . Aunty Marg was a delightful, very well-educated person, and I greatly enjoyed corresponding with her and visiting her.

On his retirement in 1907, Sale returned to England and lived in London until his death on Christmas Day 1922 at the age of ninety-one. I have two accounts of his last years, which were in some ways a sad end. The first is a restrained formal one taken from the final lines of his obituary in the *London Times* of 27 December 1922:

After his retirement and return to England his house in Bedford Park, W., was for years a favourite resort of visiting and retired New Zealanders, until ill-health compelled his withdrawal even from all social activities. For the last few years of his life he had been confined to bed, but free from pain of any kind.

The second is an anecdote sent to me last week by Geoffrey Orr:

After his retirement, in Chiswick, West London, Grandfather had a stroke and was rather immobile. His faithful wife looked after him and brought him tea in a rather nasty little teapot, which he disliked. One day she was out and returned. He announced: 'Maggie, I've broken that little teapot.' 'Oh, George, I am sorry, how did you do it?' 'With a hammer.'

At the time Sale of course was getting on for ninety and his 'faithful wife' was approaching seventy. Maggie Sale was another long-lived lady: she survived her husband by eleven years and died at Poole in Dorset in 1933, aged eighty-one.

So that was Otago's first Professor of Classics, who was indeed an outstanding character. His successor T. D. Adams was another remarkable and admirable man, about whom I have time for only a brief postscript.³¹

Adams was born of Anglo-Scottish parentage in Dunedin in 1884. He went to George St School and then to Otago Boys' High School, where among other things he was captain of cricket. After that, he attended Otago University where he obtained an MA with first class honours in Latin and French. When Sale retired in 1907, the University could not afford to pay both Sale's pension and a new Professor, and the Chair went into abeyance; instead Adams as a young man of twenty-three was appointed Lecturer in Latin and a Mr Dunbar Lecturer in Greek. Ten years later, in 1917, when the university's finances had improved, Adams was promoted to Professor and promptly went off to fight in the Great War. On his return he continued to hold the Chair for thirty-one years until his retirement through ill health in 1948 at the age of sixty-four.

Adams made a huge contribution to all aspects of life in the University and the city. He was much loved by his students, who called him 'Tommy' whereas to everyone else he was known as 'T. D.': I think I would rather have been taught by Adams than by Sale. On the academic side of things he held the usual offices, being Chairman of the Professorial Board and Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Music. He was also Conductor of the Music Society, President of the Dramatic Society, Vice-President of the Cricket Club, first Secretary/Treasurer of the Classical Association (which was founded in 1922 with the historian Willy Morrell³² as President and the collector and philanthropist Willi Fels³³ as Vice-President), a loyal and respected member of the First Church congregation, a proficient organist on various occasions including the Sunday evening services of the Otago University Women's Association, representative cricketer for Otago and member of the Carisbrook Cricket Club, golfer, bowler, committee member of the Fernhill Club, where he and colleagues would indulge in elegant conversations over leisurely Friday lunches, and above all broadcaster on the 4YA radio programme, where he gave no fewer than 378 talks over ten years, including readings from the Bible and the whole range of English literature, in what was described as the most pleasant radio reading voice that one could hope to hear.

³¹ For a photograph of Adams see figure 6.

³² C. Orange (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* 4: 1921-1940 (Wellington 1998) 359.

³³ C. Orange (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* 3: 1901-1920 (Wellington 1996) 155f.

Adams met his wife to be, Lucy Morton, when he was nine and she was seven. They married fifty-five years later, in 1948, when Adams had just retired: he had been a bachelor all his life, living with his parents for much of that time. Lucy, who taught at Otago Girls' High School, had also remained unmarried. Adams was now in poor health, and was to die five years later in 1953. There is a very moving seventy-page memoir of Adams written by his wife³⁴ which reveals the happiness of their brief years of marriage in spite of his increasing frailty. It also includes many other tributes paid to him from within the university and without. The picture emerges of a talented, civilised, genuine, decent, and modest man.

I said before that I had difficulty living up to the image. Those were very different times and the university was a very different place. All I can say is that it is a privilege to have followed, however remotely, in footsteps of men such as these.

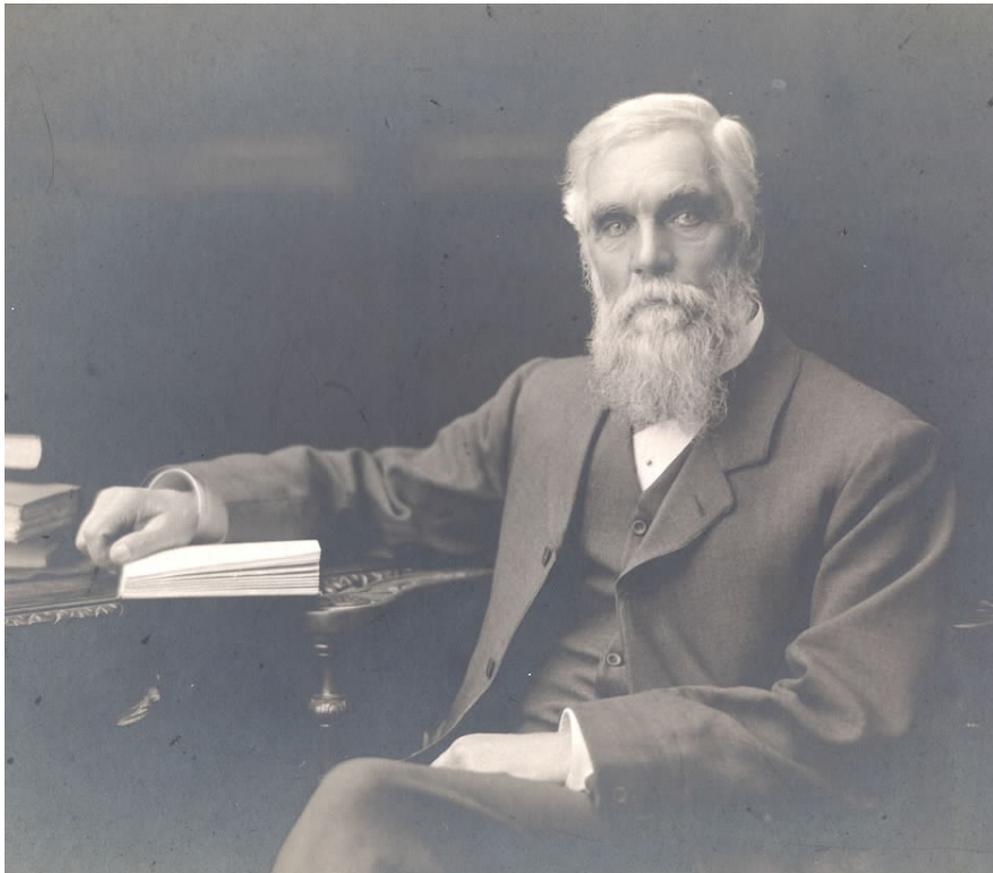


Figure 1. George Samuel Sale 1906.
(Hocken Library, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago, Dunedin S03-2/8)

³⁴ L. S. Adams, *Thomas Dagger Adams: Professor of Classics at the University of Otago* (Wellington 1954).

*Utrum ex gloria cupidine an ex honesto
 erga rempublicam studio magna plerumque
 et heroica facta orientur.*

*In universo illo rei publicae luctu quem nuper viro
 illustrissimae gravissimaeque mors non propinquo tantum
 neque necessario sed unicuique nostrum humillimo
 atque ignotissimo attulit, haud minimum doloris leni-
 -mentum videbatur indolem viri ac virtutes eximias
 celebrare; quum vero ut amicum sibi quisque et
 quasi patrem patriae amicum defleret illud solatium
 querebat ut ingenium illius praclarum miraretur et
 pro exemplo sibi propositum teneret, ut quamvis imp-
 grepsu pro virili quisque parte imitando sequeretur,
 ita ut etiam mortuus ante ora versari posset, et
 memoria ejus quotidie magis enitesceret. Non equidem
 hoc loco virtutes ejus praclaras quas ac gravissimae quid-
 viri summam doctrinam summam dicendi copiam instructi*

Figure 2. First page of Sale's Latin Essay.

(Hocken Library, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago, Dunedin Misc-MS-1798)

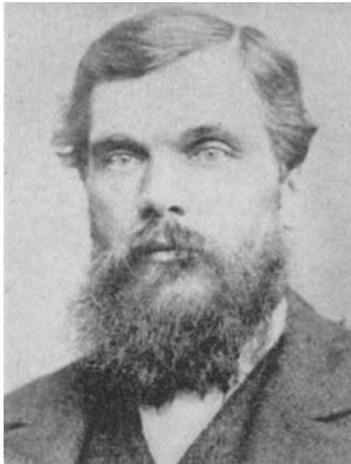


Figure 3. Sale 1871. (Morrell, *The University of Otago: A Centennial History* [Dunedin 1969] facing p. 19)



Figure 4. Otago University Football Club First Fifteen 1896.
(Hocken Library, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago, Dunedin S02/358a)



Figure 5. Margaret Maria Fortune, wife of George Samuel Sale.
(Hocken Library, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago, Dunedin S02/358b)

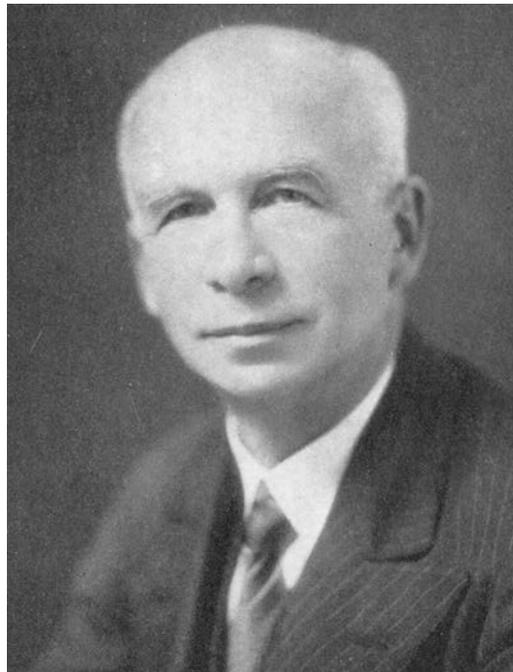


Figure 6. Thomas Dagger Adams 1933. From Lucy S. Adams, *Thomas Dagger Adams: Professor of Classics at the University of Otago* (Wellington 1954) frontispiece.
(Hocken Library, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago, Dunedin S03-164)

REVIEW ARTICLES

Scholia publishes solicited and occasionally unsolicited review articles. Review articles to be considered for publication should be directed to the Reviews Editor, *Scholia*.

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITICS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

André F. Basson

Department of Classics, University at Buffalo, State University of New York
Buffalo, New York 14221, USA

Timothy D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*². Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. Pp. xviii + 343, incl. eleven appendices. ISBN 0-674-00549-X. USD26.50.

In the history of the Western church, Athanasius of Alexandria has long been revered as the author of the paschal letter (39) that established the canonical status of most of the books of the New Testament and honoured for his unyielding stand against Arianism. By painstakingly sifting through the facts and carefully evaluating the historical evidence drawn from an impressive array of primary documents (not to mention the vast number of modern sources), Timothy Barnes has attempted to recover something of the original portrait of Athanasius. But, as the title already suggests, the aim of the book is not a biography in the conventional sense of the word. Instead, the focus is primarily on Athanasius' career during the often turbulent years in which he served—on and off—as bishop of Alexandria and on his volatile relationship with the imperial court. The concise *Forschungsbericht* that serves as an introduction seeks to justify the need for a reappraisal of Athanasius' role in ecclesiastical politics during the reigns of Constantine and his sons. The main assumption underlying Barnes' book needs to be noted. It is that 'Athanasius consistently misrepresented central facts about his ecclesiastical career, in particular about his relationship with the emperor Constantine and his three sons . . . and about his own standing within the Christian church in the eastern half of the empire . . .' (p. 2). In the introduction, Barnes also provides a systematic overview of the principal groups of primary sources, briefly noting their history and relative value in each case.

By way of introduction, the first few paragraphs of the second chapter (pp. 10-18) cursorily review Athanasius' early years, before his election as bishop of Alexandria in AD 328, but special attention is devoted to his education and culture. At least from the subject's own writings, Barnes finds no solid evidence to conclude that his culture was anything but rather mediocre, even when measured by the general standards of someone of his humble origins. No sooner had the external threat of persecution been removed, than the Arian controversy struck the church like a

hurricane. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, was at the epicentre of the storm. By virtue of his close connection to Alexander, Athanasius was drawn into many of the major ecclesiastical manoeuvres aimed at reconciling the main parties, hence the title of this chapter, 'Bishop Alexander', which deals for the major part with the extent to which the crisis impacted upon Athanasius' career. He even assisted Alexander at the famous Council of Nicaea in 325. When Alexander died three years later, Athanasius was elected—although not by a unanimous vote—to succeed him. Clearly, his steadfast support of Alexander and his prominent role in the anti-Arian coalition were beginning to pay dividends. But just how ephemeral these dividends actually were, would soon be revealed. Already the fact that his election was not by a common vote was an ominous sign.

As Barnes points out at the beginning of chapter 3, 'Alexander and Constantine: History and *Apologia*' (pp. 19-33), the forty-five years Athanasius served as bishop of Alexandria were almost anything but peaceful. It was a tumultuous time in which political events in the Roman empire and the changing fortunes of the house of Constantine often influenced the course of church politics and vice versa. From the very beginning, Athanasius found the legitimacy of his episcopacy being contested, and only two years after his election he was forced into exile. Barnes neatly traces the tortuous route of diplomacy and political intrigue that followed Athanasius' return to his see and still allowed him to survive the unrelenting efforts by his opponents (notably the Arian 'party' and the Melitians) to end his episcopacy. Unfortunately for Athanasius, who nevertheless proved himself to be a worthy adversary, the supporters of Arius and the Melitians had the advantage of a powerful and very influential champion at the imperial court in the person of Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia. In his dealings with both parties, Constantine appears to have been at pains to act without bias and not to encroach upon the powers and prerogatives of the church. Hence, for example, the anomaly of Athanasius being exiled to Trier by imperial order in 335, but without any official change in his status as the legitimate metropolitan of Alexandria. In the remainder of the chapter, Barnes submits to closer scrutiny Athanasius' account of these years in his *Defence against the Arians* and demonstrates how Athanasius musters an impressive arsenal of documents to put a positive spin on his relationship with Constantine and to discredit his opponents. It appears that both in his treatment of documentary evidence and in attempts to safeguard his position, Athanasius was not averse to resorting to dishonest means.

The death of Constantine found Athanasius still in exile in Trier. As soon as his exile was lifted, he returned to Alexandria via Cappadocia for the purpose of a meeting with Constantius. This is the subject of chapter 4, 'A Journey to Cappadocia' (pp. 34-46). But Barnes does not state why Athanasius found it necessary to seek an audience with Constantius at this point in time. At Antioch, a council of bishops had already taken the first steps towards deposing Athanasius. Probably on Athanasius' initiative, a council of Egyptian bishops was soon convened in Alexandria to prove him innocent of the charges levelled at him by the council of Antioch. Athanasius had a powerful ally in the person of Julius, the bishop of Rome, but was still unable to

secure Constantius' goodwill. One must assume—since Barnes does not provide a clear reason—that Constantius' hostility towards Athanasius had much to do with the latter's relentless opposition to Arianism, an attitude which Constantius probably feared would split the Empire. On at least two occasions during 337 and 338, Athanasius was able to defend himself before Constantius, apparently with some success, since he was allowed to remain bishop of Alexandria, his condemnation by the council of Antioch notwithstanding. But his enemies nevertheless pressed ahead to have him deposed. This they managed to achieve at another council of bishops which again met in Antioch, with the full knowledge, if not active support, of Constantius. Athanasius was forced to flee Alexandria and go into exile for the second time. Intriguing is the vacillating attitude of Constantius towards Athanasius and Barnes does not provide a clear answer for it. Mere political opportunism just does not seem to explain fully the reason why one moment he was quite willing to accept Athanasius' defence against the calumnies of the first council of Antioch, when the very next moment, almost immediately after their meeting in Caesarea, he proceeded to conspire with the second council of Antioch to have him deposed.

When Athanasius left Alexandria, it was at Rome that he sought refuge. There at least he could count on the protection of the city's bishop. Barnes devotes one whole chapter, 'Athanasius at Rome' (pp. 47-55), to Athanasius' Roman sojourn. At Rome, Athanasius composed an encyclical letter in which he tried to 'set the record straight' regarding the circumstances surrounding his departure from Alexandria. To the eastern bishops—the primary addressees of the letter—he portrayed himself as the innocent victim of a series of hostile acts, for which he held mainly Constantius and the council of Antioch responsible. It was probably also at Rome—so Barnes argues—that Athanasius composed his (three) *Orations against the Arians*. This treatise sought to expose Arius' heretical teachings and to explain the orthodox view. At the same time, it also aimed at arousing sympathy for Athanasius as the principal champion of orthodox theology. By hitching his cause to that of Nicæan orthodoxy and promoting the idea that an assault on the former constitutes *ipso facto* an attack on the latter, Barnes claims, Athanasius was deliberately engaging his enemies on two fronts, the political and the ideological.

In an attempt to achieve some kind of rapprochement between Athanasius and his eastern confrères, Julius invited the latter to a joint council to be held in Rome. The invitation was turned down. Most of chapter 6, 'Julius and Marcellus' (pp. 56-62), deals with Julius' reply to the rejection by the eastern bishops of his invitation to come to Rome. If anything, the chapter reveals the extent of the ideological gulf that separated the two parties, not only on the issue of the innocence of Athanasius and Marcellus, another exile at Rome whose cause had been taken up by Julius, but also on strictly theological issues. When Athanasius finally did return to Egypt in 346 it was due to the intervention of Constans who had put pressure on his brother Constantius. Four years later, Constans was dead, the victim of an assassination, and Athanasius was without his imperial patron.

In his *Defense before Constantius*, Athanasius sought to refute allegations that he had somehow turned Constans against his brother. In chapter 7, 'The Intervention of Constans' (pp. 63-70), Barnes examines the relationship between Athanasius and the western emperor, in the light of this document which, so Barnes seeks to demonstrate in appendix 3 (pp. 196f.), was actually written over a number of years, from 353 to 357. Throughout his *Defense before Constantius*, Athanasius professes his innocence. He claims he had met with the emperor in three cities, Aquileia, Trier and Milan, but always in the presence of witnesses. Barnes finds textual evidence proving that these audiences occurred between the autumn of 342 and the autumn of 345.

The council of Serdica was an attempt by the emperor Constans to address concerns he and the western clergy had regarding the state of the church and of orthodox theology in the East. The eastern bishops saw these matters in a different light and were therefore less eager to attend. In fact, the delegates from the West outnumbered their counterparts from the East by a fairly wide margin. The council of Serdica and the correspondence that ensued between the main parties are the main subject of the chapter 8, 'The Council of Serdica' (pp. 71-81). Given the high level of disagreement and mutual distrust that already prevailed between East and West, it should not come as a surprise that the delegates failed to reach unanimity on the main issues. When news arrived that Constantius had defeated the Persians, the eastern delegates withdrew. In a letter they addressed to the council, they singled out a number of ecclesiastics (including Athanasius) for vehement condemnation, while also denouncing other bishops who had been deposed in the East and forced into exile. Piqued by the conduct of their eastern brethren, the western bishops composed a stern riposte in which, *inter alia*, they re-affirmed Athanasius' innocence and insisted that he be allowed to return to his see. Both letters also dealt with other pressing ecclesiastical issues, but these were not strictly germane to Athanasius' cause, although Barnes discusses them at some length.

Since no final agreement had been reached at Serdica on any matter, Athanasius' official status remained unchanged, at least as far as Constantius was concerned, and he was therefore not able to return to Alexandria until the emperor was prepared to accept the statement of his innocence by the western bishops who had attended the council of Serdica. In chapter 9, 'Athanasius and the Martyrs of Adrianople' (pp. 82-86), Barnes examines Athanasius' activities and movements in the intervening years, between the conclusion of the council of Serdica and his return to Alexandria, but especially his account in the *History of the Arians* of the hostile actions taken against him by the eastern bishops.

Intervention by Constans prompted Constantius to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards Athanasius. Before returning to his former see in 346, Athanasius first met with Constans in Trier, visited Rome (via Aquileia), and journeyed to Antioch in response to the (repeated) summons of Constantius to appear at court. Apart from dealing with the theological and political response by the eastern bishops to the synodical letter of the western council of Serdica, chapter 10, 'Return to Alexandria' (pp. 87-93), also examines the main factors involved in Constantius' decision to

restore Athanasius to his former see and the favourable circumstances under which the latter was able to return to Alexandria.

Upon entering Alexandria, Athanasius received a rapturous welcome, a fact which Barnes interprets at the beginning of chapter 11, 'The Condemnation of 349 and its Context' (pp. 94-100), as evidence that the city's support for their erstwhile bishop had not diminished during his long absence. In fact, the author notes that between 335 and 348 the number of Egyptian bishops loyal to Athanasius had almost doubled. But, as Barnes points out, support for Athanasius was not limited to the Egyptian church hierarchy, but also included monastic communities in rural Egypt, not to mention the goodwill of the western bishops (the most notable of whom being the bishop of Rome) and the emperor Constans. The fact that another council of Antioch decided to depose Athanasius in 349 certainly seems to confirm Barnes' claim that Constantius' conciliatory attitude towards him had purely been a matter of political expediency (pp. 90 and 97). If Athanasius wrote the main part of his *Defense against the Arians* with the aim of submitting it to the council, as Barnes tries to argue, one could only wonder what effect he thought it would have, since at that point in time he could hardly been under any illusion regarding the extent of the feelings of his eastern colleagues against him.

In chapter 12, 'The Usurpation of Magnentius' (pp. 101-08), Barnes returns to the issue of the charge that Athanasius had conspired against Constantius. The death of Constans allowed room for the accusation that he had not only tried to foment hostility between Constans against his brother, but had also colluded with the former's successor, Magnentius. Athanasius vehemently denied these charges in his *Defense before Constantius*. Barnes carefully weighs Athanasius' arguments, yet finds no clear evidence either proving or disproving his guilt. For the time being, Constantius appears to have had no other choice but to lend his support to Athanasius, if only to discourage him from conspiring with Magnentius. The latter part of the chapter reviews the conflict between Constantius and Magnentius and also the dynastic succession that raised first Gallus and then his younger brother, Julian Caesar, to the imperial purple. It concludes with a brief discussion of the positive appraisal of Constantius and his reign by Cyril of Jerusalem.

The only evidence for Athanasius being deposed by the Council of Sirmium (351) is neither official nor explicit, but for the most part entirely circumstantial. Be that as it may, it seems that the Council's decision was conveyed to the bishop of Rome who acted upon it by inviting Athanasius to come to Rome in order that the matter could be resolved. In great detail, chapter 13, 'Sirmium, Arles, and Milan' (pp. 109-20), first sets out Athanasius' literary response to the decision by the Council of Sirmium, before turning to the measures taken by Constantius to ensure unanimous support for the council's condemnation of Athanasius. On the basis of Athanasius' fervent defence of Nicæan orthodoxy in his *On the Council of Nicæa*, Barnes argues that it is quite possible that the work was written as a direct response to the Council of Sirmium, since 'it had long been Athanasius' strategy to associate his own cause with the defense of the true faith' (p. 110). Athanasius was far too astute a politician not to

the defense of the true faith' (p. 110). Athanasius was far too astute a politician not to realise that Constantius would resort to any means to ensure that the council's decision would be carried out. In his *Defense Before Constantius*, he therefore attempts to refute the main charges on which his condemnation by the council was based. Undeterred Constantius sought to obtain general support for the council's decision, even applying 'coercion and threats' (p. 115) where called for. These measures proved to be quite effective, since only a few western bishops persisted in withholding their assent. Athanasius was left with little choice but to leave Alexandria.

Athanasius appears to have spent the major part of his 'exile' in hiding in Egypt (some of it even in Alexandria). The most important works which he wrote in this period (his most prolific according to Barnes) are the subject of chapter 14 (pp. 121-35). They include a long *Letter to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya*, a *Defense of His Flight*, his *History of the Arians*, a collection of *Letters to Serapion*, and an *On the Councils*. The chapter's title, 'Apologia, Polemic, Theology', is intended to echo the general tenor of these works which, with the exception of the latter two, all aimed to portray Athanasius, in one way or another, as the courageous guardian of the orthodox cause and the hapless victim of its enemies. The *Letters to Serapion* and the *On the Councils* reaffirm the position of the Council of Nicaea regarding the relationship among the three persons of the Trinity, although in the latter work, Athanasius adopted a more conciliatory tone in an attempt to gain the support of some of his opponents. In this respect, Athanasius had little choice, since Constantius' efforts to enforce universal adherence to the decisions of the Council of Sirmium were proving to be very successful.

Since the Council of Nicaea, the term *homoousios* ('of the same essence') had been central to the orthodox doctrine on the relationship between the Father and the Son in the divine Trinity. But in the late 350s, Athanasius, for political reasons, accepted the term *homoiousios* ('of like essence') as equally valid. At the same time, a more radical doctrine suggesting the subordination of the Son to the Father caused a major realignment of theological loyalties and alliances. In chapter 15, 'New Theological Controversies' (pp. 136-43), Barnes examines the response both in the East and in the West to this new doctrine. No less a person than the emperor Constantius rejected it (although it did not deter him from continuing to isolate Athanasius), and in the West Hilary of Poitiers took up the pen against what he saw as an attack on Athanasius and Nicæan orthodoxy.

Chapter 16, 'The Homoean Creed' (pp. 144-51), is only relevant to the life of Athanasius to the extent that it deals with the fate of Nicæan orthodoxy at the councils of Ariminium and Seleucia. Both councils, the former in the West and the latter in the East, were held at the behest of Constantius in order to achieve unanimity on the issue of the relationship between the Father and the Son in the Trinity. Pressure was brought to bear on the supporters of the Nicene creed at the Council of Ariminium—not a new imperial strategy—to adopt a creed that would find imperial favour. After much debate, the Council of Seleucia was forced to follow suit. The new homoean creed which the two councils finally adopted stated that the 'Son is like the Father' (p. 148)

and deliberately avoided many of the key terms which in previous creeds had caused so much discord and dissent.

The sudden death of Constantius in 361 opened a window of opportunity for Athanasius and the Nicene cause. Under Julian, Constantius' successor, Athanasius was allowed to return to Alexandria. Soon after his arrival in the city, Athanasius convened a council to rally support for the creed of Nicaea and to reconcile the various groups who were willing to endorse it. Even before the demise of its imperial sponsor, the homoean creed as ratified by the Council of Constantinople in 360 had been challenged. While still Caesar, Julian, prompted by political opportunism, made no attempt to suppress the growing opposition to the homoean creed being spearheaded by Hilary in the West. But once Constantius was out of the way, Julian changed tack and adopted a policy towards Christianity that was more aggressively hostile. Athanasius was among its first and most prominent victims. However, Julian's untimely death soon allowed him to resume his position as bishop of Alexandria. Chapter 17, 'The Elder Statesman' (pp. 152-64), traces the checkered course of Athanasius' career as the principal champion of Nicene orthodoxy under Julian, Jovian and Valens. Under Valens, who had received the eastern provinces upon his appointment as joint Augustus with his brother Valentinian and who was a strong supporter of the homoean creed, Athanasius was again forced to flee Alexandria, but was soon able to return to his see when political circumstances changed in his favour. Athanasius' prominent role in the defense of the Nicene creed eventually came to overshadow his past crimes and indiscretions and, as Barnes observes (p. 152), transformed him into an 'elder statesman', precisely the status which many generations of reverential church historians would later thrust upon him.

Chapter 18, 'The Emperor and the Church, 324-361' (pp. 165-75), seeks to draw some pertinent conclusions from what has been discussed in the previous seventeen chapters. It is a well established fact that the reign of Constantine inaugurated a period of increasingly close—but not always harmonious—relations between church and state, a fact perhaps best illustrated in the life of Athanasius. This development became even more marked during the reign of Constantius, although, as Barnes points out (p. 166), contemporary historians (both secular and ecclesiastical) are curiously somewhat reticent about it. In respect to the extent to which the emperor was able (or even willing) to exercise control over the course of church politics, Barnes makes the important observation that the conclusions of more recent (especially German) scholarship are not borne out by the facts. For example, apart from one notable exception, there is no evidence that during the period 324-79 the emperor 'ever presided or even sat as a member' of an ecclesiastical council (p. 169). Even the convening of a council was not absolutely dependent on his command or even his *fiat*. But this does not mean that the emperor was without influence when it came to setting the agenda or the decisions that were taken. Furthermore, it seems that already in the time of Constantine, the emperor felt obliged to respect the decisions of ecclesiastical councils, as well as their right to try bishops. The increasing independence the bishop began to enjoy vis-à-vis the Roman legal system of the day,

especially in the West, was certainly a major contributing factor to the steady rise to influence and power of the episcopacy in the late fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. Thus one can hardly dispute Barnes' claim at the beginning of chapter 19, 'Bishops and Society' (pp. 176-79), that in the case of Athanasius, political factors were as much the reason for his eventual prominence—if not more so—as was his personal character. Barnes also demonstrates how certain aspects of imperial policy under Constantine served indirectly to further enhance the status and authority of the Christian bishop. But particularly noteworthy is his observation that from the dissolution of the traditionally close network of social, religious and political relations caused by Constantine's reforms, the Christian bishop finally emerged as the single most important power-broker and dispenser of patronage after the emperor—a phenomenon already examined in greater detail by numerous scholars of late antiquity.

In the final chapter, which serves as an epilogue, (pp. 180-82), Barnes briefly goes into the power struggle that ensued almost immediately after Athanasius' death. At issue—so the man whom Athanasius himself designated as his successor claimed—was nothing less than the future of Nicene orthodoxy. However, the death of Valens and the appointment of Theodosius to succeed him in the East, determined the outcome of the struggle in favour of the cause Athanasius had so indefatigably championed all his life as bishop.

Barnes concludes his book with no fewer than eleven extremely detailed appendices. The first appendix (pp. 183-91) provides a brief editorial history of the Syriac and Coptic corpora of Athanasius' *Festal Letters* as well as a reconstituted chronology. Appendix 2 (pp. 192-95) addresses the question of what the author terms the 'puzzling structure' (p. 192) of the *Defense Against the Arians*, while appendix 3 (pp. 196f.) examines the nature of the composition of the *Defense Before Constantius*. In appendix 4 (pp. 198f.), Barnes explains his reason for postulating 352/3 as the date of the *On the Council of Nicaea*. Appendix 5 (pp. 200-04) offers a brief analysis of the second book of Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History* to demonstrate the work's unreliability as a chronological account. Appendix 6 (pp. 205-08) reviews the principal sources of Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History* and Sozomenus' work of the same name and lists a number of passages in the latter which supplement and provide detail not found in Socrates. Appendix 7 (pp. 209-11) seeks to rehabilitate Theodoretus' reputation as a historian, notably by cataloguing passages from book two of his *Ecclesiastical History* that demonstrate a measure of independence from previous sources, especially Rufinus and Socrates. In appendix 8 (pp. 212-17), Barnes proposes a reconstruction of the chronology of Paul of Constantinople's career, drawing on internal evidence provided by Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*. Appendix 9 (pp. 218-28) sets out a chronology of the principal residences and attested movements of Constantine's three sons, and of Caesar Gallus and the emperor Julian, up to December 361. Appendix 10 (pp. 229-32) consists of a list of the (surviving) creeds promulgated during the reign of Constantius. In each case, the text edition and other pertinent information are also mentioned. It concludes by examining the thorny issue of the four Councils of Sirmium. The final appendix (pp. 233f.) provides a

concordance of the reference-systems of the Martin, Batiffol and Opitz editions of the *Athanasii historia acephala*.

Barnes' book is by no means an easy read, but its meticulous scholarship and valuable insights make it an indispensable guide to the life of Athanasius and to the relationship between Church and State in Late Antiquity.

THE LITERATURE OF THE WORLD ENGLISHED

Jo-Marie Claassen
Department of Latin, University of Stellenbosch
Matieland 7602, South Africa

Peter France (ed.), *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Pp. xxiii + 656. ISBN 0-19-818359-3. GBP65.00.

For Classicists, whose undergraduate teaching brief consists largely in teaching tyros how to translate from Latin before they can begin to explore the joys of literary appreciation, this book elicits a feeling of surprised delight 'How could I have got on so long without it?' At the same time it offers the traditional 'desert-island' compendious fare that will lure even the most dedicated Classicist into surreptitiously dipping into the joys of learning about not only the more predictable Indian literature (in Sanskrit, Classical Tamil and the modern Indian languages) but also about literature in African, Central European or East Asian languages (Chinese, Japanese and Korean) as well as the literatures of West Asia, from ancient Mesopotamian literature to works in Arabic, Turkish and modern Persian. This is beside useful sections on the Bible as well as on modern Hebrew (and Yiddish) literature, on the literature of Italy, Spain, Russia, France and Germany (as well as the literature of its Germanic forebears and Nordic and Dutch kin), and also on Celtic literature (Irish, Gaelic and Welsh, both ancient and modern).

The sections on Latin and Greek will be treated in more detail below. First some observations on the general set-up of the book. Some twenty-two pages of *prolegomena* cover aspects such as 'Advice to Readers' (which clearly explains the set-up), followed by a short list of 'Further Reading' (usefully listing works on the theory of translation as well as other encyclopaedias of translation studies, some general anthologies and four journals devoted to the topic of literary translation). Four pages list the initials and provenance of a total of one hundred and eleven contributors from around the world (ranging from Hong Kong and Seoul to Toronto and Riverside, California), among whom I counted one South African (Alet Kruger, a linguist from the University of South Africa) and three Classicists (Ronald Martin, formerly of the University of Leeds; Alison Sharrock, formerly of the University of Keele and now the University of Manchester; and Richard Stoneman of Routledge and the University of

Exeter). A four-page introduction by Peter France explains the scope of the work and intention of the collaborators (he was advised by a panel of seven of these).

The first quarter of the book comprises a section on the theory and history of translation into English, divided into three sections ('Theoretical issues,' pp. 3-38; 'Historical development', pp. 39-88; and 'Text types,' pp. 89-112) plus an extensive bibliography (pp. 116-23). These three sections are made up of seventeen individual articles by a range of scholars covering topics such as 'Norms of Translation', 'Gender in Translation', 'Varieties of English', different eras and areas (from the 'Middle Ages' to 'Translation in North America'), with 'Theatre and Opera', 'Sacred Texts' and 'Children's Literature' as special categories. Such a wide range of topics results out of necessity in a rather brief treatment of each, but the use of the Harvard method of referencing enables the reader further to pursue individual interests by referring to the ample bibliography.

The rest of the work ('Part 2', pp. 127-619) comprises discussions or critical descriptions of translated literature, again in seventeen sections, covering individual languages of origin or, in the case of all except the mainstream languages of Western Europe, groups of languages. A thirty-page index as well as cross-referencing enables a reader of 'Part 1' to navigate the translation of particular works that illustrate particular aspects of the theoretical and historical overviews. The editor explains that a single method of treatment has been avoided. Some writers in a particular language of origin have been treated individually (Aristophanes, Vergil, Ovid, Pushkin). In other cases a particular genre (Attic oratory, Greek lyric, pastoral and epigram as a unit, Latin Silver epic, Latin history) is deemed worthy of individual treatment. Other entries may discuss the whole literature of a language or even a group of languages (the African languages of South Africa merit just over two pages of double columns, including a closely-spaced bibliography of 'Translations and Studies'; translation from Afrikaans merits slightly less, of which the major part is devoted to André P. Brink, with stress on his translations into English of his own works, deemed 'texts in their own right'. From this it may be deduced that the book in no way sets out to be encyclopaedic in its coverage of topics. It is not an encyclopaedia, but a literary reference book that reflects the tastes of its compilers.

In the case of the Classics, ancient Greek literature shares forty-six pages with modern Greek. The latter merits three pages, including a bibliography, which starts with a brief discussion of when 'modern Greek literature' can be considered to have begun and what 'Greekness' meant for the citizens of the defunct Byzantine empire before the independence of 1821 and before the rise of the modern Greek state. The introduction to this whole chapter (by Stuart Gillespie, of the Glasgow University's English Department) begins with an overview of available translations from ancient Greek literature, starting with Trypanis' compilation of ancient and modern translations in the *Penguin Book of Greek Verse*, and ranging from the eight-volume Dent *Library of Greek Thought* to Michael Grant's *Greek Literature in Translation*, Grene and Lattimore's 'Chicago' tragedies and thematic collections of, for instance, erotic poetry that includes various Greek poets.

Each section of this chapter has its own compact bibliography. The sections devote individual attention to 'Homer and other epics', the four best-known dramatists, and genres (other than the lyric, pastoral and epigram mentioned above) such as philosophy, oratory and historiography, ending with five pages of elucidation of 'Biography, Fictions and Other Prose', a catch-all that includes mention of translations of Plutarch's various generic excursions (a generous part of this section is devoted to him), Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, Longus, Heliodorus and Dio Chrysostom (taken together and meriting three and a half columns), Aesop (starting with Caxton's fifteenth century English version of a French translation of a Latin collection of fables and ending with the Loeb edition and three versions from the 1960s). This section ends with half a column on Theophrastus. The comment here on Jebb's 1870 rendering of the *Characters* is a good example of Richard Stoneman's pungent, aphoristic style: 'It aims to reproduce the Greek in plain decent English—more than a crib, less than a work of literature.'

A longer discussion of the section on Homer will give a taste of what the book as a whole manages to achieve. Homeric translation, starting with Chapman, is discussed by Felicity Rosslyn of the Department of English at Leicester. Her long discussion of the work that so inspired Chapman's English readership is illuminating and entertaining. The following brief extract gives a glimpse into the strengths or otherwise of both Chapman's and Rosslyn's styles (p. 351):

Chapman's great strength is his enthusiasm for Homer, amounting to 'idolatrie'. What the translator needs is the same largeness of spirit: 'Poesie is the flower of the Sunne, and disdains to open to the eye of a candle' (Preface to the Reader, p. xxii). He writes with drive and conviction, his excitement spilling over into marginal glosses ('a simile most lively expressive') and with a wealth of hyperbole. Chapman is entirely at home in the *Iliad's* world of extravagant power and clashing princes, and he identifies unreservedly with Achilles . . . He deals boldly with the quiddities of Homeric Greek, relishing compound epithets (Vulcan is 'heaven's great both-foot-halting God'), coining many new words, and resolving textual problems to his own loud satisfaction. His fourteen-syllable line has room for all Homer's figures of speech and plenty of new ones, as well as explanations and parentheses. At its best, as in Achilles' rejection of the embassy in *Iliad* 9, it has great rhetorical power. The defect of all this energy is its disorderliness. Chapman's figures of speech often overwhelm their subject: they develop into mixed metaphors or contort themselves into word-play (a quarrel is a 'wreathing of words'). It is difficult to read many lines without getting diverted from the narrative thread . . .

Chapman merits more than a double columned page, but it is Alexander Pope who is taken as the *terminus ante et post quem*, and he likewise merits a page, with appreciation for his style, criticism of his shortcomings and a discussion of his position as literary critic and his engagement with other critics: 'The footnotes amount to some of the finest close criticism of a major text in the 18c' (p. 353). Of the moderns (in the 'post-Pope' third of this rubric, which starts with Cowper and glances at Butler's

idiosyncratic views of the authorship of the two ‘Homeric’ epics), A. T. Murray’s Loeb translation is seen as the ‘last archaizing version’. The epoch-making Rieu translations—his *Iliad* was the first of the Penguin Classics series—are dismissed as ‘more tolerable to read at length’ (p. 354) and Hammond’s *Iliad* is denoted ‘fusty’ (p. 355). Of American translators, Fitzgerald is commended as ‘lively’ and ‘flexible’, whereas Lattimore’s translations (which this reviewer likes because of its faithful adherence to the line divisions of the original Greek) are described as ‘turgid’. Rosslyn closes her rubric with the commendation of two ‘rogue translations which might stimulate any reader to a sharper sense of what goes missing’ (the perennial problem when rendering verse into a different language and translating its characters into a different era), Robert Graves’ prose *Iliad*, which ‘breaks into poetical ‘ballads’ at high points’, and Christopher Logue’s ‘reconstruct[ion of] underlying epic concepts’ (p. 355). She ends with reference to an anthology of Homeric translations ‘and many other works based on Homer’.

A column is devoted to translations of other Greek epics, from Chapman, Shelley and Thelma Sargent on the Homeric Hymns, to Parnell’s version of the *Batrachomyomachia*, to Chapman again on Hesiod, the prose paraphrase of Hesiod by M. L. West and the ‘clear and fluent version in blank verse by D. Wender’, and a thumbnail sketch of Marlowe and Chapman’s combined rendering of the *Hero and Leander* of the somewhat mysterious ‘Musaïos’, ending with E. Arnold’s ‘mildly charming’ version of the same, dedicated to Browning (p. 355).

Space precludes detailed discussion of any other rubric on the Greek side. Latin literature is served by forty-eight double-columned pages (pp. 503-50), with rubrics ranging from Lucretius through Virgil (the preferred spelling here), Lyric poetry (which includes Roman elegy), Horace and Ovid and then various genres (‘Satire and Epigram’ as a unit, ‘Silver Epic’, ‘Drama’, ‘History’, ‘[other] Prose Authors’) to ‘Late Latin and Post-classical Latin’.

As the focus of this compendium is translation *into* English, it is to be expected that experts from various English Literature departments should predominate as contributors. The eight writers of the Latin section include two Classicists (Sharrock and Martin, on drama and history respectively), five from British English Literature Departments (of the universities of Glasgow, Stirling and Bristol) and an American scholar of comparative literature (Jan Ziolkowski of Harvard, on late Latin). Their discussion of the various topics in their rubrics shows an admirable familiarity with the Latin texts, yet their focus is very much on English literature. The diversity of early English translations (most often from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries) that they treat reads like an idiosyncratic overview of the major protagonists of any mainstream history of English literature. When they move on to the twentieth century, one is struck by several omissions of what could be considered major contributions by Classicists to the Latin translation scene. The omission of P. G. Walsh’s 1999 translation of Boethius’ *Consolatio Philosophiae* can perhaps be excused on account of its late appearance (shortly before this ‘Oxford Book’ was published). The omission by David Hopkins (Bristol) of Peter Green’s 1994 Penguin translation of Ovid’s *The*

Poems of Exile, with its admirable introduction and notes, seems less excusable, as is also the omission of his 1982 *The Erotic Poems* and Guy Lee's translation of the *Amores*. As a devoted Ovidian, this reviewer feels that the major poet of Roman *nequitia* is rather hard done by, although Hopkins does give a more complete picture of the history of the Englished *Metamorphoses*. Hopkins undertakes the next rubric as well. Peter Green's translations of Juvenal are dismissed as 'comprehensible and racy but vulgar' (p. 526), which is probably fair criticism in the context of any search for true literary equivalence, including tone, in a translation.

Let us next turn to a contribution by a Classicist to see whether the balance of focus is weighted more toward the Classics themselves. Of course the exigencies of compression may account for any number of omissions, but Alison Sharrock manages to rise above such limitations in a very satisfactory four-page overview of translations of the whole of the Roman dramatic genre with, for instance, interesting and readable discussions of Heywood's sixteenth-century rendering of Seneca's *Thyestes* versus that of Slavitt from the late twentieth century. She epitomises the appeal of Senecan drama today with '[t]he grim violence and despairing horror of Senecan tragedy and of the Neronian age resonate forcibly with the anxieties of the modern world' (p. 532). Ted Hughes' translation (for an Old Vic production) of Seneca's *Oedipus* is compared with various others, and a substantial quotation from it conveys to the reader a sense of the power of Hughes' translation in 'disjointed prose-verse'. This section ends with reference to Don Share's Penguin anthology, *Seneca in English* (1998), which offers a range from which the reader may 'experience the flavour of English translations of Seneca', closing with: 'As reflects Seneca's fortunes, the collection is concentrated in the Renaissance period, and includes examples that might be called "imitations" rather than "translations", such as two passages of stichomythia from Shakespeare's *Richard III*' (p. 533). Sharrock rounds out her overview of Latin drama with about a page on Plautus and slightly less on Terence, applauding, for instance, Erich Segal's alliterative word-play in imitation of the earlier Latin playwright and ending with an appreciation of Betty Radice's Penguin version of Terence, which is 'neat, and, in an appropriately understated way, bordering on the colloquial, without being too quickly dated' (p. 534).

From all of the above it may be deduced that, for this reviewer, speaking from a Classicist's point of view, the Greek and Latin sections of the *Oxford Book of Literature in English Translation* would have benefited from the inputs of more Classical scholars, but at the same time one should concede that it is an extremely useful *vademecum* to a particular aspect of English literature. Even those rubrics that do not perhaps reflect the very latest in Classical scholarship give enough solid information both on the ancient sources and modern English versions to stimulate the reader to further research and, perhaps, to going back to the original for verification. As stated at the beginning of this review, the book has a very ambitious aim, that of demonstrating the accessibility of world literature to English speakers, and in that it admirably succeeds. Quantitatively, at almost a hundred out of a total of some six hundred and eighty pages, the Classics do not at all fare badly.

ENLIGHTENED IMPERIALISM OR OPPRESSION?

Tom Stevenson,
Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Auckland
Auckland, New Zealand

Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. Classics and Contemporary Thought 6. Pp. xxii + 494, incl. 7 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 0-520-22067-6. USD60.00.

Many scholars have asked why the Roman empire fell, and in recent times a number of studies have emphasised provincial resistance to Romanisation and the tenacious persistence of local customs and ideas. The book under review is a product of its time in that it has much to say about the periphery looking inwards and the centre looking outwards; but instead of searching for seeds of decline or reasons for the inevitable fall, it asks about the secrets of Rome's success. How did an *imperium*, a collection of conquered provinces, become transformed into a *patria*, a focus for the patriotic loyalties of its subjects? Why did the empire last so long? What induced quietude rather than rebellion? How did the centre achieve this unequalled feat? It will probably be cited in future as a positive account, one which argues that Rome tried to be, and was accepted as, a just and benevolent ruler; and the likelihood is that it will be set against negative accounts, which emphasise Rome's capacity for conquest and repression. This is foreseeable, and to a fair degree justified, but unfortunate, for Ando's thesis is more complex than simple, and more sophisticated than others on its topic. He is fully aware of force, repression, and injustice, but succeeds nevertheless in pointing out that there were positive features of Roman government and that these have not been given sufficient attention, especially of late. There was, for instance, widespread peace in the first two centuries AD, a peace that followed a Roman conquest that was extraordinarily swift in many cases; this helped enormously in engendering a positive response in subsequent ages. The whole argument deserves to be read widely, even if many readers will undoubtedly dispute its prime contentions. Their reactions will reflect the basic importance of the theme and perhaps also the long-held prejudices of readers, such as myself, who have grown up with a different, less appreciative assessment of the merits of the Roman empire (compare p. 120, on modern writers, 'suspicious of monarchs as of empires, [who] view the Roman government's role in the dissemination of news with profound cynicism'). I find myself both admiring and being somewhat disturbed by this impressive work. Its publication means that a fundamental debate now has strongly argued parameters.

Ando argues that the peoples of the Roman empire came to accept that imperial rhetoric was not just a body of empty platitudes but that there were distinct advantages to Roman rule and that the emperor did take their interests into account. We have been used to the 'propaganda' view when assessing media such as coins, statues and the

rituals of Imperial Cult, but Ando believes that provincials learned how to manipulate such media to their own advantage, so that power was negotiated in ways acceptable to them. This enabled them to respond positively to imperial requests for various kinds of support, such as *aurum coronarium*. The centre created frameworks in which the provincials could participate, enjoy the benefits of empire, and actually join the rulers, for example, through bodies like the army and the Senate and through the rituals of Imperial Cult and oath-taking. It is certainly an unfashionable view in a number of ways: it often works from the centre to the periphery, stresses positive rather than negative reactions to Roman rule, benefits rather than costs, positive rather than negative results of imperialism, general prosperity rather than elite prosperity, and a rather enlightened, even at times selfless, impulse from the centre. Yet the view of power as a matter for negotiation is quite fashionable, one of the most notable influences from sociology on analyses of Roman government and religion in the last generation or so. In Ando's words, '[i]mperial ideology emerges here as the product of a complex conversation between center and periphery' (p. xiii). I find it a helpful way of appreciating the management and maintenance of power in the Roman world. Other views tend to make one party, either the monarch or the subjects, essentially passive or reactive, or imply that power was wielded by a personality and experienced by the group, instead of being applied only insofar as it is simultaneously conceded. No reader will be unimpressed by Ando's command of a huge range of source materials. Equally, he is to be commended for his knowledge of current thinkers on social formation, like Max Weber, Jürgen Habermas and Pierre Bourdieu. This is a study which impresses both for its source criticism and its methodology.

There are ten chapters divided into three parts—about the importance (part 1), dissemination (part 2) and results (part 3) of Roman imperial ideology. The introduction, '*Communis Patria*' (pp. 1-15), sets the agenda with reference to Gibbon's ideas on the unity of the Roman Empire, and gives a synopsis of each chapter. Part 1, 'Ancient and Modern Contexts', is composed of two chapters which argue that obedience was produced by the internalisation of Roman ideology. In chapter 2, 'Ideology in the Roman Empire' (pp. 19-48), Ando follows Weber in describing the imperial office as heavily founded on charisma, but shows that the ideological agenda, set by Rome, supplied several principles of legitimation concurrently. Provincials could choose which of these principles met their outlook. The imperial ideology was characterised by flexibility and had the capacity to satisfy a diverse set of local needs and aspirations. Provincials understood the realities of power perfectly: whether one addresses him as *imperator*, *princeps*, or Augustus, he is simply a king (p. 46 n. 140, cf. Appian, *Praef.* 6). Gradually, they 'absorbed and iterated those ideas that they wished their overlords to endorse, embody, and express' (p. 467). Ultimately, they grew convinced that the values enshrined in Roman ideology responded to their needs and were supported by a majority. This welcome result was achieved unconsciously, in a non-programmatic way by the Romans, who fashioned something which addressed fundamentals of life in a spirit willing to negotiate.

Chapter 3 outlines 'The Roman Achievement in Thought' (pp. 49-70). Among other things, it distinguishes between the imperial government and particular officials, who at times might have been loathed and resisted. The political and economic stability guaranteed by Roman rule was generally recognised and appreciated, and the speed and thoroughness of Roman conquest convinced many that Rome had a divine right to construct a jural-political system for those whom they had conquered. It was thought that Rome's gods had conquered local gods, or that the latter had sanctioned Roman success. Greeks like Aelius Aristides were pleased to see the end of internecine strife in Greek life (p. 54), and they were impressed (in a tradition stretching back to Philip V of Macedon) by Rome's generous policy with her citizenship (p. 57). For their part, the Romans emphasised their special skill at government. Provincials internalised this message and tended to respond with praise for Rome's achievement of having unified the world. By the end of the first century AD, rhetoric about Rome was marked by descriptions of the empire as a single community, with the city of Rome and the emperor at its head, caring for the common interests of the inhabitants.

Part 2, 'Consensus and Communication', forms the bulk of the analysis and is notable for its informed deployment of communications theory. It encompasses four chapters, beginning with chapter 4, 'The Communicative Actions of the Roman Government' (pp. 73-130), on the evidence for and impact of widespread distribution of legal and administrative ordinances from the centre to the periphery. Ando points out that the Roman government expended huge resources on keeping the inhabitants of the empire informed. Far from being prescriptive, however, the centre sought consensus, as was the traditional Roman way in civil affairs. As a result of this approach, provincials were empowered by their rulers and in turn empowered their rulers. They were encouraged by the flexibility of Roman responses to enter negotiations or to initiate religious and political displays of consensus, which had the effect of providing support for Roman activities. Negotiation was not just encouraged but even perpetuated by this process. Ando employs the work of Jürgen Habermas, who believes that communication can only be successful when it is assented to: 'successful communication of any sort requires participants to reach a mutual or intersubjective agreement concerning the validity of an utterance' (p. 75). This applies to Roman government because Roman ideology made claims on the basis of law and morality, which could only be justified by rational discourse aimed at assent; the use of force would have invalidated them. Provincials began to describe themselves, their status and their history with reference to Roman official documents. In general the discussion is highly illuminating about the ways in which administrative and legal texts were promulgated, disseminated and authenticated throughout the Roman world. Although literacy levels were not high, Ando follows those who believe that 'a small number of literate individuals could go a long way' (p. 101).

Chapter 5 is entitled 'Consensus in Theory and Practice' (pp. 131-74). It is about the role of consensus, picturing the emperor ruling through negotiation and applying the weight of venerable bodies like the Senate in support of his desires. Ando

concentrates on documents through which emperors elicited expressions of consensus and thus implicated others in a culture of loyalism. Interestingly, documents invoking consensus usually claimed to represent the opinion of particular groups, not of the whole world, so that something deliberate rather than formulaic is implied. It was something intrinsic to the group, something to signal particular loyalty in an atmosphere of competitive displays of loyalty. Such documents 'created rifts within the general population, divided its loyalties, and allowed it to express its unity only when expressing its commitment to the established order' (p. 135). Provincial communities competed for recognition and benefits in this competitive manner, one consequence of which was that they gave up their chance for more united negotiation with the ruler. For the Senate at Rome, consensus was a stylised expression of *libertas* and should not be seen as sycophantic. It was, on the contrary, fundamental to 'the economy of flattery that facilitated exchanges between emperor and Senate' (pp. 152f.), and meant that the prestige of the Senate under the Principate was considerably enhanced (p. 168). When the Senate suppressed Gnaeus Piso and published its thanks in every major city and legionary camp throughout the empire, it was thinking in terms of a broad set of loyalty relationships and describing the ideal for all parties to live up to. The Senate's displays of consensus set an example that was followed by corporate bodies and individuals throughout the empire (p. 173).

Chapter 6 follows up with 'The Creation of Consensus' (pp. 175-205). Whereas earlier chapters examined spoken and written modes of communication, this one has interesting things to say about the drama or performance involved in achieving positive support for imperial measures. It pays particular attention to the propaganda of Septimius Severus in the years following his assumption of the purple. Ando emphasises three radically different though recurrent social dramas eliciting or expressing provincial consensus: (i) concerning provincial payments of gold for a crown in honour of imperial military victories (*aurum coronarium*, pp. 175-90); (ii) aiming at local quiescence when pretenders (like Severus and Julian) or legionary commanders needed provincial assistance for a military campaign (pp. 190-99); and (iii) encouraging acclamation, the ritualised, rhythmic, unanimous chanting-in-unison that became a favourite method of expressing consensus (pp. 199-205). The latter was a way to respond both favourably and unfavourably to particular individuals or propositions. Through such rituals, claims could be made about empire-wide unity and support for the centre, or about the empire being a unified community.

Chapter 7 investigates 'Images of Emperor and Empire' (pp. 206-73). It sees art as providing the setting for social and cultural rituals and as a prime means of communication. Accordingly, Ando has much to say about the production, transmission and reception of imperial messages in this medium. He does not believe in the old 'propaganda' view. In the case of coins, for instance, he is inclined to think that inhabitants of the empire did not understand the ideological content of an imperial coin in much detail. Instead, coins were used because of a widespread belief in their purity and economic redeemability. However, there was a general belief that the emperor supervised the coinage, and thus the emperor's charisma was inextricably

involved in the response of the provincials (pp. 215-28). This applies likewise to imperial portrait statues (pp. 228-53). These were ubiquitous (p. 232), but the benefit was not so much in a particular statue as in the impression made by a line of imperial statues, conveying the idea of a succession of charismatic individuals and of a ruling dynasty. Milestones and military standards (pp. 259-69) could similarly evoke the particular but also the totality, so that a universal symbolic language was created for the empire that operated across the never-to-be underestimated linguistic boundaries.

Part 3, 'From *Imperium* to *Patria*', contains the final three chapters. Chapter 8, '*Orbis Terrarum* and *Orbis Romanus*' (pp. 277-335), looks at the intersection between local identity and imperial loyalty, judged in terms of response to Roman laws and culture. The best way to assess loyalty to Rome, in Ando's view, is by analysing provincial reception of messages about Roman military victories, which are far more problematic on the periphery than in the capital (pp. 277f.). He argues that provincials as early as the time of Augustus began to propose models for the empire in which the distinction between citizens and provincials was replaced by that between those inside and those outside the empire (pp. 278-86). There was, then, a desire quite early on for non-citizen aliens to identify themselves as Roman (Ando emphasises that the divide between citizens and non-citizens does not help very much in appreciating the spread of loyalty). Works of art, such as the Gemma Augustea, the Boscoreale Cups and the Great Cameo of France, are interpreted as pictorial language designed to give this ideology monumental form (pp. 287-92, 303-20). Geographical writing was far from unaffected (pp. 320-29), while Hadrian's recognition of the 'limits of empire' produced a new mental geography (pp. 330-35).

Chapter 9, 'The King is a Body Politick . . . for that a Body Politique Never Dieth' (pp. 336-405), reinforces the view that provincials tended to see themselves as Roman by examining ideas and rituals which described the empire as a community under a father. It is argued that all inhabitants were unified by, for example, the enjoyment of peace, swearing loyalty oaths, filing census returns, paying taxes and submitting to Roman legal structures. In addition, even though the Romans appear to have set up urban centres to facilitate the transfer of provincial wealth to Rome, such building programmes did provide real benefits to local populations by returning wealth from the centre to the periphery. Local benefactors made contributions too, illustrating both imitation and manipulation of Roman paradigms. The symbolic language of Roman urban environments was unifying within and between provinces, and it reflected a level of material prosperity that could only be identified with Roman power. Ando notices the conceptual transformation through which the republican title *pater patriae* became simply *pater* in the works of Greek and Latin writers of the empire (pp. 398-405). He concludes that 'it must have become easier and easier for all to see themselves as equal members of that *patria*' (p. 404).

Finally, Chapter 10, 'Conclusion' (pp. 406-12), ends the analysis by emphasising once more the unifying effects of such Roman institutions as cult rituals before imperial portraits, loyalty oaths, prayers for the emperor's health, and the common calendar of imperial anniversaries. These kinds of things produced a shift

away from Cicero's conception of the *res publica* as an entity largely confined to the capital to one coterminous with the boundaries of the empire. Arnaldo Momigliano is one eminent scholar who did not believe that the paperwork passing back and forth between centre and periphery would have struck the provincial imagination and created widespread loyalty.¹ Ando's reply is that it would indeed have done so because the petitions, replies, laws and orders of this 'paperwork' were the lived testimonials that suggested the truthfulness of Augustan propaganda (p. 409). To political historians, obsessed with personality, he says that the charisma of the imperial office ultimately dominated the emperors, not the other way around—the madness and despotism of some of the best known emperors did not undermine the authority of their successors. This charisma backed their communications to the provinces—and in turn the efficiency and constancy of such communications supported the charisma.

I feel sure that one could write a parallel book about the disunity of the Roman empire, about civil discord in the capital, about imperial capriciousness, selfishness and extravagance, about the paranoia often rampant at court, about serious abuses, hated officials and revolts in the provinces, even during the most peaceful days of the *pax Romana*, about social and religious restrictions, especially in the East, status-consciousness of the most distasteful and insecurity-producing kind, about army mutinies, abuse of women, children, the aged and infirm, about resentment among slaves, piracy and banditry, problems with the grain-trade, earthquakes and famines, economic problems, especially to do with the empire's balance of payments, anxiety, wild fluctuations of fortune within quite short periods of time, and so on. How large and efficient was the imperial bureaucracy really? How consistently did provincials distinguish between abusive officials and 'Rome' as an imperial idea? Do political rituals like the census unify more than they stratify? Something similar might be asked about, for example, oath-taking in the presence of Roman authorities. Yet if the potential for a very different book is certainly there, I could not now imagine doing it with as much conviction as Ando has done. It would not be quite fair, for it would require the omission of much that sustains the alternative view. Nevertheless, there is a point to be made about selective emphasis and even more about the nature of our surviving evidence, much of which is designed to promote the view that Roman control should be characterised in something like the manner Ando offers us. It derives from people and agencies with a vested interest in the imposition of this kind of picture. Of course, any objection along these lines would inevitably run up against the undeniable fact of the longevity of Roman rule. If it was being resented and resisted constantly, how could the empire have lasted for so long? Ando's work makes it clear that if the Roman government had had to deal with constant provincial uprisings, the empire would not have lasted as long as it did.

Still, there were times when I found the picture a little too positive, the centre a touch too clever, the provincials being satisfied too easily by universalising ideology, which at times they appear to have set up rather than reacted to. Imperial Cult rituals,

¹ A. Momigliano, *On Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Middletown 1987) 100.

for instance, following writers like Simon Price,² seem largely to have been the product of provincial initiative, especially in the East, a way of controlling (not merely coming to terms with) the new foreign power. Perhaps I am being unfair, for Ando can and does stress flexibility, which must derive primarily from the attitude of the rulers, and it need not entail an attitude completely or even mostly positive. In the negotiation or conversation, each side could initiate and reply flexibly, respectfully, from a position of strength. It is the emphasis upon flexibility as a primary reason for Rome's success, often producing what seem to modern eyes like ambivalent results (provincial portrait sculpture, for example), that impresses me most about Ando's study. Force or the potent threat of force must always be kept in the foreground too. It could do with more emphasis here. Apart from this, satisfaction of basic material needs—food, clothing, shelter—is crucial, along with peace. The Roman empire was quite successful at providing these things, it seems to me. Some might say that there are examples in human history of incredible suffering being endured for what seem like intolerably long periods, but it is unlikely that this applies in any general way to the Roman empire, though it certainly depended upon your class, gender, age, race, and so on. Finally, the professional standing army shifted the burden of military service from the civilian population to a class who made it their career. The change in lifestyle and thought that this entailed in the Mediterranean world was utterly profound, and once you have relinquished your military capability it becomes quite difficult to recover it, so that you become very much dependent upon those designated to act for you militarily. The system is maintained of necessity.

I can see both the iron fist and the velvet glove in the case of the Roman Empire. It was always impressive to me as a student that the Romans, during their period of expansion in the Italian peninsula, operated on principles that were very different to those shown by the Greeks: they extended their citizenship, especially to the elites of the conquered communities, refrained from placing garrisons in conquered towns, allowed local autonomy, levied troops rather than money as tribute, thereby securing allied cooperation in their imperial ventures, and liberally gave out a variety of other privileges. While they could use force, therefore, they showed a readiness to ally themselves with, rather than simply dominate, those whom they had conquered—to their mutual benefit, for this was judged to be the best way to succeed. There is an attitude of mind here that basically seems to underlie much of what Ando has to say. It helps me to be receptive to his arguments while at the same time being careful about going too far with blanket generalisations. The big worry, to give myself away at last, is that I am being induced to see something positive in imperialism, and perhaps even an enlightened imperialism.

² S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984) 1-52.

REVIEWS

Scholia publishes solicited and unsolicited short reviews. Short reviews to be considered for publication should be directed to the Reviews Editor, *Scholia*.

J. Brunschwig and G. E. R. Lloyd (edd.; tr. under the direction of C. Porter), *Greek Thought: A Guide to Classical Knowledge*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000. Pp. xvii + 1024, incl. 65 colour illustrations, 6 half-tones, 2 maps. ISBN 0-674-00261-X. USD49.95/GBP34.50.

This large, ambitious book was first published in France (with some Italian contributions) under the title of *Le Savoir Grec: Dictionnaire Critique* in 1996. In the passage from French to English, knowledge has been ostensibly downgraded from titular to subtitled status, with a corresponding promotion of ‘thought’ to the centre of attention. But if the term ‘thought’ might arouse expectations of a multifaceted enquiry into cultural attitudes, beliefs and categories, including ‘mentalités collectives’, the reality turns out to be something rather different. This collection of essays is overwhelmingly concerned with the intellectual end of the spectrum of ideas—with domains of thought in which articulated, systematising theory came to bulk large. Almost throughout, philosophy dominates the agenda, with science in a strong supporting role and other traditions of reflection (including history, rhetoric, poetics) tagged on in places. The editors tell us (pp. ix-xi) that the book’s centre of gravity lies not so much in surveying the substance or development of theoretical disciplines as in elucidating the methodological self-questioning and the ‘fundamental reflexivity’ which they manifested, individually and collectively. In practice, however, many of the chapters do deliver fairly conventional, if often highly proficient, surveys of specific fields of enquiry or the ideas of particular thinkers. Most contributions are pitched at a level suitable for academic though non-specialist readers, readers who can themselves cope with abstract argument and not be put off by a shortage of basic background information: little cultural context or orientation is provided; dates are commonly eschewed (the chronological table at the back is no substitute for these); a lot of minor figures are mentioned allusively; and even some of the book’s handsome plates are inadequately captioned.

The collection’s sixty-two essays are divided into five sections: ‘Philosophy’ (pp. 3-124; see below); ‘Politics’, four essays on prominent themes in Greek political theory, perhaps the most thought-provoking being Richard Bodéüs’ ‘The Statesman as Political Actor’, which concentrates on the memorialisation of ‘emblematic’, mostly archaic, statesmen and legislators (pp. 125-90); ‘The Pursuit of Knowledge’, a varied section that covers institutional and conceptual aspects of intellectual study, as well as the history of individual disciplines, from astronomy to rhetoric (pp. 191-524); ‘Major Figures’, biographical essays on twenty-three thinkers, of whom fourteen are philosophers, five scientists and four historians (pp. 525-798); ‘Currents of Thought’,

where, again, philosophy predominates, eight out of eleven articles here being devoted to specific schools/movements, though there are also essays on 'Hellenism and Christianity' (Alain Le Boulluec on Greek influences on Christian theology) and a sketch by Serge Bardet of Hellenistic contacts between the cultures 'Hellenism and Judaism' (pp. 799-998).

A little more detail about the first of these sections, 'Philosophy', may help to give a slightly fuller sense of the style, as well as the limitations, of the project. Michael Frede's essay 'The Philosopher' (pp. 3-19) traces with characteristic lucidity the fluctuations between theory and practice in ancient conceptions of philosophy. It takes the story down as far as the new theurgical tendencies of the Imperial period and the resulting interaction between pagan and Christian ideas of philosophical revelation. Frede well conveys the tensions in a tradition that grew out of real human needs but whose theorising sometimes threatened to detach itself from a fully embodied life (though he is wrong to claim that all philosophers from Socrates onwards thought that 'to become a good person . . . one has to be a philosopher' [p. 5]. Aristotle, for one, would have been startled to learn that he did not count any non-philosopher as 'good'). In 'Images of the World' (pp. 20-38), Geoffrey Lloyd (who elsewhere supplies predictably assured treatment of the ancient idea and practice of science) stresses that naturalistic world-views never entirely superseded religious models, while Luc Brisson, in 'Myth and Knowledge' (pp. 39-50), somewhat similarly, though too skimpily, suggests that Greek attempts to establish autonomy for certain domains of knowledge could not wholly escape from religious-cum-mythological presuppositions; both these essays, however, prompt the question why the book as a whole does not do more to explore the overlap and interplay between intellectual and popular levels of ancient thought. (The contributor who asserts that 'from its very inception, philosophy thrived by breaking with tradition' [p. 511], offers a misleading half-truth.)

John Dillon, 'The Question of Being' (pp. 51-71), helpfully surveys ancient metaphysics, not least the contrast between transcendent and immanent conceptions of reality. Jacques Brunschwig's 'Epistemology' (pp. 72-93), one of the best pieces in the collection, provides a stimulating reappraisal of 'optimistic' and 'pessimistic' strands in the Greek quest for an adequate account of knowledge: he pays particular attention to paradoxes that arise within those philosophical epistemologies, including Plato's, in which a paradigm of knowledge as vision exercises marked influence. Finally, Monique Canto-Sperber's 'Ethics' (pp. 94-124) emphasises how Greek moral reflection tended to centre on agency, character, and the living of a certain kind of life, not on the fulfilment of categorical imperatives. Here again, though, a chance was missed to connect different areas or dimensions of Greek thought and thereby to build up a more complex picture of what counts as 'thought' in the Greek tradition. When Canto-Sperber mentions in her very last sentence that Greek tragedy (an immensely potent vehicle of a characteristically Greek world-view, yet one scarcely touched on in this book) posed a challenge to philosophical aspirations to 'moral autonomy', one is forced to contemplate how the ethical systems of philosophers have been isolated from

wider cultural trends and values—an anomaly in a book that titles itself *Greek Thought*.

There is no doubt that this volume contains an impressive wealth of information and interpretative insight. Within its own terms, its coverage is rich and full, though I do not understand why ‘psychology’ (ideas of soul/mind, of perception, and of the ‘self’) does not get a treatment of its own. Non-specialists can safely turn here for (in most cases) clear, reliable, but also probing expositions of major themes/figures in ancient philosophy and science. This reviewer at least, however, was left wondering how the enterprise might have been even more rewarding. I have already indicated my main reservation—that a book on Greek thought (or Greek knowledge) could and should have done more to take a cross-disciplinary perspective on Greek attitudes, values, and forms of wisdom. This is especially so given the abundant space at the editors’ disposal. Figures like Plato and Aristotle crop up repeatedly in thematic chapters, have essays devoted to themselves, and are also the subject of articles on their schools. The result is a somewhat indulgent degree of overlap, not to mention duplication of material readily available elsewhere (several of the chapters on ‘major figures’ fail this last test), all of which could have been pruned to make way for more discussion of the intersections between intellectuals and the mentalities of the cultures around them, including consideration of certain patterns or modes of thinking that cut across domains and disciplines (dialogue and debate, for example, would be prime candidates here).

What this book very largely excludes, or acknowledges only at the margins, is the kind of thought that finds its home in myth, in religion (considered here chiefly *qua* philosophical theology), in poetry and much visual art, as well as in popular discourse, and which often depends more on narrative, images and ethical paradigms than on abstract concepts or carefully organised investigation. Many contributors make a nod in the direction of these broader, pretheoretical mentalities, usually by a brief acknowledgement of Homeric or Hesiodic antecedents to the ideas with which they are concerned. But few go any further. One exception is Oswyn Murray, whose short but shrewd piece on ‘History’ (pp. 328-37), focussed on the emergence of a range of models of historiography in Greek culture, gives provocative support to its concluding proposition that ‘history is not separable from myth: like myth, it is a story that aims at the truth rather than one that is true’ (p. 336). For the most part, however, contributors take refuge in the safety of self-contained intellectual analysis—at a generally high, attractive level of expertise, to be sure, but one which leaves vital parts of the horizons of Greek thought outside its field of vision.

Finally, a grumble about the disappointingly mechanical and flawed index, a crucial tool in a book of this size and structure. Dominated by individuals (less so by schools of thought), it conspicuously fails to include separate entries on concepts and categories (cosmos, geography, history, language, mind, myth, nature, religion) that cut across disciplines and periods; it thus underlines the book’s relative failure to explore the cross-disciplinarity of Greek thought. Entries, moreover, are often skimpily documented (I noted dozens of missing references), while a fair number of

figures mentioned in the text are not indexed at all (many are minor, but not all: Posidonius is among them).

Stephen Halliwell

University of St. Andrews

C. Rowe and M. Schofield (edd.), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Pp. xx + 745, incl. 2 maps. ISBN 0-521-48136-8. GBP75.00.

This is a valuable and instructive addition to the series of encyclopaedic histories of the ancient world and areas of ancient thought and literature that Cambridge has produced. The editors are Christopher Rowe of the University of Durham and Malcolm Schofield of the University of Cambridge, both of whom have contributed several chapters to the work. In the introduction (pp. 1-11), Rowe explains that the volume is intended to present a fresh, critical account of ancient political thought (p. 1) rather than of political theory as narrowly conceived. The intimate connection between political and ethical philosophy is stressed (p. 5f.). In other words, 'political thought' is interpreted as widely as possible.

Part 1 deals with Archaic and Classical Greece, part 2 with the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. The work stops in the mid-fourth century AD. It is not confined to strictly political books, such as those of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and other less famous authors. The political features of poets like Homer (but not Vergil), dramatists, orators and historians are well covered. One is even surprised to see sections on such writers as Philo and Josephus, who are normally considered to be on the fringes of the Roman world. There are two clear maps, one of Greece, the other of the Roman empire. There is a satisfactory index, and three detailed bibliographies on Archaic Greece, Socratic and fourth-century BC thought, and the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The work starts with the beginnings of Greek literature in Homer and Solon. There is of course more material in the fifth and the fourth centuries BC, especially the historians (chapter 4, pp. 61-121, by R. Winter) and the orators (chapter 6, pp. 130-41, by J. Ober). Isocrates is considered with Xenophon in chapter 7 (pp. 142-54). Herodotus and Thucydides are included because the *polis* was a central issue in their histories (p. 102). Herodotus stressed the basic importance of *nomos* or law in a community. He raised the general Greek concern of how to maintain stability in a political system (p. 110). Thucydides is sensitive to the clash of oligarchy and democracy in small states and the devastating effect of *stasis* on political dissension in them (pp. 117, 121).

M. Lane provides in chapter 8 (pp. 155-63) an excellent overview of the approach taken by Socrates and Plato. She points out (p. 163) how little interest Socrates shows in communal decision-making, whether in a democratic or in an oligarchical *polis*. In chapter 9 (pp. 164-89), T. Pinner skilfully makes the background to classical Greek political systems clear. M. Schofield discusses the *Republic* in

chapter 10 (pp. 190-232). He draws attention to possible political resonances behind the surface in the Platonic dialogues and shows that it can be misleading to use such modern phenomena as totalitarianism, communism and propaganda to analyse them. The basic meaning of *politeia*, the Greek word behind the misleading Latinised translation of *Republic*, is ordering the political structure, 'political order' or 'the constitution' (p. 199). He then shows how Plato proceeds to a radical re-ordering of human society (p. 202). Plato's other works are discussed in chapters 11-14.

There are five chapters on Aristotle (15-19, pp. 310-95). He did not see a distinction between politics and ethics; for him the aim of politics was the human good (pp. 310f.). Like Plato he emphasises the relationship between legislation and the moral education of citizens (pp. 315-17). J. Roberts (chapter 17, pp. 344-65), discusses Aristotle's complex concept of justice. In chapter 20 (pp. 401-14), the beginning of part 2, P. Garnsey introduces the Hellenistic and Roman periods. As much of Hellenistic philosophy survives only in fragments, greater attention is given to Roman concepts; after all, the Romans dominated the Mediterranean world and southern and western Europe for more than five centuries and have significantly influenced the area—and beyond—ever since the 'fall' of the western empire. Garnsey usefully stresses the very personal character of Roman politics and the sort of 'presence' leading political figures had to have to succeed.

Given the evidence for Hellenistic political thought not much could be said about it in a general encyclopedia. The main expected development was theorising about the radical change in political control from the small city state to the autocratic monarchies that came to dominate the eastern Mediterranean after the death of Alexander the Great. In chapter 23 (pp. 457-76), D. Hahm analyses Hellenistic theories of kingship. Various thinkers tried to define the role of a king. His *paideia*, his education and culture, became the crucial factor. The king was to be trained, or cajoled, into first making himself rationally and 'virtuously' good (in the ancient sense of *arete* or *uirtus*) before administering his kingdom. The philosopher would provide the requisite pattern—the beginning of the tradition of the 'Mirror of Princes' (the term is usefully included in the index on p. 739). Hahm devotes a section to the Jewish writer known as pseudo-Aristeas, pointing out that he introduced aspects of Jewish theological reflection into his recommendations for the Ptolemies of Egypt. However, by the late Hellenistic period the new system of Rome had begun to change the governmental structures of the eastern Mediterranean. Hahm provides useful comments on the 'mixed constitution', as Polybius' definition of the political system of republican Rome is usually labelled, comparing it with the ancient Spartan constitution.

Chapter 24 (pp. 477-516) on Cicero is by E. Atkins. Much of it is an astute account of the ethico-political condition of the late Roman republic and Cicero's personal role in its affairs. Essentially Cicero interpreted political action by the power figures of his day (for example, Caesar and Antony) in terms of their (personal) morality. Cicero wished to return to a situation where adequate expression in government was to be given to ordinary popular opinion but guided by the wise:

leading political figures were to be suitably trained by their education to act responsibly. Cicero often stressed the sense of community vital to the maintenance of political stability: political leaders should both take and give sound advice. It was in fact a Roman custom to take *consilium* or to consult an informal group of competent advisers before coming to a decision. Cicero's statesmen needed standing and prestige (*auctoritas*), but had to operate within the confines of Roman communality and tradition.

After Cicero the next surviving overtly political writer is Seneca. M. Griffin discusses his *De Clementia* in the first section of chapter 25 (pp. 535-43). As with many Latin terms, *clementia* is difficult to dissociate from the Christian connotations of modern translations, which usually render it 'clemency' or 'mercifulness'. Seneca emphasises the need for the emperor to refrain voluntarily from applying the full rigour of the law to convicted offenders. By so doing the emperor inserts equity into the system. For Seneca Nero has to endure the 'noble servitude' of a ruler to heal rifts in society.

A full chapter is given to Josephus (chapter 28, pp. 585-96), by T. Rajak. Josephus regarded ancient Judaea as a constitutional or political entity comparable to a Greek *polis*. It was built upon the Torah or the 'Law' that gave the Jews their sense of identity. Josephus' personal contribution to Jewish political thinking was to form the Greek term 'theocracy' (analogous, of course, to monarchy or democracy) to express the Jewish conception that political power was to be exercised by God. (In this connection the remarks of A. Laks on pp. 260f., 271 should be noted.) This conception influenced the supreme role of *eusebeia* or respect for the deity in Jewish thought. In effect, theocracy was realised by the High Priest through whom divine power was exercised. Rajak also analyses some of Josephus' personal political beliefs and prejudices. His attitude to the Roman empire is referred to, but more on his analysis of Roman power in the speech of Agrippa II which he inserted in his *Jewish War* would have been useful. In chapter 30, 'The Jurists' (pp. 615-34), D. Johnston points out that those who theorised about Roman law did not concern themselves with the political implications of the Roman legal system.

In his discussion of Christianity, F. Young (chapter 31, pp. 635-60) handles the New Testament material before turning to church-state relations at the time of Constantine the Great. Her suggestion that the termination *-iani* in *Christiani*, the early and then permanent name for Christians, implies the forming of a political party is too forced. The ending *-ianus* after a person's name to indicate his followers is not uncommon in Latin (and was imitated in Greek: compare the Herodians of the New Testament) but is used in other contexts besides the political. The suffix simply means follower of someone, for whatever reason. She skilfully distinguishes various strains in early Christian attitudes to political authority: the apocalyptic, which rejected Rome totally in the hope of a coming divine kingdom; the Gnostic, which ignored the current situation to concentrate on the esoteric; and the submissive approach, the most common of the three, which regarded the state as a divinely sanctioned institution. By

the time of Constantine theories of the role of the absolute monarch were being Christianised.

One might disagree with the terminal point of the work that excludes such a key figure as St. Augustine. He is, however, discussed briefly in the epilogue by M. Schofield (compare also p. 414 n. 28). It is traditional to regard the *City of God* as a culminating document of ancient political thought and as an important critique of the Roman empire. But perhaps he was considered more of a 'medieval' than an ancient figure. One would also have hoped for a fuller treatment of theories which became important in later periods, such as the role of *ius gentium* as developed in contact with the Greek concept of natural law. The main surprise is the small amount of space given to actual abstract descriptions of the ideal political systems produced in antiquity. There is great value, however, in having political thought firmly placed in its philosophical and social context. As such this book provides an illuminating survey of an extraordinary range of political thinkers.

D. B. Saddington

University of the Witwatersrand

Sarah Scott, *Art and Society in Fourth-Century Britain: Villa Mosaics in Context*. Oxford: Institute of Archaeology, 2000. Oxford University School of Archaeology 53. Pp. 346, incl. 75 figures. ISBN 0-947816-53-4. GBP28.00.

Romano-British mosaics have attracted considerable scholarly interest in the last forty years or so and their bibliography has become correspondingly daunting. A succinct overview of the subject, laying out its highlights and the major areas of study and research is an evident desideratum. From this perspective, Scott's book succeeds admirably and has much to recommend it. She knows her subject well, presents her material comprehensibly and coherently, and has produced a volume that can be safely recommended to serious students at the graduate or senior undergraduate level.

It must be said, however, that Scott intended much more than an introduction to the subject. She maintains the thesis that art can be understood only in context, that 'any attempt to understand the significance of fourth century Romano-British villa mosaics must take account of the contexts for which they were commissioned, and also the context in which they were viewed' (p. 77). Whether she has succeeded in this particular mission is debatable, not because of any shortcomings on her part, but rather because the task is perhaps inherently impossible, since the 'the specific circumstances in which the art was created and viewed' (p. 13) are essentially elusive. We may have to recognise that a sophisticated recreation of the relationship between art and society for those areas of the ancient world for which there is scant literary evidence could well be something of an academic mare's nest.

This tone is established at the outset, in the introduction (chapter 1, pp. 9-17), where we are warned of the dangers of an imperialist approach to art that focuses on the achievements of great centres like Rome at the cost of outlying provinces like

Britain. This is a worthy battle but one that surely has been fought and won some time ago—the plethora of books on Roman Britain in the last decade or so is a vivid demonstration that this is a dead horse no longer worth flogging. Moreover, Scott argues the limitations of trying to understand art as seen in museum and galleries. It should be seen in its context. There may indeed be a case to be made for this argument when applied to mosaics, since mosaics were intended to fit the floors of buildings. As a general proposition, however, her claim is open to challenge. I remain unconvinced that her argument applies to the portable objects like silver and glassware, which often would not have had topographical contexts.

In chapter 2, ‘Chronology, Style and Industry’ (pp. 19-28), and chapter 3, ‘Mosaics and Mosaicists in Fourth-Century Britain’ (pp. 29-76), Scott draws heavily on the works of D. J. Smith, which began in earnest in the 1960s and have done much to establish regional schools of mosaicists in Britain.¹ These chapters are valuable in providing a nice review of the subject, setting out the complex issue of regional workshops and styles and the criteria that can legitimately be used to establish them. The summaries are made intelligently and are enriched by a number of Scott’s own insights. It might be argued that while these two chapters, which take up almost a third of the narrative text, do not break any new ground, they do lay the foundations for the central theme of the book. The next chapter applies the principle of regionalism to mosaics as found in the context of the Roman villa. This section is, again, extremely useful, providing a clear and intelligible survey of the villas. The first thirty pages are essentially descriptive, with good informative line drawings, although not really throwing much light on the main thesis.

Chapter 5, ‘Mythological Subjects of Romano-British Mosaics’ (pp. 113-30), tackles the issue of mythological subjects on mosaics, emphasizing what Scott sees as the ‘significance’ of the subjects, and in particular their relationship to religious and philosophical beliefs of the fourth century. Much of this chapter is both highly interesting and at the same time often disappointingly indecisive. Nor should we wonder at the indecision. The ‘meaning’ of mosaics from villas like Brading has been much debated—and, as Scott concedes, the debate is likely to go on for much longer—between those who see the scenes as allegorical and those who see in them simply the incorporation of stock subjects from throughout the empire.² Along with the religious

¹ Smith contributed a chapter on mosaics in P. Corder (ed.), *The Roman Town and Villa at Great Casterton: Second Interim Report for the Years 1951-1953* (Nottingham 1954) 35-39, but his earliest major contribution to the issue of the schools was ‘Three Fourth Century Schools of Mosaic in Roman Britain’, in H. Stern and D. Picard (edd.), *La Mosaïque gréco-romaine* (Paris 1965) 95-116.

² See E. W. Black, ‘Christian and Pagan Hopes of Salvation in Romano-British Mosaics’, in M. Henig and A. King (edd.), *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1986) 147-57; M. Henig, ‘*Ita Intellexit Numine Inductus Tuo*: Some Personal Interpretations of Deity in Roman Religion’, in Henig and King [above, this note] 159-69 for allegorical interpretations; R. Ling, ‘Brading, Brantingham and York: A New Look at Some Fourth-

sensitivities of the owner, the choice of mosaics could depend on his *paideia*, the possession of a cultural and social sophistication. Scott claims that the ‘representation of a mythological scene or subject must reflect some kind of knowledge or interest on the part of the villa owner’ (p. 127). This is an unprovable assertion and one that seems to me to be counter-intuitive, since it downplays aesthetics and style as potent elements in the process that makes certain types of artistic creations appealing at any given time.

Scott pays particular attention to the Orpheus motif. In this connection the villa at Woodchester is striking because of its symmetry and plan and the culmination of that plan in the inner core of highly decorated rooms. The famous Orpheus mosaic, which occupied the ‘architectural and symbolic focus’ (p. 138), may have impressed villa owners in the area to commission pavements with a similar theme. Scott goes on to consider Christian symbols in the mosaics and to try to determine whether the rooms they decorated were used as places of worship. The evidence is imprecise but seems to speak against the notion. The final chapter brings the various threads together, with a picture of villas owned by networks of elite figures, a situation characterized by considerable regional variation. The chapter is of much interest, but illustrates the frustration that the social-scientific approach can engender when applied to this subject. Page 168, for instance, contains fourteen sentences in total. Of these only two provide what might be considered factual statements. The remaining twelve are essentially speculative: ‘villas *must have formed* the focus’; ‘[i]t is also likely that . . . villa owners . . . *must have formed* . . . networked groups, who *probably* entertained’; ‘[t]hese elites *must have played* a key role’; ‘*we must envisage* closely networked groups’; ‘[l]ater evidence *suggests*’; ‘a colonate system in Britain *may have served*’; ‘[t]he visual impact *must have served*’; ‘[t]he largest villas *must have had* a great deal in common’; ‘[t]he owner of the villa at Woodchester *was probably* socially networked’; ‘[t]his *may also* have been the case; medium-sized villas *probably represent* the homes’; ‘the “Thrupton group” of villas *may be seen* as representing successful farmers’ (my emphasis). Granted that dogmatic assertions are generally to be avoided in scholarship, but Scott’s tentative approach does in places provoke a nostalgia for the simpler art-historical approach, which seeks to inform and instruct and avoids excessive speculation.

This is a useful, informative and reliable book. It will serve to introduce scholars and students to a rewarding area of study. Those already familiar with the subject will be presented with a way of looking at the villas that they may find unfamiliar and perhaps unconvincing. But they will benefit by being provoked and challenged by someone who has demonstrated such expertise.

Anthony A. Barrett

University of British Columbia

Century Mosaics,’ *Britannia* 22 (1991) 147-57; and P. Witts, ‘Interpreting the Brading “Abraxas” Mosaic,’ *Britannia* 25 (1994) 111-17 for the notion of stock repertoires.

Alessandro Barchiesi, *Speaking Volumes: Narrative and Intertext in Ovid and Other Latin Poets*. London: Duckworth, 2001. Pp. 206. ISBN 0-7156-3027-X. GBP14.00.

This collection brings together eight papers published between 1986 and 1997,¹ six of them translated from the original Italian by Matt Fox and Simone Marchesi. Individually, they contain perceptive readings of Ovid, Vergil and other Latin poets; together they provide a journey through what has been an exciting decade or so in the study of these authors and an illustration of how narratological and intertextual approaches have enriched our critical perspectives—a decade in which Alessandro Barchiesi's has been a prominent and persuasive voice.

In 'Continuities' (pp. 9-28), recognition of intertextual allusion is crucial to how Barchiesi resolves textual problems in three passages of Ovid (*Her.* 3.44, *Rem. Am.* 281-86, *Her.* 10.81-98). Ovid's Briseis recalls the *Iliad*, his Circe the *Odyssey* and *Aeneid*, his Ariadne Catullus and the *Fasti*. But acknowledging that intertextuality is fundamental to Ovid's poetics risks a subjective critical over-emphasis on predictable allusiveness. This Barchiesi, building on Hinds' reading of *Tristia* 1,² forestalls by arguing that Ovid's explicit instructions to his book in *Tr.* 1.1 and 1.7 take his poetics a stage further, to explore connections between his own works. 'Now begins for him the most depressing of intertextual journeys, the backward path of retracing his own writing in light of his present misery, and seeing the sadness of the outcome as the last metamorphosis to be narrated' (p. 28).

'Narrativity and Convention in the *Heroides*' (pp. 29-47) explores the potential for irony and distancing in the interplay of genres. Heroines like Penelope and Briseis (*Her.* 1, 3) are *exempla* in elegy, and the letters reflect elegy's single-minded focus on love, a subjectivity reinforced by the choice of first person narrator. At the same time, these women belong in epic, and Ovid's subtle intertextual play revisits their stories in an original way—not, as some earlier scholars argued, as parody or subversion. What Barchiesi calls 'the hesitation between, coexistence of, and the shifting back and forth of codes and values' (p. 34) is even more complex in Dido's letter (*Her.* 7), for she is not a conventional epic heroine, but had already been drawn from elegy into epic by Vergil.

In 'Voices and Narrative "Instances" in the *Metamorphoses*' (pp. 48-78), the application of narratological theory to sections of the poem which have been thought to convey the poet's 'voice'³ reveals unexpected ironies as Barchiesi shows how the identity of the narrator and the circumstances of narration (occasion, setting, audience) impact on the theme of the narrative. How, for instance, do we react to the 'wisdom'

¹ References have been updated and some changes have been made, without altering the argument, and the translated articles have been edited by Fox and Marchesi. Details of first publication are listed with brief summaries in the preface (pp. 7f.).

² S. Hinds, 'Booking the Return Trip: Ovid and *Tristia* 1', *PCPhS* ns 31 (1985) 13-32.

³ Baucis, Philemon and Erysichthon in book 8, Orpheus in books 10-11, Pythagoras and Ovid's closing prophecy in book 15.

Numa learned from Pythagoras and brought to Rome, when we consider that the Augustans were well aware that the pupil lived some two centuries before the teacher and that Pythagoras' injunctions to spare innocent animals and abstain from meat are delivered to the king famous for having instituted almost all the blood sacrifices at Rome?

'Teaching Augustus through Allusion' (pp. 79-103) examines the relationship between poetics and politics through readings of Horace's and Ovid's letters to Augustus (*Ep.* 2.1 and *Tr.* 2) which focus on the construction of Augustus as 'didactic addressee' (p. 79). Horace's Augustus has many characteristics, often contradictory, and the delicate question of how to praise him is bound up with questions of classical moderation and taste. Ovid's is a reader needing instruction who is given an intertextual lesson in how to read elegiac poetry that turns generic expectations of the relationship of real life and poetry inside out. '*Tristia* 2, if Augustus knows how to listen, is above all a lesson on one important aspect of poetry, its instability of meaning' (p. 102).

Intertextual allusion takes the reader backwards in time, to an earlier text, although the writer works forwards from that text to the new one. In 'Future Reflexive: Two Modes of Allusion and Ovid's *Heroides*' (pp. 105-27), Barchiesi asks what happens if the allusion is to the future (as in a prophecy) and argues that it then creates space for irony and literary self-consciousness. In this light he regards the *Heroides* as exploiting the contrast between 'traditional' epic and tragedy and 'new' and 'private' love elegy (p. 114). The letters' reflexive concern with writing and texts reaches a climax with *Heroides* 20 and 21 (Acontius and Cydippe), which use Callimachean allusion to rehearse ideas about elegy. Barchiesi suggests that Augustan poets sometimes use allusion 'to recreate a kind of myth of origins' of their genre.

The study of allusion necessitates detailed, text-based analysis (and Barchiesi's readings communicate an intense pleasure in this engagement with texts), but two chapters aim at more generalised theoretical overview and synthesis. 'Tropes of Intertextuality in Roman Epic' (pp. 129-40) concisely covers a wide field, identifying figures whose connection with ideas of transmission and interpretation makes them ideal vehicles for the creation of a nexus of generic awareness through indirect allusion: fate, fame, dreams, prophecies, *ecphrasis*. A post-conference summing up of common ground and divergences ('Some Points on A Map of Shipwrecks', pp. 141-54) provides a welcome survey of scholarly positions in this field of intertextuality. Barchiesi stresses that interpretations are not immutably fixed, either in the model or the imitating text, and that interpretation works both ways (Vergil may influence the way we read Homer) and that the study of intertextuality need not preclude other critical perspectives (like feminism or the 'new historicism'). He has some interesting observations on how our recognition of allusion can engender a respect not previously accorded to some less-appreciated authors, balanced by a caveat against 'the notion that what is *complex* is also *beautiful*' (p. 115).

Finally 'Ovid the Censor' (pp. 155-61) situates books 2 and 3 of the *Amores* in the discourse of Augustan marriage legislation (an appendix argues that the five-book

'first edition' of the *Amores* is a literary fiction, thereby countering problems of too early a date). Starting from an allusion in *Am.* 3.11.39 to a speech of the censor Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus in 131 BC Barchiesi argues that numerous Catullan allusions and 'censorial' terminology point Ovid's exploration of tensions between *nequitia* ('vice') and traditional morality. This chapter is a more obvious example of what is an article of faith throughout Barchiesi's work: the separation of formalist and historicist readings is not justified. Throughout this book we are constantly confronted with interpretations that merge poetics with politics, and an earlier generation would have looked in them for a definitive answer to questions like 'Ovid's attitude to Augustus'. Barchiesi shows here, as in his other work,⁴ that such a simplistic approach is inadequate: texts and contexts and their interpretation are too mobile, too dependent on readers. 'Experience teaches that tracing intertextual relationships enriches and complicates reading, setting up dialectical tensions, more than it closes and simplifies interpretation' (p. 146). This is certainly true of *Speaking Volumes*. Barchiesi has a gift for making theory work for philology and *vice versa*, and for presenting complex arguments lucidly. The collection makes his work more accessible to English-speaking readers and could serve as a concise and thought-provoking introduction to a significant area of classical criticism in recent years.⁵

Anne Gosling

University of Natal, Durban

Donald A. Russell (ed. and tr.), *Quintilian: The Orator's Education* 1: Books 1-2. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. Loeb Classical Library 124. Pp. vii + 430. ISBN 0-674-99591-0. GBP 14.50. / Donald A. Russell (ed. and tr.), *Quintilian: The Orator's Education* 2: Books 3-5. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. Loeb Classical Library 125. Pp. xii + 535. ISBN 0-674-99592-9. GBP 14.50. / Donald A. Russell (ed. and tr.), *Quintilian: The Orator's Education* 3: Books 6-8. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. Loeb Classical Library 126. Pp. xii + 483. ISBN 0-674-99593-7. GBP 14.50. / Donald A. Russell (ed. and tr.), *Quintilian: The Orator's Education* 4: Books 9-10. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. Loeb Classical Library 127. Pp. xii + 404. ISBN 0-674-99594-5. GBP 14.50. / Donald A. Russell (ed. and tr.), *Quintilian: The Orator's Education* 5: Book 11-12. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. Loeb Classical Library 494. Pp. xii + 432. ISBN 0-674-99595-3. GBP 14.50.

⁴ See especially *The Poet and the Prince: Ovid and Augustan Discourse* (Berkeley 1997).

⁵ I noted some minor errors: p. 106 n. 19, 'geneological' for 'genealogical'; p. 36, 'tibi' for 'tibi'; p. 40, in translating *Iliad* 6.429-30, 'my blooming companion' might have been more happily expressed; p. 88, 'nuc' for 'nunc'; p. 96, 'nubeo' for 'nubo'; p. 136, 'lines' for 'line'; p. 160, 'simple' for 'simply'.

Quintilian deserves to be read. Unfortunately, his voluminous *Institutio Oratoria* is often only consulted for individual passages or excerpted, and only very few readers manage to study the work in its entirety. This may be due to its massive dimensions (no less than twelve books), or to Quintilian's general image as a rather unexciting, mediocre author, or to large sections in the work that are predominantly technical, such as the long paragraphs devoted to figures of speech and figures of thought (9.2f.) or to 'status' (7.2-10).

Reading the whole of Quintilian is, however, a highly rewarding experience, for his work contains much interesting material that merits the attention of a wide audience of classicists, historians and rhetoricians. In fact, all professional users of language will benefit from studying the work. A well known highlight is Quintilian's survey of Roman literature (10.1), but the earlier books have much to offer too. Among my personal favourites are the splendid books 1 and 2, which offer many sound observations on education (this should be compulsory reading for anyone engaged in teaching at any level), or Quintilian's fascinating accounts of memory and delivery in book 11.

Hardly a reader in the world will need only the Latin text to read Quintilian, and good translations are therefore essential. Modern editions are available in many languages. Here let me mention the splendid new Quintilian in Dutch, published in one impressive volume in 2001.¹ This book was given much publicity in the Netherlands and Belgium and has even become something of a bestseller in its own way. For a worldwide audience, there is now a brand new edition of Quintilian in the famous Loeb series. This set of five volumes, edited by Donald Russell, Emeritus Professor of Classical Literature at Oxford University, replaces the outdated four volume Loeb edition by H. E. Butler of 1921-22. As with most new Loeb editions, the results are excellent, and the replacement of the older edition constitutes real progress.

The new edition is based on the Oxford text of M. Winterbottom (1970), but differs from it in many places in choice of readings. A textual apparatus lists 'all substantial divergences from the Oxford text' (vol. 1, p. 19), but one would have liked to find a full list of differences somewhere in the five volumes. Meanwhile, the number of divergences remains relatively limited. For instance, the apparatus of book 2 has only thirty-eight short items, many of which do not record actual differences of choice of readings. Moreover, it is reassuring to read that Winterbottom has assisted the editor in several ways. The Latin text may safely be said to follow the highest standards.

The main qualities of a successful Loeb edition are, of course, its translation and accompanying notes. In this case, not much comment is needed: both the translation and the notes are excellent. To give an impression of the lucid, fluid style of the English, I quote the opening lines of 1.1 (vol. 1, p. 65):

¹ P. Gerbrandy (ed. and tr.), *Quintilianus: De opleiding tot redenaar* (Groningen 2001).

As soon as his son is born, the father should form the highest expectations of him. He will then be more careful about him from the start. There is no foundation for the complaint that only a small minority of human beings have been given the power to understand what is taught them, the majority being so slow-witted that they waste time and labour. On the contrary, you will find the greater number quick to reason and prompt to learn. This is natural to man: as birds are born for flying, horses for speed, beasts of prey for ferocity, so we are for mental activity and resourcefulness. This is why the soul is believed to have its origin in heaven.

This short passage has been given two footnotes, one on the common ‘complaint’, which refers to the opening sentence of Sallust’s *Bellum Iugurthinum* (*falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum*, ‘without reason do mankind complain of their nature’²), and one on the last sentence, a cross-reference to 12.2.28. Generally, footnotes are succinct and informative, numerous enough to provide substantial help to the reader (on average three to five notes for two facing pages of Latin and English), but without adding so many comments as to make it a running commentary. To facilitate comparison I add the same passage in the translation by Butler (vol. 1, p. 19-21):

I would, therefore, have a father conceive the highest hopes of his son from the moment of his birth. If he does so, he will be more careful about the groundwork of his education. For there is absolutely no foundation for the complaint that but few men have the power to take in the knowledge that is imparted to them, and that the majority are so slow of understanding that education is a waste of time and labour. On the contrary you will find that most are quick to reason and ready to learn. Reasoning comes as naturally to man as flying to birds, speed to horses and ferocity to beasts of prey: our minds are endowed by nature with such activity and sagacity that the soul is believed to proceed from heaven.

The difference in style is obvious. Although Butler’s rendering may still be of some use for those who look for help to understand the Latin, Russell’s version is no doubt better suited to the needs of most readers nowadays.

In the new translation, chapters of the English text are provided with convenient and helpful titles (1.1 being, inevitably, ‘Elementary Education’) and wherever the structure requires so, chapters are subdivided by means of additional titles. Each book, moreover, is preceded by a brief introduction (some five pages), that sketches its contents and refers to the most important relevant studies. The first volume of the set also contains a general introduction of forty-nine pages. It has sections on Quintilian’s life, the sources and general structure of the work, a convenient analysis of chapters in the form of a brief list (which is rather more

² J. C. Rolfe (ed.), *Sallust* (Cambridge, Mass., 1921) 139.

elaborate than the actual titles added in the translation), the constitution of the text, followed by an interesting paragraph (nine pages) on Quintilian's influence and a useful bibliography. Volume 5 closes, as may be expected, with several indices that total nearly 100 pages.

The typography in this new edition is according to recent Loeb standards, which are definitely a great improvement in comparison with older editions. No longer are pages crammed with badly printed letters, but everything is easy and pleasant to read. For books that deserve to be read in their entirety, this is a feature that should not be underestimated. The subdivision into five rather than four volumes will, no doubt, also please the Loeb sales department, but it is a benefit to readers in the first place. The new Loeb Quintilian is a most welcome contribution to the series. The publishers and the editor deserve full credits for their services to Quintilian and his readers. Let us hope their number will increase in the years to come.

Vincent Hunink

University of Nijmegen

Richard F. Thomas, *Reading Virgil and His Texts: Studies in Intertextuality*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999. Pp. 351, incl. *Index Locorum* and *Index Verborum et Rerum*. ISBN 0-472-10897-2. USD52.50.

In this volume Thomas gathers together twenty-two articles and shorter notes which he has published between 1979 and 1998. The book's emphasis falls primarily on Vergil's *Georgics*, though its first chapter, 'Preparing the Way' (pp. 12-67), focuses on Catullus, while the last discusses, among other things, Vergil's *Eclogue* 6. Thomas' work on late republican poetry is well known, particularly his edition of and publications on the *Georgics*. This review, then, is aimed at those who may be unfamiliar with his publications.

Thomas' way of analysing Roman poetic texts becomes clear as the volume proceeds. What he is most interested in are those points at which his poet alludes, refers to, or is somehow intertextually engaged with, particular passages in the writings of earlier authors. Thomas' working assumption is that, when an ancient poet did this, he meant his readers to be aware of the procedure and to recognise that he was engaging, often polemically, with the larger context of the work from which his reference was drawn. For example, Vergil's reference to the obscure mythological figure, Molochus, at *Georgics* 3.19, must mean that he is engaging intertextually with the opening of the third book of Callimachus' *Aetia*, the only other text before Vergil known to have dealt with Molochus (p. 72). (This example is not randomly chosen: for Thomas, Alexandrian poetry, above all that of Callimachus, is the major intertext in the work of Catullus, Vergil and the Augustans.) Thomas' instincts and strengths as a critic are essentially those of the commentator. In most of these papers he moves very quickly from opening statement of intent to the nitty-gritty of linguistic, metrical and close rhetorical analysis.

Because Thomas' work concentrates so much on particulars, it is difficult to discuss his book in broad, general terms. Instead, I shall review a selection of papers from the volume and then offer some general observations. Thomas' first chapter, 'Preparing the Way: Catullan Intertextuality' (pp. 12-67), contains a discussion of the opening lines of Catullus 64 which is, in many ways, programmatic for the book that follows. Thomas shows well how these lines are shot through with references to Euripides, Apollonius, Ennius and others. Catullus' references, Thomas argues, are not merely inert allusions; through them the New Poet *does* things: he 'rejects, corrects, or pays homage to his antecedents, and . . . presents his own as the superior version' (p. 32). Throughout the book Thomas views these as the main purposes of intertextual reference in Catullus and his Augustan successors.

A major piece, chapter 2, 'Callimachus, the *Victoria Berenices*, and Roman Poetry' (pp. 68-100),¹ argues that not Pindar but Callimachus—specifically the opening of *Aetia* 3 with its epinician for Berenice—should be seen as the primary model for the extraordinary proem of Vergil, *Georgics* 3. Many of Thomas' detailed points are suggestive and thought-provoking, but in my view he produces no evidence firm enough to make his case persuasive. Part of the problem is that the Callimachean material is simply too fragmentary to bear the burden of proof he places on it.

For me the chapter that shows Thomas at his best is chapter 5, 'Prose into Poetry: Tradition and Meaning in Virgil's *Georgics*' (pp. 142-172),² where the author shows how Vergil has transformed into poetry material from technical prose treatises on agriculture. Through a series of detailed, sensitive analyses, Thomas illuminates the way in which Vergil edits, refines, suppresses, even sometimes falsifies material from Theophrastus, Cato and Varro.

Like many contemporary critics Thomas is sympathetic (too sympathetic for my taste) to the notion that, whatever a poem may be 'about', it is very often also—or mainly—'about' poetry itself. This idea informs his chapter 6, 'The Old Man Revisited: Memory, Reference, and Genre in Virgil *Georgics* 4.116-48' (pp. 173-205),³ which interprets Vergil's old Corycian (the old man of Tarentum) as 'a conflation of the old man of Philitas, of Theocritus' Lycidas, and of his own Tityrus . . .' (p. 190). In other words the poet's Corycian is a figure constructed out of the literary tradition, not a man Vergil encountered in reality; *memini . . . vidisse* ('I recall having seen', *G.* 4.127) refers to experience of poetry, not of a person. Citing *haec . . . aliis post me memoranda relinquo* ('I leave these to be talked about by others after me', 4.147f.), from the end of this passage, Thomas asks rhetorically: 'And how could it be, if the old man of Tarentum had been purely a phenomenon of Vergil's real, personal experience, that he could have thus expected other, later poets to participate in this description?' (p. 183). But it is surely the *subject of horticulture*—as is made clear by 4.114-24 and the words *spatiis exclusus iniquis* ('prevented by a lack

¹ = *CQ* 33 [1983] 92-113.

² = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 91 (1987) 229-60.

³ = *MD* 29 [1992] 35-70

of space'), elided by Thomas from his citation of 4.147f.—that Vergil leaves to his successors, not the subject of the old man of Tarentum.

Two pieces are reprinted from the proceedings of the Groningen conferences on Callimachus and Hellenistic poetry. Chapter 7, 'Callimachus Back in Rome' (pp. 206-228),⁴ provides a useful corrective to the recent tendency to see Callimachus and the 'Callimachean' lurking behind any and every type of sophistication in Roman poetry. Thomas suggests some specific criteria for identifying the Hellenistic poet's influence and illustrates them through discussion of passages from Vergil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid*. An interesting paper, chapter 9, 'Genre through Intertextuality: Theocritus to Virgil and Propertius' (pp. 246-266)⁵ shows well how certain fruitful lines of enquiry may be cut off if, by treating some of Theocritus' hexameter poems as belonging to a distinct pastoral 'genre', we thereby preclude comparison with his other hexameter poems, labelled mimes, hymns or encomia.

In general, Thomas eschews literary theory. As he states in his introduction: 'Most of these pieces were written in a state of disengagement with specific theoretical approaches . . .' (p. 1). But in several *obiter dicta* Thomas does communicate to the reader what he thinks is interesting and worthy of study in ancient poetry. For Thomas, it is not the social context of this poetry, or the political, ethical or ideological values it may embody, but rather its place within a tradition that is of the greatest significance. Texts exist, he argues, 'not just on their own as isolated New Critical artefacts but often in antiquity as parts of larger textual collectives, whose meaning may be elucidated by examination of the mechanics of the referential, or allusive, systems to which they belong' (p. 67). Thomas' chapter 4, 'Virgil's *Georgics* and the Art of Reference' (pp. 114-41)⁶ is the closest he comes to a sustained discussion of his methods (at least in respect of Vergil). Here he distinguishes between the 'casual reference', which bears a relatively light load of meaning, and a variety of other types of reference. Thomas sums up the purpose of Vergil's many 'references' as 'that of subsuming or appropriating an entire literary tradition, extending across eight hundred years and two languages' (p. 140). But it is at points like this that I feel a certain frustration with Thomas' approach. After reading many of Thomas' pages of painstaking philological labour, seeking to prove that passage X 'refers to' passage Y ('proof' that I sometimes find unconvincing), I find myself asking: so? If X does indeed refer to Y, what does that tell us? Thomas' answers to questions of this nature turn out to be disappointingly jejune, as in the instance just cited. In the latter case one longs to ask: What does it mean to 'subsume' or 'appropriate' an 'entire literary tradition'? Surely more than has been described here?⁷

⁴ = *Hellenistica Groningana* 1 (1993) 197-215.

⁵ = *Hellenistica Groningana* 2 (1996) 22-46.

⁶ = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 90 (1986) 171-98.

⁷ Those interested in less tightly controlled intertextual speculation may find it in C. Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception*

In what follows I list some places where I disagree with Thomas on details:

- (1) Section 4 of chapter 1 (pp. 52-67) discusses the meaning of *passer* in Catullus' 'sparrow' poems. While I would agree with Thomas that there is an obscene double entendre in these poems (*passer* being taken as *mentula*, 'penis') I do not think Meleager 65 (Gow-Page *HE, Anth. Pal.* 7.207), describing a mistress's pet hare, corroborates such a reading. Thomas misses the point that, whereas every detail of Catullus' description of the *passer*—its leaping about in the girl's lap and so on—can also be applied to *mentula*, it hard to see what Meleager's *ouatoenta* ('eared') could mean when metaphorically applied to a penis.
- (2) In his discussion (p. 153) of the *monstra* (mice, toads, weevils) that may damage the threshing floor (*G.* 1.176-86), Thomas' tone seems to me altogether too solemn. He says nothing of the gentle humour that informs the passage, as indicated, for example, by the abrupt, jingling hexameter-ending *saepe exiguus mus* (*G.* 1.181). (In his commentary *ad loc.* Thomas pointedly refuses to find humour in this line-ending.)
- (3) In the opening lines of *Eclogue* 6 commentators usually take 'Tityrus' to be simply a pastoral mask for Vergil himself. Thomas (pp. 288-96) argues that this is misguided, and that we should take this figure to be, simply, a shepherd. One can agree with Thomas that Vergil's shepherds elsewhere know Roman politicians, as does Tityrus here. But what of Tityrus' words *leget* ('will read', *Ecl.* 6.10) and *praescipsit pagina* ('the page inscribed' 6.12)? Vergilian shepherds elsewhere *sing* their poems; can Vergil here really mean us to imagine this shepherd Tityrus *writing a book*?

Whether or not one is sympathetic to Thomas' approach to literature, this is an important collection of papers and one that should be read by all scholars of Roman poetry. Thomas may plough a narrow furrow, but he does so skilfully and deeply and so prepares the ground for a rich harvest.⁸

Richard Whitaker

University of Cape Town

(Cambridge 1993) and S. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge 1998).

⁸ The introduction to this volume mentions (p. 10) that the text was scanned in from the original publications before being formatted and edited. This process seems to have been responsible for the few dozen misprints (none of them very serious) in the book; almost all in the Greek and Latin quotations. Some have clearly been created by an English spellcheck, e.g., *triumphal* for *triumphat* (p. 84), or *rages* for *reges* (p. 102).

John E. Raven, *Plants and Plant Lore in Ancient Greece*. Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 2000. Pp. xxvii + 106, incl. 20 colour illustrations, 5 drawings, 16 colour photographs and a botanical index. ISBN 0-904920-40-2. GBP25.00.

John E. Raven (1914-80) was a noted Cambridge classicist, a skilled amateur botanist, and an experienced gardener. *Plants and Plant Lore in Ancient Greece* consists of his four J. H. Gray Lectures given at Cambridge in 1976¹ and an earlier seminal lecture to the Alpine Garden Society of Oxford. The lectures are accompanied in this handsomely produced volume by essays from other notables in the field of ancient botanical studies, including W. T. Stearn, Nicholas Jardine, Alice Lindsell and Peter Warren. The work is attractively illustrated by Lindsell's 'plant portraits' and by photographs taken by Raven's wife Faith. As complementary elements of a whole, these diverse contributions, grafted together into a careful and colourful excursus through the byways of ancient botany, produce a fitting tribute to a pioneering investigator of ancient plants.

Raven's lectures constitute the heart of the book. As Jardine explains in 'John Raven and Ancient Greek Botany' (pp. xviif.), they covered 'nothing less than the development of botany in all its aspects, aesthetic, taxonomic, agricultural and pharmacological, from Homer to Dioscorides, with an aside on Minoan depiction of plants thrown in for good measure' (p. xvii). In Stearn's 'Biographical and Bibliographical Introduction to John Raven's Lectures on Greek Plants' (pp. xxi-xxvii), moreover, the reader learns that a planned book on Ancient Greek botany never germinated because of Raven's many other interests and, eventually, ill health (p. xxii). Yet Stearn, who edited the lectures, does not hesitate to criticize Raven's oversights nor to offer some scholarly refinements of his own. For example, he questions Raven's botanical identifications of certain depictions of Minoan plants and, more importantly, takes him to task for ignoring important scholarly works (p. xxiii). As a corrective, Stearn concludes his own article with a useful bibliography of ancient botany (pp. xxv-xxvii).²

The first lecture in the series (pp. 3-10) immediately sets the stage for Raven's approach to the identification of plants in ancient texts with a severe critique of William Thisleton-Dyer (1843-1928), whose botanical identifications are included in Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*, citing the victim's familiarity with 'less

¹ The lectures first appeared in print in *Annales Musei Goulandris* 8 (1990) 129-80.

² To which I would add, specifically as regards Theophrastus' *Historia Plantarum* 9, J. Scarborough, 'Theophrastus on Herbals and Herbal Remedies', *Journal of the History of Biology* 11.2 (1978) 353-85 and 'The Pharmacology of Sacred Plants, Herbs, and Roots', in C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (edd.), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (New York 1991) 138-74. Also worth noting is A. Preus, 'Drugs and Psychic States in Theophrastus' *Historia Plantarum* 9.8-20', in W. W. Fortenbaugh and R. Sharples (edd.), *Theophrastean Studies On Natural Science, Physics and Metaphysics, Ethics, Religion, and Rhetoric* (New Brunswick 1988) 76-99.

than half the evidence available in extant Greek literature' (p. 6). Raven's subsequent admonition, moreover, is sobering: 'If you take my advice you will henceforth view every entry in Liddell and Scott (LSJ) under a Greek plant name with a measure of scepticism' (p. 6). Venturing on into botanical matters proper, Raven discusses Homeric knowledge of plants (sixty in all) then concludes that three tendencies, 'the aesthetic, the agricultural and the medicinal', are at the basis of almost all ancient botany and that it is only Theophrastus who saw botany as an independent field worthy of study on its own (p. 7). Both Sapphic and Theocritean botanical references also come under Raven's close scrutiny, and he uses the appearance of such particular plant names as *anthrýskon*, *ion* and *krokos* to illustrate the complexities (and foolishness) of identifying these plants down to the species level in accordance with Linnaean taxonomy (pp. 7-10).³

In the second lecture (pp. 11-20) Raven expresses his preference for field botany, which he equates to ecology: 'what lives and grows with what, where, and why' (p. 13), illustrating it with his experiences in studying Cretan tulips (pp. 13f.). This fascinating account leads Raven to the real topic of the lecture: the methodology of Theophrastus (pp. 14-20) and his affinity toward the agricultural tendency mentioned earlier. Among a wealth of information the reader learns that although Theophrastus was no field botanist, he made first-hand observations in both Cyprus and Egypt (pp. 16-18). Furthermore, Raven's perceptive readings of the text of *Historia Plantarum* reveals Theophrastus as a frequently accurate taxonomist and a patient and careful investigator, but one whose preference for the 'shelter of the garden' prevented him from achieving greater success in the ecology and botanical topography that Raven himself so loved (pp. 18-20). In the end Raven, for all his admiration of the Hellenistic researcher, admits, quite surprisingly, that he finds Theophrastus' botanical writings boring (p. 20).

Raven's third lecture is a *tour de force* of literary and archaeological detective work emphasizing the aesthetic aspects of botanical knowledge. After a briefly mentioning Theophrastus' contributions to ancient botany, Raven surveys the poetry of Theocritus, agreeing with Lindsell (see below) that the poet had first-hand knowledge of the plants of the eastern Mediterranean, specifically the island of Cos. Moreover, by meticulously comparing textual description and ecological actuality, Raven locates on Cos the very pool from the story of Hylas in *Idyll* 12 (pp. 24-27). Raven then applies his comprehensive botanical expertise to Minoan archaeological remains, including those from Knossos and Thera, with the careful scholarship and engaging style that mark the lectures as a whole (pp. 27-30).

³ It is worth noting that the *English-Greek Lexicon: Revised Supplement* (Oxford 1996) now acknowledges the difficulties associated with the earlier identifications of some of the very plants that Raven mentions. For example, *s.v.* αἰγίπυρος we now see 'for "rest-harrow, *Ononis antiquorum*" read "a thistle-like plant. perh. = σκόλυμος"'. Similarly, the entry for ἄνθρυσκον reads 'for "chervil, *Scandix australis*" read "plant, perh. one or more species of *Anthriscus*"'.

Raven's final lecture focuses on medicinal botany. It begins by outlining the features of 'primitive' (as opposed to 'scientific') medicine that inform the use of folk *materia medica* in Greek society (p. 33). Such knowledge is nowhere more evident than in the realm of the herbalists known as *rizotomoi* ('rootcutters'), whom Theophrastus describes in book 9 of the *Historia Plantarum* and whose activities Raven briefly considers before moving on to Crateuas and herbal illustrations (pp. 34f.). The main subject of the lecture, however, is Dioscorides, his naming and descriptions of plants, and his place in the 'herb-lore tradition' (p. 38). Raven concludes that Dioscorides 'like his contemporary Pliny, has come nearer to anticipating the Linnaean binomial system . . . than Theophrastus ever did' and yet was less lucid in comparative plant descriptions (p. 36). Likewise, Dioscorides was also less inclined to add specific information about the ecology of individual plants although he was well aware of the concept of geographical distribution (p. 37). The lecture ends with Raven's insightful observations concerning the coexistence and interdependence of primitive and scientific botany and medicine (pp. 38f.).

Much of the material in these four lectures is presaged by Raven's 1971 lecture to the Alpine Garden Society of Oxford (pp. 79-96). Accompanied by Faith Raven's striking photographs, this presentation is at once informal and informative, tracing theoretical approaches to botany in Theophrastus and Dioscorides and emphasizing for his specialist audience the difficulties of plant identification so often highlighted in the Grey Lectures. More concise than the later talks, the Alpine Garden Society lecture also offers different examples of plants to support Raven's contentions.

The remaining pieces constitute a variety of scholarly investigations. Three of Alice Lindsell's works appear here. Lindsell, as Jardine's 'Postscript: Amateurs of Ancient Botany' (pp. 41-45), was a pioneer in ancient botany and a gifted artist. After her death, her papers, correspondence and botanical sketchbook came into Raven's possession, inspiring much of his botanical work (p. 43). Lindsell's unpublished 'A Note on a Greek Crocus' from 1937 (pp. 49-54), in which she also demolishes Thiselton-Dyer's identification of plants, features her line drawings and a convincing argument based on personal observation and close textual analysis. 'Alice Lindsell's Botanical Sketchbook' with an introduction by Anthony Bryer (pp. 55-62) offers an all too limited selection of plant portraits produced while Lindsell was studying at the British School at Athens in 1930-31. Finally, her groundbreaking article on Theocritus (pp. 63-75),⁴ shows definitively that the details of his life can be linked to the floral descriptions in his poetry and that most of his works are directly linked to the island of Cos (pp. 74f.). An epilogue by Peter Warren (pp. 97-101) brings up to date the specialized bibliography of Mediterranean plants published since 1976, thus supplementing that of Stearn.

There is little to censure and much to praise in this attractive, inspirational volume. Not only is it a significant contribution to the field of ancient botany, but it also represents a fitting appreciation of Raven's and Lindsell's perceptive, if

⁴ A. Lindsell, 'Was Theocritus a Botanist?', *G&R* 6 (1937) 78-93.

somewhat unforgiving and relentless, re-examination of plant identifications and of their affection for the plants that figured so prominently in the culture and learning of the ancients. Moreover, in these days when popular knowledge of and authentic engagement with nature are disappearing as rapidly as those untouched places that host countless and diverse communities of non-human life, *Plants and Plant Lore in Ancient Greece* reminds us that a relationship with the natural world is worth cultivating for its experiential as well as its intellectual fruits—as has been so lovingly demonstrated in these pages through text and image.

John M. McMahon

LeMoyne College

Stefan Faller, *Taprobane im Wandel der Zeit: Das Sri-Lanka-Bild in griechischen und lateinischen Quellen zwischen Alexanderzug und Spätantike*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000. Pp. 243. ISBN 3-515-07471-6. EUR44.00, DM86.05.

This is a slightly modified version of a 1997 doctoral dissertation from the Albert Ludwig University in Freiburg (p. 7). During its composition, the author evidently consulted scholars who have recently published significant studies of the island of Sri Lanka in antiquity,¹ as well as a wide range of relevant literature, some of which is quite inaccessible. The result is a thorough re-examination of the evidence for the important role played by the island of Sri Lanka in antiquity as a source of spices, precious stones, elephants and other exotic animals, and as an entrepôt in the trade between the Near and the Far East.

Faller has an interesting first chapter on the names of the island in antiquity (pp. 12-25). Speakers of English will be particularly taken with Horace Walpole's famous coinage of the word 'serendipity', which he defines as 'accidental sagacity', from the Arabic name for the island, Serendib. Walpole explains in a letter written to Sir Horace Mann on the 28 January 1754² that he had invented the word for felicitous social discoveries after reading a collection of oriental tales translated from Persian into English with the title *The Three Princes of Serendip*. In these stories the princes were prone to discover things by accident, such as when they discovered that a camel was blind in the right eye by observing that the animal grazed only on the left side of

¹ Notably D. P. M. Weerakkody, *Taprobanê: Ancient Sri Lanka as Known to Greeks and Romans* (Turnhout 1997); O. Bopearachchi, 'La circulation des monnaies d'origine étrangère dans l'antique Sri Lanka', *Res Orientales* 5 (1993) 63-87; F. F. Schwartz, 'Kosmas und Siedediba', *Ziva Antika* 25 (1975) 460-90; and the wider study K. Kartunnen, *India and the Hellenistic World* (Helsinki 1997). The earlier, more general work, of M. G. Raschke, 'New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East', *ANRW* 2.9.2 (1978) 604-1365 is easily accessible.

² W. S. Lewis (ed.), *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann* 4.20 (London 1971) 407f., with the appendix in vol. 10, pp. 34f.

the road. The editor notes in an appendix that the popularity of the word increased dramatically after its use to describe Sir Alexander Fleming's accidental discovery of penicillin in 1928. The etymological connection between the Arabic Serendib and Sri Lanka via the *Serendivi* of Ammianus Marcellinus (22.7.10) is less clear, however, and the word may originally have referred to an island off the Arabian coast. A broader discussion of the connection between this Arabic name and Faller's later intriguing discussion (pp. 183-88) of the utopic island mentioned in Iambulos' narrative in Diodorus Siculus (2.55-60), which some have linked to Sri Lanka, would have been interesting, but may have led the author beyond the limits of his study.³ Faller also explains the origins of the other names of the island (Lanka, Taprobane, Palaesimundum, Salike, Siedediba and Ceylon), which bear testimony to the long and complex history of the island (p. 12). His explanations are enhanced by the phonetic appendix (pp. 215-27) of the languages involved in the study of Sri Lankan history, which include Tamil, Singhalese, Sanskrit, Pali, Malay, Armenian and Mandarin Chinese.

The remainder of the book consists of a meticulously categorized discussion of the extant evidence for ancient Sri Lanka from Onesikritos to late antiquity (pp. 26-188). Most discussion (pp. 51-110) and the most detailed break-down of the structure of the argument in the table of contents is devoted to the evidence provided by Pliny the Elder for the voyage of the freedman of Annus Plocamus to Sri Lanka and the subsequent embassy to Claudius (*HN* 6.81-91). Faller defends the veracity of Pliny's account. He follows Meredith's reconciliation of the discrepancy in date between the Wadi Manih inscriptions of Lysas, the slave of Publius Annus Plocamus (AD 6), and Pliny's date for the presence of a freedman of Plocamus in Taprobane (AD 43).⁴ Faller also traces the freedman's serendipitous voyage under the influence of a storm south-east down the Gulf of Oman past the Kerman region in modern Iran, then due south towards the Maldive islands before swinging east to Ceylon, landing up at Kudrimale Point on the north-west coast of the island (Kudrimale = 'Horse Hill', the Tamil equivalent of Pliny's Hippuros and the site of an ancient settlement). This erratic course is mapped onto the pattern of the monsoon winds in October as plotted by modern meteorologists. The sailing time of fifteen days is somewhat inconsistently defended on the basis of the unusual route and weather conditions on the one hand and nineteenth-century precedent on the other. What is particularly striking about Pliny's story, though, if Faller's reconstruction of it is correct, is the presence of a Roman tax-collector or merchant so far around the east coast of Arabia.

The entrepreneurial spirit of Plocamus' freedman may explain his rapid mastery of a communicative proficiency (*adloquio*; cf. p. 68 n. 329) in the language of the king of Taprobane and the subsequent embassy to the emperor Claudius. Faller argues

³ On the connection between Sri Lanka and Iambulos' utopia, see W. W. Ehlers, 'Mit dem Südwestmonsun nach Ceylon: Eine Interpretation der Iambul-Exzerpte Diodors', *WJA* ns. 11 (1985) 72-84.

⁴ D. Meredith, 'Two inscriptions from the Berenice Road', *JRS* 43 (1953) 38-40.

against received opinion (p. 70) that this language was the agglutinative Dravidian tongue Tamil rather than the Indo-European-related Sinhalese, on the basis of Pliny's calques of Tamil place names, among other things.⁵ By making use of 'Tamil for Businessmen', Faller suggests, the freedman convinced the king of the stability of the Roman economy and induced him to send a delegation to Claudius. Thus Faller, again rather unconventionally,⁶ supports the idea of a causal link (p. 72) between the freedman's visit to Taprobane and the later embassy. Faller reconciles the famous letter of Tiberius to the Roman senate concerning the drainage of money to foreign or even hostile nations in exchange for feminine luxuries (*Ann.* 3.53, which Pliny *HN* 6.101 links with India specifically) to his own position by arguing that prior to the arrival of the freedman in Taprobane, the booming trade between the Mediterranean and India had been conducted by South Indian intermediaries (p. 72). According to Faller, Plocamus' agent might have persuaded the king of the advantages of direct contact between himself and the Roman emperor. Moreover, the king appears to have been convinced of the stability of the Roman currency on the evidence of the money which he expropriated (*captiva pecunia*) from the freedman, who as a tax-collector and merchant would have had a wide variety of coins in his possession at the time of his capture. This is an attractive, if necessarily speculative line of argument, but it is nevertheless difficult to accept that trade at a level that concerned Tiberius twenty years before the embassy from Taprobane should not have resulted in merchants sourcing commodities such as Sri Lankan pearls (for which the island was famous) more directly themselves.

Faller further substantiates the veracity of Pliny's account of the embassy from Sri Lanka by arguing that the geographical and astronomical information they supplied reflected local conditions, although these were often misunderstood by Pliny: the supposed absence of the moon except between the eighth and sixteenth day of the month, for example, is related to the light and dark phases of the moon in the ancient Indian lunar calendar (p. 85f.); the 'Island of the Sun' that Pliny locates between India and Sri Lanka is the small island of Analaitivu whose name carries this meaning even today in Tamil (p. 83); finally, the reference to trees that scrape the bottom of ships here is taken, predictably perhaps, as a metaphor for the coral reefs around the island (p. 84). Faller deals convincingly with a number of other problems in Pliny's account: he argues that the embassy describes Sri Lanka rather than Sumatra (p. 86-88); that the red-haired and blue-eyed Seres are not Chinese but a people engaged in the silk trade from north India in the vicinity of China who are attested as having these physical attributes (pp. 88-94); that the positive view of the morals of the people described in the embassy's report, exemplified by the fact that the price of rice is never raised, is consonant with the task of the ambassadors (p. 96), and so on. On this last point, the

⁵ Cf. F. F. Schwartz, 'Ein singhalesischer Prinz in Rom', *RM* 117 (1974) 166-76.

⁶ Cf. *contra* A. Dihle, 'Die entdeckungsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen des Indienhandels der römischen Kaiserzeit', *ANRW* 2.9.2 (1978) 546-80 at 569.

topos of the noble savage might also have played a part in shaping the tone of Pliny's report, but Faller does not discuss it here directly.

The evidence of other authors on Sri Lanka is judiciously given more circumscribed treatment. Of these, Ptolemy, 'the highpoint of Greek geography', is given most space (pp. 112-35), followed by Kosmas Indikopleustes (pp. 151-61—Faller does not commit himself on the question of whether Kosmas personally visited Sri Lanka), Stephanos of Byzantium and poetic descriptions of the island (pp. 161-71), and the travels of the Theban lawyer in the *De Gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus* attributed to Palladius (pp. 142-51). The observations of Kosmas—that Taprobane served as an entrepôt in the trade between East and West, that the island was home to a significant number of Persian Christians, that the island was possibly divided into north and south kingdoms, and that the island was home to a priceless jewel—are particularly valuable observations (pp. 153-55). The earlier sources such as Onesikritos, Megasthenes, Eratosthenes, Strabo, the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* and Pomponius Mela are given three to four pages each on average. There is no discussion of the numismatic evidence or the controversial interlinear inscriptions from Sri Lanka discussed by Weerakkody,⁷ and the evidence of the Peutinger table is given very brief but well-informed treatment.

In this book Faller provides a well-researched discussion of the evidence for ancient Sri Lanka that makes a useful addition to the scholarship on the history of the island. While Weerakkody's work will remain the first choice because of its clearer illustrations, rather wider scope, and convenient appendix (containing the ancient evidence in the original Greek and Latin as well as in English), Faller's analysis in many places supplements this text and gives a refreshingly different angle and more focused investigation of many controversial points. It is rare for two studies of an island in the Indian ocean to appear almost simultaneously; the additional attention to the history of a region so close to our own shores that has influenced the development of the economies of the Mediterranean and East Africa so deeply is welcome.

John Hilton

University of Natal, Durban

⁷ For these see Weerakkody [1] 151-70, 183-96.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Books for review should be sent to the Reviews Editor, Scholia.

- Øivind Andersen and Jon Haarberg (edd.), *Making Sense of Aristotle*. London: Duckworth, 2001. Pp. viii + 230. ISBN 0-7156-3131-4. GBP40.00.
- John Barsby (ed. and tr.), *Terence 1: The Woman of Andros, The Self-Tormentor, The Eunuch*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002. Loeb Classical Library 22. Pp. 452. ISBN 0-674-99597-X. USD21.50/GBP14.50.
- John Barsby (ed. and tr.), *Terence 2: Phormio, The Mother-in-Law, The Brothers*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002. Loeb Classical Library 23. Pp. 375. ISBN 0-674-99598-8. USD21.50/GBP14.50.
- G. W. Bowersock, Peter Brown and Oleg Grabar (edd.), *Interpreting Late Antiquity: Essay on the Postclassical World*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001. Pp. xiii + 280. ISBN 0-674-00598-8. USD19.95/GBP13.95.
- Luc Brisson (tr. Janet Lloyd), *Sexual Ambivalence: Androgyny and Hermaphroditism in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. Pp. xiv + 195. ISBN 0-520-22391-8. USD16.95/GBP11.95.
- Mary Depew and Dirk Obbink, *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons and Society*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. Pp. 346. ISBN 0-674-00338-1. USD52.50/GBP34.95.
- Christopher A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. [Reprint of 1999 edition]. Pp. xii + 223. ISBN 0-674-00696-8. USD20.00/GBP13.50.
- Stavros Frangoulidis, *Roles and Performance in Apuleius' Metamorphoses*. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2001. Pp. viii + 197. ISBN 3-476-45284-0. EUR29.90.
- Massimo Gioseffi (ed.), *E io sarò tua guida*. Milan: Editzioni universitarie di lettere economia diritto, 2000. Pp. 254. ISBN 88-7916-137-7. No price supplied.
- William V. Harris, *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002. Pp. xii + 468. ISBN 0-674-00618-6. USD49.95/GBP33.50.
- Simon Hornblower, *The Greek World 479-323 BC³*. London: Routledge, 2002. Pp. xix + 396. ISBN 0-415-15344-1. GBP15.99.
- Richard Janko, *Aristotle on Comedy: Towards a Reconstruction of Poetics II²*. London: Duckworth, 2002. Pp. x + 294. ISBN 0-7156-3169-1. GBP14.99.
- Brian Jones and Robert Milns, *Suetonius: The Flavian Emperors*. London: Duckworth, 2002. Pp. viii + 187. ISBN 1-85399-613-0. GBP12.99.
- R. A. H. King, *Aristotle on Life and Death*. London: Duckworth, 2001. Pp. ix + 214. ISBN 0-7156-2982-4. GBP14.99.

- Israel Knohl, *The Messiah Before Jesus: The Suffering Servant of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. Pp. xiv + 145. ISBN 0-520-21592-3. USD13.95.
- David Kovacs (ed. and tr.), *Euripides 5: Helen, Phoenician Women, Orestes*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002. Loeb Classical Library 11. Pp. viii + 605. ISBN 0-674-99600-3. USD21.50/GBP14.50.
- Bernhard Kytzler, Lutz Redemund and Nikolaus Eberl (edd.), *Unser tägliches Griechisch*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2001. Pp. xli + 1209. ISBN 3-8053-2816-8. EUR45.00.
- T. J. Leary (ed.), *Martial Book XIII: The Xenia*. London: Duckworth Publishers, 2001. Pp. xiii + 209. ISBN 0-7156-3124-1. GBP40.00.
- D. S. Levene and D. P. Nelis, *Clio and the Poets: Augustan Poetry and the Traditions of Ancient Historiography*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002. Pp. xv + 394. ISBN 90-04-11782-2. EUR91.00/USD106.00.
- Paolo Mazzocchi, *Forme e significati della narrazione bellica nell' epos virgiliano*. Fasano: Schena Editore, 2000. Pp. 436. ISBN 88-8229-201-0. ITL50 000.
- Paul Allen Miller (ed.), *Latin Erotic Elegy: An Anthology and Reader*. London: Routledge, 2002. Pp. ix + 486. ISBN 0-415-24372-6. GBP16.99.
- Carlos Morais, *Mascaras portuguesas de Antigona*. Coimbra: Universidade de Aveiro, 2001. Pp. 188. ISBN 972-789-050-4. No price supplied.
- Christopher Nappa, *Aspects of Catullus' Social Fiction*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001. Pp. 180. ISBN 3-631-37808-4. CHF56.00.
- Martha C. Nussbaum and Julia Shivola (edd.), *The Sleep of Reason: Erotic Experience and Sexual Ethics in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002. Pp. viii + 457. ISBN 0-226-60915-4. USD26.00/GBP18.50.
- Kurt Raaflaub and Nathan Rosenstein, *War and Society in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999. Pp. 484. ISBN 0-674-00659-3. USD19.50/GBP12.95.
- David Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity*. London: Routledge, 2002. Pp. viii + 324. ISBN 0-415-20459-3. GBP13.99.
- Hanna M. Roisman and Joseph Roisman (edd.), *Essays on Homeric Epic*. Waterville: Colby College, 2002. Pp. 128. ISBN 1050-5873. USD15.00.
- Michele Renee Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. Pp. xiv + 354. ISBN 0-674-00641-0. USD49.95/GBP33.50.
- Jyri Vaahtera, *Roman Augural Lore in Greek Historiography: A Study of the Theory and Terminology*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002. Pp. 194. ISBN 3-515-07946-7. EUR39.00.
- Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Pp. xiv + 377. ISBN 0-19-924035-3. GBP50.00.

IN THE MUSEUM

Scholia publishes news about classical museums in New Zealand and articles on classical artefacts in museums. Information about classical exhibitions and artefacts is welcome and should reach the In the Museum Editor by 1 September.

CLASSICS MUSEUM VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

J. K. Deuling, Curator
Classics Museum, Victoria University of Wellington
Wellington, New Zealand

In 2001-2002 the Classics Museum has been fortunate to acquire five new pieces through purchase, loan, and gift.¹ All are especially useful additions to our teaching collection. The first is an Attic Black Figure Kalpis, dating from the late sixth century BC (*ca.* 515-500 BC).² The kalpis, used for drawing and pouring water, is a type of hydria with a continuously flowing profile but without a clearly marked shoulder.³ The piece is covered with a black ground of sintered slip except for a reserved panel centrally located on the front shoulder, which contains an octopus with eight symmetrically arranged tentacles drawn in silhouette. A narrow groove encircles the belly below the looped horizontal carrying handles. The vessel stands on an inverted echinus foot, while the surface of the out-turned lip is slightly concave, opposite to the slightly convex footpad. All handles are cylindrical in section, and the vertical pouring handle loops back onto the shoulder. The interior of the carrying handles, the edges of the lip, and the edge of the foot are reserved. The VUW kalpis has been recomposed from fragments with some infilling. Both shape and decoration are unusual. Ten kalpides with an octopus in the decorative panel are known in European collections, and additionally, one fragmentary example excavated from the Athenian Agora.⁴

¹ Only four of these acquisitions are to be discussed here. The fifth, a Cypriot White Painted Ware or Bichrome jug, is currently undergoing tests by members of the research staff at the Victoria University of Wellington Institute of Geophysics. The results of these tests will be published in the next volume of *Scholia*.

² Figures 1a-b: VUW 2001.1; height 26.6 cm., rim diameter *ca.* 12.5 cm., base diameter 10.9 cm., maximum diameter *ca.* 25 cm. The clay is reddish yellow, Munsell 5YR 6/6. Charles Ede Limited, *Pottery from Athens XVII* (2001) no. 5.

³ B. A. Sparkes, *Greek Pottery: An Introduction* (Manchester 1991) 88.

⁴ M. B. Moore and M. Z. P. Philippides, *Attic Black-Figured Pottery* (Princeton 1986) pl. 63/659. As an added note, Charles Ede Limited suggests that VUW 2001.1 is similar in form and decoration to Berlin 3281 and cites *CVA* 7, pl. 3019/3 and 4.

The second item is a single Roman gold earring, which consists of a hollow crescent surmounted by a single large granulated bead of gold at the point of the crescent opposite to the simple hook at the back, and is dated to the second century.⁵ The piece may have been found by the Greek historian Felix Jacoby in a field near the thermal springs and pools at Badenweiler, where there are ruins of Roman baths from the Hadrianic period.⁶ Jacoby's son Peter and daughter-in-law Ilse emigrated to New Zealand in 1938 and over the years formed a strong relationship with Victoria University. Ilse Jacoby gifted the gold earring to the Classics Museum collection in late 2001.

The third and fourth pieces are on loan to the collection courtesy of Keith Mawson. One is a shallow, coarse ware bowl, which is complete and intact.⁷ The variations in colour from yellowish red to reddish yellow are possibly due to incomplete firing. The clay has small holes and some inclusions. There is some encrustation around the ring base and exterior of the bowl, which Mr Mawson describes as oolitic limestone in his notes on the bowl. The bowl itself is irregularly shaped and forms a shallow cone within the ring base. Otherwise it appears to be a fine example of a coarse ware cooking or serving dish with the slightly carinated exterior marked by a groove below the carination. A second groove encircles the point of the bowl within the ring base. The bevelled rim is capped and marked by a groove on the interior, and the external edge shows a shallow gouge where the rim may have been scraped or marked before drying and firing. The bowl is said to have been found at Mersa Matrûh, along the Egyptian coast west of Alexandria, at a site where Roman water maintenance works impinged on a small burial chamber. It was acquired by Mr Mawson, who served with the New Zealand Army Royal Engineers in Egypt and the Middle East in 1941-42. The bowl might be very generally dated to a period covering the late second century BC to the middle of the first century AD—late Hellenistic to Roman.⁸

⁵ Figure 2: VUW 2001.2; height *ca.* 1.9 cm., width *ca.* 1.6 cm., maximum thickness 0.8 cm., diameter of granulated gold bead 0.3 cm. The earring is hollow gold repoussé work with a large granulated bead at the front. Some dents are present.

⁶ Jacoby, of course, is most known for *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, 1-3 (Berlin 1923).

⁷ Figure 3: VUW 2002.1; height 4.5-5.0 cm., diameter 18.0-18.6 cm. The clay is yellowish red to reddish yellow, Munsell 5YR 5/8-6/8.

⁸ More work needs to be done on this bowl, but compare J. W. Hayes, *Paphos 3: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery* (Nicosia 1991) 129, fig. LXXIII/3. The item is identified as an Egyptian cooking ware lid from Paphos with a dish-like shape. It was found in a level dated to the late Hellenistic and early Roman period. Its profile is quite different from the Cypriot wares from that site and period, but it does correspond to the shape and general provenience of VUW 2002.1.

The fourth item is the hollow head and neck of a bovid figurine.⁹ The head surmounted by a flat knob is hollow with horns added. The knob appears to be decorative, although its function is uncertain. Its shape is possibly derived from a support for a cup or funnel for liquids, which is moulded onto some types of animal figurines from the Near East. The break at the neck appears to be weathered and may be ancient. The pierced snout has been damaged as well, perhaps at the same time. The horns have been added to the head and superficial cracks appear at the joins at the back of the head and between the horns, perhaps caused when the figure was dried and fired. The eyes are marked by thickly incised circles at the base of the knob towards the front of the skull. Judging from the head and neck remaining, the full figure may have been 10-12 cm. high. Although it is not entirely clear whether the bovid head was found with the bowl, the colour and texture of clay is not overly different from that of the bowl and the two items could have been made in the same area and in the same period. Like the cooking ware bowl, the bovid figurine fragment was acquired by Mr Mawson in 1941-42.

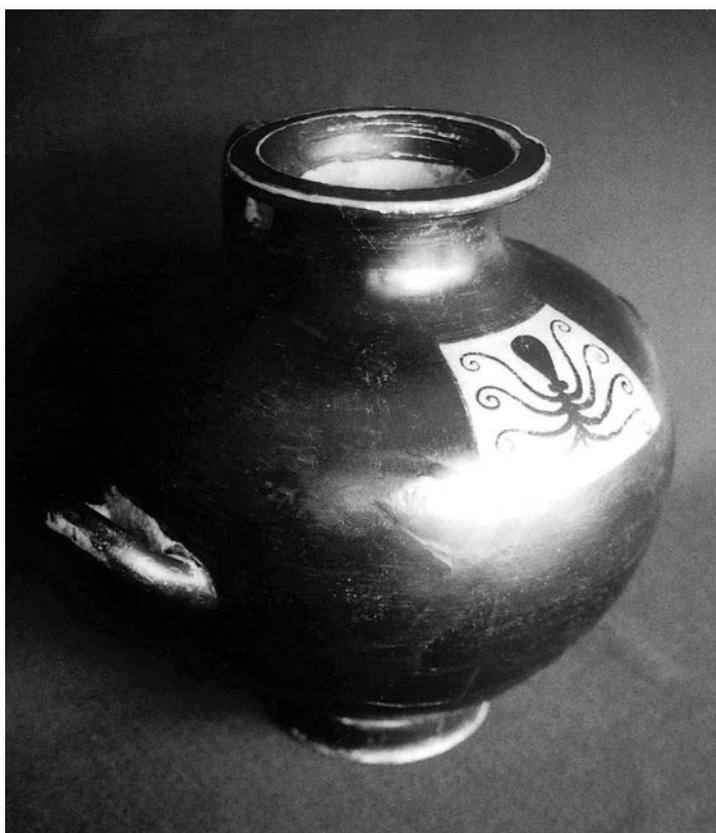


Figure 1a. VUW 2001.1. Attic black figure kalpis (front).

⁹ Figure 4: VUW 2002.2; preserved height *ca.* 5.5 cm., width (across horns) *ca.* 6.8 cm., depth (tip of nose to back of head) *ca.* 5 cm. The clay is reddish yellow, Munsell 5YR 6/6.



Figure 1b. VUW 2001.1. Attic black figure kalpis (panel detail).

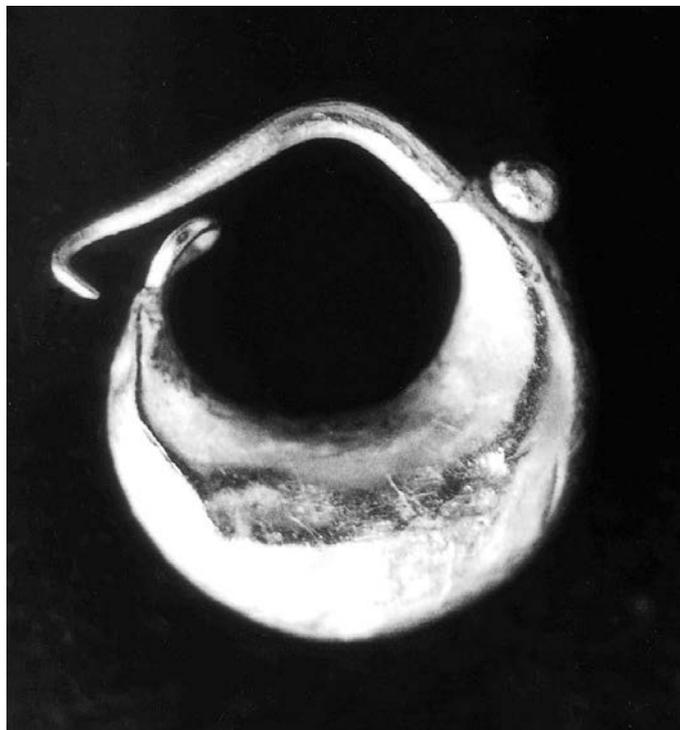


Figure 2. VUW 2001.2. Roman gold earring.



Figure 3: VUW 2002.1. Egyptian cooking ware bowl (interior).



Figure 4: VUW 2002.2. Bovid figurine (head fragment).

J. A. BARSBY ESSAY

*The paper judged to be the best student essay in New Zealand submitted to **Scholia** by 1 September for the preceding year is published annually as the J. A. Barsby Essay. The competition, which is currently sponsored by the Classical Association of Otago, is open to undergraduate students every year and entries from fourth-year students are invited in even-numbered years. There is a prize of NZD100. The essay is in honour of New Zealand classicist J. A. Barsby.*

GLADIATORIAL ENTERTAINMENT AT ROME: INSTITUTIONALISED SADISM?

Beatrice Hudson

3rd-year Classics major

University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand

Gladiatorial games have long received much popular and scholarly attention and have become a powerful image of Roman culture. The concept of such violent, bloody events forming the entertainment of a people captures the modern imagination and intrigues us, compelling us to wonder at the mentality behind such a culture and leading us to reflect on aspects of human nature. While we may be disturbed to consider violence as a part of entertainment, it is nothing foreign to modern western culture. This is demonstrated by the popularity of violent film and television, violent sports such as boxing, and the common toys for children's play which include a range of replica weapons. Violence is still entertaining. What tends to appal members of modern western society, and what we find hard to come to terms with, is the fact that in the Roman gladiatorial games people were dying for the entertainment of others. The sensationalist image of up to 50 000 Romans shouting and cheering as people in the arena died is a strong one and tends to paint Roman society as one of exceptional ruthlessness. A closer consideration reveals, however, that there were a number of social factors feeding the demand for gladiatorial games. Before labelling this demand as sadism, it is important to examine carefully the extent to which it was the suffering and death that constituted the entertainment, and to what extent the demand was rather due to the fact that the games performed a number of other functions, both at the personal, emotional level and at the community or state level.

The origins of gladiatorial games are not entirely certain but it seems likely that they had their beginnings in Campania, among communities of Roman army veterans.¹

¹ D. S. Potter, 'Entertainers in the Roman Empire' in D. S. Potter and D. J. Mattingly (edd) *Life, Death and Entertainment in the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor 1999) 306.

The first recorded gladiatorial games date to 264 BC and were presented in honour of the funeral of Junus Brutius Pera.² It is important to note that from their early stages gladiatorial games were connected to funerary rites and aristocratic display. A funeral amongst Roman aristocracy served not only to commemorate the dead, but provided also an important opportunity to display wealth and power and to celebrate family virtue.³ Such display held social and political importance and became a leading factor in the growth of gladiatorial displays.

For those with political ambitions in Rome, competition was rife and self-promotion was important, as was the winning of popularity through providing memorable and admirable *munera*. *Munera* is the term for gladiatorial games and is a word that suggests a sense of obligation: either to the dead in terms of appropriate rites, or to the community in terms of obligatory gifts provided by wealthy aristocrats. In republican times the *munera* were privately organised and funded, in contrast to the state-run *ludi publici*, which included chariot races, theatrical shows, animal hunts and public executions.⁴ Since the focus of this paper is sadism, animal hunts and public executions will be at times included alongside discussions of gladiatorial games. The three events had different origins and purposes and it was only from the time of Augustus onwards that they were joined by venue and timing, forming 'complementary parts of the same cycle of entertainment'.⁵ To some extent the *ludi* and the *munera* served similar social functions and may, as such, be considered together under the auspices of 'Roman games'. Their increased popularity after the time of Augustus can also be considered in like manner.

Competition among aristocrats saw a rapidly developing need to out-do previous displays. The extent of this trend is evidenced by the increasing numbers of gladiators presented to fight. From the games of the Brutii in 264 BC, at which 3 pairs of gladiators fought, the recorded numbers continue to rise through to the overwhelming number of 10 000 gladiators at Trajan's games in 108 AD.⁶ Cicero's correspondence with Marcus Caelius Rufus in 51 BC shows the anxiety of those producing public games to procure resources in order to make the show suitably impressive. In the course of the correspondence Caelius writes to Cicero in Cilicia, asking him to organise to send panthers for an animal hunt. Cicero promises to do what he can, and his reply, which includes the comment 'I swear your aedileship is of great interest to me . . .' (*Fam.* 2.1 1.2),⁷ hints at the political importance of such

² Potter [1] 305.

³ K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (Cambridge 1983) 5.

⁴ J-A. Shelton, *As The Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History*² (Oxford 1998) 349; T. Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators* (London 1992) 185.

⁵ Wiedemann [4] 67.

⁶ Shelton [4] 351.

⁷ Tr. Shelton [4] 355 no. 397.

events. Over 400 years later the desire to out-do one another for the sake of public image is still evident when Symmachus states:

I must now out-do the reputation earned by my own shows; the recent munificence of our house in my consulship and the quaestorian games of my son allow us to present nothing mediocre (*Ep.* 4.60).⁸

During imperial times the games held a similar importance to the emperor as they helped maintain popularity and allowed for displays of wealth, power and virtue in order to reinforce legitimacy of rule.⁹ Fronto's well-known statement supports this:

Roman people are held in control principally by two things—free grain and shows . . . political support depends as much on the entertainments as on matters of serious import . . . the shows placate everyone (*Principia Historiae* 18).¹⁰

Part of what is today considered appalling about the shows is the scale attained by these violent entertainments. It is clear, however, that the growth of the gladiatorial shows into the outstandingly bloody spectacles that occurred during the empire was fuelled to a large extent by political ambitions, and should not be mistaken for simply an insatiable blood lust on the part of the Roman populace. The civic function of the Roman games cannot be ignored as a factor in their ongoing popularity.

The civic function of the games was not restricted to the upper classes. For at these public events the lower classes were to some extent empowered: gathered as a crowd, there was an opportunity to voice desires or demands.¹¹ In republican times this could involve showing support or opposition to political figures. Cicero lists gladiatorial shows among those places where the 'judgement and wishes of the Roman people about public affairs can most clearly be expressed' and he describes such public judgement as expressed by the cheering or hissing of the crowd on the attendance of certain politicians (*Sest.* 106).¹² While judgement like this was not so much of an option under the emperors, the games still provided an interaction with the emperor and records show that public pressure could have results. An example of this is the unusual, but not isolated, incident described by Pliny where the emperor Tiberius was compelled to return to the public baths a statue he had removed to his palace (*HN* 34.62).¹³

⁸ Tr. Hopkins [3] 8.

⁹ Hopkins [3] 16.

¹⁰ Tr. Shelton [4] 334 no. 379.

¹¹ Hopkins [3] 14.

¹² Tr. Hopkins [3] 14.

¹³ Tr. Hopkins [3] 15.

Thus, at these events the people not only came together to share entertainment but also to have some small participation in the civic running of Rome and, as a people, to be important, to be Roman. Of all possible forms of entertainment and cultural pursuit, why then did that of the Romans involve watching others fight to the death? One contributing factor to this might be the fact that the gladiatorial games celebrated Roman identity in a display of courage and martial prowess. Through the wealth of Roman literature available to us we are repeatedly shown that courage and valour were traditional Roman virtues.¹⁴ Gladiatorial games were praised as a display of these virtues, as the following statement by Pliny demonstrates:

[They] inspired a glory in wounds and a contempt of death, since the love of praise and the desire for victory could be seen, even in the bodies of slaves and criminals (*Pan.* 33).¹⁵

Whether or not this provides justification for the games, it expresses some important Roman values. The interest in gladiatorial games as a display of courage is also evident in the fact that credit was given to those who fought bravely and participants could win the appeal to be spared or given prizes and even manumission this way.¹⁶

The gladiatorial games were also a celebration of martial values, so highly regarded in Rome. War was a constant reality for Romans and the success and fame of Rome was due largely to its military conquests. It has been argued¹⁷ that the animal hunts in Roman games represented Roman achievements in the conquest of foreign lands, as did the execution of the prisoners of war. Since many gladiators were in fact prisoners of war, the gladiatorial matches could carry a similar representation but with a more explicit militaristic element in the display of valued martial skill. Also noteworthy are the facts that gladiatorial games appear to have had their beginnings in a military context of veteran communities and that games were often held to celebrate military victory.¹⁸

¹⁴ For example, these Roman ideals are particularly well expressed and romanticised in 'Horatius on the Bridge', the story of an act of bravery by a staunch hero of early Rome, recounted by Livy 2.10.

¹⁵ Tr. Hopkins [3] 2.

¹⁶ J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (London 1969) 300. It seems that the appreciation of courage was also an aspect of the enjoyment in watching the animal slaughter. The audience delighted in courage and ferocity in the animals and it appears that this could stir admiration, for example, Pliny the Elder's praise for elephant 'putting up a marvellous fight' (*HN* 8.20). Wiedemann [4] 2 also notes that these characteristics were given to animals the same way people regarded such characteristics in humans.

¹⁷ See, e.g., Potter [1] 308; Hopkins [3] 11; D. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome* (London 1998) 8.

¹⁸ Kyle [17] 89.

Another aspect of the games that could be considered in terms of social function is that, by witnessing the death of criminals and prisoners of war, the audience might feel that they participated in a process of justice. In addition to war captives, the majority of gladiators were criminals and disobedient slaves. Thus their death in gladiatorial games, or perhaps, at least, confinement to gladiatorial schools, could be viewed as a practical disposal of offenders.¹⁹ As with the public executions, Romans could be reassured that justice was being done, order was being restored, and those who had harmed society were being punished.²⁰

The gladiatorial games were a display of violence that was communal and institutionalised, but was it sadism? We have seen some of the social factors that gave these events a function regarding the order, identity and civic workings of Roman society on the community level, but let us now turn to the more individual, emotional level. What was the experience of the members of the audience that kept them attending such spectacles? How did they constitute entertainment? One factor is something that is strong in our own society today: the enjoyment of sport. That the gladiatorial games were enjoyed as sport is well documented by evidence which shows that there was a focus on the fight itself, the excitement of the physical competition and the appreciation of the skill and tactics involved. A great deal of time and energy went into the training of gladiators for combat. Those sent to a gladiatorial school received training and were equipped with armour that was intended to protect.²¹ This made each gladiator an investment for the owner of a troupe and there was therefore an interest in getting the gladiator back alive.²²

It is the interest in the skill that makes an important distinction between the gladiatorial games and the executions and animal hunts of the *ludi*. Whatever the reasons were that made them entertaining, these *ludi* were events centred on watching creatures being destroyed. Gladiatorial combat was, however, not necessarily about watching people die. It certainly often involved watching people die, but the focus here was on the fight. Evidence for the fact that death was not a necessary part of the show is provided by the graffito from Pompeii reporting that from a gladiatorial show involving eighteen gladiators, nine of them won, six were spared and three were killed.²³ Although it is not certain how typical this ratio was, consider also the fact that Suetonius tells of a gladiatorial show staged by Nero, at which ‘he allowed no one to

¹⁹ R. Auguet, *Cruelty and Civilisation: The Roman Games* (London 1994) 14f.

²⁰ Wiedemann [4] 71.

²¹ Potter [1] 314 states that armour had by the first century been developed to give maximum protection for the different fighting styles.

²² Potter [1] 312.

²³ Shelton [4] 350f. Although not a necessary part of the games, there could still be a large number of people being killed. If we apply this ratio to the numbers who fought in Trajan’s games, mentioned previously, over 8000 men may still have died.

be killed, not even convicted criminals' (Suet. *Ner.* 11, 12),²⁴ and also Martial's praise of a particular gladiator, 'Hermes, who always wins and never kills' (Mart 5.24).²⁵

The formation of different categories of gladiator with different weaponry and fighting style shows an interest in the fight as sport, as does the fact that a system was developed to rank the gladiator by their experience and advertise the match accordingly.²⁶ There is substantial evidence to show that gladiators received popular following as many sports heroes do today, a popularity which could raise them to an ambiguous heroised state. For example, graffiti from Pompeii indicate the attraction they held for women, informing that 'Celadus, the Thracian, makes all the girls sigh' and 'Cresens, the net fighter holds the hearts of all the girls' (*CIL* 4.4397 and 4356).²⁷

Yet for all the aspects shared with sports of our modern society, there is one vital difference: an end in death. Human suffering in sport is something that we allow only to a much lesser degree and death for the sake of sport is unacceptable. There are two issues to consider here: what was it that the audience actively enjoyed, and what were the factors that prevented death in this way from being deemed unacceptable—as it is for us?

Some scholars have argued that acceptance of death in this way was due to a kind of desensitisation in the Roman mindset,²⁸ owing to the omnipresence of brutality and death in Roman society. Physical punishment was an accepted means of asserting authority over others, shown, for example, by the practices of decimation and the punishments outlined for offenders of the lower classes and slaves.²⁹ Linked to this is the issue of differential value being given to the lives of individuals in Roman society; some evidence suggests that human life was not necessarily given an intrinsic or sacred value, as is the ideal in our society.³⁰ The practice of infanticide could be adduced as support for this argument: the life of a new-born did not hold intrinsic value; nor had it yet acquired a value that would make disposal of the infant unacceptable. In particular, laws and conventions of Roman society reveal that the lives of those who could be relegated to a category of 'other', be it an 'other' of citizenship, species or class, were less valued and their deaths were more acceptable.³¹ The practice of physical punishment for *humiliores*³² (the lower classes) affirms this to some extent, as does Cicero's attitude (see Cic. *Tusc* 2.41) that the gladiatorial games were not brutal and inhuman when they were fought by criminals.

²⁴ Tr. Shelton [4] 332 no. 378.

²⁵ Cited by Balsdon [16] 302.

²⁶ For the types of gladiator, see Balsdon [16] 294f. For their ranking, see Potter [1] 217.

²⁷ Tr. Shelton [4] 352 no. 394.

²⁸ See, e.g., Kyle [17] 5.

²⁹ Shelton [4] 349.

³⁰ Auguet [19] 13.

³¹ Wiedemann [4] 78.

³² E.g., *FIRA* 2.405.

There is evidence of objectors to the gladiatorial games, unlike the many people today who object to violence in television or film, in sport, and in children's toys. Cicero provides confirmation of this in his remark that there are some who 'think the gladiatorial show brutal and inhuman . . .' (*Tusc.* 2.41). However, this is a rare example. Many other objections by the educated simply betray an intellectual snobbery toward popular entertainment. Cicero, once again, gives evidence of this attitude in a disdainful passage about the games in which he comments to a friend that the things 'which won the applause of the common people would have given you no enjoyment' (*Fam.* 7.1.1-3).³³

Regarding the enjoyment of watching death itself, there is evidence that some enjoyed the brutality for its own sake. Petronius relates an incident, perhaps mocking a stereotype, wherein we see a spectacle-goer's delight that Titus would give the fighters 'cold steel, no quarter and the slaughterhouse right in the middle where all the stands can see it' (*Sat.* 45). Explicit examples are rare, however, and there are many reasons other than sadism that can explain why people may feel a desire to watch others die. Death is for many a terrifying prospect. A curiosity about death, therefore, and how people face it—perhaps even *enjoyment* from seeing how people face it—does not necessarily constitute sadism. The desire to watch others die is not necessarily born of an enjoyment of watching others suffer. It is a curiosity shared, to some extent, by much of humankind. Scholars writing of the mobs attending public hangings in seventeenth century England have also considered a similar urge. It has been suggested that part of the enjoyment is due to the fact that humans desire the emotional intensity provided by such experiences.³⁴ In addition to this, some authors have observed that the apparent 'merriment', recorded as a common reaction from onlookers, may in fact be a strategy of defence for dealing with what they are witnessing and, to an extent, of dealing with reflections on their own mortality.³⁵ Perhaps the 'spontaneous merriment' that Cicero observes (*Fam.* 7.1.1-3) among Roman audiences of the games was such a reaction, and was one partially fuelled by intense and mixed emotion.

A great many social, historical, political and cultural factors may work to affect a society's value of life and acceptance of death. These are attitudes that depend to a large extent on our social conditioning. While we may certainly expect there to be some who genuinely enjoyed watching the suffering of people in the arena, we may also see that there are a wide variety of other possible reasons feeding into the Roman interest in gladiatorial games. The games became a tool for leverage in social and political spheres, a tool that could function for aristocrat and commoner, ruler and ruled. They offered an arena for justice, for sport, for Roman pride. Furthermore,

³³ Tr. Shelton [4] 354 no. 396. Pliny (*Ep.* 9.6) takes a very similar attitude to those who enjoy the chariot races. Regarding intellectual snobbery see Kyle [17] 4.

³⁴ Benham, cited by V. A. C. Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People 1770-1868* (Oxford 1994) 73.

³⁵ Gatrell [34] 74.

within each member of the audience there were emotions and curiosities to be sated by watching. Some of the reasons for interest in gladiatorial games were particular to Roman society due to its own culture and history; other reasons we share in our society and in our human nature. The differences are striking but similarities are also present, for while the Romans were operating in different times and within a different culture, they were just as susceptible to their humanity and mortality.

EXCHANGES WITH *SCHOLIA*

Scholia is currently exchanged with journals and monograph series not subscribed to by the University of Otago, New Zealand or the University of Natal, South Africa. The list below includes journals and monograph series currently received in exchange for *Scholia*.

Aevum (Milan, Italy)
Ancient History: Resources for Teachers (Sydney, Australia)
Ancient History Bulletin (Calgary, Canada)
Ancient Philosophy (Pittsburgh, USA)
Apeiron (Alberta, Canada)
Arethusa (Buffalo, USA)
Arion (Boston, USA)
AUMLA: Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association (Christchurch, New Zealand)
The Classical Bulletin (Wauconda, USA)
The Classical Journal (Charlottesville, USA)
Classics Ireland (Dublin, Ireland)
Classicum (Sydney, Australia)
Dionysius (Halifax, Canada)
Drama (Stuttgart, Germany)
Emerita (Madrid, Spain)
Euphrosyne (Lisbon, Portugal)
Florilegium (Ottawa, Canada)
Hermathena (Dublin, Ireland)
Illinois Classical Studies (Urbana, USA)
Iris (Melbourne, Australia)
Journal of Ancient Civilizations (Changchun, China)
Les Études Classiques (Brussels, Belgium)
Maia (Genova, Italy)
Mouseion (Calgary, Canada)
Philologus (Berlin, Germany)
Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society (Cambridge, England)
Scripta Classica Israelica (Jerusalem, Israel)
Syllecta Classica (Iowa City, USA)

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. Submissions are invited in every area of Classical Studies. The preferred language is English, but other languages such as French, German, Italian and Spanish are acceptable.
2. (a) Contributors should address two copies of the submission to the Editor, *Scholia*, Department of Classics, University of Otago, P. O. Box 56, University of Otago, Dunedin 9015, New Zealand. Electronic submissions are welcome and should be e-mailed to the Editor as an attachment. Printed submissions not accepted for publication are normally returned at the journal's expense, but potential contributors should, in any case, retain copies of their manuscripts.
(b) Submissions are acknowledged forthwith and every effort is made to inform contributors of the Editors' decision concerning publication as promptly as possible.
(c) All contributions accepted for publication are edited to conform to the *Scholia* style.
(d) First (and occasionally second) proofs of articles are sent to contributors whose submissions are accepted for publication. Proofreading is then the responsibility of the author.
(e) While the *Scholia* Editorial Committee undertakes to publish submissions accepted as soon as possible, it reserves the right to hold over any contribution to another volume. The vast majority of articles and reviews are published in the volume of the journal specified in the formal letters of acceptance sent to contributors; however, some articles and reviews may not appear until the publication of the subsequent volume, owing to limits of space and printing deadlines.
3. (a) Articles should be submitted in clear type and be double-spaced throughout on A4 (21 cm. x 29.7 cm.) or Letter (8.5 in. x 11 in.) paper.
(b) Articles should not ordinarily exceed 7000 words in length. Review articles should not be longer than 2500 words. Reviews should not exceed 1000 words except with the approval of the Reviews Editor. Reviewers should adhere to the guidelines that accompany books for review.
(c) A submission need not be accompanied by a copy on a computer diskette in computer-readable form; if a submission is accepted, the contributor should then post a hard copy of the final draft with accompanying copy on a diskette, indicating clearly the word-processing program used in writing the article. (To avoid damage to the diskette during mailing, please post in a diskette mailer.) Final manuscripts not accompanied by a copy on a computer diskette are accepted in some cases.

4. (a) The title of the article or review, author's full name and title, affiliation, position, full address (also e-mail address and fax number, if available), and a 40-70 word summary in English suitable for publication (for critical and pedagogical articles only) should be typed on a separate page; the title and summary alone should appear on the first page of the manuscript.
(b) References to the author's own work should be made in the third person. Any acknowledgements are to be included only after the submission has been accepted.
5. (a) Paragraphs should be indented five spaces, except the first paragraphs after subheadings, which should not be indented.
(b) Inverted commas (quotation marks) should be single, not double, unless they are placed within single inverted commas.
(c) Spelling and punctuation should be consistent. American spelling and punctuation are acceptable from American authors; otherwise, spellings should conform to the most recent edition of *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary*.
(d) Numbers below 10 000 should not contain any spaces or commas (e.g., 1000); numbers above this figure should contain spaces instead of commas.
6. (a) Greek script should be used for quotations from Classical Greek. Short Greek quotations may be inserted by hand, but special care should be taken with breathings, accents and iotas subscript. Passages longer than a few words should be typed or photocopied.
(b) Greek names in the text should either be fully transliterated or fully Latinised (e.g., Klutaimestra or Clytemnestra) throughout.
7. (a) Translations, preferably those of the author, should be provided for all Greek and Latin text.
(b) Greek and Latin text should be provided for all translations.
(c) Citations of ancient works should appear in brackets (parentheses) in the body of the text wherever possible.
(d) In the case of an indented passage, the translation should appear unbracketed (without parentheses) immediately below the quotation; the citation of the work in brackets (parentheses) should follow rather than precede the indented quotation.
(e) In the case of a short citation in the body of the text, the following convention should be followed: *cupido dominandi cunctis affectibus flagrantior est* ('the desire for power burns more fiercely than all the passions', Tac. *Ann.* 15.53).
8. (a) Notes should appear at the foot of pages.
(b) Citations of modern works should be given in the notes rather than in the body of the text.
(c) Do *not* use the Harvard (author-date) system of parenthetical documentation or the number system.
(d) Authors should be cited by initials and surname only.

- (e) Titles of books, periodicals, and Greek and Latin technical terms should be italicised.
 - (f) Titles of articles should be enclosed in single inverted commas.
 - (g) Volume numbers of periodicals should be given in Arabic rather than Roman numerals.
 - (h) Page and line references generally should be given as follows: 'f.' (e.g., '174f.'). ought to be used, but 'ff.' should be avoided wherever possible (e.g., '174-76' is preferable to '174ff.').
 - (i) When citing a book or periodical in the notes for the first time, details should be given as follows:
 H. Cancik, *Untersuchungen zur lyrischen Kunst des P. Papinius Statius* (Hildesheim 1965) 93-110.
 K. H. Waters, 'The Character of Domitian', *Phoenix* 18 (1964) 49-77.
 All subsequent citations should contain the author's name, footnote number of the first citation of the work in square brackets, and relevant page numbers. The following forms should be used:
 Cancik [4] 38-40; Waters [17] 55f.
 - (j) The author is responsible for ensuring the accuracy and completeness of all references to primary and secondary materials. Incorrect citations of ancient authors and works and citations of modern works that do not include complete details such as the author's initials and date and place of publication may be deleted from the article unless the Editor can easily locate the missing information.
 - (k) Cross-references should be marked clearly in the left-hand margin of the manuscript.
9. (a) Periodicals cited in the notes should use the abbreviations in *L'Année Philologique*; the names of periodicals not listed in the most recent volume should appear in full.
- (b) Abbreviations of ancient authors and works should be those listed in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*³ (1996) or in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1968-82) and Liddell-Scott-Jones' *A Greek-English Lexicon* (1968).
- (c) Titles of standard reference works (e.g., *RE*, *FGrH*) should be abbreviated according to *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*³ (1996); the titles of reference works not listed in *OCD*³ should appear in full.
- (d) Titles of periodicals and classical works should be italicised.
- (e) In citation of classical works and standard reference works, Arabic rather than Roman numerals should be used.
10. Contributors of articles and review articles receive twenty and ten covered offprints respectively; contributors of reviews receive six covered offprints. Additional covered offprints may be purchased from the Business Manager.
11. *Scholia* retains copyright in content and format. Contributors should obtain written permission from the Editor before using material in another publication.

SCHOLIA

Studies in Classical Antiquity

ISSN 1018-9017

FORTHCOMING IN *SCHOLIA* 12 (2003)

ARTICLES

Locating Power: Spatial Signs of Social Ranking in Homer and the *Tale of the Heike*
Naoko Yamagata Open University, UK

Moral Decisions in Homer
Stewart Lawrence Massey, New Zealand

Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and *Odyssey* 9: Odysseus Versus the Cave Man
Daniel B. Levine Arkansas, USA

'Self' and 'Other' in Vergil's *Aeneid*
James Allen Evans British Columbia, Canada

De Integro Condere: Rediscovering Numa in Livy's Rome
John L. Penwill La Trobe, Australia

Dea Africa: Examining the Evidence
J. A. Maritz Zimbabwe

REVIEWS

Roland Mayer (ed.), *Tacitus, Dialogus de Oratoribus* (William J. Dominik)

Irene J. F. de Jong, *A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey* (Hanna Roisman)

Niall Slater, *Spectator Politics: Metatheatre and Politics in Aristophanes*
(Chris Dearden)

Michèle Renée Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy: Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire* (Malcolm Choat)

E. S. Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews Amidst Greeks and Romans* (Denis Saddington)

SCHOLIA

Studies in Classical Antiquity

ISSN 1018-9017

To subscribe, please photocopy and fill in this form.

Subscription Form

Title and Name: _____

Postal Address: _____

E-mail Address: _____

Rates (2003): Individuals: North America, Europe and Asia USD25/NZD55; Australasia and South America NZD38; Africa NZD20. Libraries and institutions: North America, Europe and Asia USD38/NZD85; Australasia and South America NZD57; Africa NZD30. *Institutional and personal cheques should be made out to 'Scholia/University of Otago'. Credit card payments are preferred; please use the credit card authorisation below.* Foreign subscriptions cover air mail postage and bank charges on institutional and personal cheques. Payments from Africa, however, must be made with an international bank draft or by credit card in New Zealand currency because of foreign exchange regulations in many countries. After initial payment, a subscription to the journal will be entered. Back numbers are available at a reduced price and may be ordered from the Business Manager.

Credit Card Authorisation

Card type (please delete one): Mastercard Visa

Credit Card Number: _____ / _____ / _____ / _____

Expiry Date: __ / __

Amount to be Debited: NZD _____

Your Signature: _____

Mail subscriptions with cheque or the credit card authorisation form to:
Business Manager, *Scholia*, Department of Classics, University of Otago,
P. O. Box 56, Dunedin 9015, New Zealand

FOR YOUR LIBRARY

The Essential Euripides Dancing in Dark Times

Robert Emmet Meagher

xii + 556 pp. (February 2002) Paperback, ISBN 0-86516-513-0

The Unknown Socrates

**William M. Calder III, Bernhard Huss,
Marc Mastrangelo, R. Scott Smith,
and Stephen M. Trzaskoma**

xvi + 312 pp. (Forthcoming) Paperback, ISBN 0-86516-498-3

The Meaning of Helen In Search of an Ancient Icon

Robert Emmet Meagher

x + 191 pp. (2002) Paperback, ISBN 0-86516-510-6

The Epic of Gilgamesh A Myth Revisited

(2001) Deluxe, Case Bound, ISBN 0-86516-527-0
Published by Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Inc.
and D. K. GraubArt Publishers Ltd.

Historical Novels

History's Cup Rimmed with Honey

Benita Kane Jaro

The Key (*Gaius Valerius Catullus*)

(March 2002) Paperback, ISBN 0-86516-534-3

The Lock (*Marcus Tullius Cicero*)

(March 2002) Paperback, ISBN 0-86516-535-1

The Door in the Wall (*Julius Caesar*)

(March 2002) Paperback, ISBN 0-86516-533-5

PLEASE SEE OUR WEBSITE FOR MORE INFORMATION.



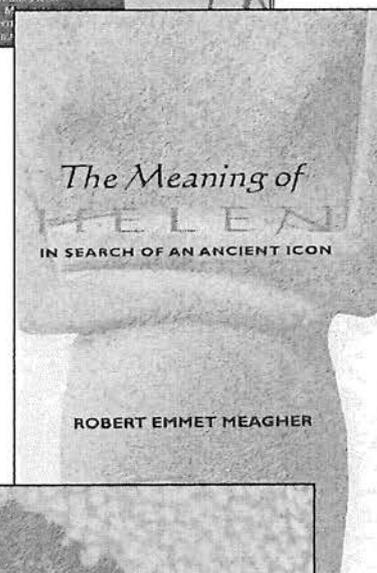
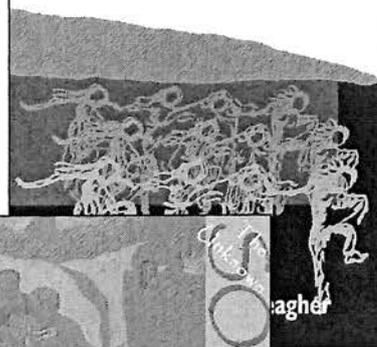
Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Inc.

1000 Brown St., Unit 101, Wauconda, IL 60084

Phone: 847/526-4344; Fax: 847/526-2867

www.bolchazy.com

THE ESSENTIAL EURIPIDES
Dancing in Dark Times



COLLEGE TEXTS

Vergil's Aeneid

Selections from Books 1, 2, 4, 6, 10, and 12

Barbara Weiden Boyd

Student Text: (2001) Paperback, ISBN 0-86516-480-0

Hardbound, ISBN 0-86516-538-6

Teacher's Edition: (Forthcoming) Paperback, ISBN 0-86516-481-9

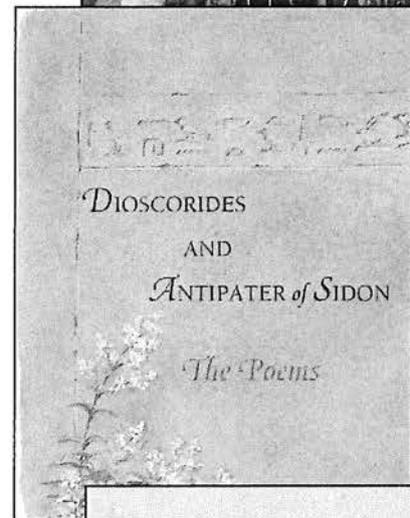


Embers of the Ancient Flame

Poetry Selections from Horace, Catullus, and Ovid

Carol A. Murphy, Ryan T. Moore,
and Daniel G. Thiem

ix + 114 pp. (2001) Paperback, ISBN 0-86516-505-X



Words & Ideas

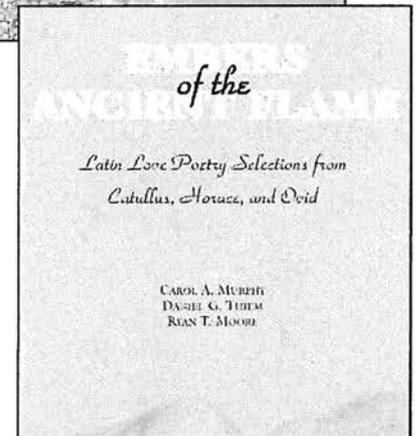
William J. Dominik (editor)

(Forthcoming) Paperback, ISBN 0-86516-485-1

Servius' Commentary on Aeneid Book Four: An Annotated Translation

Christopher Michael McDonough, Richard
Edmon Prior, and Mark Jackson Stansbury

xvii + 170 pp. (Forthcoming) ISBN 0-86516-514-9



Dioscorides and Antipater of Sidon The Poems

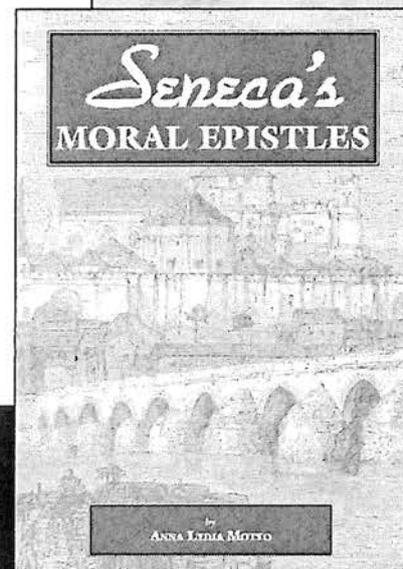
Jerry Clack

xvii + 170 pp. (Forthcoming) ISBN 0-86516-514-9

Seneca's Moral Epistles

Anna Lydia Motto

224 pp. (2001) Paperback, ISBN 0-86516-487-8



PLEASE SEE OUR WEBSITE FOR MORE INFORMATION.



Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Inc.

1000 Brown St., Unit 101, Wauconda, IL 60084

Phone: 847/526-4344; Fax: 847/526-2867

www.bolchazy.com

2002 ISSUE OF THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN

General Topic Issue (Vol. 78, No. 1)

- Juvenal's Cave-Woman and the Programmatic of SatireCATHERINE C. KEANE
Chaireas in Chariton and New ComedyHUGH J. MASON
The Staging of Adultery: Theatricality and Playwriting in Apuleius, *Met.* 9.14-30
.....SOPHIA PAPAIOANNOU
Similarities Between Antigone and Martin Luther King, Jr.: "An Unjust Law is No Law
at All"LEWIS A. SUSSMAN
Quae Supersunt
The Heresy of Latin HaikuSTEVEN R. PERKINS
-

Book Reviews

- Friedrich Schlegel, *On the Study of Greek Poetry*DOUGLAS E. GERBER
Thomas Harrison, *Divinity and History: The Religion of Herodotus* . . .STEWART FLORY
Gregory W. Dobrov, *Figures of Play: Greek Drama and Metafictional Poetics*
.....FRANCIS M. DUNN
Jenifer Neils, *The Parthenon Frieze*KIM J. HARTSWICK
Richard Bett, *Pyrrho, his Antecedents, and his Legacy*RALPH E. DOTY
Patricia A. Rosenmeyer, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions: The Letter in Greek
Literature*EDMUND P. CUEVA
Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic
and Roman Egypt*JAMES G. KEENAN
Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*D. SCOTT VANHORN
Colin Adams and Ray Laurence, eds., *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*
.....LIONEL CASSON
Lionel Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World*P. G. NAIDITCH
Victor Davis Hanson, John Heath, Bruce S. Thorton, *Bonfire of the Humanities:
Rescuing the Classics in an Impoverished Age*P. G. NAIDITCH
-

Publications from AbroadCHESTER NATUNEWICZ

List of Books Received

Single copy: \$20.00

Annual Subscription Rates: Individuals, \$25.00 (domestic), \$35.00 (foreign);
Institutions, \$50.00 (domestic), \$65.00 (foreign)

Please visit our webpage for a new feature (under development):
Central and Eastern European Classical Studies (CEECS) — data and scholarship, in translation.

The other half



of Classical Scholarship

THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN

c/o Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Inc.
1000 Brown Street, Wauconda, IL 60084
847/526-4344; Fax: 847/526-2867
E-mail: cb@bolchazy.com
Website: <http://www.bolchazy.com/cb/>

ETYMOLOGY WITH MEANING!



Words & Ideas

William J. Dominik
EDITOR

Unlike most etymology textbooks, this one presents the words studied in the context of the ideas in which the words functioned. Instead of studying endless lists of word roots, suffixes, and prefixes in isolation, the words are enlivened by the social, literary, and cultural media in which they were used. Readers are introduced to a wide variety of topics from classical antiquity, entertained by clever cartoons, and are enabled to practice their word knowledge with exercises.

xxiv + 280 pp. (Forthcoming)
6"x 9" Paperback
ISBN 0-86516-485-1

FEATURES

- ◆ An etymology textbook that also introduces students to a wide variety of topics in classical antiquity
- ◆ Chapters on mythology, medicine, politics and law, commerce and economics, philosophy, psychology, and history
- ◆ Introduction to word building
- ◆ Exercises throughout
- ◆ Illustrations of ancient artifacts
- ◆ Clever cartoons on word origins
- ◆ Three indices: Names and Cultural Topics; Word-Building Topics; English Words and Phrases

WE SPECIALIZE IN LATIN/GREEK TEXTBOOKS AND SCHOLARSHIP
The roots of Modern Literature

VISIT US ONLINE AT
WWW.BOLCHAZY.COM



BOLCHAZY-CARDUCCI PUBLISHERS, INC.
WWW.BOLCHAZY.COM

1000 Brown Street, Unit 101, Wauconda, IL 60084; Phone: 847/526-4344; Fax: 847/526-2867
