SCHOLIA

Studies in Classical Antiquity

SCHOLIA

Natal Studies in Classical Antiquity

Editor: W. J. Dominik

SCHOLIA

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 information about Classics programmes in African universities and schools, news about the University of Natal's Museum of Classical Archaeology, and the B. X. de Wet Essay. (Not all sections necessarily appear in any single volume.)

SCHOLIA

SCHOLIA

Natal Studies in Classical Antiquity

CONTENTS

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL INAUGURAL ADDRESS

REVIEW ARTICLES

EDITORIAL NOTE

In my 'Editorial Note' to the first volume of the new series of *Scholia*, I indicate that this journal particularly welcomes contributions on classical antiquity and the teaching of Classics in Africa.[1] So it is gratifying that *Scholia* is able to feature four such articles this year. In a timely lead article John Hilton examines the evidence for trading activity among the peoples of Azania, the name favoured by the Pan-Africanist Congress for a post-apartheid South Africa.[2] Following is a discussion by Lloyd Thompson on certain misconceptions that some scholars have of 'blacks' in Roman society.[3] During a time of educational upheaval in South Africa, Fabian Opeku's outline of education in *Africa Proconsularis* serves to remind us of the classical roots of our educational system.[4] Finally, Opeku's overview of Classics in Ghana suggests the relevance of Classics in a post-colonial, post-apartheid Africa.[5] In addition to this 'African' emphasis in content, *Scholia* maintains its practice of including a diverse range of articles on various aspects of classical antiquity by African and overseas scholars.

As *Scholia* is presently a Natal-based effort (hence the first word of its subtitle), it is especially appropriate that it features an inaugural address by Anne Mackay, appointed to the Chair of Classics, University of Natal, Durban in 1990. Her address on the oral shaping of culture in early Greece has much relevance for the same phenomenon in Africa and will prove absorbing reading for those interested in orality.[6]

Last year's editorial mentions that *Scholia* features critical and pedagogical articles and reviews on a diverse range of subjects dealing with classical antiquity (hence the second part of its subtitle). The scope of articles and reviews falling under the category of 'classical antiquity' is intended to include studies on any aspect of the classical world, including late antique, medieval, Renaissance and early modern studies, as long as they are related to the classical tradition.[7]

---

[1] *Scholia* ns 1 (1992) 1.

[2] J. L. Hilton, 'Peoples of Azania' (pp. 3-16).

[3] L. Thompson, 'Roman Perceptions of Blacks' (pp. 17-30).

[4] F. Opeku, 'Popular and Higher Education in *Africa Proconsularis* in the Second Century AD' (pp. 31-44).

[5] F. Opeku, 'Classical Studies in Ghana' (pp. 143-46).

[6] E. A. Mackay, 'The Oral Shaping of Culture' (pp. 97-116).

[7] See, for example, L. F. van Ryneveld's 'Inleidende Atmosfeerskepping in Vergilius se *Aeneïs* en Dante se *Inferno* (pp. 79-84) in *Scholia* ns Vol. 1 (1992) and D. Konstan's 'Oedipus and His Parents: The Biological Family from Sophocles to Dryden' (forthcoming) in *Scholia* ns Vol. 3 (1994).

Submissions from scholars researching in these areas are invited.

This volume of *Scholia* features expanded 'Review Articles' and 'Reviews' sections. There is no regularly published Classics journal in Africa that features book reviews in the manner of established journals overseas. *Scholia* intends to fill this gap through providing book reviews on a range of topics dealing with classical antiquity. Reviews are made available by File Transfer Protocol at FTP.UND.AC.ZA as soon as they are accepted. The Book Reviews Editor occasionally is able to provide complimentary copies to contributors writing solicited reviews; unsolicited review articles and short reviews will also be considered. Authors whose books are reviewed are invited to respond in writing to criticisms made by reviewers. Considered responses will be published by the Reviews Editor in the following year's volume; one reply by the reviewer will be permitted and will appear immediately following the author's response.

As noted in last volume's 'Editorial Note', *Scholia* features information about programmes and activities in African universities and schools, news about the University of Natal's Museum of Classical Archaeology, and the B. X. de Wet Essay. The Editorial Committee has decided not to publish news about activities and events in Classics at the school and university levels in South Africa, since *Obiter Classica* and the *CASA (Natal) Newsletter* already provide this coverage. However, *In the Universities* and *In the Schools* will continue to feature articles on Classics programmes in African universities and schools.[8]

Scholia is edited by the members of the Editorial Committee. I wish to thank especially John Hilton, Assistant Editor/Reviews Editor, for considerably improving the Reviews sections, and Aileen Bevis, Proof Editor/B. X. de Wet Essay Editor, for her meticulous editing of the printers' proofs. As editing of the proofs is one of the most important phases in producing a journal, *Scholia* is fortunate to have a skilled Proof Editor with extensive knowledge of classical antiquity.

Finally, I wish to draw attention especially for our overseas readers to the recent appearance of the *CASA Directory of Classical Scholars and Research for Higher Degrees at Universities in Sub-Saharan Africa (1993-94)*, which I have edited for publication by the Classical Association of South Africa (Pretoria 1993). Circulated to Heads of Classics and related Departments in Africa, this Directory can be obtained from L. F. van Ryneveld, Hon. Sec., CASA, Department of Latin, University of the Orange Free State, P. O. Box 339, 9300 Bloemfontein, *Republic of South Africa*.

William J. Dominik
Editor, *Scholia*

---

[8] See, for example, Opeku's [5] article in this volume and P. McKechnie's 'Kamuzu Academy, Mtunthama, Malawi' (pp. 142f.) and A. Oberholzer's 'Latin in Natal Schools' (pp. 143-47) in *Scholia* ns Vol. 1 (1992).

PEOPLES OF AZANIA

J. L. Hilton
Department of Classics, University of Natal
Durban 4001

Abstract. The name Azania, referring to North-East Africa, has long been used for a wide range of political and ideological ends. Modern interpretations given to the name are typically based more on current concerns than on the complex and long-standing relationship between the people of the region and the inhabitants of the Mediterranean basin and its environs.

Modern Uses of the Name 'Azania'

The uses to which the name Azania has been put, the interpretations which the name has been given, and the treatment of the subject in works of scholarship in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries require comment and contextualisation. The nineteenth-century literature on the region reflects the interest of the colonial powers in past explorations of Africa.[1] Speculations about the etymology of the name reflect the shift from pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial European perceptions of Blacks.[2] The connection with the

---

[1] The nineteenth century was the age of exploration in Africa and considerable interest was being shown in the discovery of the source of the Nile in antiquity, as can be seen in a publication by H. Schlichter, 'Ptolemy's Topography of Eastern Equatorial Africa', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 13 (1891) 513-33, 576, who links contemporary exploration with the discoveries of the Greek explorers in his first paragraph. See C. Guillain, *Documents sur l'Histoire, la Géographie et le Commerce de l'Afrique Orientale* 1-4 (Paris 1856-57) and G. Bunsen, *De Azania Africae Littore Orientali* (Bonn 1852). Bunsen was an Anglo-Italian who studied in Berlin in 1843-45; thanks are due to Professor B. Kytzler of the Free University, Berlin for obtaining this document for me. See also H. B. Robinson (ed.), *Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa (Arabia and Madagascar) Performed in H. M. Ships Leven and Barracouta, Under the Direction of Capt. W. F. W. Owen R. N. by Command of the Lords Commanders of the Admiralty* (Twickenham 1833); J. Prior, *Voyage of the Nisus Frigate* (London 1819); and William Vincent, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean* (London 1807). Vincent states that it is disappointing not to find gold among the commodities exported from Azania in antiquity, as Solomon was said to have obtained gold on this coast and, according to the Arab historians, it was later exported from southern Africa.

[2] For the etymology of the name see my article 'Azania—Some Suggested Derivations', *AClass* 25 (1992) 151-59.

3

Persian word for 'black' is found as early as the seventeenth century.[3] In 1893 the derivation of the name Azania from the custom of 'many tribes' of tying bells around their ankles (Avestan *zanga*, 'ankle') was first put forward and has since been seriously supported on the grounds that this is in agreement with the 'gay character' of Blacks.[4] This century an equally revealing suggestion that the derivation was from the Arabic *zengel*, in turn derived from the Sanskrit *jangala* ('jungle'), has been made.[5]

The name has been used very differently in the context of nascent African nationalism. In the 1940s the cause of African nationalism was propagated in South Africa by A. M. Lembede and A. P. Mda, who belonged to the Youth League of the African National Congress (ANC). Lembede anticipated the current debate on the contribution of Africa to civilisation by claiming that Egypt was an African achievement.[6] Lembede believed that Africa would make its own unique contribution to civilisation and quoted in support of this the proverb *ex Africa semper aliquid novi*, Pliny's Latin version of a Greek proverb (*HN* 8.41), a phrase now considerably overexploited.[7]

---

[3] See B. Krumm, *Words of Oriental Origin in Swahili* (London 1940) 107-90, who quotes O. Dapper, *Umständliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung von Africa* (Amsterdam 1670).

[4] See P. Horn, *Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie* (Strassburg 1893) 302, supported by Krumm [3] 107-09. See now L. A. Thompson, 'Roman Perceptions of Blacks', *Scholia* 2 (1993) 26.

[5] See Krumm [3] 107-09, who cites I. G. Elliot, 'A Visit to the Bajum Islands', *Journal of the African Society* (1925-26) 13.

[6] The argument for Afro-Asiatic influence on Greek civilisation is made by M. Bernal, *Black Athena* 1-2 (New Jersey 1987), which has caught the interest of the popular press in America. See 'African Dreams', *Newsweek* (23 September 1991) 42-48. For Lembede's claim see G. M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley 1978) 59.

[7] A. M. Lembede, 'Some Basic Principles of African Nationalism', *Inyaniso* (20 February 1945) in T. Karis and G. Carter (edd.), *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964* 2: *Hope and Challenge 1935-1952* (Stanford 1972) 314-16. For the proverb see Plin. *HN* 8.41.1-8.43.5; Arist. *Hist. Anim.* 606b.17; Vitr. *De Arch.* 8.3.24; I. Ronca, '*Semper Aliquid Novi Africam Adferre*: Philological Afterthoughts on the Plinian Reception of a Pre-Aristotelian Saying', *Akroterion* 37.3-4 (September-December 1992) 146-158; B. Baldwin, 'Some Pleasures of Later Roman Literature: The African contribution', *Acta Classica* 22 (1989) 37-57; A. V. Van Stekelenburg, '*Ex Africa Semper Aliquid Novi*—A Proverb's Pedigree', *Akroterion* 33.4 (December 1988) 114-120; Tomaschek, 'Azania', *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 2.2 (1896) 2639f.

The cause of Black nationalism was supported outside South Africa by Kwame Nkrumah, who hosted an All-African Peoples Conference in 1957 after he became the first Black President of Ghana. Nkrumah was born near Axim, a name which recalls the great ancient city of Axum in Abyssinia, said by Cosmas Indicopleustes, a geographer of the sixth century AD, to have controlled the trade with the north-east coast of Africa, known to him by the name Azania (see map, p. 8). Axim in Ghana had been the stronghold of the Pan-African Movement during the proceedings of the National Congress of British West Africa in March 1920 at Accra.[8] Nkrumah also hosted a subsequent All-African Peoples Conference at Accra in December 1958 at which the name Azania was proposed as a replacement for the name South Africa.[9]

In 1965 Waugh's use of the name to refer to a fictitious island off the coast of Somalia in his zany, black satire on British colonial rule in Africa, *Black Mischief*, attracted the attention of ideologues of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).[10] Despite Waugh's unencouraging reply to their query about the origin of the name, it was then publicised as the name for a new South Africa.[11] The leadership of the PAC now uses the term to distinguish its political position from those of its rivals for power.[12] From 1979 the

---

[8] For the Pan-African movement see Gerhart [6] and I. Geiss (tr. A. Keep), *The Pan African Movement* (London 1974).

[9] B. Leeman, *Lesotho and the Struggle for Azania: Africanist Political Movements in Lesotho and Azania: The Origins and History of the Basutoland Congress Party and the Pan-Africanist Congress 1780-1966* 1-2 (London 1985) 112 n. 199. According to Leeman, this claim was made by Moses Molapo, the London representative of the Basutoland Congress Party. Leeman refers to a taped interview with Molapo in London (or Sheffield) in 1978. In a letter to me now (August 1991) Leeman says that the name was coined by the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) representative at the conference at the request of Nkrumah, who funded the PAC extensively. The representative was on Leeman's authority either Peter Raboroko or Peter 'Molotsi. See also P. Dreyer, *Martyrs and Fanatics* (London 1980) 215.

[10] See T. Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945* (Johannesburg 1983) 310; C. J. Driver, *Patrick Duncan: South African and Pan-African* (London 1980) 244. The name was advocated in the editorial of *Le Peuple Algier* (20 March 1965) on the instigation of Peter Raboroko, Patrick Duncan and Reginald Ntantala of the PAC.

[11] Waugh's reply was, '*As you should know* it is the name of an ancient East African kingdom' (my italics). Patrick Duncan to Randolph Vigne, 22 March 1965, *University of York Papers of Patrick Duncan* 5-97-61, quoted by Driver [10] 244. My thanks are due to Professor J. Guy for this reference.

[12] Bernard Leeman (personal communication received on 19 August 1991) suggests that the replacement of the name South Africa is in line with the general Maoist ideology of the PAC. Leeman comments further that the name Azania may have a religious meaning in

name became more popular, with the formation of the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), the Azanian Students' Organization (AZASO), and many other Black civic organizations. The ANC have rejected the name because it bears connotations of slavery and the oppression of Blacks.[13] Despite this debate, or perhaps because of it, Connie Mulder of the Nationalist party (NP) suggested this name at a caucus meeting in March 1978 to refer to South Africa minus the Black homelands.[14] In addition, the possible etymological connection with Arabic, the explorations of the Arab geographers, and the presence of Arab traders in East Africa before the first century AD has *inter alia* led a German Muslim, Tarik Knapp, to suggest that a half-Ethiopian Muslim by the name of Musa reached South Africa before the Portuguese.[15] In the rest of this article the modern interpretations of the name Azania, which have been outlined above, will be compared with what is known about the Azania of antiquity, the people who lived there and their political and commercial relations with the inhabitants of the Mediterranean and its environs.

Explorations Down the Coast of Azania

The North-East African coast had been known to people in the Mediterranean since the sixth century BC.[16] Many attempts to circumnavigate Africa, during which contact would have been made with the coast, were said to

---

Black fundamentalist religious circles that equate Azania with Zion. The unvocalised Hebrew ZN is taken as Zion by Biblical scholars but as Azania by the fundamentalist sects.

[13] The ANC viewpoint is set out in an anonymous article with the title 'A Time to End the Myth', *Sechaba* 11 (1977) 64.

[14] See P. Dreyer [9] 220. Dreyer's information is based on a report by F. de Villiers, 'Azania! Nat Plan to Ditch South Africa', *The Sunday Times* (5 March 1978) 1.

[15] For Arabic contact with this coast see D. M. Dunlop, *Arab Civilization to AD 1500* (London 1971); M. Brelvi, *Islam in Africa* (Lahore 1964); G. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (Princeton 1951) 79-82; C. A. Hromník, *Indo-Africa: Towards a New Understanding of the History of Sub-Saharan Africa* (Cape Town n.d.) 21-42. For Knapp see *Muslim Views* (August 1990) 10f.; (October 1990) 19; (November 1990) 12-14.

[16] For the attitude of Greeks and Romans to Blacks in general see L. A. Thompson, *Romans and Blacks* (London 1989); 'Roman Perceptions of Blacks', *Scholia* ns 2 (1993) 17-31; F. M. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970). These writers do not discuss Azania specifically. L. A. Thompson, 'Eastern Africa and the Graeco-Roman World (to A.D. 641)', in L. A. Thompson and J. Ferguson (edd.), *Africa in Classical Antiquity* (Ibadan 1969) 26-61, gives information on Meroe, Axum and Nubia and briefly touches on the coastal region.

have been made in antiquity.[17] Doubtless exaggerated claims were made.[18] The motives for later explorations were a mixture of scientific curiosity, hunting expeditions and trade. Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246) sent out an expedition on which hunters saw rains falling in upper Ethiopia that swelled the Nile (a phenomenon discussed by Posidonius, Callisthenes, Eudorus, Ariston the Peripatetic and others; see Strab. 17.789). Elephant hunting in the interior of Africa was a regular activity in the Hellenistic period. Expeditions into the interior were launched from stations along the African coast of the Red Sea. Strabo mentions the 'hunting-grounds' of Pythangelus and Lichas (16.774) and the name Ptolemais Theron is self-explanatory.[19] References to elephants are common in Hellenistic history. Polybius (5.84.5), for example, describes how African elephants stampeded before Indian elephants at the battle of Raphia.

Later Strabo sceptically relates the story of Posidonius that a certain Eudoxus attempted to circumnavigate Libya at the time of Ptolemy VIII Physcon Euergetes II (146-117 BC). Posidonius noted the lack of evidence to substantiate this claim, but went on to give a lengthy account of the voyage of Eudoxus, which Strabo reported in full, in order to refute it (Strab. 2.98).[20] During one of his voyages Eudoxus was said to have been blown off course down the East coast of Africa. On another voyage Eudoxus is said to have loaded his ship with doctors, artisans and music-

---

[17] See Hdt. 4.42; 4.44 (Scylax); Plin. *HN* 2.67.169 (Hanno). However, a Greek text describing this voyage indicates that the expedition ended in West Africa due to a lack of supplies; see C. Müller (ed.), *Geographici Graeci Minores* 1 (Paris 1860) 1-14. Arrian's *Indica* describes the exploration of the sea-route to India by Nearchus after the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great. See A. G. Roos and G. Wirth (edd.), *Flavii Arriani Quae Exstant Opera Omnia* 2 (Leipzig 1968) 1-73.

[18] See Strabo (2.98) with regard to Heraclides of Pontus, who wrote a dialogue in which a *magus* told Gelo that he had circumnavigated Africa. Strabo doubted the truth of this claim. Polybius (3.37) was also sceptical about the possibility of circumnavigating Africa and denied that the Ocean around the world was continuous. Vincent [1] 189-91 did not believe that the Greeks circumnavigated Africa in view of the difficulties experienced by the Portuguese in doing this in the late fifteenth century despite their superior technology.

[19] See H. H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World* (London 1974); P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 1-3 (Oxford 1972).

[20] See Strab. 2.98; Plin. *HN* 2.97.169, who puts Eudoxus at the time of Nepos, his source c. 100-25 BC; Pomponius Mela (3.9.90).
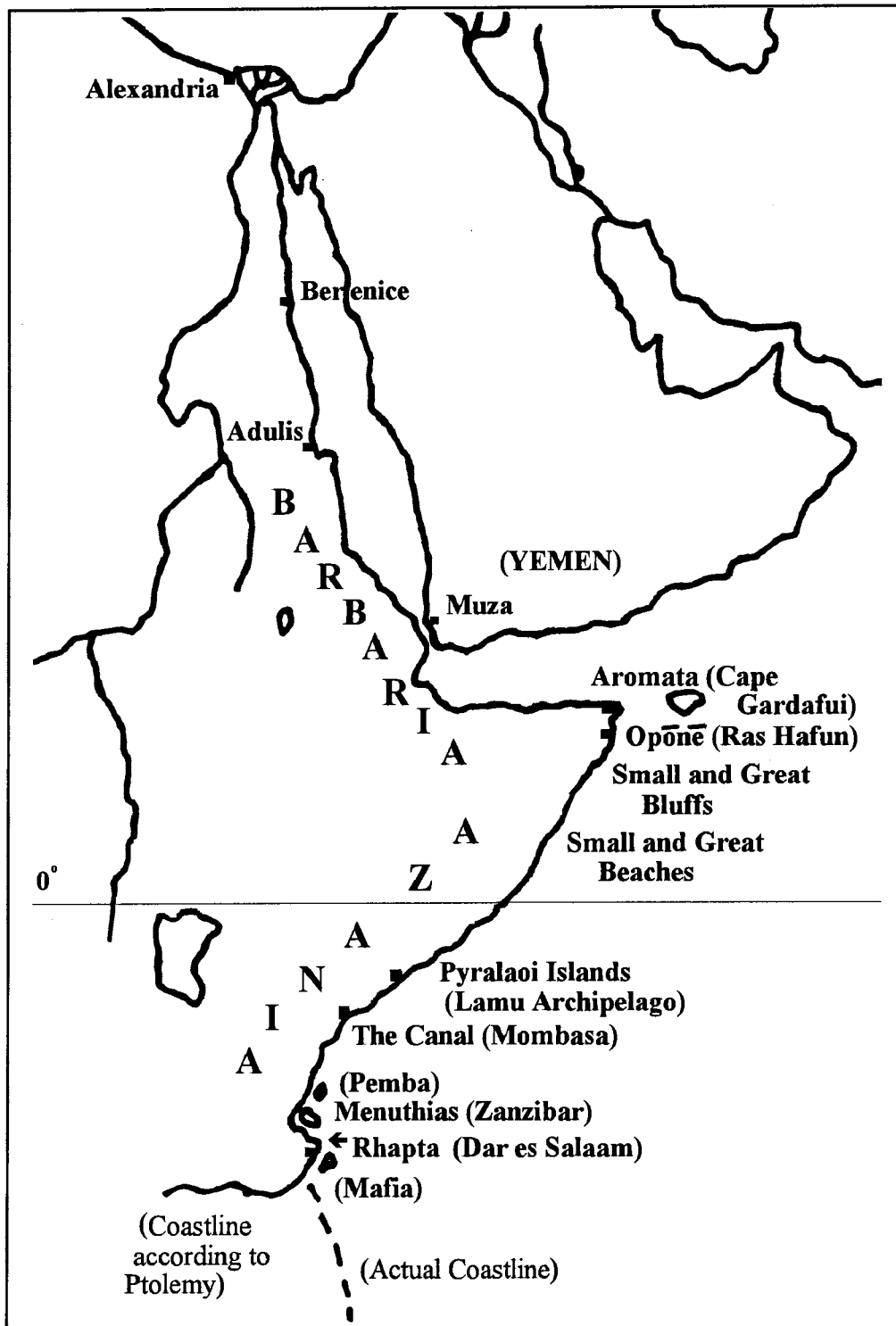
**NORTH-EAST AFRICA IN THE
FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES AD
(MODERN NAMES IN BRACKETS)**

girls. It is possible that he may have intended to trade the girls.[21] What-
ever the truth of the claims made by Eudoxus, the story of his discovery of
perfumes and jewels in India, which were confiscated on his return by
Ptolemy's widow, Cleopatra, suggests that self-enrichment was part of the
reason why he ventured into these regions and that the Ptolemies were aware
of the profits to be made from the region. To an extent, therefore, trade
along this coast was not only a matter of private enterprise but also subject
to state direction.

The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (15.2), which has been dated to the end
of the first century AD, gives tantalising details about Azania, which the
author probably visited himself.[22] Casson rightly emphasises the importance
of this work for our knowledge of the economy and political geography of
East Africa and India, and remarks on the author's 'lively curiosity'.[23]
However, even the identification of sites along the coast, which the author
names in passing, is disputed.[24] These names are given on the map
opposite (p. 8). The *Periplus* describes the area beyond Rhapta (possibly
Dar es Salaam) thus: ὁ γὰρ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς τόπους ὠκεανὸς ἀνερεύνητος
ὤν εἰς τὴν δύσιν ἀνακάμπει καὶ τοῖς ἀπεστραμμένοις μέρεσιν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας
καὶ Λιβύης καὶ Ἀφρικῆς κατὰ τὸν νότον παρεκτείνων εἰς τὴν ἑσπέριον
συμμίσγει θάλασσαν ('The ocean after these places is unexplored. It bends
away to the west and, following the further reaches of Ethiopia, Libya and
Africa, mingles with the western sea', *PME* 18.5).

The *Periplus* provides the most detailed information about trade with
Azania. This work mentions the importation to the southern trading-port of

---

[21] See A. Scobie, *Aspects of the Ancient Romance and its Heritage* (Meisenheim am
Glan 1969) 105. I owe this reference and other improvements in this article to Stanley M.
Burnstein.

[22] L. Casson (ed.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei: Text with Introduction, Translation
and Commentary* (Princeton 1989); G. W. B. Huntingford, *The Periplus of the Erythraean
Sea* (London 1980); W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*² (New Delhi 1974);
H. Frisk, *Le Périple de la Mer Erythrée* (Göteberg 1927). The *Periplus* is thought to have
been written in the reign of the Nabataean king Malchus II (44-70 AD). In general see H.
F. Tozer, *A History of Ancient Geography* (New York 1964) 274-77; M. Cary and E. H.
Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (Harmondsworth 1963) 202-21; G. Mathew, 'The East
African Coast Until the Coming of the Portuguese' in R. Oliver and G. Mathew (edd.),
History of East Africa 1 (Oxford 1963) 94; M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*
(London 1955) 112-14; Hourani [15] 79-82; J. O. Thomson, *A History of Ancient Geography*
(Cambridge 1948) 256-81; Tomaschek [7] 2639f.

[23] Casson [22] 9.

[24] Detailed maps of the area are given in Müller [17]. For the suggested modern
equivalents of the ancient toponyms and the best text see Casson [22].

Rhapta of javelins of the type made in Muza in Yemen, axes (pangas?), knives (knives decorated with gold and jewels were still a major article of trade when Vincent wrote his account, as they still are today), awls and glass of various sorts (*PME* 17). The importing of iron implements does not necessarily imply ignorance of smelting, since these items were also imported into Adulis, which had known of iron-smelting for some centuries. Corn and wine were also carried for trade to secure the good will of the local inhabitants.[25] Exports from Rhapta included ivory, rhinoceros horn, tortoise shell and nautilus shell.[26] Slaves are mentioned as an export from Opōnē (*PME* 13) and not from Azania specifically, though slaves were doubtless obtained from the interior of Azania. Mediterranean trade with Azania at this time can therefore be characterised as the exchange of luxury goods from the African region in return for tools and manufactured products. Commodities were bartered for the most part, although it is possible that money was introduced later into the region.[27]

An account of this coast is also given by Claudius Ptolemy, the second-century AD Alexandrian geographer and astronomer, in his *Geography*, which was later edited by Byzantine encyclopaedists.[28] The work of Ptolemy is based on that of Marinus of Tyre.[29] Both Marinus and Ptolemy aimed at producing a map of the world, so that their interest lay in the precise latitude and longitude of the places on this coast. For example, Ptolemy corrects Marinus on the direction in which Azania lies (south-west, not south). Ptolemy knows much more about the coast and mentions

---

[25] Vincent [1] 172 comments, 'This is so truly consonant with the modern system of carrying out spirits to America, and the coast of Africa, that the resemblance should by no means be suppressed'.

[26] Inscriptions refer to ivory craftsmen in Rome (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 6.7885: *P. Caesetius politor eborarius*; 37374a: *M. Perperna*; 9397: *Q. Considius*) and to a businessman dealing in ivory at the time of Hadrian (*CIL* 6.33885,3). Pliny mentions a shortage of ivory in his day (*HN* 8.7), which may have been a motive for the voyages of exploration along this coast. Rhinos would have featured chiefly as exhibits at the games (first seen at the games of Pompey in 55 BC [Plin. *HN* 8.71]; they became common later (Suet. *Aug.* 43; Mart. *Spect.* 22.1). The uses of rhino horn (Juv. 7.130) and tortoises (Nic. *Ther.* 700-714; Athen. 8.17.5) are well known in antiquity.

[27] See below, pp. 12f.

[28] K. Müller (ed.), *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia* 1-3 (Paris 1883) 1-570; C. F. A. Nobbe (ed.), *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia* 4-8 (Leipzig 1843).

[29] Marinus of Tyre lived about seventy years after Pliny in the second century AD. Marinus made use of information provided by Diogenes, Theophilus, Dioscorus, an anonymous account and Julius Maternus. The Arab historian Mas'udi knew of Marinus as distinct from Ptolemy, according to Dunlop [15].

mountains known as Zingis and Phalangis, two new harbours called Essina (south of Opōnē) and Sarapion (after the Small and Great Beaches), the emporium Niki (north of Rhapta), and Prason (Ptol. 1.17.5), which is on modern Cape Delgado (south of Rhapta). He also knows about Mt Kilimanjaro and the lakes that are the sources of the Nile.[30] Ptolemy places Azania in the hinterland of Africa and not on the coast as in the *Periplus*. After this Ptolemy's knowledge becomes extremely vague. He uses the term ἡ ἀντοικουμένη ('the opposite side of the inhabited world') in reference to Agisymba (1.8.1) to denote a counter-balancing continent to match the Mediterranean world and describes the area beyond Rhapta as the limits of the known world (8.16.14).[31]

Marinus (via Ptolemy) tells us that a merchant Diogenes, who was travelling to India, was blown off course by a storm from the north when he was turning away from the promontory of Aromata. He was blown south for twenty-five days, with the land of the Trogodytes on his right. Here he found the source of the Nile in the hinterland just north of Rhapta. Ptolemy also tells us that Diogenes travelled along the East coast of Africa to the vicinity of modern Zanzibar and then inland to the lakes and the Mountains of the Moon (Ptol. 1.9.3). Theophilus on the other hand, who was travelling to Azania from Rhapta, was blown off course by the south wind and reached Aromata on the twentieth day (Ptol. 1.8.5). The voyage of Theophilus is particularly interesting, since it suggests that his presence in Rhapta was unremarkable. This in turn suggests that trade along the coast was regular at this time. This passage also indicates that Azania was thought to be well north of Rhapta. The contrary direction of the winds is not a difficulty in these stories, since the monsoon winds blow along the coast in different directions in winter and summer.

In the sixth century we have information on this coast from Cosmas Indicopleustes in a work entitled *Christian Topography*.[32] Mathew suggests

---

[30] Ptol. 1.17.6; 4.8.3.

[31] Pomponius Mela in 43 AD describes Africa as a vast continent in the southern hemisphere, resembling another world, entirely cut off from the Mediterranean, even though he places the sources of the Nile in this southern continent (1.20.1). C. Frick (ed.), *Pomponius Mela: Chorographia* (Stuttgart 1968). See also Man. *Astron.* 1.363-67. For the theory of zones see Verg. *Aen.* 7.222-27.

[32] E. O. Winstedt (ed.), *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes* (Cambridge 1909); W. Wolska-Conus (ed.), *Cosmas Indicopleustes: Topographie Chrétienne* 1-3 (Paris 1968-73). Full translation can be found in J. W. McCrindle (ed. and tr.), *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk* (London 1807); excerpts translated in G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The East African Coast²* (London 1975).

that the author's name is an indication that the Indian Ocean was unfamiliar to his contemporaries and that this means that trade with the East coast of Africa had fallen off considerably in his day.[33] Cosmas describes Adulis in detail but of Azania he has only the vague knowledge of a place named Zingion. Although Cosmas travelled in the region himself and gathered information from others who had sailed along the coast, his information is unreliable (he cites Moses as the source of his knowledge). Mathew attributes the decline in trade with this area to the increased influence of Persia and Axum. The inscription copied by Cosmas Indicopleustes at Adulis during the reign of Justinian I in about 545 AD records the conquest of Asia by Ptolemy III Euergetes using elephants from the country of the Trogodytes. After this Ptolemy invaded Abyssinia and reduced a number of towns including Zingabene, which is identified by Vincent as 'the country of the Zangues, Zinguis or Caffres'.[34] The similarity of the name to the Zingis of Ptolemy suggests that the tribe lived in Azania.

There is certainly evidence of commercial activity in the Red Sea.[35] Under Augustus, 120 ships per year set out from Myos Hormos and Berenice to North East Africa and India (Strab. 2.118; 15.686); previously fewer than twenty had sailed per year (17.798, 815). That expeditions to Azania were undertaken for commercial motives is suggested by a number of coin finds that date from the Ptolemaic period to the Ottoman occupation of Egypt (sixteenth century). The coins were allegedly found at Bur Gao (Port Durnford in Somalia) and were described by Harold Mattingly in 1932.[36] The coins had been found in 1913 by C. W. Haywood in what he described as a Greek amphora that broke in his boat during a storm. This find included forty-six fourth-century AD Roman coins struck at the mints of Alexandria, Rome, Thessalonica, Antioch, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, and

---

[33] Oliver and Mathew [22] 99.

[34] Vincent [1] 531-49 (dissertation on the Adulitic inscription).

[35] For the commercial activity in the Red Sea see P. Green, *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (Berkeley 1990) 326-29; S. Sidebotham, *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa 30 BC-AD 217* (Leiden 1986); J. Desanges, *Recherches sur l'Activité des Méditerranéens aux Confins de l'Afrique* (Palais Farnèse 1978). None of these authors deal with trade contact with Azania.

[36] N. Chittick, 'An Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Southern Somali Coast', *Azania* 4 (1969) 129f., is sceptical. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, 'The Times of Ignorance: A Review of Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Settlement on the East African Coast', *Discovering Africa's Past* (Kampala 1959) 5 (repr. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Swahili Coast, 2nd to 19th Centuries* [London 1988] ch. 2, p. 5), does not discount the value of the coins as evidence for Ptolemaic trade in the area.

Constantinople; six coins of emperors from Nero to Antoninus Pius, struck at Alexandria; and sixteen Ptolemaic coins from Egypt, six of which date from Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221). Knowledge of this find was only made public nineteen years after the event and Captain Haywood was unable later to confirm the exact location of the site at which the coins were found. The presence of Ottoman coins in the hoard need not necessarily mean that the Ptolemaic coins were only deposited in the sixteenth century AD.[37] There is also a coin of Ptolemy X (116-80 BC), which was found with a dagger not far from Dar es Salaam and is described by M. P. Charlesworth.[38] A third find in Zanzibar is described by Freeman-Grenville and includes coins of the emperors Diocletian, Licinius, Justin and Justinian, two Hellenistic coins of the second century BC, and Parthian and Sassanian pieces.[39] Glass beads of Roman manufacture have also been reported in Zanzibar.[40] It is noticeable that the *Periplus* also mentions trade in Roman money, although the author here refers to India rather than Africa (*PME* 49).

Arab Traders in Azania

The Arabs who traded along the north-east coast of Africa constituted an interface between the Mediterranean and the interior of Africa. In the first century AD Azania was under the control of the Sabaeans and Homerites, who were ruled by Charibael, who significantly had close diplomatic contact with more than one Roman emperor (*PME* 23, 31). Despite this, a town in his kingdom was reputedly sacked by a Caesar (*PME* 26).[41] Charibael was based at Saphar in Arabia but the main trading port was Muza (modern Mocha), controlled by Charibael's governor in Mapharitis (Yemen), Cholaebus (*PME* 22). The Homerites, or Himyarites, were said by Aelius Gallus to be the most populous of the Arab nations (Plin. *HN* 6.161). They were united with the Sabaeans temporarily under Charibael. The Arab traders knew the African coast well, speaking the language and intermarrying

---

[37] H. Mattingly, 'Coins from a Site Find in British East Africa', *Numismatic Chronicle* 5.12 (1932) 175.

[38] M. P. Charlesworth, 'A Roman Imperial Coin from Nairobi', *Numismatic Chronicle* 6.9 (1949) 107-10. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville [36] ch. 2, p. 4 attributes the find to F. Stuhlmann, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte von Ostafrika* (Berlin 1909) 843.

[39] G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville [36] ch. 2, p. 5.

[40] G. W. B. Huntingford, 'The Peopling of the Interior of East Africa by its Modern Inhabitants', in Oliver and Mathew [22] 97.

[41] See Casson [22] 160.

with the inhabitants of the interior, thus producing the Swahili language.[42]
At the same time they collected taxes from the region on behalf of Cholaebus
(*PME* 16). Zoskales, the grasping and acquisitive ruler of Avalites, the
country south of Adulis, also knew how to read and write Greek (*PME* 5.6).
He traded spears, axes, swords, awls, glassware, corn and wine for ivory,
rhino horn, tortoise shell and coconut. On the island of Dioscurides the
Periplus says that rice, grain, cotton cloth, and female slaves could be
exchanged for loads of tortoise shell (*PME* 31.5). The island had a mixed
population of Arabs, Indians and Greeks (*PME* 30).

   The Sabaeans were known to be wealthy as a result of their trade in
perfumes from the horn of Africa (Artemidorus in Strab. 16.778). Augustus,
who was impressed by the wealth of Arabia, sent Aelius Gallus to explore
Arabia and Ethiopia (Strab. 16.780). Pliny says that the Sabaeans and other
Arab tribes often took to brigandage (*HN* 6.161f.). He adds that the tribes
of Arabia were extremely wealthy: *in universum gentes ditissimae ut apud
quas maximae opes Romanorum Parthorumque subsidant, vendentibus quae
e mari aut silvis capiunt, nihil in vicem redimentibus* ('They are the richest
nations in the world, as the considerable wealth of the Romans and Parthians
falls into their hands. They sell what they capture in forests or from the sea
and buy nothing in exchange', 6.162). This appears to echo the sentiment
of the emperor Tiberius, who deplored the drain of wealth to foreigners in
exchange for precious stones: *illa feminarum propria, quis lapidum causa
pecuniae nostrae ad externas aut hostilis gentes transferuntur* ('Our money
is exported to foreign or enemy countries for the sake of these stones, which
women love so much', Tac. *Ann.* 3.53). Pliny elsewhere estimates that
HS100 million left the Roman Empire for India and China annually in
exchange for feminine luxuries, although his objections to this are religious
rather than economic: *Verum Arabiae etiamnum felicius mare est; ex illo
namque margaritas mittit. minimaque computatione miliens centena milia
sestertium annis omnibus India et Seres et paeninsula illa imperio nostro
adimunt: tanti nobis deliciae et feminae constant. quota enim portio ex illis
ad deos, quaeso, iam vel ad inferos pertinet?* ('But surely the Arabian sea
is even more 'happy', for from it Arabia procures pearls for export. India,
China and the Arabian peninsula take one hundred million sesterces from our
empire per annum at a conservative estimate: that is what our luxuries and
women cost us. For what percentage of these imports is intended for
sacrifices to the gods or the spirits of the dead?', *HN* 12.84) A lot of this

---

[42] See Brelvi [15] 197 n. 1.

trade must have gone to the Arab middlemen.[43] It is unlikely that trade with Azania played a very considerable part in Arab trade with the Mediterranean, but it should not be excluded from consideration entirely.

In the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes the inhabitants of Axum, which controlled trade with Azania, bartered with the inhabitants of Sasu (probably located near Axum, though Cosmas is extremely vague on this point). Cosmas describes how the Axumites would bring meat, salt and iron to the natives and then retire. The natives would then lay gold nuggets on the goods. If the gold were to the satisfaction of the traders they would take it and leave the goods behind; otherwise, they would retire again. The natives would then either add more nuggets or withdraw.[44]

The Inhabitants of Azania

The *Periplus* describes the coast of Azania as precipitous and lacking in harbours. The island of Menuthias (possibly Zanzibar) is said to be low and wooded, with rivers, birds, mountain-tortoise and harmless crocodiles. Azanian society was based on small groups under the authority of local chieftains (*PME* 16.5). The word used to describe the inhabitants is corrupt (the text at *PME* 16.6.7 reads ὁρατοί; Müller suggests πειραταί, 'pirates', Giangrande ἀρόται, 'tillers of the soil').[45] The islanders certainly lived off the sea. They fished and caught turtles in baskets from canoes hollowed from single logs. The technique of sewing material to make boats gives Rhapta its name (from ῥάπτω, 'sew together'). The use of sewn boats has persisted down to modern times in Somalia.[46] Ptolemy describes the last of his five regions of East Africa, that from Rhapta to Prason being the territory of barbarian cannibals (*anthropophagoi*).

Rhapta is described as a place inhabited by big-bodied men. Many authorities remark that there is no specific mention of negroid people in the *Periplus* or of any distinction between the fair-skinned people of the Somali

---

[43] Pliny (*HN* 9.117) tells us that he saw Lollia Paulina covered with pearls that were the spoil of the provinces of the East. The quotation in the text, though, indicates that the pearls derived from the Red Sea and not the east coast of Africa.

[44] G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville [32] 5-7; J. Gray, 'Trading Expeditions from the Coast to Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika Before 1857', *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 49 (1957).

[45] G. Giangrande, *Corolla Londiniensis* (Amsterdam 1981) 49-53. Casson [22] 253 comments on the readiness of translators and historians to accept Müller's reading.

[46] See N. Chittick, 'Sewn Boats in the Western Indian Ocean, and a Survival in Somalia', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 9 (1980) 297-309.

coast and the dark-skinned people south of the Juba. The implication is that Bantu-speaking people had not at this stage moved north of Rhapta. The phrase 'big-bodied' has also been taken to refer to Cushitic-speaking people (there are survivals of Cushitic languages in East Africa). The 'man-eating savages' of Ptolemy, if not simply a confession of ignorance (such as 'here be monsters'), could indicate a people living around Cape Delgado distinct from the people north of them. This could be the first reference to Bantu-speaking people, who were beginning to move into the area.[47] Roland Oliver has suggested that the East coast of Africa was colonised by Indonesians in the first five centuries AD and that they introduced bananas, coconuts and outrigger boats, which resulted in an increase in the population of the region and the consequent expansion of Bantu-speaking peoples as far as the Juba River.[48]

There is, therefore, evidence of trading contacts and close cultural links among the Greeks and Romans, Arabs and Azanians on the north-east coast of Africa. Initially, contact between Ptolemaic Egypt and Azania was sporadic and accidental, but it must have served to awaken the curiosity of Greeks and Romans about the region. Voyagers from Ptolemaic Egypt found Arab traders engaged in commerce with the inhabitants to the extent that they knew the language of the people and had intermarried with them. The Greeks and later the Romans appear to have begun to deal in a commercially significant way with Azania. In comparison with Arabic trade, however, which preceded it and was subsequently greatly increased, this trade was adventitious and of secondary importance.

---

[47] On the problem of Bantu expansion see D. Nurse, 'Bantu Expansion into East Africa: Linguistic Evidence'; R. Soper, 'Bantu Expansion into Eastern Africa: Archaeological Evidence', in C. Ehret and M. Posnansky, *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History* (Berkeley 1982); R. Oliver, 'The Problem of Bantu Expansion', *Journal of African History* 7.3 (1966) 361-76. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, 'Tanzania: Problems of a Toponym', *Geographical Notes and Queries* 94 (1968) 7 (repr. Freeman-Grenville [36] ch. 3, p. 7), speculates that Ptolemy's 'man-eating savages' were the Bantu-speaking people. See also G. W. B. Huntingford, 'The Azanian Civilization of Kenya', *Antiquity* 7 (1933) 153-65.

[48] See Oliver [47] 368.

ROMAN PERCEPTIONS OF BLACKS

Lloyd Thompson
Department of Classics, University of Ibadan
Ibadan, Nigeria

Abstract. Certain preconceptions about 'blacks' in predominantly 'white' societies have distorted modern visions of the ways in which *Aethiopes* were perceived in Roman society, resulting in much misinterpretation of the relevant texts. In Roman perceptions categories like black African, white, 'paleface' and swarthy were neither communities nor socially defined 'races' with ascribed group-statuses. Categorisation was determined by the physical appearance of the individual person, not by parentage or 'blood'.

In a recent discussion of 'medium and message' and 'objectivity in the translator', Peter Green saw 'a certain element of unreality' in questions as to whether the translator's objective should be 'to convey the alien quality of his original, however much violence that may do to the language into which he is translating and the culture it represents', or whether one should make classical authors speak as one 'imagines they might have done' if they had been born in one's own time and country. Green concludes that, in any case, the result is bound to be a 'reflection, not of the alien culture' one is transposing, but of one's own 'age and social context'.[1] This discussion does not specifically touch upon the problem of transposing important alien concepts; and it no doubt explains Green's own English translation (in the Penguin series) of Juvenal's *loripedem rectus derideat, Aethiopem albus* (which he renders as 'It takes a hale man to mock a cripple, / And you can't bait niggers when you're tarred with the same brush', Juv. 2.23).[2] Quite obviously this translation unwarrantedly sets the Roman satirist in a modern racist social and psychological context, in so far as the phrase 'tarred with the same brush' combines with the word 'niggers' to present a picture of familiar Western social situations in which so-called 'black blood' is perceived as a *social* taint and blacks and whites are *socially defined* categories or 'races'. The translation unjustifiably implies that the Latin word *Aethiops*, when used by Romans negatively, carried the same social-psychological import as 'nigger' does in contemporary Western usage (as a

---

[1] P. Green, *Classical Bearings: Interpreting Ancient History and Culture* (London 1989) 261.

[2] P. Green, *Juvenal: The Sixteen Satires* (Harmondsworth 1967) 75.

contemptuous and savagely disparaging expression applicable to *any* black by *any* white person in *any* situation, whatever their respective social positions). It thus suggests to the unwary reader in Green's own society that the same racist perception of blacks (or of the black 'race') with which he or she is all too familiar was also a characteristic of ancient Roman society, and it serves to fortify already existing assumptions of that sort, such as those portrayed by D. S. Wiesen's interpretation of this same text of Juvenal. Wiesen saw this text as evidence of a Roman perception of blacks as natural inferiors of 'the white man', in so far as the text reveals a perception of the black African phenotype as 'a kind of parody upon nature' or as 'an insult to nature and nature's proper product—the white man'.[3] Here Wiesen could readily transpose to Roman society the entirely modern taxonomic construct 'the white man', despite his awareness of the fact that Romans also perceived Germanic blue eyes and blond hair (and not only the *Aethiops* phenotype) as natural 'defects' (*vitia*) and deviations from 'the norm' (Juv. 13.162-66; Sen. *De Ira* 3.26.3).[4]

Quite obviously classical texts of this kind confront us with what some sociologists would call the Roman or ancient Mediterranean 'somatic norm image' (image of the ideal, appropriate or preferred form of human physical appearance), and with a Roman perception of the Mediterranean phenotype (briefly describable as *albus* or *leukos*) as a type of physiognomy distinct from both the *Aethiops* and the 'paleface' (*candidus* or *flavus* or *xanthos*) somatic types (Vitruv. 6.1.3-11; Pliny *HN* 2.189f.; Anon. *De Physiogn.*[5] 79, 88-92; Ptol. *Tetrab.* 2.2.5; Lucian *Gall.* 14, 17, *Dionys.* 2; Claud. *In Ruf.* 2.108-110, *Cons.Stil.*2.240f., *In Eutrop.* 1.390).[6] But, contrary to Wiesen's and similar views, such texts have nothing at all to do with Roman evaluations of social superiority or inferiority. To interpret adverse Roman comments on alien phenotypes in that way (assuming that an aesthetic judgment on physique is also necessarily a judgment of social status) is merely to engage in a crudely anachronistic transfer of particularistic modern values to Roman society; for it is very clear that, unlike the situation in certain modern societies, physiognomy did not function as a criterion of social status in the Roman system of stratification. Wiesen is, of course, far

---

[3] D. S. Wiesen, 'Juvenal and the Blacks', *C&M* 31 (1970) 133-35.

[4] Wiesen [3] 133-48; cf. L. A. Thompson, *Romans and Blacks* (London 1989) 33-36.

[5] J. André (ed.), *Anonyme Latin: Traité de Physiognomonie* (Paris 1981).

[6] Cf. J. André, *Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine* (Paris 1949), 123-130, 327; Thompson [4] 62f.; on 'somatic norm image', see H. Hoetink, *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations* (London 1967).

from being alone in this particular error. Among others, Etienne Bernand demonstrated the same failing in his misinterpretation of an epigraphic contrast between the unattractive blackness of a slave and the same slave's whiteness of soul, concluding from this simple contrast that blacks as members of society (not merely the *colour* of blacks) were ascribed a low esteem, *qua* blacks, in Roman society.[7]

In the manner of Peter Green, J. R. C. Martyn translated Juvenal's *quod cum ita sit, tu Gaetulum Ganymedem/respice, cum sities* (5.59f.) as 'Anyway, when *you* are thirsty, look behind for your nigger Ganymede'.[8] Here too, with respect to the term 'nigger', the translator obviously reflects his own culture rather than that of Juvenal. It is but a short step from such a translation to Wiesen's grossly misguided conviction that *Gaetulus Ganymedes* must have conveyed to Romans precisely the same message as 'African Adonis' conveyed to a white American in the cultural context of the 19th-century South, and that Juvenal's contrast between his black and white 'Ganymedes' presents a picture of the 'uppity black' in a situation where 'the assumption of airs by *a black man* is the ultimate symbol of a society turned upon its head', especially when (as in Juvenal's satirical picture) that uppity behaviour could go unpunished.[9] This is an obvious case of the interpreter too readily imagining an alien cultural situation to be much the same as his own. For in Juvenal's picture this supposedly 'uppity' black slave's arrogance and scorn is directed at white 'bums' with his master's connivance.[10]

---

[7] E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (Paris 1969) 143-47; for similar instances of anachronism, cf. G. H. Beardsley, *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilisation* (Baltimore 1929) ix-xii, 20f., 37f., 62f., 78f., 82f., 111f.; M. Rosenblum, *Luxorius* (New York 1961) 209; F. Paschoud, *Roma Aeterna* (Rome 1967) 140; Wiesen [3] 133-48; A. Bourgeois, *La Grèce devant la négritude* (Paris 1971) 120; J. M. Cook, '*Fusci et formosi*', *CR* 22 (1972) 254; R. Winkes, 'Physiognomonia: Problem der Character-interpretation römischer Porträts', *ANRW* 1.4 (1973) 909f.; P. Mayerson, 'Anti-black Sentiment in the *Vitae Patrum*', *HTR* 71 (1978) 304f.; R. Lonis, 'Les trois approches de l'Éthiopien par l'opinion gréco-romaine', *Ktema* 6 (1981) 83f.; J. Devisse, 'From the Demoniac Threat to the Incarnation of Sainthood: Christians and Black', in J. Vercoutter *et al.*, *The Image of the Black in Western Art* 2.1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1979) 37f., 50f., 61f.; J.M. Courtès, 'The theme of "Ethiopia" and "Ethiopians" in Patristic Literature', in Vercoutter [above, this note] 19-21.

[8] J.R.C. Martyn, 'Juvenal's Wit', *GB* 8 (1979) 230f.

[9] Wiesen [3] 139 (my emphasis).

[10] Thompson [4] 33-36. The term 'bum' is aptly used in Green's Penguin translation with reference to the degraded clients of the black slave's master: Green [2] 119; Juv. 5.52-66.

The historian as 'translator' has a duty to seek the greatest possible understanding of the aspects of the past that he or she studies. The objective is definitely not one of purveying falsehoods and misinformation by consciously or unconsciously reflecting one's own milieu instead of demonstrating the realities of the alien culture under study; and this objective demands systematic and critical inquiry: 'a conscious, rational examination of one's subject and its dimensions and implications, as free as one can make oneself of the automatic acceptance of received views, approaches and habits of mind'.[11] To be sure, even great scholars may misinterpret a text under the influence of certain assumptions of their own culture and society. But misinterpretation remains *misinterpretation and misinformation.* One such example which held sway for many years is Hugh Last's discussion of Suetonius' reference to 'purity of blood' (*Aug.* 40.3) as a major concern of the emperor Augustus in his legislation on the manumission of slaves and in his policy of granting Roman citizenship to foreigners. Last's interpretation of this text rested on an unconscious assumption that the Roman ruling class of the time of Augustus *must* have perceived slaves of 'Oriental' extraction as 'racially' inferior to slaves originating from the barbarian north-west of Europe.[12] Such an assumption will have seemed quite 'natural' to Western scholars of Last's generation, since it was a simple reflex of the then dominant Western perception of Orientals as 'wogs': *pace* Green, an obvious example of a 'translator' (unconsciously) making Romans behave and think as he 'imagines they might have done' had they been born in his or her own time and country.[13]

A particularly notable example of this same syndrome has been the propagation of the 'Hamitic myth' according to which 'the civilisations of

---

[11] M. I. Finley, *The Use and Abuse of History* (London 1975) 55; cf. L. O. Mink, 'The Autonomy of Historical Understanding', *History and Theory* 5 (1966) 24-47; L. Febvre, *Combats pour l'histoire* (Paris 1965) 20.

[12] *The Cambridge Ancient History* 10 (1934) 425f.; cf. A. M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire* (Cambridge 1958) 30f.; N. Lewis and M. Reinhold, *Roman Civilisation* 2 (New York 1955) 52; M. Bonjour, *Terre natale: Études sur une composante affective du patriotisme romain* (Paris 1975) 31.

[13] For some re-examinations of Suetonius' text (conducted by the authors in total independence of each other), see C. Cogrossi, 'Preoccupazioni etniche nelle legge di Augusto sulla *manumissio servorum?*', in M. Sordi (ed.), *Cognoscenze etniche e rapporti di convivenza nel antichità* (Milan 1979) 158-77; L. A. Thompson, 'The Concept of Purity of Blood in Suetonius' *Life of Augustus*', *Museum Africum* 7 (1981) 35-46; K. R. Bradley, *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire* (Brussels 1984) 84f., 148f.

Africa are the civilisations of the Hamites'.[14] As Daniel McCall observed, Westerners of the grand era of European colonialism naturally *assumed* that the 'white' (or 'whitish') Hamitic-speaking peoples must have felt as they themselves did about 'race' and 'would immediately and "naturally" react towards the dark skin as a sign of inferiority': scholars like C. G. Seligman thus 'took it for granted that in the past, as in the colonial period in which he flourished, the white would inevitably dominate the black', and that aristocracies in Africa depended upon 'the percentage of white ancestry'.[15]

Many of the several published misinterpretations of Roman literary references to (and iconographic representations of) *Aethiopes* are to be explained mainly as a consequence of simplistic adherence (conscious or unconscious) to the kind of translation principle advocated by Green. In recent years a grand multi-volume and multi-authored work appeared under the title of *The Image of the Black in Western Art*. Despite the merits of some of its contents, the title of this work is bogus—though I am unaware of any review which draws attention to that fact. To speak of *the image* of the black in such a context is to make the ridiculous presumption of a monolithic and ever-constant social object ('the black'), perceived in the same way everywhere and at all times by artists and craftsmen of the various lands which count as Western. It is an obvious nonsense, and it is in fact contradicted by several comments in the work itself as well as by other discussions such as that of Rolf Winkes which draw attention to Roman artists' presentation of a pejorative image of the barbarian black *as well as* a positive image of the Romanised black.[16] In this connection it may also be noted that Grace Beardsley told us far more about her own America of the 1920s than she did about Rome when she put forward the silly view that the Roman practice of decorating ordinary household objects and personal trinkets with depictions of blacks is clear evidence of a contemptuous attitude

---

[14] C. G. Seligman, *The Races of Africa*[3] (London 1957) 85.

[15] D. F. McCall, *Africa in Time-Perspective* (London 1969) 136-38; cf. B. G. Trigger, 'Nubian, Negro, Black, Nilotic?', in J. Hochfield and E. Riefstahl (edd.), *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan* 1 (New York 1978) 28; W. Y. Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa* (London 1977) 8; Thompson [4] 13.

[16] Winkes [7] 899-944; F. M. Snowden, 'Iconographical Evidence on the Black Populations in Greek and Roman Antiquity' in J. Vercoutter *et al.*, *The Image of the Black in Western Art* 1 (New York 1976) 229-32; J. Desanges, 'The Iconography of the Black in Ancient North Africa', in Vercoutter [above, this note] 251-58; J. Leclant, 'Egypt, Land of Africa, in the Graeco-Roman World', in Vercoutter [above, this note] 273.

towards blacks as a 'race'.[17]

When we move from iconography to literature we find reflections of *several* Roman images of blacks, some positive and others (the majority) negative, and all of them in their different ways and particular circumstances undoubtedly playing some role in the formation of prejudgments about black strangers encountered by Roman individuals from time to time: images of *Aethiopes* as sharp-witted and crafty southerners; or as 'lustful, darkly mysterious and sexually fascinating' people; or as backward barbarians 'addicted to horrid practices'; or (in the post-Severan era) as brothers of the militant Sudanese warriors and marauders who were then causing havoc on the southern frontier of Egypt; or as members of a far-distant, exotic, noble-natured and pious nation of which Homer had sung in praise; or, again as strangers with a natural tendency to evil who were also harbingers of bad luck and disaster.[18]

But even if specific evidence on the Roman concept *Aethiops* were entirely lacking (which is not the case: see Pet. *Sat.* 102; Pliny *HN* 7.51), the careful interpreter would be in duty bound to recognise a need to avoid construing these various (and sometimes contradictory) references to blacks in the familiar context of modern assumptions about so-called 'race', in so far as those assumptions are *historically peculiar* and relevant only to the last two hundred years or so of Western social history.[19] The slaveholding society of ancient Rome was a precapitalist society in which the overwhelming majority of slaves and subjects was 'white'. By contrast, in the Western capitalist cultures of recent centuries, the statuses of slave and subject were both rigidly reserved for non-whites while freedom and dominance were monopolised by whites. Moreover, in the then current and historically peculiar ideology of 'race', 'white' and 'non-white' were *socially-defined* categories, and membership of the 'non-white' or 'black' category was ascribed strictly on the basis of possession of 'black blood'. However, despite this highly significant contrast between the two worlds, observations by scholars on Roman texts referring to blacks have betrayed, time and again, a presumption that Roman society *must* have manifested in its black-white social relations something akin to the peculiar situations found in recent

---

[17] Beardsley [7] 115. See, however, Thompson [4] 25; L. Bugner, 'Introduction', in Vercoutter [16] 12f.; Snowden [16] 229-32; Desanges [16] 258.

[18] Thompson [4] 86-124; L. C. Ruggini, 'Leggenda e realtà degli Etiopi nella cultura tardo imperiale', in *Atti del IV° congresso internazionale di studi etiopici*, 1 (Rome 1974) 141-93; 'Il negro buono e il negro malvagio nel mondo antico', in Sordi [13] 108-33.

[19] Thompson [4] 5-11.

or contemporary Western history.[20]

Petronius and the elder Pliny offer crucial information on Roman perceptions of *Aethiopes* and on the Roman concept *Aethiops* or 'black African' (Pet. *Sat.* 101f.; Pliny *HN* 7.51; cf. Mart. 6.39.6-9): first, mere blackness of skin did not suffice to ensure categorisation as *Aethiops*, for the categorisation depended on possession of the concomitant characteristics of black African hair, lips, and (according to Martial) nose; secondly, so-called 'black blood' was definitely not the yardstick by which membership of this category was perceived. In Roman perceptions the progeny (and *a fortiori* the later descendants) of a black-white mating might be 'swarthy' or 'black' or 'white'; and such a person might produce a black offspring by mating with a white partner, just as he or she might produce non-black children from the same partner. In this perception, categorisation of a person as white or 'swarthy' or black African (*Aethiops*) or northern 'paleface' rested entirely on the individual observer's optical registration of personal somatic characteristics, altogether uninfluenced by any facts of the observed person's parentage or ancestry (Juv. 6.600; Lucian *Philops.* 34; Plut. *De sera num. vind.* 21 [563a]; Ach.Tat. 3.9.2; Lucr. 4.1210-32; *PL* 64.30, 56, 79, 132f., 145f. [Boethius]; 85.378 [Fulgentius]; *PG* 65.469 [Philostorgius]).[21] That is why Ptolemy can speak of the people of the region of Meroe as by and large the first 'real *Aethiopes*' encountered in *Aethiopia* as *indigenes* ('natives') by a person travelling up the Nile (Ptol. *Geog.* 1.9.7-10; cf. 1.8.5, 4.65).

This makes it perfectly obvious that Roman society knew no such social object as a 'black' person who was not physically and visibly black. The very idea of a 'black' who is 'black' only sociologically, but not physically and visibly, is in fact unimaginable outside the constraints of racist ideologies (the kind of culture that nurtured Madison Grant's fervent conviction that 'the cross between a white man and a negro is a negro; the cross between a white man and a Hindu is a Hindu; the cross between any

---

[20] Misguided observations of this kind are to be found in Beardsley [7] ix-xii, 20f., 37f., 62f., 78f., 82f., 111f.; Paschoud [7] 140; F. M. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970) vii, ix, 2, 143, 163, 181f., 186f., 270 n. 3, 329 nn. 159-161; [16] 174-84, 216, 238; *Before Color Prejudice* (Cambridge, Mass. 1983) 17, 56, 63f., 88-92; Lonis [7] 82-87; Bernand [7] 143-47; Wiesen [3] 133-48; Bourgeois [7] 120; Cook [7] 254; Winkes [7] 908f.; Mayerson [7] 304-311; Devisse [7] 50-51; Courtès [7] 19-21.

[21] Cf. G. E. R. Lloyd, *Science, Folklore and Ideology: Studies in the Life Sciences in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1983) 58-111; Thompson [4] 62-85.

of the three European races and a Jew is a Jew'[22]). But despite the firm Roman evidence to the contrary several modern comments on blacks in Roman society appear to rest on the pretence that, throughout history, every society has manifested the same kind of consciousness of human colour-differences and the same vision of discontinuity in colour categories (or 'racial' categories) that has characterised the Western world in the past two centuries: white, black, coloured, yellow, red, brown; or negro, mulatto, quadroon, octoroon and mustee; and so on. The work of F. M. Snowden thus presents the internal contradiction of postulating a non-racial Roman society in which people were nonetheless perceived in American 'racial' terms: as mulatto, quadroon and the like; and in which people of these kinds, though not visibly black or 'easily recognisable as Negroes', were still blacks or negroes, like the woman represented by a marble statue of the first century AD from Lower Egypt who is at once 'a mulatto woman' with 'flat nose, thick lips (neither very pronounced) and long flowing hair', *and* 'a charming Negro woman'; or Poulsen's white 'lad of distinctly plebeian type' and Bonacasa's 'Egyptian or Libyan' and Cumont's 'goddess Libya' who are respectively Snowden's 'young mulatto', 'well-to-do black', and 'mulatto or quadroon'.[23] Snowden rather strangely presumes that artists of the Roman world shared his own society's concept of 'the black' or 'the negro', and so he can say that '*the blacks* of the ancient artists' closely resemble modern blacks, including those today described as 'coloured' or 'of mixed black and white descent'.[24] He likewise sees in the iconography 'a wide range' of 'black' types with 'varying degrees of Caucasoid admixture' and resembling in physical appearance 'many a descendant of black-white mixture in various parts of the world today'.[25] Unable to break free of the tyranny of such modern habits of mind, scholars have also ('naturally') misinterpreted Lucian's tripartite division of humanity into the categories *leukoi, xanthoi* and *Aithiopes* (Lucian *Herm.* 31), seeing this as a categorisation of 'whites',

---

[22] Cited by M. Banton, *White and Coloured: The Behaviour of British People Towards Coloured Immigrants* (London 1959) 63f.

[23] Snowden [16] 217 and fig. 286, 184, 238 and fig. 329; Snowden 1970 [20] 91 and fig. 69; 88 and fig. 63, 184f.; Snowden 1983 [20] 63-66; F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of the Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen 1951) 166 no. 229b; N. Bonacasa, *Ritratti greci e romani della Sicilia* (Palermo 1964) 25f. no. 27 pl. 12.1f.; W. Zschietzschmann, *Hellas and Rome* (London 1959) 150.

[24] Snowden 1970 [20] 88 and figs. 63, 67; Snowden [16] 257 and fig. 286; Snowden 1983 [20] 17 (my emphasis), 63-66 and fig. 25.

[25] Snowden [16] 174, 183f., 216, 238, 242 and figs. 231-33, 265, 286, 290-92, 300, 303, 334.

'yellow' peoples like the Chinese (Mongoloids), and blacks,[26] instead of (as Lucian clearly intended it) a categorisation of Mediterraneans, Central-Northern Europeans ('yellow-*haired* palefaces'), and blacks. Evidently, in the perception here demonstrated by Lucian, so-called Mongoloids like the Japanese and Chinese were generally categorised as 'white' (with some individuals being perceived as 'swarthy' as was the case even for some Italians), and African albinos were perceived as 'white' also (albeit 'whites' with rather unusual facial shapes and hair-texture, somewhat like the snub-nosed or heavy-lipped Mediterranean whites to whom Lucian occasionally refers [Lucian *Navig.* 2, 45; *Catap.* 15; *Gall.* 14; *Philops.* 34]).[27] But an excessive intrusion of modern preconceptions about 'blood' and 'race' will naturally blind one to this truth, just as it induced Snowden to misinterpret Statius' allusion (*Theb.* 5.427f.) to the African peoples of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean areas ('the Red *Aethiopes*' or 'Erythraean Africans') as a reference to 'Negroes of a red, copper-coloured complexion'.[28]

Grace Beardsley's pseudo-sociological forays remain the crudest expressions of this same syndrome to date, being hardly more than effusions (however unconscious) of the American racism of her own milieu. They are attributable to the same basic flaw observable in much of the subsequent American work on blacks in antiquity, whether written by whites or by blacks, and whether propounding the thesis of a Roman racism or the opposite. One notes in this literature a tendency to begin with the wrong question: namely, enquiring into 'the status of the black race' in ancient Roman society, overtly or unconsciously.[29] That is a question that makes sense only if one is already certain that one is studying a racist society; for no other kind of society ascribes a particular status to *groups* such as 'blacks' or 'whites'. Beardsley's 'natural' answer to this bogus question (overtly posed by her) about Roman society was that blacks *as a group* must have been ascribed a degraded status in Roman society, as was obviously the case in her own society.[30] She interpreted all negative references and allusions to blacks as expressions of this Roman 'racial feeling', and many of her

---

[26] Snowden 1983 [20] 37; S. I. Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta: A Biographic Essay* (Chicago 1968) 39.

[27] Cf. Thompson [4] 51, 61, 191f. nn. 164f.

[28] Snowden 1983 [20] 4.

[29] Beardsley [7] ix, 116; Snowden 1970 [20] 184-86; 1983 [20] 17; Wiesen [3] 133f., 138f.; cf. Bourgeois [7] 120; W. Den Boer, Review of Snowden 1970 [20], *Mnem.* 24 (1971) 439; Bernand [7] 143-47; Lonis [7] 82-87; Devisse [7] 50f.

[30] Beardsley [7] 116.

observations offer crude revelations of a mental and intellectual enslavement to the norms and assumptions of her own society: Juvenal's allusion to mocking of blacks must mean that Roman whites possessed and exercised *qua* whites a right to bait and badger blacks *qua* blacks, irrespective of the personal status of the individuals in such an encounter (since blacks, as a group, are presumed to have an ascribed status inferior to that of whites); black slaves were appreciated for 'what are now considered to be among the best of negro qualities—personal loyalty, ready laughter, and a gift for song and dance'; iconographic portrayals prove that these blacks 'sang songs which, to judge from the plaintive expressions on their faces, were the ancestors of the present-day negro spirituals' (a comment that in itself ascribes to these ancient blacks the same consciousness of an inescapable group-degradation as was evident in American blacks of this scholar's time, and the same need for spiritual release from the permanent tribulations of that condition). For Beardsley, it was similarly a very simple matter to detect in the iconography individual blacks 'of the lowest kind of intelligence'; and the artistic motif of a black boy seized by a crocodile 'naturally' had the same comic intention that lay behind American cartoons of blacks caught by alligators ('a motif very common in the magazines of humour a generation ago and still found in the souvenir statuettes sold at Southern resorts'); it is also 'impossible to dissociate from the comic' any realistic portrait of a negro, since '*the average white man* is inclined to view humorously a serious realistic portrait of an African negro'; the negro, 'perhaps unfortunately, has *always* appealed to the comic side of *the Caucasian*'; the negro's 'propensity to quick laughter, his feeling for music and the dramatic, and his loose-jointed dancing have *always* made him a popular comedian', and over the ages 'these characteristics have changed no more than the physiognomy'; so ancient whites 'probably enjoyed them as much as *we* do'.[31]

To take up only the point already raised in relation to Wiesen's article, scholarly professionalism leads one to ask what Beardsley's concepts 'the white man' and 'the Caucasian' have to do with the world of Roman antiquity. Beyond that, these various observations must be allowed to speak for themselves as silly effusions of particularistic cultural preconceptions. It is particularly odd that this American scholar of the 1920s (presumably not unfamiliar with the New Testament) took no notice of the Biblical account of the encounter between the apostle Philip and the black eunuch and Treasury Minister from the Meroitic kingdom whose display of certain

---

[31] Beardsley [7] 21,37f., 62, 66, 79, 83, 111f. (emphasis mine).

conventional Roman status-symbols (literacy, carriage and horses, and attendance by personal servants) was enough to occasion instant perception of him as 'a man of authority' (δυνάστης) in the context of the values of the Roman world and the system of social stratification that governed the lives of all inhabitants of that world (*Acts* 8.27f.).

Several Roman texts clearly attest a quite widespread upper class perception of the *Aethiops* phenotype as a combination of certain somatic 'defects' or 'flaws' (*vitia*): colour, hair, facial morphology, and (in black women) over-large breasts (Juv. 13.162-66; Sen. *De Ira* 3.26.3; Mart. 6.39.6-9, 7.89.2; Pet. *Sat.* 102; *Anth.Lat.* 182f.; *Moretum* 31-35; Claud. *Bell. Gild.* 193; Luxorius 43, 71, 78). It may reasonably be deduced that, in general, 'sensory aversions to the physiognomy of *Aethiopes* were less powerful and durable' among the peasantry and the lower classes as a whole, 'since the ideals of beauty and "the appropriate" in facial and bodily shape were generally much more remote from everyday reality among the humble and toiling masses than they were among the refined and leisured rich'.[32] The physiognomy of white peasants and members of the 'sordid *plebs*' was, like that of the *Aethiops*, frequently a target of upper class mockery (Cat. 39.12; Mart. 10.68.3; Lucian *Navig.* 2.45, *Philops.* 34; Anon. *De Physiogn.* 14, 79, 90, 92).[33] But many texts also attest the currency, among people of all social classes, of a negative symbolism of the colour black which fed a superstitious belief that a chance meeting with a black stranger was an ominous presage of bad luck or disaster (Plut. *Brut.* 48; App. *BC* 4,17; Florus 2.17.7f.; HA *Sev.* 22.4f.; Pet. *Sat.* 74; Apul. *Met.* 6.26; Lucian *Philops.* 16, 31, *Charon* 1; ps.-Lucian *Lucius* 22; Claud. *Bell. Gild.* 188-195; Juv. 2.23, 15.49f.; Suet. *Calig.* 57.4; *Anth.Lat.* 182f., 189). This superstition was evidently at its strongest among those members of the illiterate lower classes who were also unfamiliar with the sight of black people, and in such cases perceptions of blacks were likely to be modified only in consequence of growing familiarity with the presence or company of one or more black persons.[34] Snowden has put much unnecessary effort into attempts to play down the obvious fact that a good number of white

---

[32] Thompson [4] 164.

[33] Cf. André [6] 55f., 123f., 324.

[34] Cf. G. W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Boston 1954) 129f., 165f., 181f., 261f., 300f.; K. J. Gergen, 'The Significance of Skin Colour in Human Relations', in J. H. Franklin (ed.), *Color and Race* (Boston 1968) 113-123; F. Heider, *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations* (New York 1958) 22f., 188f., 192-94; H. E. O. James and C. Tenen, 'How Adolescents Think of Peoples', *Brit. J. Psych.* 41 (1951) 145-72.

people in Roman antiquity felt a sensory aversion to the black African physiognomy. His motive was no doubt mainly a false conviction (nurtured by his own social and cultural environment) that this phenomenon, like the public and unashamed mockery of the black phenotype that evidently occurred in certain circumstances in the Roman world, necessarily attests racism.[35] But, in an evidently non-racist society like that of ancient Rome, this purely ethnocentric kind of adverse perception of the black phenotype has to be considered in the context of other social facts relating to blacks—in particular, the Roman ideology relating to social status, which (as is well known) definitely gave no role to phenotype in the system of social stratification.[36]

The texts which reveal a distaste for the black phenotype in no way permit us to operate on the assumption that black-white social relations in the Roman world (or in any other predominantly 'white' social space) were (or are) necessarily governed by familiar Western ideological constraints, or that blacks in Roman society (who were evidently slaves for the most part[37]) 'naturally' constituted *a community*. The notion of a 'black community' will easily intrude itself upon minds unreleased from the tyranny of modern Western preconceptions (especially when one has been socialised into seeing as 'natural' a partition of society into 'communities' of 'Blacks, Asians, Hispanics, and Whites of every kind'[38]). The notion of a 'black community' in Roman social space is part and parcel of the same mind-set that prompts misguided questions about the *group-status of the black 'race'* in Roman society. It is otherwise quite impossible to envisage a small black population constituting *a community* in social conditions such as those of ancient Rome. In the first place, blacks in Roman society were at all times largely slave-immigrants or progeny of such immigrants; secondly, their

---

[35] Snowden 1970 [20] 176, 181f., 196f., 322 n. 82; 'Romans and Blacks: A Review Essay', *AJP* 111 (1990) 543-57.

[36] Cf. R. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations* (New Haven 1974); P. Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1970); J. Gagé, *Les classes sociales dans l'Empire romain* (Paris 1964); J. A. Crook, *Law and Life of Rome* (London 1967); Thompson [4] 142 f.

[37] Thompson [4] 84, 179 n. 32.

[38] *The Economist* (22 October 1988) 54. The present writer appealed in vain to this great and influential 'newsweekly' for clarification as to whether the 'Asian community' of the United States includes people with 'biological origins' in the northern and central parts of Western *Asia*, or whether such people fall into the category of whites 'of some kind', and whether an immigrant from Spain instantly ceases to be white and becomes 'Hispanic' instead.

numbers were always small; thirdly, black newcomers had a variety of cultural and ethnic backgrounds and (being largely slaves) were dispersed in widely separate localities; fourthly, every Roman slave had to live as part of a predominantly white *familia* of widely different individual national origins; finally, the descendants of blacks in the Roman world were much more often than not 'swarthy' or 'white' people in the Roman perceptual context.[39] Indeed, in this connection, it is important to ask whether American blacks would have come to constitute their present 'black community' within the nation of the United States if their original desire for individual integration into the society of the dominant white population had not been systematically and viciously blocked after the abolition of slavery. It was as a consequence of his pilgrimage to Mecca that Malcolm X acquired his first experience of a real world in which the very notion of a nation consisting of centuries-old and distinct black and white 'communities' began to seem ridiculous: until that time he would almost certainly have dismissed as absurd any report he had received about the reality of a non-racist society in which the majority of the population was white and a minority black.[40]

To be sure, from time to time quite a number of Roman individuals unused to the sight of black faces must have perceived blacks as very alien (and sometimes alarming) social objects. In some cases the novel experience of encountering a black person must have created a situation like that encountered by James Baldwin in a remote Swiss village where he lived for some time and where, 'from all available evidence, no black man had ever set foot' before. At first the unaccustomed spectacle of this black man created an air of 'astonishment, curiosity, amusement, and outrage', with children shouting *'Neger! Neger!'* as Baldwin walked by, and a few of them 'screaming in genuine anguish' at the unfamiliar sight. In none of this, however, was there any 'element of intentional unkindness'. As familiarisation grew with time, the children's call of *'Neger!'* was full of 'good humour', and Baldwin could notice the more daring of them 'swell with pride when I stop to speak to them'. The villagers by this time 'wonder less about the texture of my hair' and 'wonder more about me'; many of them now 'never pass without a friendly greeting' or a conversation. Baldwin noticed 'a dreadful abyss' between this situation with its shouts of *'Neger!'* and that of his own homeland with its shouts of *'Nigger!'*—'the abyss is

---

[39] Thompson [4] 84.

[40] James Baldwin, *One Day When I Was Lost: A Scenario Based on the Autobiography of Malcolm X* (London 1972) 140-55.

experience, the American experience'.[41]

In itself, the evidence for matings of blacks and whites in Roman society (like the evidence for other forms of intensive relationships between black and white individuals) implies that familiarisation reduced and eliminated any initially adverse perceptions of blacks on the part of those whites who became involved in such relationships (Ach.Tat. 3.9.2; Mart. 6.39.6-9, 10.87; Juv. 6.597-600, 15.49; Plut. *De sera num. vind.* 21 [563a]; Pliny *HN* 7.51, 10.121f.; Calp.Flacc. 2;[42] Quintil. fr. 8;[43] *Moretum* 31-35; HA *Sev.* 22.4f.; Luxorius 67.6-14).[44] Hence the attested fact of white mothers publicly claiming a black ancestry as a biological explanation of their own non-white infants (which must often actually have been the fruits of such women's own adultery with black men [Pliny *HN* 7.51; Plut. *De sera num. vind.* 21 (563a); Lucr. 4.1283; Ov. *Ars Am.* 2.653f.]). This social phenomenon of publicly expressed claims to black parentage or ancestry on the part of whites is entirely incompatible with the sort of perception of blacks and the sort of black-white social relations which scholars have generally *imagined* that their own studies have brought to light about the ancient Roman world.

---

[41] J. Baldwin, *Notes of a Native Son* (London 1965) 133f.

[42] G. Lehnert (ed.), *Calpurnii Flacci Declamationes* (Leipzig 1903).

[43] G. Lehnert (ed.), *Quintiliani Quae Feruntur Declamationes XIX Maiores* (Leipzig 1905).

[44] Snowden 1970 [20] 184-85 and figs. 118f.; Snowden [16] figs. 288f.; Snowden 1983 [20] figs. 60f.; Leclant [16] 278-85 and figs. 375, 383f.; J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Art of the Romans* (London 1965) fig. 78.

POPULAR AND HIGHER EDUCATION
IN *AFRICA PROCONSULARIS*
IN THE SECOND CENTURY AD

F. Opeku
Department of Classics, University of Cape Coast
Cape Coast, Ghana

Abstract. For popular instruction in *Africa Proconsularis* Apuleius used a modified version in Latin and Greek of the orations of the Second Sophistic. Through teaching, research and publications, he began the process that made Carthage the cradle of higher education in the West and Latin (rather than Greek) the language of this education.

If we assume the proposition that the reconstruction of Roman education should primarily be based on the writings of Roman educators, then the best known of these, especially in the area of the theory and practice of formal education, are pre-eminently Quintilian, then St Augustine, and even Tertullian, whose reputation is that of the holder of a negative view of pagan learning as a necessary evil and of teaching as a vocation that is best avoided by a Christian (Tert. *Idol.* 10).[1] Apuleius of Madaura is not generally known as a source for Roman education and yet where other formulations are vague and uncertain,[2] the clearest and most succinct formulation of the first three stages of Roman education that we have appears in Apuleius' *Florida* 20 where the Muses' bowls of learning are discussed:

> Prima creterra litteratoris ruditate eximit, secunda grammatici doctrina instruit, tertia rhetoris eloquentia armat.

> The first bowl, that of the teacher of letters, extricates us from illiteracy; the second, of the grammar teacher, instructs us in erudition; the third, of the teacher of rhetoric, arms us with eloquence.

A number of factors account for this lack of acknowledgement of Apuleius'

---

[1] Cf. M. L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (London 1971) 119.

[2] For example, Gellius identifies *litterator* and *grammaticus* as opposed to *litteras sciens* as follows: *alter docens, doctus alter* ('the one teaches, the other is learned', 18.9.2f.). Suetonius identifies *grammaticus* and *litteratus*, adding that *litterator* is sometimes synonymous with *litteratus* and sometimes distinguished from it as γραμματιστής and γραμματικός in Greek, where the former is then derogatory (*Gram.* 4).

contribution. The first is that his extant writings do not obviously propound any theories of education. Then there is the fact that although the evidence suggests that he was a *grammaticus* or *rhetor* in Rome,[3] he disdained to claim either of those as his profession when he returned to Africa and Carthage, where he always referred to himself as *philosophus* ('philosopher') and suggests that his contemporaries also called him such (*Fl.* 18 *init.*, *Apol.* 4, *Herm.* 4). This article examines Apuleius' pioneering role in the educational development of *Africa Proconsularis*, where he promoted popular and advanced education. Specifically, the following areas of Apuleius' contribution will receive attention: his adaptation of the sophistic oration, which he fashioned into a tool of popular instruction; his formal instruction and learned discourses addressed to more advanced students; and his instrumentality in replacing Greek with Latin as the language of higher education in the Roman world, thereby turning Carthage into an important centre of learning in the West.

Roman Education in the Second Century AD

A brief review of Roman education before the second century AD is appropriate at this point. The influence of Greek literature and thought at the very cradle of literacy in Rome is well known. Roman writers, with the singular exception of Cato the Censor, eagerly embraced Greek as the language of culture and modelled their literary efforts wholesale on the Greek masterpieces: drama, lyric poetry, history (which at first they wrote exclusively in Greek until Cato the Censor decided that Latin was a good enough vehicle for it) and oratory. Even satire, which Quintilian claimed to be a Roman invention (*Inst.* 10.93), owed its form and metres very much to Greek precursors, and its content regularly relied on Greek learning for *exempla* and allusions to present even native and contemporary Roman material. The Romans also quickly identified their local gods with those of the Greek pantheon and whenever their historical and religious thought ventured into the realms of the purely abstract, they had to concede the fact that the Greeks were already there before them. Therefore, they not only went to the Greek centres of learning like Athens and Rhodes, but also welcomed (at the best of times) Greek philosophers, teachers and men of letters to Rome;[4] indeed, this constituted the Roman mode of acquiring a

---

[3] R. Helm, *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis Opera Quae Supersunt* 2.2: *Florida* (Leipzig 1959) xiv.

[4] A. Gwyn, *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian* (New York 1964) 34f.

higher education.

The well-educated Roman's knowledge of Greek was taken for granted, just as English or French would be for educated Africans. While, unlike the modern African *literati*, the Roman author soon came to prefer to write in his native Latin, he yet had this curious urge to create, as it were, a Latin version of the best of Greek literature; or, to put it another way, the Roman writer constantly had Greek models and standards as his inspiration. This was natural because the scholastic rudiments of Roman education were derived from the Hellenistic ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία,[5] while teaching beyond the primary stages of the schools of the *litterator* (sometimes also known as the *ludi magister*) and the *grammaticus*, that is, in the *rhetor*'s school, was for a long time done in Greek, so that eloquence was for the educated Roman first and foremost an art based on principles and practices of the Greek schools. It is the proficiency attained through this kind of education that moved both Julius Caesar and his nephew Augustus in their moments of deepest private stress to say their famous last words in Greek (Suet. *Caes.* 82, *Aug.* 99). One is reminded of the educated African of today whose prayer or expletive in a state of emotion is more readily spontaneous in English (or French) than in his mother tongue. When at Rome with difficulty and in the face of aristocratic opposition the use of Latin was introduced into the school of the *rhetor* and firmly established there by the time of Caesar's dictatorship, it was too late for it to benefit from the reality of Republican politics which had then 'deserted the Forum at the approach of the praetorians' and eloquence became a futile employment that 'gyrated in a weary circle of literary exercises and verbal virtuosity'.[6] Higher education at Rome was gradually further impoverished not only by the loss of the traditionally high value of eloquence for advancement in the public service, but also by an intensification of the aversion of the ruling class to philosophy and science; even the otherwise tolerant Vespasian suppressed and exiled from Rome the Cynic philosophers, as did Domitian all philosophers (Suet. *Dom.* 10). Philosophical and scientific education therefore still had to be sought in the centres of Greece and Egypt: Athens, Rhodes and Alexandria.

During the second century AD in *Africa Proconsularis*, Roman education was provided first in the school of the *litterator*, then by the *grammaticus*, and finally by the *rhetor*. Within the limits which we have considered so far, this system of education achieved its purpose, as Juvenal

---

[5] J. Bowen, *A History of Western Education* 1 (London 1972) 152f., 181.

[6] J. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (London 1973) 109.

attests (*nutricula causidicorum Africa*, 'Africa, nursemaid of lawyers', Juv. 7.148f.). By the middle of the century, the emergence of the Africans on the educational and literary scene at Rome presaged by the precocious genius of Terence was becoming more sustained. Educated Africans came to Rome in search of greater proficiency in the metropolitan schools of rhetoric and then made a career for themselves as teacher, man of letters or advocate. Suetonius, Florus, Fronto, Sulpicius Apollinaris, Apuleius, and Tuticius Proculus (tutor of Marcus Aurelius) all came to Rome in search of greater laurels. Such was the impact of these Africans on the intellectual circles of Rome that the foremost among them like Fronto and Sulpicius Apollinaris dominated Roman education and learning of their time and set its standards. For example, their 'African Latin', it was claimed, preserved the pristine Latin of the Roman people, while the literary and polite language was becoming more and more remote from the living tongue;[7] and therefore Fronto, tutor of rhetoric to Marcus Aurelius, became known as an authority on the Latin language and was ranked by some ancients with Cato, Cicero and Quintilian (*Romanae eloquentiae non secundum sed alterum decus*, ('a twin glory of Roman eloquence, second to none', *Panegyricus Constantio Dictus* 14). Modern scholars for a long time even attributed to him a new style of Latin speech, the so-called *elocutio novella*.[8]

As far as we know, these Africans who had aspirations to a literary or legal career, as well as many others with different ambitions, like Septimius Severus, normally stayed in Rome for the pursuit of their aims. Apuleius, it seems, was the only one who went back to Africa permanently after a sojourn first in Greece for study, and then in Rome as a practising *grammaticus* or *rhetor*.[9] Back in Africa, he tried to introduce to his less fortunate countrymen learning that went beyond the school of the *rhetor*. This effort, which lasted at least six years (cf. *Fl.* 18), is therefore at the centre of the evidence for second-century Roman education in *Africa Proconsularis*.

Having found the standard of education in the province to be inadequate, Apuleius tried to improve it through teaching, research and writing. According to him, most of his compatriots went as far as to the *rhetor*'s school (and he implies that facilities for instruction beyond this point

---

[7] Cf. M. D. Brock, *Studies in Fronto and His Age* (Cambridge 1911) 161-261. Against this theory see G. Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* (Princeton 1972) 602.

[8] But see L. Holford-Strevens, '*Elocutio Novella*', *CQ* 26 (1976) 140f.; cf. Kennedy [7] 601.

[9] Helm [3] xif.

did not exist in the province)[10] while the rest were plainly ignorant of letters. Moreover, he did not think much of those who would challenge his own position as the foremost educator of the province; he thinks they are no better than charlatans (cf. *Fl.* 7, 9).

Apuleius' Adaptation of the Sophistic Oration As a Tool of Popular Instruction

Dissatisfaction with the situation and the remedial effort that it provoked were not directed at the official levels of the schools of *litterator, grammaticus* and *rhetor*, but rather to the mass of the population on one hand, and on the other to a coterie of students whose higher than ordinary educational level would require specialist and exclusive treatment. The mass of the people was treated by Apuleius to frequent public orations in the theatre after the current fashion of the Second Sophistic (cf. *Fl.* 16 *init.*). Apuleius claimed that in the public lectures in the theatre, he was able to reach and edify all age groups of the population (*Fl.* 5, cf. 18 *init.*). Certainly these public lectures became for him a regular affair at Carthage, and that is why he had to apologise to his audience at the beginning of *Florida* 16 when he was forced by a sprained ankle to be absent for a period. Elsewhere in the province, he gave similar public lectures, for example in the basilica at Oea to a most appreciative audience who clamoured that he should remain permanently in the city as a citizen (*Apol.* 73).[11] He mentions other public lectures at *Apologia* 55 and 24, indicating that these were published afterwards.

The teaching method which Apuleius applied to the popular audience in the theatre was basically in the form of the oration of the practitioners of the Second Sophistic, but it was modified by the normal purpose of delighting the audience and an overriding desire to be understood.[12] The fragmentary passages of Apuleius' *Florida* and the so-called *Prologue to De Deo Socratis* are clear evidence of the author's didactic purpose in his public orations. This same purpose is shown in the fact that these discourses were presented in both Latin and Greek (cf. Apul. *Soc.* 5; August. *C.D.* 8.12), the two languages used in the province apart from the native Punic. If we remember that the normal practice of the Second Sophistic was to give their

---

[10] Cf. *Fl.* 20: *hactenus a plerisque potatur. ego et alias creterras Athenis bibi* ('Thus far is the bowl of the Muses drunk by most. I have drunk others in addition at Athens.').

[11] Cf. August. *Epist.* 138.19, which refers to a statue voted in his honour at Oea.

[12] *Pace* M. L. Clarke, *Rhetoric at Rome: A Historical Survey* (London 1953) 162.

lectures exclusively in Greek even where the audience was Latin-speaking,[13] then this extra effort of Apuleius becomes significant and indicative of his pedagogical purpose which we shall find in his bilingual lectures to more advanced students, as well as his publications in both languages, where the intention is clearly to render Greek science and learning in Latin for the benefit of his Latin-speaking audiences. The subject matter of these lectures, as is suited to a popular audience, was elementary and presented with the minimum of poetic colouring, metaphor and casual literary allusion,[14] except for the most familiar and well known like Virgil, who was popular with the Carthaginians presumably because of the Dido connection,[15] Plautus and Homer. Where the rare recondite allusion is made, then the text is treated with remarkable fullness,[16] which shows the intention of giving a clear explanation of the little known author's work in a lecturette.

Elsewhere Apuleius makes pedagogical use of popular 'scientific' material such as the eagle at *Florida* 2, the parrot at *Florida* 12 and the Indians at *Florida* 6. Other subjects of such elementary instruction are 'famous men' like Pythagoras (*Fl.* 15) and Crates (14). In the presentation of this kind of material rhetoric is made to serve the same didactic purpose; a striking feature of the method is the use of 'inverse attraction', which is normally a simple device of spoken discourse[17] elaborately extended in the service of his elucidatory digressions. Common in Plautine comedy and attested in Cato (*ap. Gell.* 3, 7, 19) and elsewhere, its simplest form is the famous Virgilian *urbem quam statuo vestra est* ('the city which I am building is yours', *Aen.* 1.573). At *Florida* 7 *init.* this device is extended by means

---

[13] Philostr. *VS* 481, 491 and 589, where Latin students at Rome are called students of 'the *other* language'; *VA* 4, 5; Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 21.112). G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969) is a good presentation of the Second Sophistic. Cf. A. Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie au 2e siecle de notre ère* (Paris 1925) 50f. and E. Haight, *Apuleius and His Influence* (London 1927) 69f., who both stress the exclusive use of Greek by the Second Sophistic and how popular its practitioners and their public orations were with Roman audiences; see (further) Kennedy [7] 553-607.

[14] Cf. E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* 2 (Leipzig 1915-18) 603; M. Bernhard, *Der Stil des Apuleius von Madaura, Ein Beitrag zur Stilistik des Spätlateins* (Amsterdam 1965) 5.

[15] A. Audollent, *Carthage romaine* (Paris 1901) 639 n. 3, who refers also to St Augustine's penchant for Virgilian allusion.

[16] Cf., e.g., the long digression on the comic poet Philemon in *Florida* 16.

[17] R. Helm, '*Quaestiones Apuleianae*', *Philologus* Suppl. 9 (1904) 516-518; K. Leuman and J. B. Hofmann (rev. A. Szantyr), *Lateinische Grammatik* 2 (Munich 1965) 567f.; P. Thomas, '*Ad Apuleium*', *Mnemosyne* 49 (1921) 51.

of a long digression into a didactic piece nearly two hundred words on Alexander the Great. Other examples are the pieces on Protagoras (*Fl.* 18), Orpheus and Arion (*Fl.* 17), Thales (*Fl.* 18) and Crates (*Fl.* 22). Obviously his audiences found these biographical and literary sketches edifying. Other topics are similarly amplified by a rhetoric which seems to have its basis in the elementary school book such as a *grammaticus* might possess or compile for his professional use[18] and which Apuleius employs to amplify topics like birds and their calls (*Fl.* 13), animals and their respective cries (17), musical instruments and their respective sounds, the modes of Greek music (4) and the features of Greek New Comedy (16). Rhetoric in elucidatory digressions also follows new or unusual expressions such as *invisoribus* ('those who envy', *Fl.* 9), *chartario calamo* ('papyrus reed pen', 9), *temporarium* ('at a set time', 13), *plurifariam* ('in many ways', 17). Interesting also are the words in which Apuleius addresses the groundlings, especially where he implies that his oration is *extempore* (16, 18; *De Deo Socr.* 1, 4 *init.*, 5). Reading these passages, we are impressed by the popularity of the public lectures; no wonder the theatre was always packed to capacity (18 *init.*).

Formal Instruction and Learned Discourses for More Advanced Students

Apuleius took a keen personal interest, including the offer of private tuition, in the education of individuals like younger family members, namely his stepsons Pontianus (*Apol.* 97) and Pudens, although the latter was an unwilling student (28). Then there was Faustinus, perhaps an adopted son, to whom his books *De Platone* 2 (*init.*) and *De Mundo* (*init.*) are addressed.[19] The liberal studies which Pudens is said to have abandoned after his more diligent brother's death (*Apol.* 28) would no doubt include instruction in Greek, of which his knowledge was rudimentary, and Latin, of which he was totally ignorant (*Apol.* 98). To a higher level of instruction would belong the *quaedam mechanica* ('certain devices') that he asked a carpenter whom he found fashioning *geometricas formas* ('geometrical shapes') to make for his use at Oea; they are obviously teaching aids (*Apol.*

---

[18] Compare the word list of Suetonius, another African teacher: *leonum est fremere . . . luporum ululare . . . boum mugire . . . equorum hinnire . . . elephantorum barrire . . . merulorum frendere vel zinziare* ('lions roar . . . wolves howl . . . bulls bellow . . . horses whinny . . . elephants trumpet . . . blackbirds chatter or zinziate', fr. 161).

[19] Cf. H. E. Butler and A. S. Owen (edd.), *Apulei Apologia Sive pro Se de Magia Liber* (Hildesheim 1967) xxvf.

61).   At Carthage, more advanced students were taught either in the exclusive premises of the library that was situated in the precincts of Aesculapius, or in the senate house (*Fl.* 18 *fin.*). These advanced students are briefly referred to at the end of *Florida* 18 where two prominent citizens, Julius Perseus and Sabidius Severus, are about to feature in a dialogue written by our philosopher. Perseus was obviously of Greek extraction (*Nam Perseus, quamvis et ipse optime possit, tamen hodie vobis atticissabit*, 'For Persius too will speak Attic to you today although he could also very well [speak Latin] himself', *Fl.* 18), while the group included some individuals who had been fellow-students with Apuleius in Athens; their discourse (in Latin and Greek) began with a review of a lecture delivered by Apuleius in the temple of Aesculapius on the day previous to the date of the dialogue. Although the occasion of the dialogue itself could be fictitious, the personalities involved and other circumstances are obviously real and were known to the audience.   Julius Perseus for example is mentioned elsewhere as a contractor[20] and was therefore an important personage.   There were other eminent residents of the province who had a love for learning and showed interest in and some appreciation of Apuleius' efforts.   The distinguished Lollianus Avitus[21] attended at least one public lecture of Apuleius at Oea; it was to him that Apuleius sent his stepson Pontianus with a letter of commendation when the latter was about to go from Oea to Carthage to continue his studies in rhetoric (*Apol.* 94). Another was Claudius Maximus, learned friend and guide of Marcus Aurelius (Marc.Aur. *Med.* 1, 15) and successor to Lollianus Avitus in the proconsulship of the province: he is presented by Apuleius throughout the *Apologia* as a fellow scholar and he acquitted our author of the charge of witchcraft in the court at Oea.   Scipio Orfitus, in whose honour Apuleius composed a poem, is cited as a *locupletissimus testis* ('a most trustworthy witness') to Apuleius' search for knowledge in Rome (*Fl.* 17).   Scipio Orfitus' successor in the proconsulship was Severianus Honorinus, honoured in a farewell address at the end of his year,

---

[20] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 8.1 (Berlin 1881) 132 no. 997.; cf. F. Oudendorp, *Apulei Opera* (Leiden 1823) *ad Fl.* 18.

[21] Avitus, a patron of learning in Rome, secured entry for Pertinax into the classes of Sulpicius Apollinaris in Rome; see A. Birley, *Septimius Severus: The African Emperor* (London 1971) 46.

where Apuleius recommends his own scholarly works in *Florida* 9.[22] Finally there was his former schoolmate Aemilius Strabo, who was a great admirer of Apuleius' erudition and, we are told, offered to pay for a statue in Apuleius' honour at Carthage.[23] He also would have belonged to the class of elite *literati* that would listen to Apuleius' advanced instruction and partake in his dialogues.

Unfortunately, we do not have any clearly attested specimen of the kind of lecture that Apuleius addressed to these more advanced and exclusive audiences of Carthage. However, a work such as the *De Deo Socratis* gives us an idea of the nature of this level of his instruction: its subject matter and erudition range over many authors (Plato, Aristotle, Homer, Ennius, Accius, Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, Cicero, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, Virgil) and it remarks openly about the low level of Carthaginian education (*cumulata enim habent, quae sedulo percolunt; ipsi autem horridi, indocti incultique circumeunt*, 'they have amassed material things to which they give their eager devotion, while they themselves go about uncouth, ignorant and without breeding', *Soc.* 22). This is quite in contrast to the effusive flattery of the audience that we find at the end of a public oration such as *Florida* 20 and gives indications that it is not intended for popular consumption.[24] Apuleius' target audience in this work is more sophisticated than the ordinary Carthaginians who went to hear his discourses in the theatre. We also have his two books on Platonic philosophy as well as the *Peri Hermeneias*, whose authenticity has been doubted by some.[25] The *De Mundo*, like these works on philosophy and logic, is as erudite as the *De Deo Socratis*, and would be intelligible only to the advanced student. Some of the lost works about which our author boasts in *Florida* 9 and 20 and others mentioned in the *Apologia* belong to this category.[26] What we do know of his writings

[22] S. Gsell, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* 2 (Paris 1922) no. 1030; E. Groag and A. Stein (edd.), *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*[2] (Berlin/Leipzig 1933) no. 1230; R. Syme, 'Proconsuls d'Afrique sous Antonin le Pieux', *REA* 51 (1959) 310-319.

[23] *Fl.* 16; *CIL* 6 no. 2086; *PIR* 3 no. 674.

[24] Audollent [15] 711 n. 3.

[25] But cf. M. W. Sullivan, *Apuleian Logic: The Nature, Sources and Influence of Apuleius' Peri Hermeneias* (Amsterdam 1967) 9-14.

[26] Butler and Owen [19] xxviii list the lost works, which include a *Quaestiones Naturales* in Greek and Latin (cf. *Apologia* 36), *De Piscibus, De Arboribus, De Re Rustica, Medicinalia, Astronomica, Arithmetica* (translated from Nicomachus), *De Musica, De Republica, De Proverbiis, Quaestiones Conviviales*, and a Latin translation of Plato's *Phaedo*. Cf. *Fl.* 9 (*poemata omnigenus apta virgae, lyrae, socco, coturno, item satiras ac griphos, item historias varias rerum nec non orationes laudatas disertis nec non dialogos*

suggests that in Carthage and elsewhere in the province, Apuleius, apart from his keen interest in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, carried out investigations into natural history in the tradition of Aristotle (*Apol.* 36, 38, 40) and through his teaching, research and publications achieved the reputation and status of a polymath, writer and poet, in short, a *philosophus Platonicus* (*Herm.* 4). To later generations, he was to become a thaumaturge, and St Augustine, who is ambivalent about his miraculous powers, ranks him with Plotinus, Iamblichus and Porphyry as an outstanding Platonist (cf. *C.D.* 8.12). Attacks upon rival 'philosophers' (*Fl.* 7, 9, 11; cf. 16), which we have already observed, show that there were others in the province who were involved in the resurgence of interest in learning even before Apuleius came back to Africa from his travels abroad, and it took some time before he became the most famous of these teachers of higher learning.

Introduction of Latin as the Language of Higher Education in the Roman World

The fact that Apuleius published works in both Latin and Greek is clear evidence of his effort to transmit Greek learning plainly in Latin, while satisfying the intellectual appetite of a community which can be said to be one of the most truly multilingual in the Roman world, with Punic as the mother tongue of many natives, who however, especially if they had any schooling, quickly learnt Greek and Latin, the mother tongues of sections of the population. Apuleius and the members of his family at Oea, namely his wife Pudentilla and her elder son Pontianus, spoke and wrote Greek; even the ignorant younger stepson Pudens had a smattering of Greek although he hardly spoke Latin. Griffiths argues that Apuleius, his wife and elder stepson spoke Punic as their mother tongue, then learned Greek before Latin.[27] In sum, Apuleius was operating in a milieu where Punic, Latin and

---

laudatos philosophis, 'poetry of all kinds, epic and lyric, suited to the sock and the buskin, then satires and riddles, then research into various sciences not to speak of rhetorical works that were commended by scholars and dialogues that were praised by philosophers') and *Fl.* 20 (*canit enim Empedocles carmina, Plato dialogos, Socrates hymnos, Epicharmus modos, Xenophon historias, Crates satiras: Apuleius vester haec omnia novemque Musas pari studio colit*, 'For Empedocles wrote poems, Plato dialogues, Socrates hymns, Epicharmus comedies, Xenophon histories, Crates satires; your Apuleius with equal diligence is devoted to all these and to the nine Muses as well.').

[27] J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros: The Isis Book* (Metamorphoses *Book XI*) (Leiden 1975) 61f. and n. 1. Other comments on the language situation in the province will

Greek were the languages spoken. Latin of course was the official language, but we find a certain rivalry among the Carthaginian audiences, part of which would demand an address in Latin, apparently in the middle of a lecture in Greek, whereupon Apuleius would oblige, claiming to be impartial and willing to satisfy both factions equally (*Soc.* 24). We have here obviously a situation where although Greek was the language of higher learning in Carthage as elsewhere in the Roman world, learners and teachers alike felt a need to make this learning accessible to the Latin-speaking section of the population, which was considerable and officially important. The result was an increasing use of Latin as the language, not only the Sophistic public oration to the popular audience (which was until now done exclusively in Greek) but also as the language of higher education, until the point where (as we shall see) the use of Greek, the literary language of Carthage from Punic times to the first century B.C.,[28] declined seriously. Apuleius, in response to the needs of his audiences, was a pioneer of this shift in favour of Latin as the language of learning. His publications, for readers that ranged from the newly literate to very advanced students, reveal this deliberate didactic move in his translations and adaptations of Greek authors, no less than in his original Latin works (*Fl.* 9, 20). At *Florida* 9, for example, we hear of the *griphoi* ('riddles') of Apuleius. Their didactic use is clear from Athenaeus: τῶν γρίφων ἡ ζήτησις οὐκ ἀλλοτρία φιλοσοφίας ἐστί. καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν τῆς παιδείας ἀπόδειξιν ἐν τούτοις ἐποιοῦντο ('Enquiring into riddles is not alien to learning; indeed, in the past, familiarity with them was a proof of education', *Ath.* 10.86 (457c) quoting Clearchus).[29] Apuleius' *griphoi* may be the same as the Latin *conviviales quaestiones* that were recommended to a young student in the following terms: *certe si saluberrimis avocamentis, ut qui adhuc iuvenis, tepidius inflecteris, a Platonico Madaurensi saltim formulas mutuare convivialium quaestionum, quoque redderis instructior, has solve propositas, has propone solvendas, hisque te studiis et dum otiaris, exerce* ('Since you are still but a youth, certainly if in a more enthusiastic mood you should have an inclination for edifying diversions, at all events procure the collection of model dinner-party quizzes of the Platonist of

---

be found in Audollent [15] 701f. and F. Millar, 'Local Cultures in the Roman Empire', *JRS* 58 (1968) 130f.

[28] Audollent [15] 701f.; Butler and Owen [19] 13f.

[29] F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles: Texte und Kommentar* 3 (Basel/Stuttgart 1969) 31f. Macrobius says that past philosophers like Aristotle, Plutarch and Apuleius took *griphoi* seriously and wrote about them (*Sat.* 7.3.25). Cf. Gell. 1.2.4; *Ath.* 10.69 (448c); Pauly's *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1 A1 (Stuttgart 1894) 62 *s.v.* Rästel.

Madauros, whereby you may become more informed; solve them yourself; set them for others to solve; and practise these academic exercises even in your spare time', Sid. *Epist.* 9.13.3).

At a higher level, Apuleius' prolific writing followed the encyclopaedic tradition of Varro and Pliny, and was aimed at transmitting Greek learning as clearly as possible into Latin. He was therefore not merely a translator, but also a synthesiser who formulated, systematised and classified Greek technical material for easier assimilation by Latin speakers.[30] For example, he attempted to find Latin equivalents for Greek scientific and technical terms. At *Apologia* 36 he speaks of his interest in investigations of marine life after the manner of Aristotle, with precise formulation a concern of the books which he then published on the subject in Latin. This interest in knowledge and its transmission from Greek into Latin is further illustrated by his claim to the formulation, for example, of the adjectives *viviparus* ('that brings forth its young alive') and *oviparus* ('egg-laying') from ζφοτόκα and φοτόκα (*Apol.* 38), adding, *animadvertes cum me collegisse res cognitu raras, tum nomina etiam Romanis inusitata et in hodiernum quod sciam infecta, et tamen nomina labore meo et studio ita de Graecis provenire, ut tamen Latina moneta percussa sint* ('You will observe that I have collected rare specimens and then where their names are unfamiliar to Romans, and, to my knowledge, corrupted in their present use, I toil diligently to coin names for them from the Greek in such a way that they may bear nevertheless the stamp of a Latin mint', *Apol.* 38). We are then treated to a list of thirteen Greek classifications, being but a small part of such a list that applies to aquatic animals only—not to speak of other types—all of which, he claims, he has similarly supplied with Latin equivalents. In the field of Logic, to take another instance, Apuleius' legacy to the West, complete with its own vocabulary that includes formulations like *quantitas* ('quantity'), *qualitas* ('quality'), *particulares* ('particular' [adj.], as opposed to 'universal'), *aequipollentes* ('of equal value'), *conversio* ('reversal') and *particulariter* ('particularly'), constitutes a system that is said to be 'distinct from the (orthodox) Aristotelian, Theophrastian, Stoic and Boethian logical

---

[30] Cf. *Apol.* 36: *Si gloriosum illis fuit scribere, cur turpe sit nobis experiri, praesertim cum ordinatius et cohibilius eadem Graece et Latine adnitar conscribere, et in omnibus aut omissa adquirere aut defecta supplere?* ('If they [sc. the Greek philosophers] won glory in writing about these subjects, why should it be for me a base occupation to try my hand, especially since I endeavour to put down the same materials more systematically and concisely, and everywhere to supplement omissions and remedy weaknesses?').

traditions'.[31]   Then there is the example of Plato's *Timaeus* 82Af. on disease, rendered in Latin at *Apologia* 49 with such finesse that it elicited the following comment from Oudendorp: *magna autem elegantia et perspicuitate Apuleius, quae plurimis verbis et obscuris a Platone dicta sunt paucis exprimit* ('Apuleius with consummate grace and clarity expresses the subject in a few words where Plato is very verbose and obscure').[32]   A similar sentiment is that of Sullivan, to whom the *Peri Hermeneias*, 'the oldest part of the Old Logic' used in the fifth century and until the twelfth century in the West, appears on some points to be superior in its formal character to the work of Aristotle.[33]

Apuleius was, if not the inventor, certainly a student and practitioner of what we nowadays call 'register' in writing and consciously applied it as a useful pedagogical tool of a teacher of several different disciplines.   The difference between the style of his famous novel, the *Metamorphoses* and the forensic *Apologia* has been observed,[34] while the adaptation of style to didactic purpose in his advanced lectures is equally evident in the philosophical works as 'the "contracted palm" or "closed fist" of a formal logician'.[35] The natural result is that the authenticity of some of his works like the *Peri Hermeneias* and possibly *Physiognomonia* has been doubted mainly on the score of their style.[36]

When Apuleius lectured and wrote his books, Greek initially was the language of higher education and culture in Carthage, where it had been the language of literature since Punic times. Apuleius' contribution was to use his lectures and publications to teach the province the capabilities of Latin as a language of higher education and learning; in doing this he created some useful technical vocabulary for science and philosophy that has been

---

[31] Sullivan [25] 232-34.

[32] Oudendorp [20] *ad Apol.* 49.

[33] Sullivan [25] 231-34. He [25] 191 also adduces other testimony, mediaeval as well as modern, of Apuleius' greater perspicacity in the Latin in comparison with Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias*.

[34] Norden [14] 603: 'Er schriebt . . . in jeder Schrift in einem andern Stil'.

[35] Sullivan [25] 11f. At *Florida* 20 Apuleius describes the cup of Logic as *austerulam* ('rather harsh').

[36] Sullivan [25] 11f. F. Opeku, 'Physiognomy in Apuleius', *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 1 (Brussels 1979) 467-474, demonstrates the close application of the principles of physiognomy as enunciated in *Physiognomonia* to Apuleius' portraiture of character in the *Florida*.

transmitted to the modern world. This promotion of the use of Latin may have led to the decline of Greek in the province, or perhaps such a decline created a need for more reliance on Latin which was supplied in Apuleius' pedagogy. The demise of Greek may also be reflected in the loss of all the Greek works of Apuleius and his successor Tertullian.[37] Thus St Cyprian's erudition in the third century was in Latin only, while St Augustine in the fourth century was made to learn Greek at school but found it difficult and uncongenial (Aug. *Conf.* 1.13f.). Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine received excellent higher education in Carthage and did not have to go to Athens or Rome for this as had Apuleius and his predecessors. A further indication of the improved educational facilities and standards in the province after Apuleius is the fact that whereas Apuleius had to go from Madaura to the *rhetor*'s school at Carthage, such a school was available two centuries later at Madaura for the early training of St Augustine, who went to Carthage thereafter for his higher education in preparation for his teaching career in his native Tagaste, then Carthage, and finally Milan, where he was professor of rhetoric.[38] Apuleius claimed a certain brilliance for the literary culture of Carthage in the Roman world: *Karthago provinciae nostrae magistra venerabilis, Karthago Africae Musa caelestis, Karthago Camena togatorum* ('Carthage revered instructress of our province, Carthage the heavenly Muse of Africa, Carthage divine inspiring Genius of the Roman people', *Fl.* 20). This brilliance, of Latin rather than Greek letters, became a reality after his death. Henceforth the African capital could vie with Athens, Rhodes, Rome and Alexandria as a centre of learning in the Roman world.[39]

---

[37] P. McKechnie, 'Tertullian's *De Pallio* and Life in Roman Carthage', *Prudentia* 24 (1992) 44-66, argues that Tertullian's *De Pallio* was a public oration in the Apuleian tradition and was delivered to a Carthaginian audience in AD 205.

[38] Bowen [5] 174f.

[39] M. Grant, *The World of Rome* (New York 1960) 256 says of the post-Apuleian period: 'The next great achievements of the Latin language were again to come from the North African homeland, which was henceforward more productive of originality than any other Roman literary center'.

SOCRATES, PLATO AND FICTION

H. D. Rankin
Department of Philosophy, University of Southampton
Southampton SO9 5NH, United Kingdom

Abstract. This article discusses the 'Socratic problem' in the context of philosophical arguments about the status of literary and biographical characters and with reference to the attitudes of some modern authors to the characters in their works.

I intend to look at the familiar 'Socratic Problem' in ways which lead not so much to a distinct conclusion as to the assembly of a mosaic of points which seem to affect the main question. This compound-lensed view is in many ways speculative and much of what follows should be read as if it were in some species of subjunctive.

Is the Socrates of Plato's dialogues authentically representative of or truly similar to the historical person of that name who lived and taught in Athens in the fifth century BC and who was executed by the Athenians in 399 BC? This way of expressing the matter, like many others, bristles with assumptions. Yet it is a reasonable enough vulgate. We have no secure way of knowing how any description of a person (or anything else) can replicate that person or thing. No portrait can be identical with the sitter. We recognise claims to similarity in such cases but do not know how to substantiate them. We cannot talk about them in any but the most general and informal language. On the other hand we certainly do recognise people when we meet them in life or art.

Writers other than Plato assure us of the historicity of a Socrates who fits the vital evidences we have in Plato's works. Aristophanes, who (on the view that the scenario of the *Symposium* is not entirely fantastic) may have known him personally, presents him as a sophistical word-cruncher, peculiar even of his kind. But his *Clouds*, as we all accept, is a work of humorous satire. Xenophon, who certainly knew him, portrays him as a home-spun, blunt, somewhat Johnsonian wiseacre and party-goer.[1] Plato's Socrates is more polite, perhaps too polite for his social origins: we know comparatively little about Athenian manners in relation to social class that is not satirical or partisan in character. For Plato he is the great philosophical genius of the

---

[1] H. D. Rankin, *Antisthenes Sokratikos* (Amsterdam 1986) ch. 1.

age. Aristotle, as far as we can judge, saw him as an important philosophical antecedent, primarily engaged in ethical investigations (*Met.* 1078b9-17).[2]

A reading of the dialogues without chronological pre-occupation shows distinct differences in the character of Socrates. If you use a chronology assuming the development of Platonic philosophy from the small aporetic, so-called 'Socratic' dialogues on through more elaborately argued pieces, you find that except in a few extreme cases such as that of Schleiermacher, who puts the *Phaedrus* first in the authorial sequence,[3] you are not likely to be wildly out of agreement with the various sequences based on stylometry, beginning with Campbell and Lutoslawski and continuing to Brandwood and Ledger via Wilamowitz, Taylor and Ross.[4] It is clear at the simplest level that the Socrates of the small dialogues is different from the Socrates of the *Republic*. Arguments in terms of traditional classical scholarship about the Socratic problem are compactly resumed and discussed by Guthrie and recently by Vlastos.[5] This approach is understandably more concerned with the authenticity of Socratic thought as presented in the dialogues rather than the status of Socrates' character in terms of intentionality, in this case whether the main *persona* in these writings in any sense can be thought to constitute a 'person'.

K. R. Popper accuses Plato of deliberately manipulating the character of Socrates.[6] He reprehends Plato for betraying the Socratic philosophical policy of open enquiry, and 'implicating' Socrates in his own scheme of political authoritarianism.[7] He attacks Plato for attributing to Socrates a viciously essentialist theory of Forms, an immovable ontological basis for

---

2   G. Vlastos, *Socrates: Ironist and Moral Philosopher* (Cambridge 1991) 91ff.

3   See the tables in C. Ritter, *Platon: Seine Leben, seine Schriften, seine Lehre* 2 (Munich 1910) 230f., 254f. and W. Lutoslawski (ed.), *The Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic* (London 1905) 38.

4   L. Campbell, *The Sophistes and Politicus of Plato with a Revised Text and English Notes* (Oxford 1897); Lutoslawski [3] 83f.; L. Brandwood, *The Dating of Plato's Works by Stylistic Method: A Critical and Historical Survey* (diss. London 1958), *The Chronology of Plato's Dialogues* (Cambridge 1990); G. R. Ledger, *Re-Counting Plato: A Computer Analysis of Plato's Style* (Oxford 1989) 86, 114f.; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (ed.), *Platon* 2 (Berlin 1919) 6-11; A. E. Taylor, 'Biography of Socrates', *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1917) 1-40; W. D. Ross, *Plato's Theory of Ideas* (Oxford 1947) 2.

5   W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* 4 (Cambridge 1975) 41-55; Vlastos [2].

6   K. R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* 1: *The Spell of Plato* (London 1957).

7   Popper [6] 195.

constructing a society which excluded the possibility of change. These charges and others against Plato are well known, as are various attempts to defuse them, such as R. B. Levinson's monumental work *In Defense of Plato* (Cambridge, Mass. 1953). But as John Gould clearly pointed out, there is evidence in the text of the *Laws* (923b4, 925c6) that Socratic ways of open and uninhibited enquiry are excluded from the proposed city of the *Laws*.[8] We might ask what kind of berth would be available for the Socrates not simply of the aporetic dialogues, but of any part of the *Republic*, in the society toward which the *Republic* seems to be driving? Worse than the passages of the *Laws* referred to, which restrict individual advice and comment on political and social questions, is the furious attack (908d-909a) on charismatic and apparently talented people who are really full of deceit, are a class including seers and wizards who can develop into *tyrannoi*, *demegoroi*, and *strategoi*, and 'those who have deceptively contrived private cults' (taking this to be the meaning of *teletais de idiais epibebouleukotes*). Associated closely with these last, and possibly with the other undesirable categories, is the characterisation 'and (*te*) devices of those who have the name of sophists'. Clearly Plato has sophists principally in mind,[9] but there is ample room within the brackets of this demonology of the late fifth century BC Athenian democracy for the bulky form of Socrates to be accommodated. The point is confirmed by the immediately subsequent attack on *to eironikon*,[10] deployment of which is said to be a crime worthy of two death penalties rather than one. The reference to private cults together with the attack on *to eironikon* seems to be an adumbration of Socrates: one of the heavy charges against him concerned the *daimonion*. At the same time, the remarks about the honest atheist who is capable of rehabilitation (*Laws* 908b4) may also be a memory of Socrates. The forensic idiom about the two penalties rather than one can be identified three times in the speeches of Demosthenes (*In Meid.* 521.24; *Fals. Legat.* 345.25; *De Cor.* 301), but it also occurs three times in the *Apology* (30b, 38d, 41a). Although late in his writing career Plato speaks well of Socrates (*Epistle* 7.324e) in a passage which seems to echo the honorific obituary at the end of the *Phaedo*, he seems to distrust him in a context of social construction and to see him as a disruptive influence, no better than a sophist.

Our views of people we know can change with the passage of time. The context of our recollection can influence its content. We are capable of

---

[8] J. Gould, *The Development of Plato's Ethics* (Cambridge 1955) 109.

[9] E. Wyller, 'Platons Gesetz gegen die Gottesleugner', *Hermes* 85 (1957) 292-314.

[10] Vlastos [2] 22f.

telescoping events, causes, motives. From the point of view of those to whom we are communicating our recollections, portrayal can become contaminated with betrayal. Our recollection of a dead friend is still an aspect of a living relationship. We can betray him or her just as easily as a live contemporary. Which of us has not at some time been infuriated when a friend attributes to us some opinion we abandoned at the age of sixteen? And uses it as the basis for inferences about our present attitudes and the interpretation of our contemporary conduct? We accept that no act of recollection, no description, can be perfectly representative, much less identical with its object even if we play unfairly by assuming an instantaneous snapshot of that object in a given state.

The Popperian view of Socrates takes a particular snapshot of Socrates as its premise: namely Socrates in the group photograph of a uniquely enlightened intellectual 'Great Generation'. But the apparent movement of Plato's attitude from that of the *Apology* to that of the *Laws* is in keeping with common understanding of human relationships. From the standpoint of Plato as he wrote the *Laws*, Socrates was politically a disaster and potentially dangerous. The world had changed and so had Plato. If the sophists could be seen as the generators of *demegoroi* and *tyrannoi*, what about Socrates? Was he not a friend of Critias and Charmides, though he fell out with them? What about *strategoi*, which we would in more polite moments call people like Alcibiades, if we were minded to forgo the insult of *tyrannos*? After all, and after all this time, we ourselves might want to know what Socrates was doing with a wife who had the Alcmeonid-sounding name of Xanthippe? Was he more involved in the political *clientela* of that clan through the patronage of Alcibiades than we generally suppose?

Broadly speaking, the view held by John Burnet and A. E. Taylor regarded the Socrates of the dialogues as an historically authentic portrait.[11] Socrates by this canon can still be regarded as a fictional character, since what we read of him in the dialogues, even if it were held to record his very words, nevertheless was put together by the author Plato and is what Plato made of his understanding and experience of Socrates and of himself. We are all fictionalisers of ourselves and others.[12] We are incapable of telling or narrating all that might be said of us or others. The mind cannot retrieve

---

[11] J. Burnet, 'The Socratic Doctrine of the Soul', *Essays and Addresses* (London 1929); Taylor [4] 1-40.

[12] D. Dennett, *Consciousness Explained* (London 1991) 411, 429.

everything to consciousness. If it could, it would be unable to operate.[13] We edit and compile. We cannot help ending with a fiction. If some of the fiction did not carry the conviction of truth, it would not be workable as fiction. Guthrie thought that the Burnet-Taylor hypothesis suffered from its reliance on the assumption that Plato intended to write for posterity.[14] There is no reason to doubt that Plato, whatever reservations he may have had about the reliability of written words (*Phdr.* 274a-278b), regarded his writings as ephemeral memoranda. They were, at the least, serious teaching documents, and he took great pains with their style (Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 5.209; Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.64). Whether he regarded them as literature in the mimetically objectionable sense is open to doubt. Did he classify them in any of the current literary genres? The *Sokratikos logos* was a new class in the domain of Greek writing (Arist. *Poet.* 1417a20). It did not antedate 399 BC, whatever may be said of its possible antecedents in South Italian Sicilian *Mimos* with which Plato is supposed to have been familiar.[15]

When Plato wrote he did not have behind him centuries of criticism and scholarship to enable him, like Plutarch (*Alex.* 1.1f.), to distinguish between *bios* and *historia*. We have the story from Diogenes Laertius that Plato was so fascinated by Socrates' teaching that he abandoned his efforts at tragic poetry and took to philosophy (*D.L.* 3.5). The *Apology*, the *Crito*, and above all, the *Phaedo* make Socrates seem like a heroic figure from Attic tragedy. Accordingly Socrates is made to compose and enact his own fiction about himself: he creates his own *mythos* of the modest divinely driven seeker after truth, subject to the negating interference, from time to time, of a *daimonion*, and spoken to in dreams by supernatural agents (*Cri.* 44a-b). There is perhaps more than a casual correspondence between the *Phaedo* and the kind of situation represented by the *kommos* of Antigone as she is being taken off to immurement.[16]

We should bear in mind that completely accurate verbatim reportage was not invariably expected within the cultural context of fifth and fourth centuries BC Greece, even though almost total recall of speeches was possible by means of rigorous training and the supportive presence of a text that could be consulted in emergency (Pl. *Phdr.* 228a, 230e-331e). When

---

[13] J. Mitchell, 'Truth and Fiction', *Philosophy and the Arts: Royal Institute of Philosophy Lectures* 6 (1971-72) 21f.

[14] Guthrie [5] 32.

[15] R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog: Ein Literarhistorischer Versuch* (Leipzig 1895) 21.

[16] C. H. Whitman, *Sophocles: A Study in Heroic Humanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1951) 90.

the development of rhetoric made professional demands that overwhelmed even the capacities of memories trained to contain all of Homer, mnemotechnics that the early poets had used were modified and expanded to meet the need.[17] It was impossible for Thucydides to achieve for all the speeches in his history what Phaedrus did in the case of the 'Lysias' speech on love in the *Phaedrus*. It was physically and technologically impossible for him to reproduce all those that may have actually been made on given occasions, and so he explains that he has been obliged to develop speeches fictionally by including material that in logical and political terms met the requirements of the given situation and speaker (*ta deonta*, *Th.* 1.22). Since Plato's dialogues were composed after 399 BC, and assuming that Socrates' conversations over a number of years would be considerably more varied and inestimably longer than the surviving dialogues, it would be reasonable to suppose that those who came in contact with them would make the same allowances that they made for Thucydides' treatment of the speeches in his history. Plato assumes this, as we can see from his unwillingness to let us know precisely when such a dialogue as the *Gorgias* is supposed to have taken place.[18] He extends this licence into invention in the *Parmenides*. The dramatic date of this dialogue is long before he was born.

Our understanding of what Plato thought about Socrates may not have a significant chance of becoming an authentic picture of what Socrates was like in life. We are dependent upon Plato's writings for all the evidence there is on this matter. Yet it is possible for us to adopt an intentional attitude to this character described by Plato just as we might towards a live contemporary in this sense: namely that there could be a situation in which we know about an actual person only through the letters of a friend who talks about him or her frequently in corresponding with us. The friend is far away, and we are not likely in the ordinary course to encounter the person talked of. Yet we accept that this is a real person and we accumulate a store of information about his or her character and activities. We develop the skill by which we can make a reasonably successful conjecture about how the person will react to certain ideas or circumstances. There is no reason to assume that our view of this person is any more reliably formed than our view about ourselves or the friend who is so vivid a correspondent. And then we find out that this person is a fantasy, an invention of our letter-writing friend. There is no such person in the actual world. No doubt

---

[17]   F. A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Harmondsworth 1969) 43ff.

[18]   E. R. Dodds, *Plato's Gorgias: A Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford 1959) 17.

there are categorial differences between a person who is alive, one who is dead and remembered, and one who is invented. But the person whom we find was never actual still occupies some conceptual space in us and others.[19] Our attitude to the invented person or the dead person is not the same as our attitude to a joint-stool.[20] The ancient world is very much a matter of hearsay. But so is very much else, including peradventure what we come to think and actually say about ourselves.

Following this line we might suppose that everything we read about Socrates needs some kind of predicate operator to indicate it is hearsay, or, given the scenario of some of the dialogues, hearsay of hearsay. We probably need one for ourselves for we are characters in our own dramas, dialogues, fantasies, and day-dreams.[21] We may well be described as 'centres of narrative gravity',[22] a phrase which rings down the curtain of the classical Cartesian theatre and turns us into script-writers acting in our personal soap-operas.

My knowledge of any character, actual or fictional, is derived from an accumulation of input over a period of time. I acquire what I metaphorically and without prejudice call a program about the person, and when I have some new piece of information about him or her, I can as it were run the program and test it for consistency with what I already know. (In the interests of safety I suggest that the word 'program' from now on be considered as having quotation marks.) If the person is of a paradoxical or antinomian turn of mind or behaviour, I can expect appropriate kinds of inconsistencies to turn up, and make allowance for them. Even in Xenophon's portrayal of Socrates, there is a possible fossilised trace of reference to Socratic *eironeia* (*Mem.* 4.4.9).[23]

I can add to my program from time to time, but if I turn author, I can do it more consistently, I need not tell all I know, but only what I think from my angle of vision will make the story better.[24] I cannot tell all I know because I am subject to my own artistic rule and my 'knowledge' is limited by it. I am not in control of the program in the sense of having conscious access to all of it. I cannot make a statement of what I know

---

[19] R. Rhees, *Without Answers* (London 1969) 153.

[20] K. L. Walton, 'Pictures and Make Believe', *Philosophical Review* 72 (1973) 233-39; D. Lewis, 'Truth in Fiction', *American Philosophical Quarterly* 15 (1978) 39-45.

[21] K. L. Walton, 'Fearing Fictions', *Journal of Philosophy* 75 (1978) 5-27.

[22] Dennett [12] 447f.

[23] Vlastos [2] 32.

[24] A. R. Manser, 'Philosophy and Fiction' (unpubl. essay U. of Southampton).

about a fictional character or any other person which has any claim to completeness. Also, if I had truly comprehensive information I might by this very fact be rendered incapable of telling it.[25]

Most of us will at some time have devised conversations with friends, alive or dead. Also we can concoct characters which have no one actual referent. We do this as children and continue to do so if later on we are novelists, dramatists or poets. Sometimes novelists complain about their characters getting out of hand. James Joyce says in a letter written to Frank Budgen during the latter stages (1921) of his composition of *Ulysses* that he is putting a curse on Leopold Bloom.[26] It is, characteristically, a mock druidic curse. We may ask whether Plato did not have a long struggle with his already fictionalised Socrates and whether the passage of the *Laws* discussed above[27] does not represent a facet of his final victory? The honourable mention of Socrates in *Epistle* 7 might be addressed to the historical figure, not the dominant fictional monster.

Sometimes these 'programs' cease to be encased within the wider programs which we call you or me. They run amok, creating an effect like possession or dissociation. It is possible that Morton Prince's patient Miss Beauchamp who had four personalities, made her various *personae* act (that is, she fictionalised them) in order to oblige him.[28] Charles Dickens suffered some such possession when in his public recitals he switched on the programs of Bill Sikes and Nancy in the murder scene. It has been thought that the violent emotions of these two characters contributed materially to his death. We may note that Dickens never actually 'saw' these characters in external life (Cruikshank's drawings may or may not have supplanted his imaginations of them) but he certainly knew them. I need not see persons as a necessary condition of knowing them.

I do not make it my business here to take up the question whether Socrates is a mental state, or identical with a brain state of Plato or you or me, or is something else. All I wish to claim, on a different level from such questions, is that it is possible to ask questions of a character who has been invented, or modified from life (deliberately or otherwise), or remembered from previous acquaintance. It may be properly objected that fictional

---

[25] See above, p. 49.

[26] R. Ellman, *Collected Letters of James Joyce* 3/4 (London 1960) 46.

[27] Pp. 46-48.

[28] C. Rycroft, 'Introduction', in Morton Prince, *The Dissociation of a Personality: The Hunt for the Real Miss Beauchamp* (Oxford 1978) viii; 'Multiple Personality', in R. L. Gregory (ed.), *Oxford Companion to the Mind* (Oxford 1987) 197f.

characters do not 'experience' or 'develop' in the way that living people generally do.[29] They do, however, develop in their own way. We reinterpret them in the light of our own accumulating experience and information which we add to their programs with the passing years. I think much the same happens in the case of friends we may not have seen or contacted for many years: we understand their words and actions in a different way . . . they change though they are the same persons. With living persons, some of one's worst mistakes can arise from an intentional attitude to them which includes the assumption that they develop. I think it not impossible that Socrates continued to develop for Plato. When Socrates asserts that the unexamined life is not livable (Pl. *Ap.* 38a) he seems to be suggesting that there is a need to be intentional about ourselves and that we should comb through our programs regularly.

In his play *The Plough and the Stars*, Sean O Casey invented a comical, rascally, essentially decent street-philosopher called Fluther Good. The character was a great success. Years later, O Casey, embittered by various set-backs in his artistic career, and disillusioned with the development of his country's political life almost as much as Plato was with that of Athens, began to write his monumental autobiographies. In one of these (*Innishfallen, Fare Thee Well*), he introduces Fluther again, out of time and place, and has him comment on events and personalities that lie outside the frame of the drama in which he first appears. The *persona* of Fluther is placed in situations in which he gives characteristic and credible down-to-earth responses to people and ideas he could not be expected to encounter, for example, Yeatsian pretentiousness.[30] In the same passage O Casey speaks of Fluther as if he were alive and actually in the Dublin streets. Joyce and Valery Larbaud used to identify the Blooms in Paris cafes.[31] This may seem like a mere game, but Joyce reports also that he used to dream about the Blooms,[32] and he suggested that Budgen should paint a portrait of Leopold Bloom.[33]

Jacques Derrida's *Postcard* (London 1987), following a mediaeval drawing by Mathew Paris of Plato and Socrates, takes as significant the reversal of roles which the artist introduces. In this illustration, available in postcard form, Plato is seen dictating to Socrates who is assiduously writing

---

[29] Manser [24].

[30] *S. O Casey: Autobiographies* 2 (London 1963) 234f.

[31] Ellman [26] 3.46.

[32] Ellman [26] 3.142f.

[33] Ellman [26] 4.465.

down Plato's words. In historical terms this is, of course, nonsense, but may we not be prompted to ask whether the Socrates of the dialogues is the realisation of Plato? In Aristotelian terms, Socrates may be the form that actualises Plato. Derrida's comments 'they predict, they preform the future' and 'they are dead and they travel through us in order to step up to the cashier'[34] perhaps bear poetically on the questions we are considering. Plato may possibly be thought to have elicited the Theory of Forms from Socrates by retrospective questioning of his fictionalised *persona*.

Plato distrusted artistic representation as philosophically deceptive and placed little value on the written word. Yet he left behind one of the most important bodies of philosophical writing we possess. Moreover, this writing was composed with the style and luminosity of a literary and poetic genius. His principal objection to artistic representation (*mimesis*) is too well known to require detailed exposition here.[35] Since *mimesis* represents phenomena, it stands three places away from the reality of the Forms. Representations of human beings speaking to each other in the dramatic mode were particularly objectionable to him, since they intensified the disruptive emotionalism of poetic expression. As we know, literature and poetry were subject to close control in the constitutions of his proposed cities of the *Republic* and the *Laws*. In the *Laws*, song and dance performed by wise elders is encouraged, since its contents will be morally and socially edifying. And we see that sanitized Homer will be allowed in the city of the *Republic*. Did Plato think that his own *mimeseis* in the dialogues belonged to a different category, or was he simply prepared to concede that writing was the most practicable way of teaching students to argue since the teacher could not be available all the time?

It is *prima facie* reasonable to suppose that Plato regarded the dialogues as teaching media which he felt it his duty to produce in as careful and naturalistic a form as his high talents could achieve. He could have taken the view that his intention was to arouse a philosophical and therefore highly praiseworthy passion and that his work consequently had less mimetic objectionability about it, or that this was counterbalanced by the protreptic influence of seeming to converse with Socrates. Gilbert Ryle took the view that the dialogues were scripts of moot dramas in which Plato (as long as his

---

[34] J. Derrida (tr. A. Bass), *The Postcard: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond* (London 1987) 98.

[35] H. Koller, *Die Mimesis in der Antike: Nachahmung, Darstellung, Ausdruck* (Bern 1954); J. R. Truscott, *Studies in Mimesis in Greek Literature Before Aristotle* (diss. Southampton 1988).

voice held out) took the role of Socrates.[36]   Apparently Plato lost his capacity to enunciate through ill health, and from that point Socrates fades out of his writings.   This cannot be proved or disproved.   At all events Ryle's hypothesis places the dialogues firmly in the class of teaching media.

I think it possible that Plato might not have thought his writing belonged in any literary category at all.   The *Sokratikos logos* might have been altogether too recent a development to come under the strictures applied to *mimesis*.   Since it was about Socrates and commemorative in intent, (compare the title of Xenophon's work: *Apomnemoneumata*), it might be taken as thought experiment of which an essential ingredient was the moral flavour of Socrates' personality.   I am reminded of Samuel Beckett's comment on James Joyce's multidimensional *Work in Progress*: 'His writing is not about something, it is that something itself'.[37]   The dialogues could have been regarded by their author as outside ordinary *genera*, pieces of experimental equipment rather than descriptions or narratives.

As I promised at the outset I offer no definitive solution.   I merely suggest that it might be helpful in dealing with a question of this kind to add some of the considerations I have discussed to our tried historical and philological techniques.   I have only touched on the problem here.   I hope others may think it worth while to pursue further investigations.

---

[36]   G. Ryle, *Plato's Progress* (Cambridge 1965).

[37]   Samuel Beckett *et al.*, *Our Examination Round His Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress* (London 1961).

MORAL 'CLUSTERS' IN THE *ODYSSEY*

Charles Fuqua
Department of Classics, Williams College
Williamstown, Massachusetts 01267, USA

Abstract. Homer uses a large number of terms implying moral and social judgements in the *Odyssey*. These appear singly, in pairs, and in extended passages. This article investigates 'clusters' where three or more such terms are concentrated in a short passage. It examines the various uses of these devices and the influence they have upon our understanding of the text. Clusters are relatively uncommon but they are an effective, efficient device with which the poet can create a complex vision of events.

In an earlier study I examined the use of seven terms in the *Odyssey* to show what they reveal about behavior or attitudes that are considered socially or personally acceptable by the characters.[1] I argued that the use of these terms illustrated the need for proper behavior, 'propriety', as viewed by society and the individuals involved. In a world where might often equalled right, societies and individuals defended themselves not only by their physical prowess but also by an elaborate series of social practices that were carefully attuned to personal circumstances. The best known of these are the rites of guest friendship which figure so prominently in the *Odyssey*.[2] At the heart of these conventions was a deep sense of the need for proper behavior which involved not only adherence to social conventions but was also a necessity for survival. The language which deals with these matters is very diverse and permeates both epics. Some terms reflect violations of

---

[1] 'Proper Behavior in the *Odyssey*,' *ICS* XVI.1/2 (1991) 49-58. All references to the *Odyssey* will be given by the book and line number alone.

[2] M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*[2] (London 1977) has shown the importance of this theme and his works remain the best guide to the subject. Meals are one of the most important settings for the display of proper behavior and it is not accidental that much of the major action in the epic takes place at meals. The importance of these rites is also shown by the way they are parodied by such characters as Polyphemos and the Suitors. See F. W. Williams, 'Odysseus' Homecoming as a Parody of Homeric Formulaic Welcome,' *CW* 79 91 (1986) 395-97. In what follows my debt to the new Oxford commentary should be obvious: A Heubeck, S. West and J. B. Hainsworth (edd.), *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* 1 (Oxford 1988); A. Heubeck and A. Hoekstra (edd.), *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* 2 (Oxford 1989); and J. Russo, M. Fernandez-Galiano and A. Heubeck (edd.), *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* 3 (Oxford 1992).

cultural and social norms and others refer to divine sanctions. The dividing line between these categories is not rigid and from the modern perspective there is a distinct tendency to invoke divine powers and sanctions more frequently than we are apt to. The issue is further complicated by the fact that the dividing line between human and divine responsibility is often blurred. The question of who is responsible for what and to what degree is not easy to answer in Homer. Another factor that makes questions of accountability difficult to define and resolve is Homer's formulaic language; things are described in very general terms and applied to very specific situations at the same time.

This article is not concerned with the meaning of any one of these terms so much as the way in which they appear. Expressions evoking norms and sanctions cover a broad vocabulary and many different forms of locution. They include single words and longer passages which may broach a subject from a variety of perspectives. The simplest, and most common, is the use of a single word to denote an attribute or describe an individual or act. Such a term offers a short, specific comment about individuals and acts. Paired expressions are also very common. There are two types of such pairs. The first, and easiest to understand, is a noun with an epithet that is parallel to the noun in meaning. Examples of such phrases are ἀτάσθαλον ('reckless', 16.86) or ὑπέρβιον ὕβριν[3] ('arrogant violence', 1.368) or the description of the Kyklopes as ὑπερφιάλων ἀθεμίστων ('thoughtless and lawless', 9.106). In all three expressions the two words are joined together to form a single unit of meaning. In the second type of paired terms the two words may not be as closely linked to one another as they are in the first. Pairs can also express contrasts as well as parallels. Typical examples are the appearances of αἴσιμα ('fit') and αἴσυλα ('unjust') in 5.9f., δίκας ('laws') and θέμιστας ('customs') in 9.215, and ὕβρις ('violence') and βίη ('violence', 'force') in 15.329 (=17.565). Both types of paired expressions can be quite effective, and their pithy quality often makes them subtle as well as striking. The last class is the extended—and often complex—comment. This may extend for a number of lines and contain a number of terms. The mood, temper, and intensity of these comments vary considerably. They offer the author an opportunity to make detailed commentary on the action. One of the most amusing examples can be found in Antinoös' pompous warning to Odysseus about the dangers of drink and ἄτη ('delusion') in

---

[3] On ὕβρις see below, p. 60 n. 7.

21.288-310.[4] The passage has a wonderful, open quality in which Antinoös' sententious vocabulary and his narrative of the story of Eurytion and Peirithoös offers a marvelously ironic comment on the present situation and the proximity of the Suitors' slaughter.

Although these longer, discursive passages are of prime importance for understanding the moral ethos of the *Odyssey*, there is a variant to this type of locution which is of considerable significance in its own right. This occurs when three or more terms denoting propriety or its opposite are concentrated in a few lines. I call these groups 'clusters'. Clusters combine the intensity of the shorter passages with the discursive qualities of the longer passages. Although clusters are not very frequent, I believe they play a significant role in Homeric diction. The remainder of this article will examine a number of examples from the *Odyssey* to show what they add to the text and how they do so. As we shall see, clusters are not an inflexible category and vary considerably in tightness and forms of expression. What sets them apart is a strong sense of unit construction which is made all the more pointed by the colloquial manner in which they are frequently expressed. In its simplest form what a cluster does is to add an emphatic comment on the text or underscore a particular point of view. As the following examples will show, they do this from a variety of perspectives.

A 'cluster' of the sort described occurs very early in the *Odyssey* and states one of the most important issues of the epic very directly:

> οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
> σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν,
> ὡς καὶ νῦν Αἴγισθος ὑπὲρ μόρον 'Ατρεΐδαο
> γῆμ' ἄλοχον μνηστήν.
>
>   (1.33-36)
>
>   And so because
> of their own folly they have pains beyond what
> they deserve, as Aegisthos did when he wed
> the wife of the son of Atreus when it was not fitting.

The passage is from the beginning of Zeus' outburst about the propensity of mortals to blame the gods for their troubles. The cluster has a sharply marked moral tone and is tightly developed with the repetition of ὑπὲρ μόρον ('beyond what they deserved' or 'was fitting') and the use of ἀτασθαλίη

---

[4] Whether intended or not, Antinoös' speech offers a distinct echo of Agamemnon's apology in *Il*. 19.

('folly').[5] 'Ατασθαλίη, together with the adjective ἀτάσθαλος ('foolish') and the verb ἀτασθάλλω ('become foolish', 'act foolishly') are important terms which appear with some frequency in the *Odyssey*. They are used to describe departures from proper behavior in a variety of ways and center on ideas of stupid, thoughtless behavior. Unfortunately, the words have been given an undeserved moral slant by many commentators and translators by being translated or equated with such terms as 'presumptuous sin,' 'reckless-ness,' or 'wicked.'. It is better to regard the terms as a straightforward combination of ἄτη ('delusion') and θάλλω ('flourish').[6] Usage of the term does not imply innate moral depravity so much as a pronounced ignorance of or disregard for customary social norms. In this way the terms point first to the lack of regard by the Suitors of divine will and then to their persist-ence in their folly. This effect is underscored by the repetition of ὑπέρ μόρον in the same metrical position in lines 34f. as the poet shifts from the general example of all mankind to the specific one of Aegisthos. The initial prepositional phrase underscores how the Suitors have only themselves to blame for their troubles and the second narrows the lesson to Aegisthos. The cluster is short but effective, setting the moral scene very pointedly. It is also important to recognize that the rhetoric of the passage, the careful way the lines are put together, is as important as the collocation of terms in creating the effect of the passage as a whole.

A more complex cluster occurs later in the same book when the

---

[5] On the meaning of ὑπέρ μόρον ('beyond measure') and other related terms see W. B. Stanford (ed.), *The Odyssey of Homer* 1 (London/New York 1954) *ad* 1.33f. Another significant passage of this type is found at the close of the disguised Odysseus' speech about the behavior of the Suitors in 16.106-11 where such terms as ἀεικέα ('unseemly,' 'unfitting acts') and ἀεικελίως ('unseemingly') are used in close proximity to one another and the speech as a whole is very forcefully summed up in the final line. As Hoekstra [2] *ad* 16.108-110 observes, both Munro and Stanford are correct in pointing out how the use of three hephthemimeral caesuras in these lines helps underscore the reader's indignation.

[6] Although the etymology has been doubted (e.g., W. J. Verdenius, *A Commentary on Hesiod, Works and Days* [Leiden 1985] 90), usage seems to suggest that the terms are derived from a combination of ἄτη ('delusion') and θάλλω ('grow,' 'flourish'). The idea of extravagant behavior also helps one to understand the parallel concept of ὕβρις ('violence'); see A. Michelini, "ΥΒΡΙΣ and Plants,' *HSCP* 82 (1978) 35-44. The passages in which ἀτασθαλίη ('folly') appears suggest, but do not prove, a strong connection between ἀτασθαλίη and ignorance. As West observes on 1.7, 'ἀτασθαλίη is an important word in the *Odyssey* and recurs shortly in Zeus' speech on human perversity as a cause for suffering (34). It is mainly used with reference to the Suitor's conduct; it denotes behavior for which men not only suffer but deserve to suffer, culpable recklessness implying a selfish disregard for the decencies of social life.'

disguised Athene describes the Suitors as follows:

ὥς τέ μοι ὑβρίζοντες ὑπερφιάλως δοκέουσι
δαίνυσθαι κατὰ δῶμα. νεμεσσήσαιτό κεν ἀνὴρ
αἴσχεα πόλλ' ὁρόων, ὅς τις πινυτός γε μετέλθοι.

(1.227-29)

And so they seem to feast through the house acting with violence
without restraint, and someone seeing their many revolting acts
would be outraged, should some sensible man come among them.

In this cluster we can observe an intricate interweaving of terms as they illuminate one another. The passage begins with a vivid description of the Suitors' riotous behavior as they dine. The graphic effect of the participle in the initial line is underscored by the vivid adverb with its emphasis on excess and recklessness.[7] In the following line the perspective shifts to νέμεσις, the 'resentment' someone should feel as he beholds the αἴσχεα πόλλα ('many revolting acts') of the Suitors. In this cluster the stress is directed at the Suitors and their flagrant disregard of public opinion.[8] The cluster is rounded out by the very effective contrast between the πινυτός ('sensible man') and the Suitors. The optative with which the passage closes is very subtle in the way it reflects the doubt and hesitancy of the epic at this point. As the epic moves along, the bond between good behavior and intelligence becomes the context against which the conduct of the Suitors is assessed and found wanting. This is made explicit in this short but effective cluster which also epitomizes the action up to that point and provides a natural link to what follows.

Sometimes clusters are given in response to good counsel. The following example is from Telemachos' reply to Nestor's account of the *nostoi* and the punishment of Aigisthos:

---

[7] As West [2] comments on 1.227-229, '[the poet] presents them through the ideas of his characters, and avoids a direct description of drunkenness and gluttony.' Many studies have examined ὕβρις. My own ideas have been shaped by E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1951) ch. 2; C. Del Grande, *Hybris* (Naples 1947); N. R. E. Fisher, 'Hybris and Dishonour: I," *G&R* 23 (1976) 177-93; 'Hybris and Dishonour: II,' *G&R* 26 (1979) 32-47; J. T. Hooker, 'The Original Meaning of ὕβρις,' *Archiv für Begriffgeschichte* 19 (1975) 235-37; R. Lattimore, *Story Patterns in Greek Tragedy* (London 1964) 23-27; D. M. MacDowell, "Hybris in Athens," *G&R* 23 (1976) 14-31; Michelini [6]; H. North, *Sophrosyne* (Ithaca 1966) ch. 1; and L. Pearson, *Popular Ethics in Ancient Greece* (Stanford 1962) ch. 2.

[8] On the importance of public opinion as a guide for proper behavior, see Dodds [7] ch. 1; A. W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility* (Oxford 1960) chs. 1-3; and his '"Honour" and "Punishment" in the Homeric Poems,' *BICS* 7 (1960) 23-32.

αἲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοσσήνδε θεοὶ δύναμιν περιθεῖεν
τίσασθαι μνηστῆρας ὑπερβασίης ἀλεγεινῆς,
οἵ τέ μοι ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωνται.

(3.205-07)

Would that the gods would give me enough power
to take revenge on the Suitors for their misbehavior
who with their violence behave unspeakably to me.

The lines are simple, direct and quite poignant in the manner they bring out the contrast between the Suitors' arrogance and Telemachos' lack of confidence (cf. 3.205, 208f.). Now, as the concessive force of ἔμπης ('in any case', 'nevertheless') as the final word of his speech indicates (3.209), all Telemachos has to offer is a none too emphatic statement to endure. This indecisiveness, which is in such marked contrast to Nestor's emphatic demand for action (cf. 3.199f.) is very characteristic of Telemachos' hesitancy in the initial books. The cluster goes beyond offering a moral comment on the situation and points towards a significant narrative component in the story: how Telemachos has the right instincts but he has yet to gain the appropriate resolve.

Another cluster that conveys a strong note of moral contrast is found at the close of Penelope's complaint to Medon (4.681-95). In this passage Penelope constructs a contrast between Odysseus and the Suitors. She says that Odysseus neither said nor did anything ἐξαίσιον ... ἥ τ' ἐστὶ δίκη θείων βασιλήων, 'unfair . . . which is the right (or "way") of divine kings' (4.690f.). Setting aside the complex questions surrounding the meaning of the superior rights of kings and δίκη in Homer,[9] in this context the latter

---

[9] West [2] *ad* 4.691 equates the term with 'custom' and terms it 'not an Iliadic meaning'. The most difficult question to resolve is whether δίκη in Homer possesses a strong moral sense. There is little agreement on the question and the *Odyssey* presents a variety of responses. Four passages which suggest the use of δίκη in a legal sense are 11.186, 545-47, 568-71 and 12.439f.. These passages associate δίκη with the legal process from a variety of perspectives. In other passages, however, δίκη appears to mean little more than 'procedure' or 'practice'. Nevertheless, procedural law and concepts thereof are important in Homer; see M. Gagarin, *Early Greek Law* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1986). In addition to this study, the following studies are very helpful in understanding the problem of δίκη in Homer: M. I. Dickie, '*Dike* as a Moral Term in Homer and Hesiod,' *CP* 73 (1978) 91-101; M. Gagarin, '*Dike* in Archaic Greek Thought,' *CP* 69 (1974) 186-97; E. A. Havelock, '*Dikaiosyne*,' *Phoenix* 23 (1969) 49-70; K. Latte, 'Der Rechtsgedanke im archaischen Griechentum,' *A&A* 2 (1946) 63-76; H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1971); and M. Ostwald, 'Ancient Greek Ideas of Law,' *Dictionary of the History of Ideas* 2 (New York 1973) 673-85. J. E. Rexine provides a convenient short discussion of the major issues in his 'The Nature and Meaning of Justice in Homer,' *CB* 54 (1977) 1-6.

very clearly implies a contrast in behavior between Odysseus and the Suitors:

κεῖνος δ' οὔ ποτε πάμπαν ἀτάσθαλον ἄνδρα ἐώργει.
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὑμέτερος θυμὸς καὶ ἀεικέα ἔργα
φαίνεται, οὐδέ τίς ἐστι χάρις μετόπισθ' εὐεργέων.

<div align="right">(4.693-95)</div>

But he never behaved badly at all to any man,
but your attitude and shameful deeds are apparent and
you have no gratitude for the good things done later.

In this speech Penelope expresses her profound anger over the Suitors'
disruption of Odysseus' home and Ithake, sentiments which are deeply
underscored by Medon's disclosure of the Suitors' plot against Telemachos.

One cluster, which can be described as 'formulaic' because of the
number of times it appears, first occurs in 6.120f. when Odysseus is
wondering what his reception by the Phaiakians will be:

ἦ ῥ' οἵ γ' ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
ἦε φιλόξεινοι, καί σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής;

Are they violent and wild and not just
Or do they care for strangers, and is their mind godlike?

The lines offer a sharp contrast between the ὑβρισταί ('violent') and ἄγριοι
('wild') on the one hand and the δίκαιοι, ἦε φιλόξεινοι ('just or care for
strangers') on the other. The context makes it clear that, whatever else 'just'
in Homer may mean, it is associated with such rites as guest friendship and
is in opposition to violence and abrasive behavior.[10] This emphasis on
peaceful, god-fearing behavior is reiterated in the closing phrase: καί σφιν
νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής; ('and is their mind godlike?'). The two lines make an
efficient statement of Odysseus' apprehension not only in this passage but
also in his query about the Kikonians (9.175f.) and his dismay when he
awakens on the disguised Ithake (13.201f.). Although the narrative contexts
in which the lines appear are very different, the passage is effective in each

---

[10] As Hainsworth [2] *ad* 6.121 points out (echoing H. D. F. Kitto, *Poiesis* [Berkeley/Los
Angeles 1966] 116-52), this contrast is important to the *Odyssey* and 'helps to make the poem
and [sic] epic and not a romance. On the force of νόος ('mind,' 'intention') see B. Snell,
T. G. Rosenmeyer (tr.), *The Discovery of the Mind* (Cambridge 1953) ch. 1 and K. von
Fritz, 'ΝΟΟΣ and ΝΟΕΙΝ in the Homeric Poems,' *CP* 38 (1943) 79-93. I share Hainsworth's
position that the use of θεουδής is akin to Hesiod (*Op.* 252-55) and conveys the sense 'of
gods alert to punish sinners, a picture in contrast to the comradely attitude of the Iliadic
ἄριστοι ("aristocrats") toward their gods.'

instance. A slight variation occurs when Alkinoös bids Odysseus to tell his adventures (8.575f.). Here, although the first line is varied by the substitution of χαλεποί ('difficult') for ὑβρισταί ('violent'), the sense of the passage remains very much the same. The lines may be formulaic but they are also sensitive to their context.

This cluster is also important because of the way it illustrates the tension it implies between what Adkins has termed the active and co-operative virtues.[11] In this passage might in its rawest form is directly contrasted against more passive, socially oriented forms of behavior. Equity and propriety have not displaced the competitive virtues but they are shown as exercising strong claims against the sphere of pure force. In the *Odyssey* the balance between them is still uncertain. Traditional values based on success and the raw ability to accomplish and the pressure of public opinion are still very important but a sense of equity, defined in loose and varied ways, is becoming more influential. We can see the traditional values in Nausikaä's apprehension about the attitude of the Phaiakians (6.273-75) if she should return to town with Odysseus. Her anxiety is directly related to her concern about public opinion and her sensitivity to its demands (6.285f.). Nausikaä is not unusual: set apart from the rest of the world and immune from military threat the Phaiakians have come to set great store on decorum and proper social details. So the games in book 8, the insult to Odysseus and subsequent recompense demonstrate that the Phaiakians are a most 'proper' people. This aspect of their character sharply contrasts with Odysseus who, with his potential for and tales of violent action, bears no slight resemblance to the very type of character of whom they are apprehensive.[12] So it is that a cluster in 6.120f., which seems at first glance to offer little more than a simple contrast, turns out to be highly indicative of the ambivalent priorities of the world through which Odysseus moves.

As has been seen so far, a major function of clusters is to mark and epitomize a moral situation at a particular juncture. An interesting, if not

---

[11] In addition to the works cited above (above, n. 8), see Adkins' 'Homeric Gods and the Values of Homeric Society,' *JHS* 92 (1972) 1-19. These works offer a convenient summary of Adkins' position. See also A. A. Long's criticism of Adkins' work, 'Morals and Values in Homer,' *JHS* 90 (1970) 121-39 and the latter's response, 'Homeric Values and Homeric Morality,' *JHS* 91 (1971) 1-14. C. J. Rowe, 'The Nature of Homeric Morality,' in C. A. Rubino and C. W. Shelmerdine (edd.), *Approaches to Homer* (Austin 1983) 248-75, discusses Adkins' and Long's positions in detail.

[12] On the duality of Odysseus' character see G. E. Dimock, Jr., 'The Name of Odysseus,' *Hudson Review* 9.1 (1966) 52-70; his *Unity of the Odyssey* (Amherst 1989); and W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme*[3] (Oxford 1963) chs 2-5.

tongue in cheek, variation of this usage is found in the conclusion of Odysseus' first speech to the Kyclops (9.266-71). Here Odysseus appeals to the ξείνων θέμις ('right of strangers') for Polyphemos to show αἰδώς ('respect') to the gods and especially Zeus who is the protector of strangers and suppliants. The entire appeal is stated in formal terms, but the high moral note of Odysseus' speech does not accord with the manner in which Odysseus and his men had earlier helped themselves to the Kyclops' stores. The narrative had also made it clear that Odysseus was more motivated by a desire to acquire guest-gifts (9.229) than to protect his men. The contrast between Odysseus' highly moralistic appeal and the coarse setting is very effective and conveys the aura of the Devil quoting Scripture. The scene offers one of the best examples in the epic of Odysseus' use of rhetoric for his own advantage.

A short but effective cluster describes the reaction of the Suitors after Antinoös hits Odysseus with a stool:

> Ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ὑπερφιάλως νεμέσησαν·
> ὧδε δέ τις εἴπεσκε νέων ὑπερηνορεόντων . . .
>
> (17.481f.)
>
> So he spoke and they all were violently resentful
> and so one of the haughty young man said . . .

The Suitors fear that Odysseus may be one of the gods in disguise who roam throughout the world ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες ('observing the violence and good governance of men', 17.487). For Homeric man such a possibility was a real threat which could lead to hostile public opinion as well as the wrath of the gods. The possibility of divine visitation was not a sure guarantee of good conduct since the visits of the gods were not that common. Another element needed was the 'accused's' willingness to admit the validity of the claim against him. Despite the conduct of the suitors, Antinoös simply does not to pay much attention to their objections: ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο μύθων ('and he paid no attention to their words', 17.488). The passage makes it clear how in many respects in Homer moral sanctions are only as valid as the individual involved is willing to consider them.[13] In the *Odyssey* more than in the *Iliad*, Homeric man recognizes the claims of just

---

[13] An even more explicit warning is found in Odysseus' counsel to Amphinomos (18.125-50) when he cautions him about the Suitors' conduct (cf. 18.139-45). The Suitor realizes the truth of Odysseus' remarks but feels he cannot escape (18.153-57). The passage offers an effective example of the Homeric tension between and union of human will and divine imposition.

or proper conduct but the ability to perform and force one's will on others is still of prime importance.

An interesting cluster that links two characters is found in the exchange between Penelope and Eumaios in 17.576-88. Penelope begins:

> οὐ σύ γ' ἄγεις, Εὔμαιε; τί τοῦτ ἐνόησεν ἀλήτης
> ἦ τινά που δείσας ἐξαίσιον ἦε καὶ ἄλλως
> αἰδεῖται κατὰ δῶμα; κακὸς δ' αἰδοῖος ἀλήτης.
>
> (17.576-78)
>
> Are you not going to bring him, Eumaios? Does the beggar
> sense something unfair or is he afraid of something
> in the house? A restrained beggar is a bad one.

Penelope's remarks make it clear that αἰδώς ('respect') can be seen as a class virtue, a luxury for those who can afford to enjoy it. Eumaios does not disagree but points out how Odysseus' discretion avoids ὕβριν ἀνδρῶν ὑπερηνορεόντων ('the violence of haughty men', 17.581). For the swineherd, violence is more likely than manners from the Suitors. After noting the connection between the Stranger's intelligence and his proper behavior, Penelope describes the Suitors in very forceful terms:

> οὐ γάρ πώ τινες ὧδε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
> ἀνέρες ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωνται.
>
> (17.587f.)
>
> For there have never been mortal men
> who violently do such foolish things.

The entire passage is of interest because of the number of terms describing proper and improper behavior but also because of the careful way in which the perspective shifts with the station and perspective of the two speakers. This adds to the clever dialectic of the exchange. The poet makes the same point in two different ways by two dissimilar, interlocked means. The reader is not confronted immediately with a moral judgment but rather it is developed before him as the scene progresses.[14]

As the climax draws near (20.169ff.), Odysseus makes a very strong wish for the punishment of the Suitors:

---

[14] The dramatic qualities of the scene between Eumaios and Penelope add to the latter's subsequent stinging rebuke of Telemachos for the ill treatment the Stranger has received (18.215-25). Penelope ends with very sharp words about the rebuke that will be Telemachos': σοί κ' αἶσχος λώβη τε μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλοιτο (18.225). The fact that Telemachos cannot respond adds much to the tension of the scene.

αἲ γὰρ δή, Εὔμαιε, θεοὶ τισαίατο λώβην
ἣν οἵδ᾽ ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωνται
οἴκῳ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ, οὐδ᾽ αἰδοῦς μοῖραν ἔχουσιν.

(20.169-71)

Oh, Eumaios, I wish that the gods would punish
the outrages which these violent men wreak in another
man's house, and they don't have any sense of respect.

The cluster employs a number of familiar terms and phrases in an unambiguous manner and the dramatic context makes them all the more pointed. The passage offers a very effective summary of the situation and gives an intense expression of Odysseus' frustration.[15] The directness of his pleas contrasts with Ktesippos' perversion of moral terminology and his sarcastic invocation of guest friendship in the cluster at 20.292-298 just before he throws the hoof at Odysseus.[16] The significance of Ktesippos' outburst is underscored by the anger it provokes in Telemachos, the silence of the other Suitors, and Agelaos' nervous attempt to smooth over the situation. The two passages make a very effective contrast between the two sides. Odysseus is direct and unambiguous and Ktesippos' violence epitomizes the arrogance and violence of the Suitors. We see how close we are to the complete disintegration of the social order on Ithake.

Only two clusters remain for comment. The first of these is found in Leodes' unsuccessful plea to Odysseus to spare his life (22.312-317). As befits the dramatic situation, the structure of the speech is loose and the passage gains its effect from the immediate context. The speech is a straightforward direct plea which gains its force more from the dramatic situation than from its use of what are by now familiar terms. Nevertheless, the lines do take on added significance when they are echoed by Odysseus a hundred lines later (22.317=416) to Eurykleia. The passage is well known and often cited for what its says about Odysseus' own perspective on the action. Much of the force comes from the number of terms stating or

---

[15] J. S. Clay, *The Wrath of Athena* (Princeton 1983) 226, observes that the characters of the *Odyssey* entertain two quite different views of the gods and points out that 'the notion of divine punishment for injustice is usually expressed in hopes and prayers, for which the Greek has a separate verb form, the optative, whereas the idea that the gods randomly apportion good and evil—especially evil—is asserted as a matter of fact, in the indicative.'

[16] The use of καλόν ('fair') and δίκαιον ('just') in 20.294 adds much to the caustic tone of the Suitor's remarks. Ktesippos' sarcasm is paralleled by Antinoös in his response (21.288-310) to Odysseus' request to attempt to string the bow. The other Suitors are simply aghast at Odysseus' request but Antinoös takes a very pompous tone in his reply.

implying proper behavior in it:[17]

ἐν θυμῷ, γρηΰ, χαῖρε καὶ ἴσχεο μηδ᾿ ὀλόλυζε·
οὐχ ὁσίη κταμένοισιν ἐπ᾿ ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάασθαι.
τούσδε δὲ μοῖρ᾿ ἐδάμασσε θεῶν καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα·
οὔ τινα γὰρ τίεσκον ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων.
οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκοιτο·
τῷ καὶ ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐπέσπον.

(22.411-16)

Old woman, rejoice in your heart and don't cry out;
It is not right to boast over dead men
whom the fate of the gods and their evil deeds have crushed;
For they paid no attention to any mortal man,
whether he was good or bad who came to them;
And so by their folly they met unfitting death.

The structure of the speech is similar to Leodes' shorter plea and the dramatic situation is almost as intense. The passage offers a summary of the ambiguities of the moral world of the *Odyssey*. What makes Odysseus' speech so striking is its reflective tone. There is a poignant awareness of the general human condition that has been visible rarely before. Odysseus' statement marks a vast difference from Leodes' use of the same themes. After an introductory admonition, Odysseus says that it is 'not right' (οὐχ ὁσίη, 22.412) to boast over the death of the Suitors. Although the precise meaning of ὁσίη is not certain,[18] it is clear that the term implies a strong sanction, which, as the subsequent lines make clear, has a human as well as divine dimension. Here, as in 22.317, the responsibility is placed on the Suitors for their own lot. The situation described by Zeus in the first cluster

---

[17] The final two lines (22.417f.) are distinct from the main part of the speech and are best regarded as a coda or addendum that moves in a new direction.

[18] The phrase οὐκ ὁσίη ('not holy') has been interpreteted in a variety of ways: R. J. Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (London 1924) *s.v.* ὅσιος suggests 'that which is right or permitted'; H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (rev. H. S. Jones), *A Greek-English Lexicon*[9] (Oxford 1940; repr. 1953) propose 'law of god or nature'; W. B. Stanford (ed.), *The Odyssey of Homer* 2 (London/New York 1954) *ad* 16.422-23 suggests that the phrase means 'sanctioned by divine law, the supernatural complement to δίκαιος.' Stanford [18] *ad* 22.411-16 believes that the sentiment of this passage is quite elevated for a Homeric hero, far above the tone of the Iliadic heroes. The paucity of references (the only other use being in Penelope's rebuke of Antinoös in 16.423) makes it hard to determine the specific emphasis of the phrase, but what is clear is the religious frame of reference. The poet seems to be implying that proper human behavior can be determined or influenced by the divine. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of piety is not its presence but its comparative absence in epics where the divine figures so prominently.

of book 1 is now resolved on very human terms and costs.

It is important to note that all clusters in the *Odyssey* are spoken by the characters.[19] None of them are given in the anonymous voice of the author. This adds considerable force and vitality to the text. We see the different characters directly responding to distinct situations as the epic moves along. In this way the poet can offer from within the poem a broader variety of perspectives from which the epic's action can be understood. The 'moral system' of the *Odyssey* may be essentially the same for all, but, because it is viewed in different ways by different characters, the text and the action have an added richness and diversity.

In this article I have tried to show how clusters in the *Odyssey* perform a variety of functions, the most important of which is to evaluate an individual or an action. The presence of single terms, pairs of terms and extended passages, as well as clusters, contributes to what some critics have felt to be the higher 'moral tone' of the *Odyssey*. In addition to providing moral commentaries or epitomes, clusters can assist transitions from one topic to another. Another function the clusters perform is to foreshadow events and characters. This is very obvious with clusters that refer to the Suitors. Clusters very directly tell us of the unseemly behavior of the Suitors; their acts bear vivid witness to it and Odysseus' revenge. What separates a cluster from the use of a single word or an extended passage containing a number of terms is the efficiency with which a cluster can either offer an intense vignette or bring a variety of perspectives to bear at the same time or within the space of a few lines. Clusters encourage the reader to look at an individual or situation from a series of related viewpoints at the same time and so create a more complex vision of events. Clusters may not be a common feature of Homeric diction but they are an efficient, effective one that adds to the vitality of the text.

---

[19] The significance of this distinction is well brought out by J. Griffin in his 'Homeric Words and Speakers,' *JHS* 106 (1986) 37-57. The material Griffin has gathered demonstrates that there is a sharp difference between the vocabularies used by the poet and by his characters and that 'it thus appears that the epics strongly favour the reservation of crucial moral terms from the narrative to the speeches' (p. 40).

AN EXAMINATION OF JASON'S CLOAK
(APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *ARGONAUTICA* 1.730-68)[1]

C. U. Merriam
Department of Classics, Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario K7L 3N6, Canada

Abstract. The scenes which Athene embroidered on the cloak which Jason wears in *Argonautica* 1 revolve around one central scene, that of the Taphian cattle raiders, which illustrates a particular, Iliadic mode of action, that of violence and frontal attack. The other scenes illustrate alternatives to this traditionally epic mode of action, all involving the combination of violence and strength with some other attribute, particularly those involving some specialised skill or knowledge.

After Apollonius' Argonauts arrive at Lemnos in book 1 of the *Argonautica*, Jason prepares for his encounter with Hypsipyle with an arming scene reminiscent of those with which Homeric heroes prepare themselves for battle. In his arming scene, Jason dons a fantastic cloak, given him by Athene, which Apollonius describes in an extensive *ekphrasis*.[2] Jason's armour includes only this cloak and sword, rather than the full panoply of a Trojan war hero. I suggest that this may indicate new possibilities for the conventions of epic in the Hellenistic era. Apollonius may wish to indicate that other methods of attaining success are possible, as alternatives to the violence and brute force which are featured in the *Iliad*. The suggestions may not be followed, and violence and force do indeed break through into the action upon occasion. Some of these possibilities are suggested in the seven instructive scenes which Athene has placed upon Jason's cloak: 1) the Kyklopes making thunderbolts for Zeus (1.730-34); 2) the building of Thebes, through the twin agencies of Zethos' strength and Amphion's lyre (735-41); 3) Aphrodite using Ares' shield as a mirror (742-46);[3] 4) the battle

---

[2] H. A. Shapiro ('Jason's Cloak', *TAPA* 110 [1980] 263-86) outlines the history of *ekphrasis*, concentrating especially on the occurrences of figured tapestries. He includes Helen's weaving in *Iliad* 3, the peplos which Athene doffs to enter the battle, and the veil spread over Pandora's head in Hesiod's *Theogony* (576).

[3] B. H. Fowler, *The Hellenistic Aesthetic* (Wisconsin 1989) 17, compares this scene as described by Apollonius to the Alexander mosaic in the Museo Nazionale, Naples and to the painting of Thetis in Hephaistos' workshop in the same museum.

between the sons of Elektryon and the Taphian cattle raiders (747-51); 5) Pelops winning the chariot race against Oinomaos (752-58); 6) Apollo killing Tityos for his insult to Leto (759-62); and 7) Phrixos consulting with the golden ram (763-67).

A number of scholars have suggested explanations of the significance of these scenes in the context of the *Argonautica* as a whole. D. N. Levin mentions the disproportion between the amount of descriptive space given to the cloak and the cursory manner in which Jason's actual weaponry is passed over, and notes this as symbolic of the less violent manner in which triumph and victory will be achieved in the *Argonautica* as compared to the more martial world of the *Iliad*.[4] Even the scenes embroidered upon the cloak are, according to Levin, consciously meant to separate the Argonautic world from the Iliadic, since a tapestry could depict martial themes, as Helen's does in *Iliad* 3.[5] These real and (to Helen) immediate struggles are compared to the distant, mythological scenes on Jason's cloak to indicate the essentially peaceful and civilised nature of his eventual success. Levin also notes that the scenes on the cloak are specific and particular, contrasting the universal themes found on Achilles' shield in *Iliad* 18. Levin's final two points are that the presence and description of the cloak emphasise Jason's position as a non-heroic hero and that he has an effect upon 'spectators who happen to be female'.[6]

---

[4] 'Diplax Porphuree', *RFIC* 93 (1970) 17-36.

[5] *Il.* 3.126-28: ἀέθλους / Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων καὶ ᾿Αχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων, / οὓς ἔθεν εἵνεκ' ἔπασχον ὑπ' ᾿Αρηος παλαμάων ('The struggles of the horse-raising Trojans and the bronze-clad Achaians, that they suffered from Ares on her account.').

[6] Jason's effect on women is made especially clear in the simile which follows the description of the cloak:

βῆ δ' ἴμεναι προτὶ ἄστυ, φαεινῷ ἀστέρι ἶσος,
ὅν ῥά τε νηγατέῃσιν ἐεργόμεναι καλύβῃσιν
νύμφαι θηήσαντο δόμων ὕπερ ἀντέλλοντα,
καί σφισι κυανέοιο δι' αἰθέρος ὄμματα θέλγει
καλὸν ἐρευθόμενος, γάνυται δέ τε ἠιθέοιο
παρθένος ἱμείρουσα μετ' ἀλλοδαποῖσιν ἐόντος
ἀνδράσιν, ᾧ καί μιν μνηστὴν κομέουσι τοκῆες·

Argon. 1.774-80

(And so he went forth to the town shining like a star, that the girls in their newly made chambers see rising above their homes. And it touches their eyes through the mist with its red glow, and the girl is happy, longing for the lad to whom her parents have promised her as a bride, and who is now away among foreign men.)

The reaction of the Lemnian women to his approach is also indicative of Jason's effect upon women: καί ῥ' ὅτε δὴ πυλέων τε καὶ ἄστεος ἐντὸς ἔβησαν, / δημότεραι μὲν ὄπισθεν

Shapiro denies that the scenes on the cloak have much symbolic significance at all. He prefers, rather, to believe that the scenes indicate the author's awareness of the aesthetic principles of contemporary art, each scene illustrating a particular artistic principle. Thus the picture of Phrixos and the ram illustrates the popularity of realistic renderings of human and animal figures; the Kyklopes and Aphrodite a fascination with light and reflected light; Tityos and Pelops' race the 'capturing of violent movement on a static two-dimensional surface';[7] and a number of the scenes together demonstrate the rendering of sense perceptions and supernatural phenomena in conventional media. In support of his arguments, Shapiro uses a number of examples from contemporary visual arts, but is not overly convincing.

G. Lawall proposes a reasonable explanation of the significance of the embroidered scenes.[8] He begins from the cloak's origins, that is, the fact that it is a gift from Athene, the goddess of wisdom. Lawall thus concludes that the cloak must therefore have a didactic function and must be intended to instruct Jason in the ways he must act in order to survive his journey and succeed at his task.[9] The first lesson of the cloak is piety, as illustrated by the Kyklopes preparing the weapons which Zeus will use against the insolent and Apollo's punishment of Tityos' offence. The second lesson, in Lawall's analysis, is of the importance of charm and skill, as is clearly seen in the portrayal of the building of Thebes, where Amphion's music accomplishes twice as much as Zethos' strength. Lawall's third lesson from the cloak is the power of love, demonstrated by the picture of Aphrodite with Ares' shield. Lawall considers it patently clear that Love has here disarmed War. The power of love over war is also clear in the juxtaposition of Aphrodite with the scene of the Taphian cattle raid. Lawall believes that the fifth scene on the cloak, that of Pelops' chariot race, illustrates the justification of the use of treachery, and he points out that it is Pelops' method which Jason uses in Kolchis. Lawall's theory of the cloak's didactic function falls down on the last scene, where Phrixos consults his golden ram. All that Lawall makes of this is that it brings the mythological and distant world of the cloak's scenes into Jason's own world by illustrating the origins of the object of his quest.

ἐπεκλονέοντο γυναῖκες / γηθόσυναι ξείνῳ ('And when he had gone into the gates and the city, the women of the people crowded behind him, delighting in the stranger', 1.782-84).

[7] Shapiro [2] 286.

[8] G. Lawall, 'Apollonius' *Argonautica*: Jason as Anti-Hero', *YCS* 19 (1966) 121-69.

[9] As Lawall rightly points out, survival is not among the normal heroic goals. The concentration on success and survival in the *Argonautica* distances its world even farther from the heroic world of the *Iliad*.

Lawall's summary of the cloak and its figures is that the divine scenes portray the three main gods of the epic, Zeus, Aphrodite and Apollo, each triumphing in his or her particular scene, by his or her own particular attributes. The three human scenes illustrate different means of achieving ends: strength, charm, violence and treachery.

Lawall's analysis of the cloak and its significance to the *Argonautica* is reasonable, but I would differ from it on some major points. I believe that Lawall is mistaken in his assumption that the cloak is meant to teach Jason or any other character within the epic how to act. Rather, the various elements inherent within the cloak stories illustrate to the reader the important elements of this epic as a whole. All of these scenes illustrate the alternatives to heroic violent action which will bring success to Jason and his crew. From these scenes, the reader can know what to expect from the crew in the adventures to come.

The *ekphrasis* appears before the Argonauts have accomplished or even attempted any great task, and Apollonius may be taking the opportunity to indicate that his is not an epic on the heroic plan of the *Iliad*. Rather, the *Argonautica* seems to be more an epic of success and survival, accomplished in any ways which present themselves. The ways that offer themselves are rarely pure brute strength and violence, although these are necessary to the Argonauts. This is clear from the fact that it is often a show of strength and a pledge of help from one of the strong men of the crew that encourage Jason in his weaker moments. The first instance of this occurs even before the adventure begins when Jason is depressed and worried about the impending expedition (1.460f.) until Idas rather condescendingly pledges his strength to Jason's cause (463-71). Another significant demonstration of the importance of strength to the morale of the mission occurs when the crew has reached Kolchis and is deciding on a course of action (3.502-20). Although they eventually take the advice of Argos and Mopsos and follow Phineus' injunction to look to Aphrodite for success, they come out of their depression and resolve to follow this advice only after a demonstration of strength and allegiance on the part of the noted strong men of the group—Peleus, Telamon, Idas, Kastor and Polydeukes and Meleager.

It is equally important that Jason's morale can never be boosted by the other members of the crew. Tiphys, for example, after the successful navigation of the Clashing Rocks, advises Jason that he should no longer fear what lies ahead, since Phineus' predictions of their success are thus far being fulfilled (2.615-18). Rather than being comforted, as he always is by the protestations of the stalwarts of his crew, Jason rebukes Tiphys for his irritating optimism and wishes himself elsewhere (622-37). But although

Jason himself depends most on the physical strength of his crew, it is plain throughout the poem that strength alone cannot achieve success and survival. This is the point of the figures featured on the cloak which Jason dons to meet Hypsipyle on Lemnos. To succeed, strength must always be allied with some other attribute.

Rather than considering the scenes in the order in which they appear, I find that the 'message' of the garment becomes most clear if the scenes are first taken as a group of seven. In this case, all of the images on the cloak revolve around one central image, the fourth of the seven, which illustrates the dangers of force when used without any mitigating attributes. The picture is of the battle between the thieves and the sons of Elektryon and its aftermath:

> ἐν δὲ βοῶν ἔσκεν λάσιος νομός· ἀμφὶ δὲ βουσὶν
> Τηλεβόαι μάρναντο καὶ υἱέες Ἠλεκτρύωνος·
> οἱ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι, ἀτὰρ οἵγ' ἐθέλοντες ἀμέρσαι,
> ληισταὶ Τάφιοι· τῶν δ' αἵματι δεύετο λειμὼν
> ἐρσήεις, πολέες δ' ὀλίγους βιόωντο νομῆας.

(1.747-51)

On it was a rich pasture for cattle, and around the cattle fought the Teleboans and the sons of Elektryon, the latter group defending the herd and the previous, the Taphian raiders, wishing to despoil them. The dewy meadow ran with their blood and the many pirates overcame the few herdsmen.

Lawall notes the sensual description of the blood soaking the grass of the meadow as the most important detail of the picture, showing as it does 'a scene of pastoral peace and natural beauty defiled by war, blood and death'.[10] As the only truly horrific scene on the cloak, this seems to indicate clearly the disastrous results, for both perpetrator and victim, of action undertaken solely by frontal assault and physical force—that is, Iliadic action in this Argonautic world. Raids undertaken for booty are an important pastime for the *Iliad*'s heroes, as we see from Achilles' complaint that he has sacked eleven cities by land and twelve by sea (*Il.* 9.328f.). E. V. George identifies the cattle raid depicted on the cloak with the actions of the Lemnians themselves.[11] The actual attack recalls the actions of the men of Lemnos in raiding Thrace and bringing back the slave women, thus rousing their wives to jealousy. George also identifies the bloodied and defiled meadow on the cloak with the peaceful and pastoral meadow with which the

---

[10] Lawall [8] 155.

[11] E. V. George, 'Poet and Characters in Apollonius Rhodius' Lemnian Episode', *Hermes* 100 (1972) 47-63.

island of Lemnos is identified during the Argonauts' sojourn there (1.880f.).[12]

More important, however, is the identity of the characters in this bloody action. Elektryon is both brother and father-in-law of Amphitryon, Herakles' mortal father. Thus the cattle-herds killed by the raiders are both first cousins and uncles of Herakles himself. The Taphians, the raiders themselves, are also part of this rather strange family, since Taphios himself was the son of Mestor, a brother of Amphitryon and Elektryon. The sequel to the scene depicted on Jason's cloak is equally disastrous, since in an attempt to retrieve the cattle from the sons of Taphios, Amphitryon accidentally kills Elektryon himself. This central scene, this significant warning against reliance upon unmitigated physical force in the poem, is illustrated with a depiction of the family of Herakles, the major representative of brute force and the Iliadic method in the *Argonautica*. Thus the central scene on Jason's cloak, the pivotal point of this elaborate illustration of appropriate types of action in the world of the Hellenistic epic, demonstrates the havoc wrought by a reliance upon the type of action that was appropriate in the world of the old, Iliadic epic. The blood has flooded the meadow; the peaceful pastoral scene has been obliterated and destroyed beneath the effluvia of Iliadic action. The remainder of the pictures on the cloak revolve around this lesson, illustrating alternatives to this destructive type of action. They demonstrate types of action and means of reaching ends which are approved for the new, Argonautic type of hero. Through these remaining scenes, Apollonius shows various combinations of brute force and frontal assault *combined with* such other attributes as specialised skill, magic and music, shrewdness and persuasion.

The first scene on the cloak, the Kyklopes forging Zeus' thunderbolts, illustrates the dependence of strength upon skill. Zeus is clearly master of the universe, but he would not be able to maintain that position without the thunderbolts, for which he is dependent on the skill of the Kyklopes in forging these weapons.[13]

The dependence of the Argonauts upon such specialised skills is especially clear in their reliance upon their various helmsmen. Although they attempt to pass the Clashing Rocks on the recommendation of Phineus, they would not make it through were it not for the skilful steering of Tiphys, who

---

[12]   George [11] 50.

[13]   The combination of strength and skill which Apollonius evokes in his portrayal of the Kyklopes is also apparent in Hesiod's version of their origins: ἰσχὺς δ' ἠδὲ βίη καὶ μηχαναὶ ἦσαν ἐπ' ἔργοις ('Strength and power and craft were in their works', *Theog.* 146).

takes the ship over the great wave that greets them as they exit from the rocks (2.584f.). It is also Tiphys who recognises the assistance of Athene when the ship is in danger of being sucked back between the rocks (2.612). The utter despair of the company at the death of Tiphys, and their joy when Ankaios offers his own special skills (868) as the new helmsman (860ff.) indicate their extreme dependence on this one specialised technical skill in particular.

The second scene on the cloak, the building of Thebes by Amphion and Zethos, illustrates not the superiority of charm to strength, as Lawall suggests,[14] but the necessary co-operation of the two forces. While it is true that Amphion, with his lyre and singing, is moving twice as many stones as Zethos is by main force, Zethos *is* moving stones and is contributing to the building of Thebes. Both forces are essential to the establishment of the city.

The picture of Amphion leading the stones to the walls of Thebes naturally recalls the description of Orpheus leading the rocks and trees to the shore by his music, at his first appearance in the poem:

αὐτὰρ τόνγ' ἐνέπουσιν ἀτειρέας οὔρεσι πέτρας
θέλξαι ἀοιδάων ἐνοπῇ ποταμῶν τε ῥέεθρα.
φηγοὶ δ' ἀγριάδες κείνης ἔτι σήματα μολπῆς
ἀκτῇ Θρηικίῃ Ζώνης ἔπι τηλεθόωσαι
ἑξείης στιχόωσιν ἐπήτριμοι, ἃς ὅγ' ἐπιπρό
θελγομένας φόρμιγγι κατήγαγε Πιερίηθεν.

(1.26-31)

For they say that he touched the unyielding stones on the mountains and the stream of the rivers with his music. And the wild oaks are still signs of that music, since he led them down from Pieria with his lyre, and they stand in order at Zone on the shore of Thrace.

The description of Orpheus' trees as standing in ordered ranks illustrates the power of music to produce order out of chaos, a feat which is repeated in Amphion's use of the lyre to set the stones in place as the walls of Thebes, bringing order and civilisation out of chaos and wilderness.

The necessary co-operation of force and music is an element which Apollonius has already illustrated in the poem. We may again turn to the aforementioned *contretemps* on the eve of departure. Here, as elsewhere, a reminder of the strength at his disposal, in this case from Idas, buoys Jason's spirits (1.463-71). Idas' boasting, however, is offensive to some members of the company (476-80), and internal conflict would certainly result did

---

[14] Lawall [8] 155.

Orpheus not soothe everyone's spirits with a song (496ff.). While Idas' strength is necessary to the success of the expedition, Orpheus' music is essential for the well-being of the company. His importance to the mission is clear from the beginning, as he is the first hero mentioned in the catalogue that begins the poem (23-34). That Orpheus is absolutely essential to the mission for other reasons is obvious from his role in providing the measure for the rowers of *Argo* (1.536-41). Given that the co-operation between music and force appears essential in the Argonautic world, it is interesting to notice that Orpheus abandons his work of setting the measure for rowing when Herakles takes the duty of rowing and guiding the ship unto himself. This is also the moment when Herakles attempts to steer the *Argo* by the sheer strength of his rowing, rather than making use of the skill of the helmsmen who accompany the mission.

The third scene on the cloak, that of Aphrodite with Ares' shield, may not necessarily suggest (as Lawall suggests[15]) that Aphrodite has conquered Ares, that love has conquered war. It does, however, demonstrate that, in this epic, the arts of love will have more effect than those of war. This is made abundantly clear in Phineus' warning to the crew: ἀλλά, φίλοι, φράζεσθε θεᾶς δολόεσσαν ἀρωγὴν / Κύπριδος. ἐν γὰρ τῇ κλυτὰ πείρατα κεῖται ἀέθλου ('But, my friends, consider the artful assistance of Aphrodite, for with her abides the glorious accomplishment of your adventure', 2.423f.) It is also significant that when Argos finally remembers and reminds his comrades of Phineus' injunction (3.521ff.), he acknowledges that this may fail, and the strength that has been offered by Peleus and others is an acceptable and important reserve. Idas, the noted strong man of the first book, is most outraged by the suggestion that Aphrodite, rather than Ares, should be their first resort (560). His protests are neither answered nor, indeed, heard by the other Argonauts (564ff.).

The importance of Aphrodite in the world of the poem is clearly indicated before the cloak *ekphrasis* in the story of the Lemnian women. Their madness and jealousy, which result in the mass slaughter of the men of the island, are visited upon the women because of their lack of reverence for Aphrodite and their disregard of her proper honours: ἐπεὶ χόλος αἰνὸς ὄπαζεν / Κύπριδος, οὕνεκά μιν γεράων ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἄτισσαν ('For the dread wrath of Aphrodite came upon them, because they disregarded her proper honours for so long', 1.614f.)

Aphrodite's importance is clearest in book 3, in the story of Medea's infatuation with Jason and its results. It is especially clear in the poet's

---

[15] Lawall [8] 155.

invocation to the muse Erato, who is addressed as sharing some of Aphrodite's attributes (σὺ γὰρ καὶ Κύπριδος αἶσαν / ἔμμορες, ἀδμῆτας δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις / παρθενικάς· τῶ καί τοι ἐπήρατον οὖνομ' ἀνῆπται, 'For you share in the gifts of Aphrodite, conquering the young girls with the cares of love. Because of this a lovely name attaches to you', 3.3-5) and is made responsible for the events of the book. The first episode of book 3 depicts the divine machinery behind Medea's sudden infatuation and consists of the efforts of Here and Athene to secure the assistance of Aphrodite in order to help the Argonauts. It should be noted that the two goddesses can think of no other way to facilitate Jason's accomplishment of his task (22-24). Here herself is willing to fight for Jason's safe return (61ff.), but in order for the mission to be accomplished first, she needs the help of Aphrodite. The co-operation of Aphrodite with the divinities more adept at warfare, as reflected in her use of Ares' shield, is necessary for Jason's success and survival.[16]

The fifth scene, Pelops' chariot race, illustrates the approved Argonautic method of carrying off a desired prize. The parallels between Pelops' story and Jason's own endeavours are striking. Both men have come to a hostile kingdom to win a prize, and the difference between Hippodameia, whom Pelops carries off, and the fleece which Jason seeks is not as great as we might at first believe, given the constant identification of the winning of the fleece with the acquisition of Medea herself. That the two are inextricably linked is clear when Jason takes them both onto the ship and addresses his companions. His statement that they have obtained that which they sought (ἤδη γὰρ χρειώ, τῆς εἵνεκα τήνδ' ἀλεγεινὴν / ναυτιλίην ἔτλημεν ὀιζύι μοχθίζοντες, / εὐπαλέως ... κεκράανται, 'For that on account of which we attempted this terrible journey, working with weary hearts, is easily accomplished', 4.191-93) follows immediately upon the description of his careful seating of Medea in the ship (187-89). As an afterthought, Jason differentiates between that which they sought and the woman he has brought, noting that she has helped them win the fleece (193). He then adds that she is actually his prize. The wedding on the island of the Phaiakians (1128ff.) is also a clear indication of the identification of Medea and the fleece,

---

[16] The picture on the cloak of Aphrodite admiring herself was originally fashioned by Athene, whose gift the cloak was. And yet Athene claims to be ill acquainted with Aphrodite and her works (3.32-35), and seems to hold the Cyprian goddess in mild contempt. We should also recall Athene's mockery of Aphrodite when the latter is wounded by Diomedes in *Iliad* 5 (421-25). That Apollonius has Athene portray Aphrodite in such mock-martial circumstances may be taken as an amused comment on the relations between the two daughters of Zeus.

especially in light of the fact that the fleece forms the marriage bed (1141f.).

Cleverness and treachery are the hallmarks of both Jason's success and Pelops', and it is significant that both men succeed in cheating their more powerful adversaries with the help of a member of that adversary's household. Pelops succeeds through bribing Oinomaos' charioteer, while Jason secures the assistance of his opponent's own besotted daughter. A significant parallel between the two stories is that the use of treachery is justified in both cases by the bad faith of the kings against whom the heroes are working. Aietes, of course, does his best to eliminate Jason before letting him near the fleece, by setting him the task of fighting the men sown from the dragon's teeth, and then assembling the Kolchians to destroy *Argo* and its remaining crew once Jason has been killed by the bulls (3.576ff.). In the depiction of Pelops' wild race on Jason's cloak, Oinomaos is also attempting a bit of treachery of his own, trying to throw a spear at Pelops in the course of the race (1.756).

The depiction on the cloak of Pelops carrying off Hippodameia, while pursued by her father, may also be found to parallel the mad pursuit of *Argo*, carrying Medea, by the Kolchians (4.236ff).

The sixth of the pictures, Apollo killing Tityos, complements the scene portraying Pelops. Pelops was shown successfully carrying off his prize, Hippodameia, because he used cleverness and trickery to accomplish his purpose. The woman's family is unable to stop him and retrieve her because he has obtained her in an approved Argonautic method. Tityos, however, has attempted to carry off Leto in an Iliadic fashion, by brute force and frontal assault. This is, of course, to be expected of Tityos because of his origins, which are stressed in the description of his actions: Τιτυὸν μέγαν, ὅν ῥ᾽ ἔτεκέν γε / δῖ᾽ Ἐλάρη, θρέψεν δὲ καὶ ἃψ ἐλοχεύσατο Γαῖα ('The great Tityos, whom Elare bore, whom Gaia also nursed and bore', 1.761f.). This Tityos is presumably one of the giants whom Hesiod says were born of Gaia from the drops of blood which fell when Kronos castrated Ouranos (*Theog.* 185), of whom the chief characteristics are size, strength and belligerence (186). To Tityos, then, as to Herakles and his family, the use of physical force comes naturally. Because of his method of attack, which exactly parallels that of the Lemnian men in their acquisition of the Thracian slave girls, and that of the Taphian pirates in the cloak's central scene, Tityos cannot be successful in his attempt. He is thus to be thwarted in his attempted rape of Leto.

Along with the giant's origins, Apollonius also emphasises the extreme youth of Apollo at the time of the incident: ἐν καὶ Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος ὀιστεύων ἐτέτυκτο, / βούπαις οὔπω πολλός ('There was Phoibos Apollo displayed,

shooting his bow, not yet a big boy', 1.759f.) This is the *only* version of the story of Tityos in which Apollo is solely responsible for avenging his mother's insult. According to Hyginus, it was Zeus who killed Tityos,[17] and this also seems to be implied in the Odyssean allusion to the event.[18] Zeus' involvement in the punishment is important in that it implies the protection accorded to Leto as his consort, and in the *Odyssey* it seems to be for his effrontery in insulting Zeus' consort that Tityos is eternally punished. In the version displayed on Jason's cloak, the enormity of Tityos' offence is greatly increased by the fact that Leto is not under Zeus' protection, despite having borne his children. Tityos has not only assaulted a woman in true Iliadic fashion; he has outdone the Iliadic heroes by attacking a woman with no consort or compatriot to protect her, but only one very young son.

The emphasis upon Apollo's extreme youth in this picture also recalls Herakles' young friend Hylas, whose youth is also emphasised in the poem. Hylas is introduced into the story in book 1 (1207) and then immediately kidnapped by a nymph (1229ff.) so that Herakles will abandon the *Argo* to search for him. Thus Apollo on the cloak foreshadows this other boy in the poem, and they both effectively eliminate the strong men in their respective stories.

The picture of Phrixos and the talking ram on the cloak not only brings the entire distant mythological world of the cloak's stories into Jason's 'real' world by illustrating the mythic origins of the prize which he seeks. It also, along with the other figures, recommends a particular kind of action.

---

[17] Hyginus *Fab.* 55: *Latona quod cum Iove concuberat, Iuno Tityo Terrae filio immani magnitudine iusserat ut Latonae vim afferet; qui cum conatus esset, a Iove fulmine est interfectus.* ('Juno ordered Tityos, the greatly strong son of Earth, to attack Leto, because she had slept with Jove. When he tried this, Jove killed him with a thunderbolt.')

[18] *Odyssey* 11.576-81:
'καὶ Τιτυὸν εἶδον Γαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱόν,
κείμενον ἐν δαπέδῳ· ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα,
γῦπε δέ μιν ἑκάτερθε παρημένω ἧπαρ ἔκειρον,
δέρτρον ἔσω δύνοντες, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀπαμύνετο χερσί·
Λητὼ γὰρ ἕλκησε, Διὸς κυδρὴν παράκοιτιν,
Πυθώδ' ἐρχομένην διὰ καλλιχόρου Πανοπῆος.'
('And I saw Tityos, the famous son of Gaia, lying on the plain over nine acres. Two vultures on either side ate his liver, diving into him. He could not beat them off with his hands. He had attacked Leto, consort of Zeus, as she went to Pytho through beautiful Panopeus.')
In other versions of the story, Tityos is killed by Artemis alone (according to Pindar *Pyth.* 4.90) or by Artemis and Apollo together (Apollod. 1.23). In Euphorion's version (fr. 105 Powell), Artemis defends herself, not Leto, from Tityos.

The ram is shown talking to Phrixos, giving him advice, so that the viewer would strain to hear the conversation (1.765f.). Later, when *Argo* picks up Phrixos' sons (2.1140ff.), we hear what it was that Phrixos' ram told him to do: to sacrifice it to Zeus, to ensure safety. Phrixos, like Jason's crew, thus accepts some unexpected help from an unusual source. Phineus' warning that they should seek help from Aphrodite for their mission (2.420ff.) surely seems to some of the Argonauts to be almost as realistic as taking advice from a sheep, however gilded.

While all of the scenes which Athene placed on Jason's cloak illustrate techniques which will become important aspects of the Argonauts' voyage, this last summarises the most notable trends of the expedition. The heroes of Apollonius' epic will not always behave like Iliadic heroes and will, like Phrixos, take their help where they can find it. Through the new methods suggested by the scenes on the cloak, the Argonauts are theoretically able to eschew violent and offensive action on the way to their final goals of success and survival.

THEOZOTIDES ON ADOPTED SONS (LYSIAS FR. 6)

Niall W. Slater
Department of Classics, Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia 30322, USA

Abstract. Theozotides' proposal to exclude adopted sons from the ceremony honoring war orphans at the City Dionysia is not grounded in ideology but is much more likely to be motivated by real or potential abuse of the city's benefits through unique features of Greek adoptions.

The parade of war orphans at the City Dionysia has recently drawn renewed attention as an example of the Athenian civic ideology.[1] The ceremony seems to have been one of considerable importance and emotional effect in its portrayal of the parental state which raised and provided for the sons of its fallen soldiers.[2] In this light, however, a proposal which Lysias (*Against Theoz.* fr. 6) attributes to Theozotides becomes even more curious than it has always seemed: the exclusion from the ceremony of adopted sons along with bastards (τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ τῶν νόθων). An exclusion of bastard sons is consistent with the Periclean citizenship legislation of 451 B.C. (reenacted in 403),[3] but the exclusion of adopted sons has no obvious ideological rationale.

One is entitled to wonder how large the category in question was in any case. Adoption in Greece was for the benefit of the adopter, not the

---

[1] Simon Goldhill, 'The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology,' in J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin (edd.), *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in its Social Context* (Princeton 1990) 97-129 (earlier version in *JHS* 107 [1987] 58-76). Compare more generally W. R. Connor, 'City Dionysia and Athenian Democracy,' *C&M* 40 (1989) 7-32.

[2] See N. Loraux, *The Invention of Athens* (Cambridge, Mass. 1986) 98-102 *et passim* on the formulae of the *epitaphios*, including ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι. The language is closely echoed by the passage under discussion, *Against Theoz.* (*Papyrus Hibeh* 1.14) fr. 6, cited from L. Gernet and M. Bizos (edd.), *Lysias* (Paris 1962): οἱ πατέρες ἀπέθανον ἐν τῶι πολέμωι μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀγαθοί ('[their] fathers died in the war fighting on behalf of the fatherland, being good men').

[3] On the lengthy controversy over the status of the νόθος (for which 'bastard' is a somewhat misleading translation) and the relation to Pericles' law, see C. B. Patterson, 'Those Athenian Bastards,' *CA* 9 (1990) 40-73, esp. 59-63.

adoptee.[4] A man without sons adopted in order to perpetuate his *oikos*. Consequently, one would normally not adopt until the likelihood of producing legitimate sons in marriage seemed small; moreover, one would often adopt a son who had survived the dangers of childhood and was therefore himself likely to carry on the *oikos* (although adoptions of children seem to be known[5]). In light of the usual ages of adoptive fathers and sons, the number of adopted sons likely to be left orphaned by the death of the adopter in war might initially seem extremely small.

We must keep in mind that there were three forms of adoption at Athens: adoption *inter vivos* such as we are familiar with today, testamentary adoption, and posthumous adoption. Testamentary adoptions would certainly have increased the group of sons who were left technically orphans by war. A man could provide in his will for adoption of an heir which would take effect only after the testator's death. In fact, of ten such adoptions in the fourth century where the testators are definitely identified, five did die in war.[6] A testamentary adoption was clearly a reasonable precaution for a man going to war who had no sons and wished to provide for the perpetuation of his *oikos*. Still, one might conjecture that most testamentary adoptions would also be of heirs already adult and therefore beyond participation in the war orphans' ceremony at the Dionysia.

Why did Theozotides find the case worth legislating against? His motivation is usually held to have been financial, based on the belief that Lysias was attacking a single proposal by Theozotides which also dealt with military pay. R. S. Stroud has suggested rather that two separate proposals by Theozotides, one dealing with orphans and the other with military pay, may be involved.[7] If so, the presumption that provisions about orphans were financially motivated is not inherently obvious. Nonetheless, in the

---

[4] The best discussion of adoption is now the study of L. Rubinstein, *Adoption in IV. Century Athens* (Copenhagen 1993) [= *Opuscula Graecolatina* 34]. Rubinstein 13 notes that 'in Athens . . . [adoption] was primarily construed as benefitting the adopter, providing for his need of a descendant.' Two other important discussions are A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens: The Family and Property* (Oxford 1968) 82-96 and D. M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* (Ithaca 1978) 99-108, esp. 100.

[5] In the adoptions catalogued by Rubinstein [4], all adoptees with known ages were already adults (p. 22), but she sees *Samia* 695-99 as evidence that Moschion was adopted as a child, which in turn implies that the audience was familiar with such adoptions.

[6] Rubinstein [4] 23. Others died while travelling.

[7] See R. S. Stroud, 'Greek Inscriptions: Theozotides and the Athenian Orphans,' *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 280-301, esp. 296-301. Stroud suggests that the proposal to reduce the pay of the *hippeis* came earlier.

absence of an ideological explanation for the exclusion of adopted sons from public benefits, we should look for a financial issue here.

Those benefits were not inconsiderable. The state supported war orphans to maturity. The exact provision for their τροφή is not directly recorded, but Stroud suggests they were paid an obol a day.[8] They were also outfitted with a war panoply upon entering the *ephebeia*.[9] These provisions create a significant potential benefit, even in the case of an estate which otherwise might be without value.

At the same time the city faced serious financial problems. In 406/405, for example, the city resorted to *synchoregia* to produce the plays at the Dionysia.[10] Tax revenues from the Peiraeus were also very low in the aftermath of the war.[11] In short, both the people and the city were hard pressed at this period.

I suggest the issue may lie in abuse of that striking feature of the Greek legal system, the third of the forms mentioned above, posthumous adoption.[12] Posthumous adoption remains a somewhat obscure topic, although Lene Rubinstein's treatment has greatly improved our state of understanding. Rubinstein may well be correct in her contention that only the person who was the intestate heir and had already been awarded the deceased's property by ἐπιδικασία was eligible to be posthumously adopted. In any case it is clear that posthumous adoption was a matter of family initiative, not subject to initial review by a magistrate, and ratified simply by introduction of the

---

[8] Stroud [7] 290. The inscription he discusses, Agora I 7169, is a decree authored by Theozotides on orphans whose fathers died fighting for the democracy ἐν τῇ ὀλιγ[αρχίᾳ ('under the oligarchy'). Stroud believes this may be the same decree attacked in Lysias' speech.

[9] Later all ephebes were given a panoply: see Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42.4 and P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 508 *ad loc*. For the earlier practice, benefitting only the war orphans, see Pl. *Mx.* 248 E 6-249 B 2 and Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 154.

[10] A. W. Pickard-Cambridge (rev. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis), *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*[2] (Oxford 1988) 47f., 87 discusses the evidence for this.

[11] On the general impoverishment of Athens after the war, see M. M. Austin and P. Vidal-Nacquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece* (Berkeley 1977) 140f. E. M. Burke, 'Lycurgan Finances,' *GRBS* 26 (1985) 251-64 contains valuable discussion of state finances at this earlier period as well, including comment (with further references) on the Peiraeus revenues reported in Andoc. 1.133.

[12] See particularly the account in Rubinstein [4] 25-28, 105-112, supplemented by Harrison [4] 90-93. Both Harrison and MacDowell discuss in detail the case of the estate of Hagnias, which illustrates the issue.

adoptee to the phratry, just as legitimate sons of the body were.[13] Thus the way lay open for boys under age to become the adopted sons of soldiers who died without issue. For families of modest means (and perhaps others), this would have been a very strong incentive, especially in the trying period immediately following the Peloponnesian War.

We must consider one possible ideological explanation for Theozotides' proposal: an attack on the policies of the Thirty Tyrants. *Ath. Pol.* 35 records that the Thirty began their rule with some popular measures, including a revision of Solon's law on adoptions. Solon's law provided that adoptions could be overturned if the adopter was shown to have acted under the influence of madness or old age or the undue influence of a woman.[14] The result, at least immediately preceding the Thirty, had been to burden the law courts with litigation charging these abuses. The Thirty abolished the exceptions in order to decrease litigation and the *Ath. Pol.* gives this as an example of one of their useful measures. In the fourth century, however, the Solonic exceptions once again were grounds for litigation, so the 'reform' under the Thirty did not last.[15] We might wish to see in Theozotides' action then an expression of the belief that adoption had been abused under the Thirty and those not adopted in strict adherence to Solonic law were not entitled to benefits.

Most likely, however, is an explanation based on dire family circumstances at war's end. While testamentary adoption was theoretically open to abuse (for example, if testators chose under-age heirs when they would normally have chosen adults or no heirs, simply in order to provide the heir with state benefits), families' attempts to take advantage of posthumous adoption to gain access to state benefits seem a far more likely

---

[13] Rubinstein [4] 44; Harrison [4] 92: '. . . action seems to be initiated by one of the kindred of the *de cuius*, and though that action had to be confirmed, as in the case of adoption *inter vivos* or by will, by the phratry and presumably the demesmen, there is no suggestion that any public official was involved. . . .' One was registered with the deme only on attaining maturity, but Rubinstein [4] 49 notes that the Athenians allowed minor sons to be registered with the phratry. This then would be the only act necessary to make minors the adopted (and therefore orphaned) sons of men deceased in war and so eligible for state benefits. Cf. Dem. 39, an example of how confusing and subject to manipulation such registrations were.

[14] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 35.2: ἐὰν μὴ μανιῶν ἢ γήρως <ἕνεκα> ἢ γυναικὶ πιθόμενος ('unless by reason of insanity or old age or under the influence of a woman'). Cf. Rhodes [9] 443f. *ad loc.* on the minor variations in the phrase.

[15] See, for example, Isaeus 2, where the speaker repeatedly insists that Menecles properly adopted him, οὐ παρανοῶν οὐδὲ γυναικὶ πειθόμενος ('not insane or under the influence of a woman', 1, 19, 25, 38).

problem for the city. Despite the state's emphasis on legitimacy as a basis for citizenship, we should not imagine Theozotides as an ideologue of fifth-century 'family values' that he hoped to promote through attacking adopted sons but rather as a welfare reformer. This potential for abuse may also partially explain the disappearance of the war orphans' ceremony itself in the next century.[16]

A SHORT BUT FRANK EXPLANATION
OF JUVENAL *SAT.* 6. O 5f.

Saul J. Bastomsky[1]
Department of Greek, Roman and Egyptian Studies, Monash University
Clayton, Victoria 3168, Australia

Abstract. The suggestion is offered that the action of mutual fellatio is hinted at in Juv. 6. O 5f., in that the lips of both parties must be involved in order to render cups from which they have drunk disgusting and fit only to be discarded. Various translations and commentaries are criticised for failing to see this.

> . . . et vasa iubent frangenda lavari,
> cum colocyntha bibit vel cum barbata chelidon.
>
> (Juv. 6. O 5f.)
>
> . . . and they order cups to be washed, that ought to be broken
> when the 'gourd' or the 'bearded swallow' has drunk.

Even in these modern and more liberated times, editors, translators and commentators on Juvenal still seem to have the tendency to exercise some degree of self-censorship when it comes to certain passages. The lines quoted above are a good example. To translate them in such a way as directly to show their concealed meaning might not be what one should want, for Juvenal has also somewhat disguised their sense, but an explanatory commentary should make it clear. Yet when one glances at a few contemporary versions of Juvenal, the interpretations seem either lacking or wrong. This pusillanimity might well be subconscious or even due to ignorance about particular sexual practices.

What exactly then *do* these lines mean? In the first place it seems that

---

a general example is being given.[2] Next it is obvious that the lines allude to cups which should be broken, not washed and used again, as Juvenal would not want to drink from them after *turpes* ('the disgraceful', Juv. 6. O 3) have used them. As the latter are *similes cinaedis* ('like gays', 6. O 3), males are being referred to. Therefore one must concentrate on male drinkers' lips arousing revulsion and vessels that have touched these lips being rendered equally disgusting.

Now let us examine Juvenal's words a little more closely. I take *colocyntha* to mean 'gourd'. It should not be translated as 'pumpkin'. Writing about the title of Seneca's satire on Claudius' death, J. L. Heller cites with approval the view of R. G. Wasson that the pumpkin (*Cucurbita maxima*) was native to America and only came to Europe in the 16th century.[3] Heller suggests that the *colocyntha* is the fruit of the *Lagenaria vulgaris / Lagenaria siceraria*, the bottle gourd, which was cultivated in both Italy and Greece in antiquity.[4] Its shape is somewhat like testicles and an erect penis, and we can take the meaning that Juvenal wants to convey as similar to this. We thus have a male performing an act with an erect penis on another male. The first male is referred to as *colocyntha*, the figure of speech used (which adds to the satirical tone of the passage) being a combination of metaphor, 'one expression for another which has some resemblance to it'[5] and synecdoche, the part for the whole. David Wiesen has pointed out that Juvenal uses 'a kind of satiric synecdoche' whereby organs stand for the person as a whole.[6] The activity here could be sodomy, mutual masturbation, or being fellated. But lips are involved and therefore any sexual practice not involving oral behaviour has to be excluded. Fellatio thus seems the likely answer; and the phrase *barbata chelidon* reinforces the reason why any cup that the fellator has drunk from should in the author's view be thrown away.

Chelidon, the Greek word for 'swallow', refers to the female pudenda.[7] But again metaphor and synecdoche come into play and the word

---

[2] S. G. Owen is thus correct in his Oxford edition (1902) to change from his previous view of *colocyntha* and *chelidon* being proper names to writing them, as Housman did, with their respective initial letters in lower case.

[3] J. L. Heller, 'Notes on the Meaning of Κολοκύντη', *ICS* 10 (1985) 71.

[4] Heller [3] 72f. *et passim*.

[5] J. Mountford (ed.), *Kennedy's Revised Latin Primer* (London 1962) 219.

[6] D. S. Wiesen, 'The Verbal Basis of Juvenal's Satiric Vision', in W. Haase and H. Temporini (edd.), *ANRW* 2.33.1 (Berlin 1989) 752.

[7] A. Adler (ed.), *Suidae Lexicon* (Stuttgart 1971) 185 *s.v.* Χελιδόνας; Ar. *Lys.* 770.

is here used to represent what is similar to the vulva, viz., the mouth of the fellator, and then the man himself. Once the mouth has enclosed the penis and presumably had semen discharged into it, little wonder that a cup from which it then drinks should be thrown away.   *Barbata* in this particular phrase has a double meaning. Usually when coupled with *chelidon*, it refers to the pubic hair of the female[8]; but here as the oral activity of a male—albeit a homosexual—is being described, it retains as well its original meaning of 'bearded', a nice touch by Juvenal.

There still remains, though, the difficulty with *colocyntha*. Why should a vessel used by the active partner in fellatio be rendered so disgusting as to be discarded? That problem, too, can be solved if the mouths of both partners are involved in some sexual act. The only procedure that seems to fit the bill is that of mutual fellatio. The stance adopted is known vulgarly as the '69' position, where each partner has the penis of the other in his mouth. Any drinking from cups after such behaviour ought in a decent household to render them fit only for breaking. Instead, the wife, in another hit at women, allows the cup to be shared with those involved in such a revolting practice—*communem calicem facit uxor et illis* ('the wife makes the cup common with them' Juv. *Sat.* 6. O 14).

This explanation seems simple enough but, as has been mentioned, most modern commentators seem to evade the problem or not see that it exists. Peter Green, for example, in his Penguin edition of Juvenal translates O 5-6 as:

> Glasses that should be broken
> When La Courgette's drunk from them, or The Bearded Cowrie . . .[9]

Fine enough, but an explanation is needed. Yet an interpretation of these particular lines is lacking in Green's otherwise extensive notes.

John Ferguson, in his commentary on Satire 6, merely explains *colocyntha* as 'gourd' and *chelidon* as 'swallow',[10] but does not go any further.

Steven Robinson with his

---

[8] Mart. 10.90.10 read together with 10.90.1 has *barbam* clearly referring to female pubic hair. See also J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (Baltimore 1990) 82 n. 2; E. Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* (London 1980) 305.

[9] P. Green (tr.), *Juvenal: The Sixteen Satires* (Harmondsworth 1974) 139.

[10] J. Ferguson (ed.), *Juvenal: The Satires* (New York 1979) 200.

cups one should smash they order washed
When bearded Fanny or when Swallow-Tail has drunk.[11]

ignores *colocyntha* completely and also has no explanation at all in his notes. Charles Plumb has his version as:

Cups which ought to be broken go to be washed
though shared by lips fresh from delicious dishes
such as 'cucumber *à la reine*' or '*hirondelle barbue*'.[12]

This would make the respective actions fellatio and cunnilingus which is confirmed by his explanatory notes which correctly give the *pudenda muliebria* for *barbata chelidon*.[13]   But Plumb does not consider how the reference to a woman at this point can fit in with those who are *similes cinaedis*. In other words, he does not take the further step of seeing that the male mouth can be likened to the female vulva.

Even A. E. Housman in his 1905 edition of Juvenal seems surprisingly to go off the rails by taking *colocyntha* as *os impurum* ('unclean mouth') and adding that it could be used *pro ore cunnilingi* ('instead of the mouth of a cunt-licker'). But this again involves a woman. He does, however, state that *barbata chelidon* (*cunnus est*, 'it is the cunt') can be used in this case *pro ore fellatoris* ('instead of the mouth of a cock-sucker').[14]

Infinitely worse than any of the above is the bowdlerised Loeb version, which in its translation omits O 6 and should be ignored completely.[15]

Of all the commentators Courtney appears the most accurate, particularly in his interpretation of *barbata chelidon*, which he sees as referring to a *cinaedus* with a male partner whose 'semen . . . spills on his beard'.[16]   Nevertheless, one may still differ with his comment on *colocyntha*, to which he applies Housman's explanation, though at least he does call it 'not entirely convincing'.[17] As has been argued, the whole point is that the *colocyntha*'s cup can only be disgusting if his mouth is employed as well.

---

[11] S. Robinson (tr.), *Juvenal: Sixteen Satires Upon the Ancient Harlot* (Manchester 1983) 330.

[12] C. Plumb (tr.), *Juvenal: The Satires* (London 1968) 96.

[13] Plumb [12] 261.

[14] A. E. Housman (ed.), *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Saturae* (London 1905) 49.

[15] G. G. Ramsay (ed. and tr.), *Juvenal and Persius*[2] (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1940).

[16] Courtney [8] 306.

[17] Courtney [8] 305.

ON TRANSLATING CATULLUS 3

Charles Elerick
Department of Languages and Linguistics, University of Texas
El Paso, Texas 79968, USA

Abstract. The persistent controversy over the intent of Cat. 2 and 3 and *passer* has never been resolved. The resolution of the *double-entendre* issue is requisite to the representation of Catullus' intent in a translation. The position that a sexual reading for Cat. 3 was intended is supported by some significant new evidence, principally linguistic and lexicological. This evidence and adherence to independently articulated standards for Latin to English translation inform the rendition offered here.

The intent of Catullus in his *passer* ('sparrow') poems (Cat. 2 and 3) has been, implicitly, an issue since classical times, that is, Martial's *donabo tibi passerem Catulli* ('I shall give you the sparrow of Catullus,' Mart. 11.6.16). This question has been the subject of scholarly discussion since the Renaissance. Muret engages the issue, specifically with regard to the use of *passer* in Cat. 2 but with consequence for Cat. 3.[1] Muret dissents from Politian's view that *passer* is code for an obscenity (*partem virilem*, 'virile member') and notes the allegedly wide support that his own position had among his contemporaries. Jocelyn offers a helpful recapitulation (see below) of the wide-ranging post-Renaissance opinion regarding this issue. It is a compliment to Catullus as a master of the *double-entendre*, as I claim Cat. 3 to be, that the question has resisted a definitive solution and that so many competent analysts have been so certain regarding their own divergent conclusions.

In the present discussion I will limit my attention to the use of *passer* in Cat. 3. It is clear that Cat. 2 and 3 are closely related poems and it would be scarcely tenable to ascribe a sexual reading to *passer* in one and not the other. Arguments that buttress a sexual reading for either implicitly support the same reading in the second. Given that assumed linkage, it is still necessary to deal with each as a text with closure, as I do here with Cat. 3.

In this article I discuss the translation of Cat. 3 as an enterprise that can only proceed on the basis of a resolution of the *double-entendre* question, either definitively or, less radically, in the mind of the individual translator.

---

[1] M. Muret, *Catullus, et in eum Commentarius* (Venice 1559) 12f.

I would like to entertain the stronger position and claim that without a definitive resolution of this issue one cannot hope to construct an English version of the poem that represents Catullus' own intent. What is not reasonable is to expect a satisfactory translation from the pen of one who is not prepared to declare himself one way or the other. One cannot say that even though he has not come to a decision as to whether or not the poem is a *double-entendre*, he is going to translate the poem anyway, his translation being possibly a *double-entendre*. A case in point is the recent declaration of ambivalence by Quinn regarding Cat. 3 as a possible *double-entendre*. He ascribes probable ambivalence, even indeterminacy, of purpose to the poet.[2] The awkward and unsatisfying translation of the poem that Quinn offers seems to be, at least partially, the result of his lack of commitment to any specific reading.

An instructive token of the continuing debate in the nineteenth century is the difference in the treatment of *passer* as a lexical item in the two late nineteenth century editions of Andrews' *Harper's Latin Dictionary*.[3] This precursor of the 1907 Lewis and Short revision was in the last third of the nineteenth century an arbiter of Latin lexicographic questions, at least in the English-speaking world. In the 1874 edition of the dictionary *passer* is ascribed a salacious connotation and Cat. 2 and 3 are cited as texts which evidence such a reading.

> 1. **passer**, eris, *m.* A sparrow (regarded by the ancients as exceedingly lecherous): Cic. Fin. 2, 23; cf. Plin. 10,36,52; 10,38,54; 18,17,45; 30,15,49; Cic. de Div. 2,30. As a term of endearment: meus pullus passer, mea columba, mi lepus, Plaut. Casin. 1,50. —In an obscene sense, Catul. 2; 3; Mart. 11,6.

In the subsequent (1892) edition of the dictionary, the article on *passer* appears in significantly altered form and, most notably, makes no mention of the use of *passer* as an obscenity.

In 1893 there appeared the Merrill edition of Catullus' poems.[4] This school edition, written to high scholarly standards, was for decades studied by Latinists-in-training throughout the English-speaking world. Reading Merrill's notes, one could easily be convinced that Lesbia was wearing a starched white pinafore that day, at the wake for the sparrow, that is, and that she had served Catullus cookies that she had baked all by herself. The

---

[2] K. Quinn, *Catullus: An Interpretation* (New York 1973) 85.

[3] E. Andrews, *Latin-English Lexicon* (New York 1874/1892).

[4] E. Merrill, *Catullus* (Cambridge, Mass. 1893) 6-8.

Merrill edition was superseded by the (1961) Oxford edition of Fordyce, who also promoted a straightforward interpretation of the poem as a (mock) lament for a deceased pet.[5]

Two recent and opposing critical discussions of the *passer* issue have been advanced. Nadeau[6] argues for a sexual interpretation while Jocelyn in his 1980 discussion insists that the text of neither of the poems supports an 'indecent' interpretation. Turning first to Jocelyn's treatment, it must be noted again that his command of the critical treatment is impressive and his article must be consulted for its thorough recapitulation of this tradition.[7] On the problematic side is his doubtful grasp of the intent of Cat. 3. Jocelyn makes a fundamental error of interpretation that vitiates most of what he has to say regarding the poem. He fails to notice that the poem is specifically about a frustratingly early ejaculation, an event; he presents arguments meant to defeat the interpretation of the poem as a treatise on impotence, a condition. In fact, *nunc* ('now,' 11) punctuates the poem and signals the interruption of the love-making of Lesbia and Catullus. The poem after this point treats of the dead 'bird,' the vagaries of erotic arousal and perform-ance, and Lesbia's disappointment. Nadeau, in contrast, does notice this important difference and cites the language he thinks was chosen by Catullus to depict the scene clearly and yet with artful ambiguity. Herein lies the essence of the interpretive problem regarding Cat. 3. There is very little text and the exposition is very text-centric. Essentially the reader either understands the poem to have sexual content or is satisfied with the ostensible 'dead pet' reading.

The core of Jocelyn's commentary involves just two or three essentially lexical issues and reflections on the *de mortuis (passeribus) nil nisi bonum* theme. Jocelyn's treatment includes an extended discussion of the available interpretations of *venustiorum* and the line in which it occurs: *et quantumst hominum venustiorum* ('And whatever men there are of sensitivity,' 2). He points out correctly that an interpretation of the term as part of an invocation of the forces that stimulate or sustain sexual desire is problematic. This is hardly the issue. The adjective *venustus*, as far as it refers to the sexual domain, clearly does not mean 'given to venereal arousal' but something more complex like 'sensitive to the fuller dimensions of sexual behavior, including, especially, consideration for one's partner' (my semantic

[5] C. Fordyce, *Catullus* (Oxford 1961) 2f.

[6] Y. Nadeau, '*O passer nequam* (Catullus 2, 3),' *Latomus* 39 (1980) 879f.

[7] H. Jocelyn, 'On Some Unnecessarily Indecent Interpretations of Catullus 2 and 3,' *AJPh* 101 (1980) 421-41.

characterizations). Jocelyn also observes that *homo* ('human') is distinct from *vir* ('man') and that *hominum venustiorum* is an inappropriate way to refer to men in conjunction with an allusion to sexual performance as a token of maleness. He allows himself to be drawn into battle with a straw man when he undertakes to rebut a putative claim that *pipiare* is code for 'penetrate' (Jocelyn's gloss). In fact, the straightforward 'chirp,' that is, 'express oneself' is totally serviceable at both the first and the second levels of meaning. Reduplicative stems are inherently evocative and invite metaphorical extension. The sound symbolism that is inherent in the unvoiced stop *p* and the small cavity vowel *i* suggests playfulness and lightness and it fits Catullus' parallel readings perfectly; it is appropriate for both the avian and the metaphorical *passer*.

Jocelyn also addresses the admittedly difficult questions occasioned by *malae tenebrae / Orci . . . / . . . passerem abstulistis. / O factum male! O miselle passer! / Tua nunc opera . . .* (13-17). The recurring questions are these. Is *O factum male!* ('O evil deed!' 16) scolding language directed at Orcus or at the *passer*? The latter possibility is hardly likely if we are dealing with a dead pet but might seem to be motivated by what is a second problem, the reading of *tua . . . opera* ('you and what you've done,' 17). The singular *tua* (not *vestra*) supports grammatically the *passer*-scolding reading, though this would entail an otherwise hard to accept interpretation of *O factum male*. Jocelyn's remarkable conclusion is that *tua nunc opera* 'makes little sense' and in effect blue pencils Catullus. Below I will show how this question may be resolved through a new approach to understanding Catullus' intention regarding *Orci* (14).

Nadeau in his article, a strictly textual commentary, argues for the *double-entendre* interpretation of Cat. 2 and 3.[8] He presents a thorough and motivated inventory of what he sees as the extended lexical bases for a sexual reading for both poems. Nadeau does not mention a number of interesting and key pieces of evidence that do inform a sexual interpretation for Cat. 3, to which I am limiting my attention here.

1) *modo huc modo illuc* ('back and forth,' 9) would be manifested as 'modúk modílluk' when rules of elision are applied. The sound symbolism is ingeniously applicable to both the surface and the alternate reading that Catullus intended. We 'hear' simultaneously the back-and-forth bobbing of the sparrow and earnest love-making. We can be certain that Catullus was aware of the potential of this phonological material to effect diverse imagery as the poet used the similar *modo hoc, modo illoc* (Cat. 50.5) with a third

---

[8] Nadeau [6] 879.

and quite different intent. One can conclude that this is a mechanism used by Catullus to support the *double-entendre*.

2) *tenebricosum* ('dark') is problematic and may or may not be evidence for any particular interpretation. Catullus may have used it instead of the more straightforward *tenebrosum* simply to fulfil the requirement of the hendecasyllabic meter. But we must also entertain the possibility that Catullus had motivation in addition to the metrical requirement for using this word. One possible reason for using *tenebricosum* is its baroque morphology and therefore its capacity to lend a non-mundane sound to the death report. The fact that the word sounds grand but is attested elsewhere in contexts lacking solemnity may be evidence of picaresque intent. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary s.v.* 'tenebricosus' mentions a 'shameful' dimension adhering to some occurrences. It is also possible that Catullus used the word because of a certain evocative phonological overlap with both *viscosum* and *lubricosum* ('sticky'). I think it is possible that Catullus is saying that it was a dark and slippery path.

3) *Orci* (14), in construction with *malae tenebrae* (13), is to be rendered without further explanation as 'evil shades of Orcus.' But I think that Catullus hoped that his listener would be reminded of *orca*, 'a long necked jug with a narrow opening' (*OLD s.v.* 'orca'). It would be only speculation to suggest that this word was part of the sexual slang of Catullus' time but the description is anatomically perfect and *cervix* is the unifying lexical constant. Admittedly this reading is not supported by any other text. In his thorough-going discussion of Latin sexual terminology, Adams does not catalogue this term.[9]

If we assume that Catullus used *Orci*, but that we, with the poet, are to hear (read) alternatively *orcae*, gen. sg., then this word play provides a pivot around which the *double-entendre* revolves and is resolved. *Orci* is the reading for the ostensible *passer*; *orcae* is the alternative reading for the alternative *passer*. The plural verb forms *devoratis* ('you devour,' 14) and *abstulistis* ('you snatched away,' 15) are used by the poet to address the *malae tenebrae*. The singular *tua nunc opera* ('because of you and what you've done,' 17) is a mechanism of the intricate ambiguity but it is to be taken as a reproach directed to the vexatious culprit *orca* = *malae tenebrae orcae*, singular in sense, and not to the sparrow or to the admittedly ill-behaved non-avian *passer*. Catullus' putative play on words involving *Orcus/orca*, which supports a congruent discourse on Lesbia's sparrow and his own bird, is consistent with what must be seen as a relationship between

---

[9] J. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (Baltimore 1982).

meae puellae in line 4 and *mihi* in line 15. A straightforward interpretation of *meae puellae* would involve taking it as a genitive. But it can also be construed as a dative of interest, possession, and . . . disappointment. With *mihi* it establishes and frames the mutual interest that Catullus and Lesbia had in the ultimate *passer*.

Now that I have added my notions regarding how Catullus' intention should be understood and ideas regarding the devices he used to signal those intentions, I proceed to the matter of how this or perhaps any poem composed in one language is properly rendered in English. Of course I do not claim that for any poem there is a single proper translation against which any other attempt would necessarily be found lacking. For me a useful first question when looking at a translation is whether the English version is appropriately titled Cat. 3, as I do for my translation, or *after* Cat. 3. A 'proper' translation, one that is not *after* the original, will reflect the three restrictive negatives that Phillips specifies in her recent practical discussion of the translation of Latin verse into English.[10] Phillips promotes a standard of translation that calls for an English version that is 'not inaccurate,' 'not unidiomatic,' and 'not unmetrical.' All three constraints serve to direct proper renderings of Latin originals, including the injunction against the unidiomatic. Classical Latin poetry, including the then innovative forms used by Catullus, is 'not unidiomatic' and so a like requirement for an English translation is doubly motivated. A rendering that would be appropriately designated as *after* the original simply identifies the source as a textual touchstone and the English version as a derived effort and one that uses the central conceit and some version of the imagery found in the original to treat the same theme in a poem of about the same length. Another useful approach to judging a translation effort has been advanced by Rolfe Humphries.[11] He suggests that a translation in progress be held out, in a provisional and imaginary way, to three audiences—scholars, the reading public, and the author. We must agree with Humphries that the latter is the person 'whose praise the translator must solicit above all others.'

A translation of Cat. 3 into English that is 'not inaccurate,' etc., and that Catullus would recognize as his own work, reworked but not undone, must above all else represent as perfect an ambiguity as Catullus achieved in his original. The task of the translator is to reproduce one of literature's

---

[10]   J. Phillips, 'On Translation,' *Classical Outlook* 69 (1992) 38f.

[11]   R. Humphries, 'Latin and English Verse—Some Practical Considerations,' in I. Richards (ed.), *On Translation* (Cambridge, Mass. 1959) 57-66.

most perfect *double-entendres* in a different tongue, preserving the structure, tone, and effect of the original. Since virtually all of the mechanisms of *double-entendre* are to a greater or lesser extent language specific, few can be transported into the language of rendering. But the resulting poem should have about the same number as the original and these should be of the same effect and subtlety. For example, in an attempt to achieve part of the subtlety that Catullus does I use 'resurrected' but I of course hope that my reader will also hear 're-erected.' Also I use 'snatch' in my version with purposeful ambiguity; it is simultaneously the primary verb and an innovative denominative. These are not direct exchanges for any of Catullus' mechanisms of ambiguity. To discuss equivalences and exchange values would lead quickly to an exercise in pedantry. I simply maintain, again, that my translation reflects a not inexact accounting.

> Be at mourning, gods of love and passion
> And whatever men there are of sensitivity.
> The bird my girl had held as hers is dead,
> My girl's deep joy which she loved more than sight.
> For sweet he was and her he knew as well as she her mother.
> Never would he leave her lap but always hopping move about and
> Back and forth and only for this mistress would he chirp.
> He makes his way now on the gloomy path
> And to the place from which no bird is resurrected.
> May this be bad for you vexatious dark
> Of Orcus; you devour all that's beautiful.
> You snatched away the pretty bird that I loved too.
> O evil deed! O hapless little bird!
> Because of you and what you've done my girl's
> Dear eyes are puffy, red from crying.

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL INAUGURAL ADDRESS

The following inaugural address was delivered in Durban on 11 September 1991 by Professor Anne Mackay, who was appointed to the Chair of Classics, University of Natal, Durban in 1990.

THE ORAL SHAPING OF CULTURE

E. A. Mackay
Department of Classics, University of Natal
Durban 4001

Abstract. Athenian black-figure vase-painting is situated within a tradition that exhibits evidence of a narrative technique in some ways similar to that of orally composed poetry: the recurrent iconographic elements serve the same function as oral formulae and recurrent compositions relate to oral themes (they too are subject to expansion and/or elaboration). Greece in the archaic period was essentially still an oral culture as regards narrative presentation, whether verbal or visual.

In the last twenty years or so, with the Humanities disciplines being called increasingly—and inexplicably—into question in a number of countries, there has arisen something of an expectation that Professors of Classics delivering inaugural lectures will offer a rousing defence of the Classical disciplines. Considering that last year this University had the wisdom to fill not one but two Chairs of Classics, on the Pietermaritzburg and Durban campuses simultaneously, it would seem unnecessary, if not downright mistrustful, to strike a defensive attitude on this occasion. In any case, I should much prefer to present a paper *in* Classics than *on* Classics, to reveal the advantages of my disciplines rather by exemplification than indoctrination and, in short, to practise what I profess.

It is thus appropriate, I think, to present to you a paper born of the union of my two abiding passions, Homer and Athenian vase-painting; appropriate too that my approach should be interdisciplinary, since on the one hand the multiple disciplines of Classics require this approach, while on the other, as I have come increasingly to recognise, the only valid way to study a culture or civilisation is by means of an interdisciplinary model—always provided, of course, that one has an equal competence in all the disciplines that may be involved.

For centuries, even millennia, scholars have debated who Homer was, where he—or indeed she—lived, and when he or she—or even they—composed the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; now it is generally accepted that these are quite simply the wrong

questions. A comparative study, begun in the 1930s by Milman Parry and continued by Albert Lord, of the living tradition of South Slavic oral epic song, has allowed the characteristics of orally composed epic poetry to be described and analysed, and has shown that the two early Greek epics traditionally ascribed to Homer in fact exhibit all the features of oral composition.

I do not propose on this occasion to discuss the obvious question of how these lengthy ancient improvisations came to be written down, although it is a fascinating issue, especially since an oral poet is, almost of necessity, unlikely himself to be literate. However, in referring to Homeric epic, I shall use the term 'oral-derived' to indicate awareness of the contradiction implicit in using a written text as evidence of oral composition. Now, I should like to discuss as a preliminary the nature of orally composed poetry, and then consider how the process of its reception differs from that of literary (that is, written) poetry. My intention in doing this is to provide a basis on which to construct a parallel theory for the traditional reception of archaic Greek art.

What, then, is implied by oral composition? Let us imagine a young boy some time in the ninth or eighth centuries BC, for the sake of argument, who wants to become a singer of tales, which is to say a traditional oral poet. He has hearkened to the heroic songs of itinerant bards since early childhood, and so is already steeped in the traditional stories of gods and goddesses, of the heroes who took part in the Trojan War, and of the others who performed great and noble deeds in times of yore. He has also absorbed a natural feel for the characteristic metre of Greek heroic epic, the dactylic hexameter.

He apprentices himself to one of the master-craftsmen, one of the famous bards, and immediately begins to acquire two practical aspects of his master's craft: he is set to learn the older man's traditional story patterns, the basic plots of the various interrelated tales, and he must memorise the thousands of traditional formulae and themes with which he will construct his narratives. When he has acquired these to a certain level of proficiency, he is perforce an oral poet. The quality of his songs will depend on his ingenuity and invention in combining the themes and formulae into a rousing or moving or spell-binding narrative. These, then, are the essential construction materials of orally composed poetry.

First, let us consider the metre: it is a

> billowing current of rhythmical pattern which flows ever
> > onward,
> ending one time at the end of the line, the next running over
> into the following verse.

This is as near as you can come in English to the rhythmic pattern of the Greek hexameter, which depends not only on stressed and unstressed syllables as in English verse but on patterns of long and short syllables, and so is much more complex, being a pattern of sound-shapes as well as of rhythm. Steeped as I am in that rhythm, it took me some moments of thought in writing this address to find the

words to convey my meaning within the English metre. I could not have done it as an act of improvised oral composition before you now. For our apprentice singer, his thousands of memorised formulae would have made the process of metrical composition easier, providing him with a prefabricated, metrical beginning, middle or end of a line to suit virtually his every narrative need: the building blocks of his poetic construction are thus not individual words but metrical phrases, sometimes whole lines or more at a time.

The most commonly recognised form is the noun-epithet formula such as 'swift-footed Achilleus', 'much-enduring, godlike Odysseus', 'grey-eyed Athene', 'great-hearted Alkinoos', and so on: for every circumstance in which a given name may occur (that is, for every grammatical inflection and for a number of predictable positions in the hexameter line) there tends to exist a separate formula. So, for example, when Odysseus is in the nominative case as the doer of an action and is mentioned in the second half of a line, he is much-enduring and godlike. If, as often, he is responding to questioning, the formula includes the verb and a different adjective: '. . . answered wily Odysseus'. If the accusative form of his name is needed, when he is the object of a verb, the name can occur in the middle of the line, followed by the adjectives 'wise and crafty-minded'. For the dative, expressing something done for the benefit of Odysseus, he is great-hearted. The same economy tends to apply to all the names, in each possible case-inflection and metrical position. There is considerable thrift in this traditional formula system, since for the majority of names and inflections and line-positions there is likely to be only one possible formula.[1]

After story patterns and an extensive repertoire of traditional formulae, the last of the three types of poetic building material necessary for the oral poet is the themes, which John Miles Foley has defined as follows: '(1) they are groupings of ideas rather than words; (2) their structure allows for variation in the form of compression, digression, or enrichment; and (3) they have both individual and contextual identities'.[2] He concludes that the theme might be considered a *narrative* formula.

A good example of a theme is the arming scene-type. This involves an activity potentially relevant to many different warriors as they prepare for battle and, of the four extended descriptions that occur in the *Iliad*, the first, of Paris, is ten lines long; Agamemnon takes thirty-two lines to equip himself, Patroklos fifteen, and Achilleus twenty-three.[3] To take a brief example, each man is described as putting on his corselet or chest armour: for Achilleus, it is very straightforward and

---

[1] It should be noted that D. M. Shive in *Naming Achilles* (Oxford 1987) has criticised Parry's concept of virtually absolute economy in the range of formulae that can be applied to a given figure; in general terms, however, the principle does still apply.

[2] J. M. Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition* (Bloomington/London 1988) 42.

[3] Paris: *Il*. 3.330-339; Agamemnon: *Il*. 11.15-46; Patroklos: *Il*. 16.130-144; Achilleus: *Il*. 19.369-391.

occupies only a single line: 'Next he put on a corselet around his chest';[4] Patroklos takes two lines for the same action:'Next he put on a corselet around his chest, an ornate one, set with stars, and belonging to the swift-footed descendant of Aiakos'. Paris also merits two lines: 'Next he put on a corselet around his chest, the one belonging to his brother Lykaon: it fitted him too'. Agamemnon is given more elaboration: 'Next he put on a corselet around his chest, the one that Kinyras once gave him as a guest-present. For word had reached Cyprus of the great enterprise whereby the Achaians would sail in their ships to Troy: that is why he gave this corselet as a mark of favour to the king'. That is five lines long. This illustrates how the basic concept can be compressed to its bare essentials or expanded by enrichment (like the description of the starry ornament in the case of Patroklos) or by digression, such as the motivation for Kinyras' gift.

The process of oral composition within this traditional system, then, can be broken down into three elements: first, the basic story—the summary of the plot; secondly, the themes, both those which are necessary to the story and others which can with relevance be incorporated if a longer version is desired; and thirdly, the traditional formulae, which are used to weave the line-by-line fabric of the poem.

The problem with this theory of oral composition has been that it can seem very mechanical—like suggesting that Michelangelo's David was constructed out of Lego-blocks—and few would try to maintain that Homeric epic can be dismissed as an ancient work of *poiesis*-by-numbers. The result has been a great divide between the oralists on the one hand, and those, like Paolo Vivante and David Shive most recently on the other,[5] who strive to 'regain Homer for literature' by a variety of ingenious and intrinsically valid literary arguments and analyses. In the last few years, John Miles Foley has done much to bridge this crevasse between 'mechanism' and 'aesthetics' by suggesting that it results from 'an inadequate theory of verbal art'.[6] He proposes that a new theory of reception must be generated to match the peculiar characteristics of oral traditional poetry.

Foley puts forward an innovative theory of what he terms 'traditional referentiality', based on analysis of many oral and oral-derived traditions in addition to the Homeric one. He asserts that the formulaic elements in oral and oral-derived epic express an inherent rather than a contextual meaning and are part of a system of traditional referentiality that worked in a totally different way from the text-centred referentiality of a written literary work. That is, what are commonly regarded as mere repetitions in Homeric verse are in fact encoded re-creations of a broader, extra-textual experience. This means that for a formula such as 'swift-footed Achilleus' we should *not* seek a specific relevance for each individual context

---

[4] All translations are my own.

[5] P. Vivante, *The Epithets in Homer: A Study in Poetic Values* (New Haven 1982); Shive [1].

[6] J. M. Foley, *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic* (Bloomington/London 1991) 5.

in which it may occur; we should *not* seek a contextually conferred meaning whereby Achilleus' speed of movement is relevant to every situation in which the formula is used.   On the other hand, nor should we allow the formula to be dismissed as merely conveying an essential idea—say, that is, that 'swift-footed Achilleus' signifies just Achilleus. For Foley, the expression is resonant with all the other contexts in the same and other tales where it has occurred and so evokes from a listener's experience of this traditional material the whole hero in all the complexity of his many roles immanent in the reference.

For a literate audience, or even more, for a literate reader, accustomed by training and experience to value above all else the originality with which poets confer on their words a meaning that is peculiar to their contexts, it is difficult to avoid focusing on the denotative significance of words. Still, in considering oral or oral-derived epic poetry, we should rather try to allow each formula, in concert with all the other formulae used of a hero, to build up our awareness of what Foley describes as 'his full, larger-than-situational self'[7]—a simultaneous awareness, even as the narrative unfolds, of a host of other narrative situations that serve to illustrate the heroic qualities in other contexts.

Reiteration in a given epic poem of such formulaic epithets as 'much-enduring', 'wily', 'wise' and 'crafty-minded' builds up a composite picture of Odysseus' many qualities: his endurance, intellect and courage; epithets like 'godlike' and 'great-hearted' that are used of a number of different heroes seem to convey a sense of general heroic stature. Each instance of every formula resonates with the use of the same formula in other contexts, in other poems potentially, and so has the effect of broadening the hearer's perception of the hero into something like the complexity of a living person; each context, each situation provides another facet of the heroic persona, and so the encoded value of the formula serves as a stimulus to evoke a 'complex, multi-dimensional identity.'[8]

Themes work in a similar fashion: the repeated use of the same theme or cluster of ideas in different contexts, applied to different participants, creates an aura of additional signification around the theme derived from the totality of occasions when the hearer has heard it used. It is significant that the most obvious themes tend to involve ritualised or quasi-ritualised situations, like performing a sacrifice to the gods, preparing for and eating a feast, calling a council, engaging in single combat: the effect of the extra-situational resonance is to imbue each occasion with the extra quality of being a single example of an often-performed event, for which the nature and sequence of the actions is prescribed and intrinsically significant. This is important to the reception of the meaning of each occurrence, as not infrequently there is a tension between the *traditional* form of the theme and the *specific* form presented in a given context.[9]

---

[7] Foley [6] 145.

[8] Foley [6] 145.

[9] Foley [6] 156-189 demonstrates this very clearly in his analysis of *Iliad* 24.

In arguing the case for his theory of traditional referentiality, Foley shows that comparisons can and indeed should be drawn from other oral traditions, but as he emphatically indicates, these comparanda can be considered only within the confines of their own traditions and genres, whether they be Serbo-Croatian, Anglo-Saxon or Zulu, epic or praise-poem; he advocates a preliminary assessment of points of contact and divergences in terms of five principles, which he identifies as *text-dependence* (concern must be shown for possible discrepancies between manuscripts and audio records); *oral or oral-derived provenance*; *genre-dependence* (the closest generic match should be sought and all comparisons calibrated accordingly); *tradition-dependence* (including natural language characteristics, metrical requirements, mythical and historical content and so on); and *synchronic and diachronic contexts*.[10]

When analysing the orality of the Homeric epics, while adequate comparative material can be found for some of these categories from poems of other cultures that are both oral-derived and epic, it is a source of frustration to oralists that the relevance of the inferences based on this material cannot be tested on the broader tradition of ancient Greek epic, but only internally, so to speak, on different sections of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the dissimilarities of these two poems, a poem of return and a poem of war, militate against too specific a comparative approach between them.

I believe, however, that some corroboration of Foley's conclusions may be found in Greek narrative art of the archaic period, which, although it cannot fully meet the criteria of comparison, does in my opinion constitute a tradition in parallel to and sharing many conceptual features with the oral epic tradition represented by the Homeric poems, and of course deriving from the same general cultural environment, although one should be aware of a potential distinction between epic that is essentially Ionic and, for instance, the art produced by Athens.

Athenian black-figure vase-painting offers the best material for comparative analysis: the technique developed in step with the advent of narrative painting towards the end of the seventh century BC and continued throughout the sixth century; this means that there is a rich and broad spectrum of examples from different stages of both narratological and technical development so that it is possible to chart the historical evolution of a visual image and to follow the hybridisation of one image with another. Such a diachronic approach is potentially very valuable for extending our understanding of the oral tradition, as it may allow us to see plentiful evidence of a traditional image-system at work and in its various stages of development.

From the beginning of the archaic period (that is, about 620 BC), Athenian vase-painters started to show an interest in the depiction of figures and scenes from mythological narratives. At first, there was no standardised visual referencing system, and so on early vases, in the absence of the (comparatively) rare

---

[10] Foley [6] 15.

inscriptions of names beside some figures, the central characters must be identified from their characteristic actions or opponents - who but Herakles would tackle a lion, for example? Who but Perseus a Gorgon? Gradually, however, as if in response to a need, a system began to evolve whereby the common mythological figures, and especially the deities, were identified visually in terms of certain characteristic attributes: Hermes, for instance, is bearded, wears the boots and hat of a traveller (not initially with wings), and carries the herald's staff, with the tip in the form of a figure-eight open at the top (not yet expressed as entwined snakes). Apollo is a younger god, and so beardless; he carries either a bow, or a musical instrument known as a kithara. Athene wears the aegis, a snake-fringed, scale-patterned breastplate, and is usually equipped with some or all of shield, helmet and spear. From the early days, then, there was a gradual parallel development of two different kinds of formulations: first, formulaic attributes such as I have just described, which serve to identify a given figure irrespective of the context, and second, formulaic composition, in which the poses and relative positions of the figures, in short the format of the scene, gradually become standardised and so signify a particular mythological context.

While it is logical that these formulations may have developed in part to serve an identificatory need, it seems possible that they may have served another function too, as there tend for instance to be more iconographic elements included than would be necessary just for recognition of a figure's identity, especially when the composition of the scene is also formulaic. It must also be accepted, of course, that both the standardised composition and the fully attributed figure constituted for the Athenian painters their basic schemata of the kind necessary to any artist as the starting-point for the construction of a plausible figure within the expectations of a given culture at a given time.[11]

I should like to consider first the nature of the formulaic attribute, and I shall take as an example the manner of representation of the god Dionysos. Here I am drawing on a recent monograph by Thomas Carpenter,[12] where he traces the development of the visual images associated with the god Dionysos through Athenian black-figure vase-painting. One of the earliest appearances of Dionysos on an Athenian vase is on a lebes in the British Museum,[13] signed by the painter Sophilos and produced around 580 BC. The principal scene in the top band shows the wedding procession of Achilleus' parents, Peleus and Thetis: Dionysos is one of the participants. He is bearded, with long hair, and wears a full-length garment:

---

[11] See E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study of the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Princeton 1969) *passim*, esp. ch. 2.

[12] T. H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art: Its Development in Vase Painting* (Oxford 1986).

[13] Figure 1: Sophilos, London GR 1971.11-1.1 (J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* [Oxford 1971] 19 [hereafter *Para.*], *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford 1956) 40, 16 *bis* [hereafter *ABV*]).

these will in time become standard features of his representation. He carries a leafy branch which seems to have grape clusters hanging from it—appropriate since he is the god of wine. However, it would have been hard to be sure of his identity and even to recognise the vine-stem were it not for the inscribed name beside the figure. At this stage no specific formula had yet been established for Dionysos.

A slightly later painter whose name is not known, but whom archaeologists have named the Heidelberg Painter for the sake of reference, seems to have had a particular interest in depicting Dionysos; it is in his works that we find the first renditions of what was to become the standard formulation of Dionysos' attributes, as for instance in a scene painted inside a broad, shallow wine-cup:[14] the identity of the woman on the right I shall leave for the moment in doubt, but on the left is Dionysos, with long garment, long hair, and beard. In his hair he wears an ivy-wreath, easily identifiable by its distinctive, heart-shaped leaves, and he holds a drinking horn in his left hand. These two features quickly became canonical for Dionysos in Athenian black-figure vase-painting. Two further developments must be mentioned: often, as in a later scene on a vase in the Louvre,[15] he carries an additional stem of ivy and may be regularly attended by one or more dancing satyrs; and from the 540s the drinking horn is gradually supplanted by a large loop-handled wine-cup,[16] so that by the early 520s Dionysos regularly appeared in the form depicted, for example, by the painter Exekias.[17]

In those few examples, you have seen the evolution of a single visual formula over a period of a little more than fifty years. The same sort of developmental process can just as well be exemplified in the case of many other figures like Athene or the hero Herakles.

I should like to look now at one specific scene involving Dionysos, painted after 540 BC. It is on a fragmentary Athenian amphora[18] recently acquired by the Museum of Classical Archaeology of the University of Natal here in Durban, and is indeed one of our more important pieces, as it has been attributed to the hand of quite a good painter known as the Princeton Painter. Although it looks rather like a jigsaw puzzle with some of the pieces missing, the subject and composition are quite clear: Dionysos, clad in his customary long garments, stands to the left of centre, wearing an ivy wreath in his hair, holding an ivy branch in his right hand and what remains of a drinking horn in his left. He has all of the standard formulation, and the white robe that you see here from this time on also becomes an intermittent characteristic of the god. Dionysos and his lady-friend are framed by a pair of dancing satyrs, humanoids with horsey ears and horsey tails (not here

---

14   Figure 2: Heidelberg Painter, Munich inv.7739 (*ABV* 64, 28).

15   Figure 3: Louvre F 36 *bis*, attributed to the Towry Whyte Painter: *ABV* 142, 8.

16   See Carpenter [12] 117*f.*

17   Exekias, London B 210 (*ABV* 144, 7).

18   Figure 5: Durban 1990.30, attributed to the Princeton Painter.

preserved), often (though not here) shown as hirsute, with large eyes and snub-noses. They are associated with Dionysos quite early in the development of black-figure painting[19] and indeed themselves form something of a collective formula associated with Dionysos. The identity of the woman in the Durban scene, however, is not so easy to establish. Women frequently appear in the company of satyrs and of Dionysos: when they are dancing, they are customarily identified as maenads, that is, female followers of Dionysos, possessed by his power.[20]

The woman in the scene on the Durban amphora, however, is much more dignified and seems therefore to be on a par with Dionysos rather than with the prancing satyrs. She is perhaps the same woman who appeared on the interior of the cup by the Heidelberg Painter and she recurs in a similar context on a very large number of Athenian vases. There has long been a habit among archaeologists of identifying her as Ariadne in consideration of the myth which tells how the ungrateful Athenian hero Theseus abandoned Ariadne on the island of Naxos on his way back from Crete after he had defeated the Minotaur with her help. The god Dionysos came upon her as she lay sleeping or weeping on the shore and she became his bride. Carpenter has questioned this identification on the basis that a named Ariadne does not occur in any known Dionysian scene in black-figure[21] and indeed there is no solid evidence until the early fifth century, some half-century after our vase was produced, that Ariadne was regarded as the bride of Dionysos. It seems possible that the woman is intended to be the goddess Aphrodite, a deity without well-established iconography.

Whether it is Aphrodite or Ariadne, the woman is often depicted, as here, holding a fold of her clothing away from her face: it is an interesting gesture, one which denotes seductiveness, indicating that the woman is revealing her beauty to a man, and would be equally appropriate in the bride of Dionysos and in the goddess associated with love and sexuality. The gesture occurs comparatively often but in a limited number of contexts: first, in scenes with Dionysos, like this one; next, in scenes showing the aftermath of the taking of Troy when Menelaos, the injured husband, meets up with his wife Helen for the first time since she deserted him and sailed off with Paris of Troy—accounts differ as to whether this was an abduction or an elopement! According to a common version of the myth, Menelaos had vowed to kill Helen in revenge, but just as he was about to do so, she twitched back her veil, revealing her fabled beauty, and he was smitten again, as much in love as when he had first married her; they seem to have lived happily ever after. To describe how one painter depicted the scene: between a youth and a warrior,

---

[19] Silens, precursors of satyrs according to Carpenter, appear already with Dionysos on the François Vase (Florence 4209, *ABV* 76, 1) in the scene of the Return of Hephaistos; see further discussion in Carpenter [12] 76-97.

[20] Carpenter [12] 76ff., esp. 80, points out that they are specifically named as 'nymphs' on some early vases, as the satyrs are 'silens'.

[21] Carpenter [12] 23.

Menelaos threatens Helen with his drawn sword, but just as he begins to grab her, she coyly draws aside her veil: even the anonymous warrior cannot help but turn his head to look.[22]

This gesture appears with less regularity, perhaps by analogy, in a few other contexts, where a seductive element is appropriate to the general type of situation.[23] It is anomalous that in black-figure scenes women are generally shown bare-headed, except when employing this gesture,[24] and there is in other contexts no suggestion that women's heads would regularly be veiled. It would therefore seem that we have in this gesture a fossilised element that illogically preserves an older custom, apparently outmoded by the sixth century, through its being embedded in this single, traditional, formulaic gesture. There is a striking similarity here to Homeric formulae, which often preserve archaic word-forms alongside later forms; the intermittent retention of the *digamma* is an often-cited example, or the genitive in *-oio*.

In this single scene on the Durban amphora, then, we can see examples of several kinds of visual formulae at work. The satyrs and Dionysos are given their characteristic appearance. All three figures are depicted by means of formulations that are for the most part peculiarly their own: that is, there is no figure on a Greek vase that looks like a satyr that is not a satyr; no-one is dressed up as Dionysos who is not Dionysos, even though a satyr or a maenad may carry an ivy-frond on some of the later vases. The woman, by contrast, whoever she is, employs a gesture that other mythological figures use in far different narrative contexts; her gesture conveys first of all a meaning, that of seductiveness, and only through that meaning does it suggest identity within the specific context: who is likely to be acting flirtatiously with Dionysos? Unfortunately we have two possible contenders for the role in Aphrodite and Ariadne and no means of determining who was intended.

In comparison with the Homeric formulae, this gesture seems rather like one of the non-specific formulaic epithets; 'godlike', for example, is applied to quite a number of different heroes and conveys a generalised sense of heroic stature in just

---

[22] The scene is on an amphora attributed to the Painter of the Vatican Mourner, Vatican 16571, formerly 350 (*ABV* 140, 1).

[23] Deianeira uses the gesture towards Herakles in the presence of Nettos on an amphora attributed to the Painter of the Vatican Mourner in the Logie Collection, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand (43/57; [*ABV* 140, 2 *bis*], *Para.* 58). Hebe uses the gesture when she stands in a chariot as the bride of Herakles on a hydria in the Manner of the Lysippides Painter, New York 14.105.10 (*ABV* 261, 37). The gesture recurs in less identifiable contexts, such as on an amphora by the Swing Painter, Heidelberg 229 (*ABV* 305, 28). Later Hera will use the gesture towards her husband Zeus, most notably on the east face of the Parthenon Frieze.

[24] With a few exceptions, mainly to do with funerary contexts; for example, the funerary plaque in Berlin by Exekias (F 1813, *ABV* 146, 22), where the central figure (the bereaved?) has drawn her himation over her head.

the same way that the seductive gesture seems to convey a generalised sense of allurement. If this generalised gesture seems to work in parallel with the generalised verbal formula, can it be the case that the specific and personalised visual formulae, that is, the iconographic attributes on the black-figure vases, work in the same way as the specific and personalised noun-epithet formulae of Homeric poetry?

I think so, for the visual formulae include for the most part elements that are highly evocative of the broader mythological conceptualisation of the figure to which they are applied. Dionysos is a god of wine and revelry, for example, and every time we see him, even when it is not particularly relevant to the immediate context,[25] his imagery evokes this connection. His association with a suggestively gesturing female adds to the context in a way that we can recognise from our own traditions of wine and women.

Turning to another example, Herakles is an excellent figure on which to test my theory, if only because he is arguably the most popular hero among the sixth century vase-painters in Athens and so provides a multitude of examples. Traditionally his first imposed task was the confrontation with the Lion of Nemea, a fearsome monster equipped with an invulnerable hide. Herakles had in the end to strangle the beast, whereupon he skinned it (using one of its own claws as an implement); thenceforth he wore the skin as a kind of impenetrable cloak. In representations of all but that first Labour, therefore, he is customarily depicted by the Athenian vase-painters resplendent in this unusual apparel, with the head over his head—his face shows through the open mouth—and the forelegs knotted over his chest. The lionskin becomes one of his principal iconographical features along with the club or quiver and bow; he is usually bearded and either nude or clad in a short tunic to suit his active lifestyle. What must be determined now is whether this image could *regularly* derive a conferred meaning from its various contexts or whether it is indeed possessed of traditional referentiality, evoking the whole, multi-faceted persona of the hero.

Many of the situations in which Herakles appears are scenes of conflict in which the hero does battle with one of a variety of often monstrous foes. In such a context the wearing of an invulnerable garment would seem only common sense and so one could interpret the image contextually as denoting Herakles' attempt to avoid unnecessary injury to his person. But what of a scene such as the one on a neck-amphora from the last quarter of the sixth century BC?[26] Here our hero, clad in his lionskin and with his quiver over his shoulder, is playing a kithara with one foot on a *bema* (platform). This is a context suggestive of the musical competitions which formed part of the Panathenaic games and the presence of Athene on our

---

[25] As, for instance, in the scene inside Exekias' cup (Munich 2044, *ABV* 146, 21). Even in some gigantomachies, where Dionysos is a warrior in battle, he is shown wearing an ivy wreath, but see Carpenter [12] 55-75.

[26] Figure 4: Lysippides Painter, Munich 1575 (*ABV* 256, 16).

right supports this idea. Here Herakles has no need for the protective armour of his lionskin (unless he fears violent criticism of his musical abilities!) nor for the arrows. These attributes serve to identify him, just as the aegis, spear and helmet identify Athene.[27]

But can this recurrent representation of Herakles be shown to signify more than just an essential idea? Does the lionskin serve any function other than the identification of the hero? I believe that the answer lies in the nature of the recurrent elements. They tend to evoke specific and characterising actions. To wear the skin of an animal seems to imply that you have killed it. For instance, maenads are not infrequently shown in a *nebris* (fawnskin) and one recalls the stories of how maenads characteristically destroy animals with their bare hands.[28] Herakles' lionskin is thus doubly significant: he is the *sort* of hero who can kill a lion and he is the *selfsame* hero who did kill the dreaded Nemean monster. Thus when he is depicted in the lionskin while engaged in another feat, such as the battle with Geryoneus or the capture of the Erymanthian Boar, the image is resonant with the earlier achievement and immanent within it is the extra-contextual characterisation as the hero who has already destroyed one monster. Furthermore, as the lionskin recurs in the narrative representation of many different adventures, it acquires an accumulated secondary resonance from each and every context.

Turning now to the concept of themes, the recurrent groupings of ideas typical of orally composed poetry, I believe that a similar phenomenon may be observed, at least in terms of function served, in the formulaic composition-types on Athenian black-figure vases. A single, though very common, type will serve to illustrate the point: the chariot scene. Chariots are used in several different scene-contexts, particularly from the middle of the sixth century on: the warrior, departing for war, surrounded by his family; youths, setting off on a hunt, similarly attended by family members; a man and woman in a chariot, attended by people bearing gifts—a wedding; this same context may be further identified as a divine wedding (Peleus and Thetis, perhaps, the parents of Achilleus) when those grouped around are themselves identified iconographically as deities. In a common presentation, the chariot, with four horses harnessed to it, is heading to our right and the figures grouped around it occupy stock positions that are similarly occupied in virtually

---

[27] The question of *why* Herakles should be specifically depicted performing before Athene is a complex one and not of direct relevance to the current discussion. For a range of interpretations see K. Schauenburg, 'Herakles Mousikos', *JDAI* 94 (1979) 49-76; J. Boardman, 'Image and Politics in Sixth Century Athens', in H. A. G. Brijder (ed.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery: Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium, Amsterdam 1984* (Amsterdam 1985) 239-247, esp. 245f.; H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz 1989) 159f.

[28] Many of the hunters in the Calydonian Boarhunt scene on the François Vase (Florence 4209, *ABV* 76,1) wear skins. Artemis, the archetypal huntress, sometimes wears a skin. See the rather inconclusive discussion of Artemis in skins in Carpenter [12] 64f.

every chariot scene:[29] two figures stand in the chariot, the nearer holding the reins; a single figure appears to the right of the horses (a small figure under the horses' noses is optional); one figure is placed behind the horses' hindquarters; one, occasionally two, stand back of the chariot pole and another optional figure is placed to the left of the chariot body. The wedding procession is generally very similar in the arrangement of figures, except that a man and a woman (the married couple) stand in the chariot, with the man on the near side holding the reins.

Consider now a scene on an amphora painted soon after the middle of the sixth century,[30] which shows Athene in the middle introducing Herakles (to the right of her) to some of the Olympian deities. Following the traditional formulation of this scene, Athene has brought her protégé on foot. In the second half of the sixth century BC, however, the painters began to conflate two ideas: the subject of Athene taking Herakles to Olympos to join the gods and the form of a chariot scene. A scene from a later neck-amphora[31] is a typical example of the result. The formulation of the chariot scene is unchanged, but the stock positions are occupied by iconographically identified deities. Athene and Herakles stand in the chariot (Athene holds the reins as the higher-ranking personage) and then from left to right we see Dionysos in an ivy wreath, holding a wine-cup and two ivy stems, Apollo with his kithara, and Hermes.

In a variant of the same scene,[32] Hermes, Apollo and Dionysos occupy more or less the same positions as before, but Athene is only now mounting the chariot and Herakles has yet to board. This variation is based on the regular formula for the departure of a warrior. You can see how the use of these formulaic compositions adds an extra element to the mythological context: in the one instance, Herakles and Athene ride side by side like a married couple; in the other, Herakles is visualised as a warrior and Athene as his charioteer.[33]

The evidence seems indeed to suggest that the formulaic elements on Athenian black-figure vases do in fact work in terms of their process of reception in parallel to the Homeric descriptive formulae and themes. The iconographic elements such as Herakles' lionskin, Athene's aegis and armour, Dionysos' drinking

---

[29] This was recognised and the positions analysed by W. Wrede, 'Kriegers Ausfahrt in der archaisch-griechischen Kunst', *AM* 41 (1916) 221-374.

[30] Figure 6: Basel 496.

[31] Figure 7: Lysippides Painter, London 1851.8-6.15, formerly B 211 (*ABV* 256, 14).

[32] Figure 8: Lysippides Painter, Louvre F 294 (*ABV* 256, 18).

[33] J. Boardman, 'Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons', *RA* (1972) 57-72, suggests that there may have been contemporary political significance in these new scene types: *contra* R. Osborne, 'The Myth of Propaganda and the Propaganda of Myth', *Hephaistos* 5-6 (1983-84) 61-70; *et al.* It is appropriate at this point to recall F. Brommer's (*Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*³ [Marburg 1973] 159) caveat: 'Nicht alle der Wagenszenen brauchen zur Olympfahrt zu gehören; es kann sich auch um Ausfahrt zum Kampf gegen Amazonen oder Giganten handeln'.

horn, ivy and the seductive gesture serve the same semiotic function in the visual narrative context as the descriptive formulae describing Achilleus and Odysseus in the Homeric poems; the themes in the latter, such as the arming scenes, may be equated with formulaic compositions in painting.   As an additional point of convergence, one might even suggest that an equivalent to the formative effect of the poetic metre could be found in the representational limitations imposed by the restrictive black-figure painting technique. In each medium of narrative expression, we are dealing with a complex tradition that sanctions by usage the continuing force of verbal or visual images in traditionally defined contexts, where those images regularly carry an encoded reference back to the entire, interrelated system of other traditional contexts in which they have occurred.

The painted images offer two major advantages over the poetic ones. In the first instance, with the ceramics we are able to study primary and unmediated evidence, in that, apart from occasional lost fragments, the extant images on each vase are just as the ancient painter made them; by contrast, the Homeric poems have a very long history of hand-me-downs in the manuscript tradition, even aside from their being oral-derived rather than oral. Secondly, the vase-painting images offer a continuous record (I shall not say unbroken) of the various stages of development and can thus be analysed diachronically. This access to first-hand evidence of a working tradition as it developed through time will surely allow by process of analogy further insight into the workings of the oral epic tradition of early Greece and so should lead to a greater understanding of the nature of Homeric epic as the relic of that phenomenon.

What emerges from this comparative study is the confirmation that both the poems and the paintings are manifestations of a world-view that is essentially different from our own. Implicit within both these narrative media is a concept of simultaneity that is at odds with our 'modern' sense of the linear progression of time.   The formulaic phrases and iconographic elements that evoke a supra-contextual or even meta-contextual reception on the part of hearer and viewer cannot by their very nature fulfil the modern expectation of a contextually logical, linear narrative progression. That they tend to be read as if they do merely reflects our far-from-adequate access to the tradition to which they refer. The Homeric formulae and themes, the iconographic images and formulaic compositions all work in accordance with a different system of logic, the adjunct of what might be termed the oral mentality, and so the contexts which they serve resist interpretation by our literary-trained literal-mindedness.

I have one last painting that will, I think, illustrate conclusively the nature of this other logic. It represents the Fall of Troy. Greek tradition focused on several key events in the sack of the city and its aftermath: Priamos, the old king of Troy, fled from his Greek pursuers and sought sanctuary on the altar of a god—in vain, as he was still butchered by Neoptolemos in defiance of the sacrosanctity of the place. Later when the battle was over, Helen was brought to Menelaos, and you have heard what happened then. Finally the Greeks located Astyanax, the infant son of

Hektor, the now-dead champion of Troy and, lest he should grow to become a vengeful warrior after his father's model, a fearsome enemy to Greece for the future, they threw him to his pitiful death from the ramparts of his ruined city.

In a scene from an amphora in Berlin,[34] these three events are brought together into a single context (the corpse and gesturing women set the scene). On our left Helen is bewitching Menelaos with her seductive gesture, while in the centre Neoptolemos bears down on Priam, who is seated upon the altar. Where you expect a drawn sword in the hand of the attacker, you see that he has young Astyanax by the ankle. Clearly these narrative elements cannot be read as a single, unified 'frame' or snapshot in the continuity of action: would Neoptolemos be bludgeoning the old man to death? And with the body of his own grandson? Nor can they form an articulated sequence (as in a comic-strip) for the same reason, yet these are the only two interpretations which would readily present themselves, given our cultural shaping. It is rather that these elements are intended to act together, in concert, in order to evoke the entirety of the Fall of Troy through their juxtaposition. Here, as in a series of rather similar scenes,[35] we are presented with the formulae that together can create the concept of the Sack of Troy. It *is* narrative, but narrative by evocation, narrative that is immanent within the images rather than spelled out by means of them.[36]

In gaining access to this fundamentally different attitude, which may be termed the oral mentality, we see a little way, darkly, into a truly archaic world, a world full of voices, not all of them human, a world where gods may walk among men and where men may hope to attain to a higher level through heroic valour if only in the images with which posterity commemorates them in the visual and oral traditions. Truly, here we see in these archaic poems and paintings evidence of the oral shaping of culture.

---

[34] Figure 9: Lydos, Berlin 1685 (*ABV* 109, 24). As the surface of the amphora is poorly preserved, a drawing is reproduced (after E. C. V. Gerhard, *Etruskische und kampanische Vasenbilder* [Berlin 1843] p. 21); I acknowledge the help of J. Boardman in obtaining this reproduction.

[35] For instance, C Painter, lid of a lekanis, Naples (*ABV* 58, 119), where Neoptolemos runs towards an altar with Astyanax in his hand and Priamos and Hekabe stand on the other side of the altar with hands raised beseechingly; Lydos, amphora, Louvre F 29 (*ABV* 109, 21), combining an Astyanax-wielding Neoptolemos approaching Priamos (this time supine on the altar) with Aias and Kassandra. Both the schema and a conflation of events occur also in red-figure scenes: Brygos Painter, cup, Paris, Louvre G 152 (*Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*[2] [Oxford 1963] 369, 1 [hereafter *ARV*]) and, with the variation of a bloodied child's corpse on Priamos' knee, Kleophrades Painter, kalpis, Naples 2422 (*ARV* 189, 74).

[36] This is a narrative technique discussed under the label 'synoptic method' by A. M. Snodgrass, *Narration and Allusion in Archaic Greek Art* (London 1982); see also P. G. P. Meyboom, 'Some Observations on Narration in Greek Art', *Mededelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome* 40 (1978) 55-82, where it is called 'the complementary method'.

Figure 1. London, British Museum 1971.11-1.1 (detail of top band); *Para.* 19,16 *bis*; photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 2. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek Inv. 7739 (interior); *ABV* 64,28; photograph (Chr. Koppermann) courtesy of the Museum.
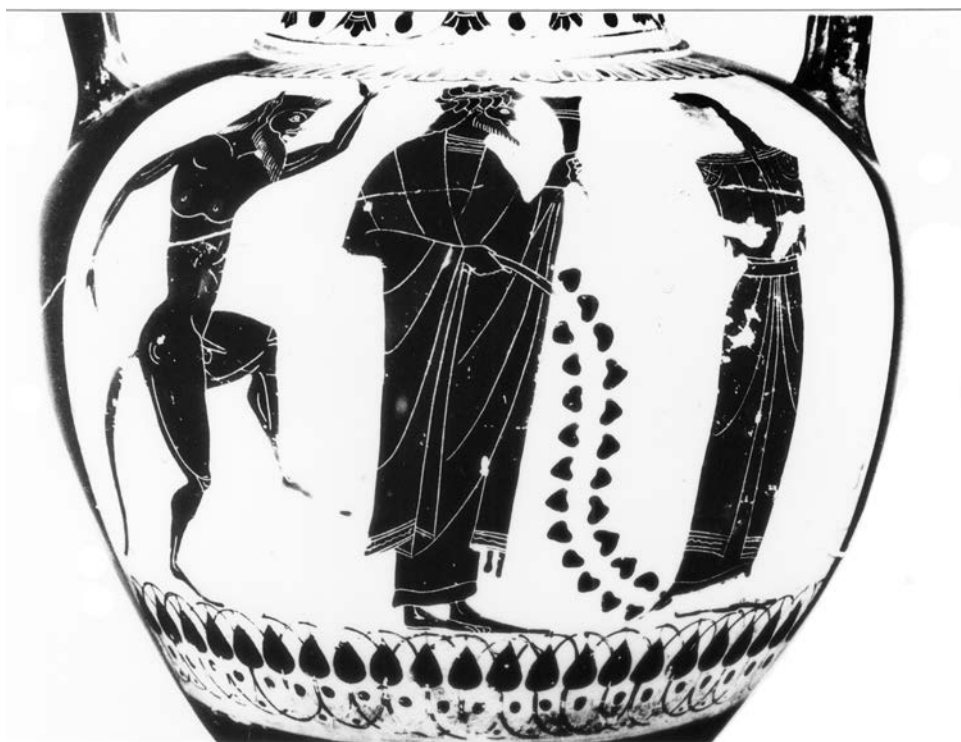
Figure 3. Paris, Louvre F 36 *bis*; *ABV* 142,8; photograph courtesy of the Musée du Louvre.

Figure 4. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek Inv. 1575; *ABV* 256,16; photograph (Chr. Kopperman) courtesy of the Museum.

Figure 5.   Durban, Museum of Classical Archaeology, University of Natal
1990.30; photograph by E. A. Mackay

Figure 6. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig inv. BS 496; photograph courtesy of the Museum.

Figure 7. London, British Museum *GR* 1851.8-6.15; *ABV* 256,14; photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 8.   Paris, Louvre F 294; *ABV* 256,18; photograph courtesy of the
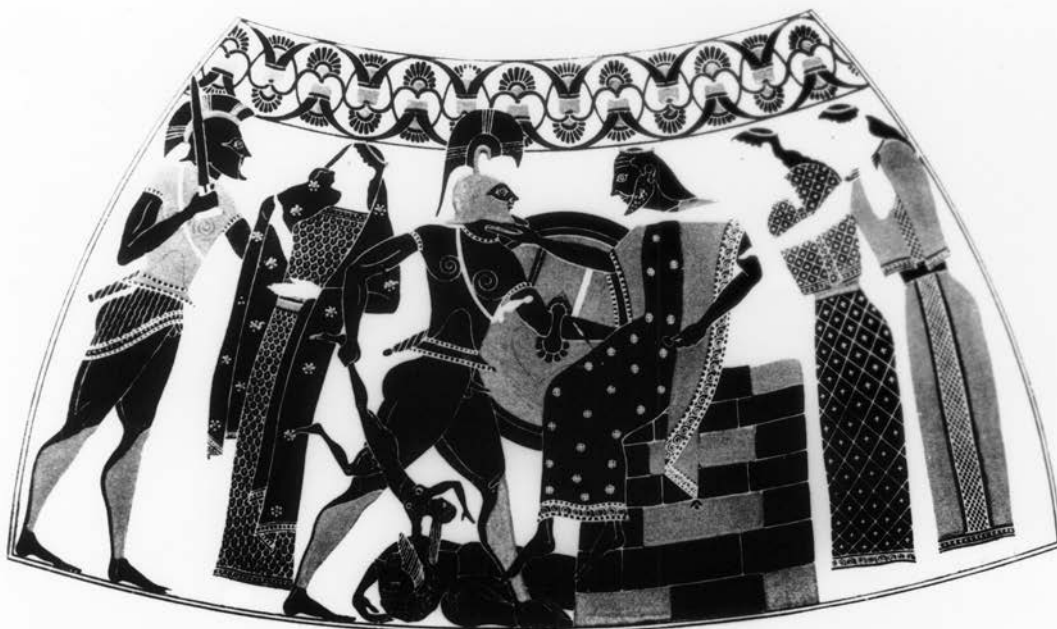Musée du Louvre.

Figure 9.   Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1685; *ABV* 109,24; drawing after E. C.
V. Gerhard, *Etr. u. kamp. Vasenbilder* (Berlin 1843) pl. 21.

REVIEW ARTICLES

LASCIVUS AMOR

Richard Whitaker
Department of Classics, University of Cape Town
Rondebosch 7700

For most of us the *Carmina Burana* mean that very attractive collection of some twenty-five medieval lyrics set to music by Carl Orff. But Orff's *Carmina* are only a small selection from the poems that make up the contents of the celebrated Codex Buranus. This manuscript, discovered in the Bavarian monastery of Benediktbeuern in 1803, and now in Munich, has given its name to the poems it contains, the *Carmina Burana*, 228 pieces (disregarding later additions) of various sorts: moralising and satirical poems, drinking songs, miscellaneous verses, and about 120 love lyrics.

In the volume under review Walsh presents us with his own text and translation of, and commentary on, about half of these love lyrics. An Introduction sets out the essential information that the reader will need, dealing with such topics as the nature of the Codex Buranus; the range of themes contained in the medieval love lyric, especially the balance constantly sought between the coming of Spring and the burgeoning of love; the conventions of courtly love and the ways in which they are occasionally parodied in the poems; the characteristic blending of Classical learning and Christian tradition; and the basic differences between Classical and Medieval Latin (the 'most troublesome feature [being] the simplification of *ae* and *oe* into *e*' [p. xxx], which can produce forms at first glance baffling to the Classicist, *cepi* = *coepi*, or *equis* = *aequis*). The body of the book contains the poems, each followed by a translation, brief general discussion of the genre and literary qualities of the piece, and commentary on points of detail. A Bibliography and three Indexes round off the volume.

In his essay, 'Poetic Meaning in the *Carmina Burana*', Peter Dronke, writing of the monumental edition of the *Carmina Burana* by Hilka, Schumann and

Bischoff,[1] drew attention to the disproportion between the character of the poems and the nature of the scholarly apparatus applied to them: 'Some of the swiftest and lightest poetry of Europe has been enclosed in one of the heaviest fortresses that scholarship has ever erected'.[2] The same charge could not be levelled at Walsh's book, one of the most pleasing features of which is the judicious way in which the editor presents us with precisely the right amount of material we need to interpret and appreciate each poem. Inevitably in a collection such as this, where many of the poems are similar in theme and genre, the editor must repeat himself in the commentary. Yet Walsh manages always to find a fresh way of commenting even on very similar poems, while keeping cross-reference to a minimum.

The text that Walsh presents is a reading text. Rather than indicating lacunae, which might hamper the process of reading, he makes quite free use of supplements, either his own or those suggested by other scholars. There is no *apparatus criticus*, but Walsh discusses any significant textual problems in the notes. Given the exhaustive *apparatus* in the edition of Hilka *et al.*, this seems a very sensible arrangement. Walsh prints a number of his own emendations. These seem to me mostly well-judged and at least as plausible as the numerous emendations of other scholars that he also prints. Especially good is Walsh's emendation of 35(113).2,[3] *a, que manent tristia amantes* (*aquo monet* B, obelised by Schumann). Sometimes the conjectures of others, conscientiously recorded by Walsh, seem better, as at 16(76).2, *ingredi non poteram, ut optatu bene* (B), where I would prefer Manitius' *optavi* (printed by Schumann) to Walsh's *optati* [sc. *templi*, in the previous line].

Occasionally Walsh makes overstrict demands of his poets and insists that they produce perfectly regular rhythms. For instance, at 53(163).2 even the rigorous Schumann was satisfied with the text of B: *omnis largus odit avarum*. But Walsh prints his own text, *omne <cor> largum odit avarum*, with the comment: 'This is my hesitant suggestion to remedy the syllabic balance and the internal rhyme' (p. 183). But the suggestion seems somewhat arbitrary. The internal rhyme here is no worse than that between *mestum* and *dolorem* (which Walsh retains) in stanzas 1 and 5. In the question of regularising the rhythms of the texts I would tend to come down on the side of Dronke: 'What evidence have we that such a poet [he is writing of the author of *Carmina Burana* 90, but the point is of general application] was obsessed by the classroom mentality, that for him regularity of rhythm and rhyme were more important artistically than what he wanted to express?'[4] Most of these lyrics were designed to be sung, so many apparent

---

[1] *Carmina Burana*, edd. A. Hilka, O. Schumann, and B. Bischoff (Heidelberg 1933-70).

[2] P. Dronke, *The Medieval Poet and his World* (Rome 1984) 249.

[3] The system of reference is as follows: 35(113).2 refers to poem no. 35 in W.'s selection (= *Carmina Burana* 113), stanza 2.

[4] Dronke [2] 254.

irregularities of metre may well have been smoothed out by the music.

Walsh makes quite clear the aim of the translations that he offers with his text: 'I have . . . appended literal translations intended to help students who are struggling with the Latin. They are not to be judged as literary artifacts' (p. ix). Judged in terms of the purpose for which they are designed, these versions are admirable. Always thoughtful, idiomatic, free of 'translationese', they provide a supplement to the Commentary, making clear how Walsh interprets difficult or ambiguous passages. Here is a specimen of Walsh's translations:

1.	Tempus transit horridum, frigus hiemale; redit, quod est placidum, tempus estivale. quod cum Amor exigit sibi principale qui Amorem diligit, dicat ei vale!	2.	Mutatis temporibus tellus parit flores; pro diversis floribus variat colores. variis coloribus prata dant odores; philomena cantibus suscitat amores. 45(139).1-2
1.	The grisly time of the winter's cold is passing, and the summer season of balmy weather returns. Now that Cupid is demanding this season as his before all others, any lover of Cupid must hail its coming.	2.	With the transformation of the seasons, the earth brings forth its blossoms, diversifying the colors according to the variety of flowers. The meadows with their blossoms of diverse hue bestow fragrant scents. The nightingale rouses love feelings with its songs.

dicat ei vale in stanza 1 could mean either 'say farewell to winter' or 'greet the summer'. Walsh's translation shows how he interprets the passage.

The commentary on the poems covers a variety of topics, textual as well as literary. Walsh helps us to construe difficult passages, pointing out peculiar features of Medieval Latin orthography and syntax; he cites Classical models for many passages; he explains all mythological and historical references. But he is especially interested in the manipulation of convention: 'The pleasure gained from the writing and the reading of these poems is the pleasure of intellectual play in relaxation. The critic must accordingly respond to them by envisioning them as rhetorical creations in which the authors devise variations of situation and presentation while frequently adhering to a basic formula' (p. xix). Walsh comments sensitively and fully on these aspects of the poems. He is very alert to variation, parody and subversion of the conventions of such forms as the Spring poem, the Marian hymn, the Courtly Love lyric. I feel, however, that Walsh sometimes contrasts too bluntly technical sophistication and the expression of feeling in the poems, as for example in this comment on 53(163): 'Before we signal the

poem as emotional release from personal frustration, we should note the art of the craftsman conspicuous in the alliterative balance . . . etc.' (p. 183). But a high level of craftsmanship is surely consistent with, may in fact help to express, intensity of feeling; one need only think of the poetry of Propertius or John Donne.

There are wonderful poems in this collection, and every reader will have his or her favourites. I particularly enjoyed the pieces by Peter of Blois, who is rightly singled out by Walsh for his (often ironical) mastery of the conventions of the various sorts of love lyric. (Yet, if Walsh's attribution to Peter of 24[84] is correct, he is also capable of producing a poem that will make twentieth century readers blench: a description in highly sophisticated verses of a rape.) Apart from the numerous delightful Spring poems, other pieces that stand out are 16(76), a lengthy, highflown account of a visit to a classy brothel (the woman in charge is Venus in her *templum*), with a rather perfunctory 'moral' (which can have fooled no-one) tacked on to the end; 17(77), a characteristically medieval combination of Marian religiosity and eroticism; 50(157), an attractive example of the *pastourelle* genre; and 60(178), a witty, ironical commentary on the cruelty and unreality of the conventions of courtly love. I quote the first stanza of the last-mentioned piece, with Walsh's translation:

1. Volo virum vivere   viriliter;
    diligam, si diligar   equaliter.
    sic amandum censeo,   non aliter.
    hac in parte fortior   quam Iupiter,
      nescio procari
      commercio vulgari;
    amaturus forsitan,   volo prius amari.
                                    60(178).1

1. I want to live a man's life, as a man should.
    I'll plight my love if I'm loved on equal terms.
    This is my idea of right loving, no other way.
    To this extent I'm a better person than Jupiter—
    I can't woo a woman by a common transaction.
    Perhaps I'll give my love, but I want to be loved first.

A few points of criticism and disagreement in details:

> 7(67).4a: Walsh translates *naris eminentia / producitur venuste / quadam temperantia; / nec nimis erigitur / nec premitur / iniuste* as 'The line of her nose extends charmingly with a certain restraint. It neither juts out too sharply nor is unduly bulbous'. But *premitur* cannot imply 'bulbous'. The contrast here must be between excessive prominence and excessive *snubness*. (Walsh's translation seems to be at odds with his commentary *ad loc.*)

> 10(70).12a-12b: On p. 37 Walsh argues (mistakenly, I think) against Dronke and others that these stanzas should not be given to the girl. He says that the sentiments here (*In trutina mentis dubia / fluctuant contraria /*

lascivus amor et pudicitia) are 'too indelicate' for her. But they are surely no more 'indelicate' than the sentiment of stanza 15 (*totam subdo tibi me*), which certainly belongs to the girl.

11(71).2b: Walsh wrongly translates *merule* as 'lark'. (In 3[58].1, a very similar passage, he correctly translates the same word as 'blackbird'.)

29(92).72: Walsh translates *vertex est pennatus* (of Cupid) as 'his shoulders winged'. Clearly this is what our normal conception of the god would demand. But *vertex* can only mean 'head'. Either we must emend to a word like *armus* or take it that Cupid is imagined here as something like Mercury, with winged brows or cap.

On several passages involving questions of *double entendre* or obscenity, Walsh seems to me to go astray. For instance, how can *telum* in 16(76).6 suggest 'penis'? The view of anatomy implied by the context (*telum fero pectore*) would be positively bizarre. By contrast Walsh makes no comment on the obvious *double entendre* of *ferule* in 24(84).2: *sed tremula virguncula . . . ut primula discipula / nondum subiecta ferule, / tremit ad blanditias*. And he seems unnecessarily cautious in his comment on 60(178).4 (*casto pene similis Hippolyto*): 'There may be a *double entendre* in *pene* here'. Finally, also in 60(178).4, the gesture referred to in the phrase [*me*] *seducat . . . digito* is clearly one of *invitation*; it is simply the beckoning gesture with the curved index finger. Walsh's comments on the obscene gesture with the middle finger—a gesture of dismissal—are beside the point. (Both the passages Walsh cites, Martial 6.70.5f. and Juvenal 10.53, refer to rude *dismissal*.)

But these are minor criticisms. This is an excellent book, learned but never pedantic, a pleasure to read, stimulating one to read more widely in medieval poetry. The book is beautifully produced by the University of North Carolina Press. I found no more than a couple of insignificant misprints.

UNDE ANIMAE EXCITANTUR

T. P. Wiseman, *Talking to Virgil: A Miscellany*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992. Pp. 212 + xii, incl. 8 plates and 11 figures. ISBN 0-85989-375-8. UK£12.95.
Christopher Stray, *The Living Word: W. H. D. Rouse and the Crisis of Classics in Edwardian England*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992. Pp. v + 89, incl. 5 figures. ISBN 1-85399-262-3. UK£5.95

Anne Gosling
Department of Classics, University of Natal
Durban 4001

The title essay of Wiseman's miscellany will be of particular interest to South African scholars who remember a visit to the Universities of the Witwatersrand and

Cape Town in 1950 by W. F. Jackson Knight, of which his friend T. J. Haarhoff, professor at the former, subsequently wrote 'he was a great success although he was a difficult guest' (p. 196). *Mutatis mutandis*, the remark could probably be applied to Jackson Knight's career as a whole: he must often have been an awkward colleague, yet many remember him as an inspiring teacher; his contribution to Virgil studies was immense, yet he was never really accepted by the scholarly establishment.

Wiseman begins this portrait of Jackson Knight with observations about the originality of his approach, his use of lateral thinking and incorporation of up-to-date anthropological research in his study of the *Aeneid*. Jackson Knight was drawn by Jung's theory of the collective unconscious, and his increasing incorporation of the mystical in his scholarly work and commitment to reincarnation made some regard him with suspicion. Haarhoff shared his interests and was moreover a practising spiritualist. They first met in 1935, although they had already been corresponding for some time,[1] and it was Haarhoff who was responsible for recommending Jackson Knight to a post at Exeter, where he spent the rest of his working life.[2] Haarhoff believed himself to be in communication with Heraclitus, among others, and in 1951 first made contact with Virgil, initially through a medium, but increasingly through automatic writing. Both on his own account and on behalf of Jackson Knight, who had begun work on his Penguin translation of the *Aeneid* in the same year, he consulted Virgil on the meaning of disputed passages in the epic, and he reported that Virgil expressed great interest in the translation. Wiseman's use of the letters from Haarhoff to Jackson Knight in these years,[3] in conjunction with the published translation, makes fascinating reading; clearly Haarhoff, or Haarhoff's Virgil, influenced Jackson Knight's translation, but equally clearly Jackson Knight kept his critical faculties alert and did not blindly accept everything Haarhoff reported Virgil to have said.

Wiseman presents a balanced assessment of Jackson Knight, generous to his merits, not blind to his shortcomings, and sensitive to the experiences and influences that shaped his extraordinary personality. There are other essays in the book that deal with scholars, amateurs and characters of the world of classical learning, archaeology, antiquarian studies and letters; two on classical influences in the work of Gerard Manley Hopkins and Anthony Powell respectively; and some that explore

---

[1]   Some at least of the letters are preserved in the archives of the Universities of Exeter and the Witwatersrand.

[2]   He retired in 1961 and died in 1964, but anecdotes of the man who used to put an empty chair next to him when he was lecturing so that Virgil could sit and listen still abounded when this reviewer became a student at Exeter in 1965.

[3]   There are unfortunately none quoted from Jackson Knight to Haarhoff for this period. Professor D. B. Saddington has kindly checked the archives at the University of the Witwatersrand on my behalf and reports that the letters are not arranged by date and there are none for the period specified.

the history of sites in Rome and Italy from ancient times through the vicissitudes of the Papal period, the Renaissance, the romantic ruins of the eighteenth century and the city-planning of the nineteenth. 'The Giants' Revenge' is an elegant portrait of the area around the Bay of Naples, from its legendary beginnings—Giants, and Hercules' construction of a road and dam—through its occupation by Oscans, Greeks, Etruscans, Samnites, Romans, to its fiery end. Instead of Pliny's well-known eye-witness account of the eruption of Vesuvius, Wiseman gives us Martial and Dio, and the elegance of this brief essay, originally published in *History Today*, is complemented by the charm of the eighteenth century translations Wiseman has chosen to use.

One impression that emerges in different ways from these essays is the continuity of antiquity in the European tradition: we are apt to think of the ancient world as a separate culture bounded by the books and museum cases in which it is locked up, but Europe has lived with its visible remains in the environment, as much as with its intellectual legacy. The essay entitled 'Julius Caesar and the *Mappa Mundi*' has much to tell about the survival of classical knowledge into the world of Medieval Europe. Three Medieval world maps, probably derived from a lost map made for Henry III in 1235, refer to a world survey commissioned by Julius Caesar. From two extant texts dating from late antiquity Wiseman traces the transmission of the versions of Caesar's survey through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and then goes on to discuss the likelihood that texts of the fourth or fifth century AD accurately record an enterprise undertaken in the first century BC, and to attempt a reconstruction, based on the progress of Caesar's conquests, of the circumstances in which the survey was carried out and presumably brought to completion by Agrippa.

In 'Killing Caligula' Wiseman raises the question of what the assassins expected to happen after the killing of Gaius and points to the theme of liberty and the laws that pervades the version of Josephus. He demonstrates that the literary tradition, supported by coin evidence, shows that this connection of liberty and the laws belongs to republican ideals and that a concomitant idea was that of justifiable tyrannicide; Chaerea and his friends were expecting to restore the republic. Wiseman reminds us that the division between Republic and Principate was not as clear-cut to contemporaries as it is to modern historians. This is an illuminating exploration, by way of historical writings, drama, letters, speeches, prosopography, coins, of what first century Romans—senatorial nobility on the one hand, and the army and populace on the other—thought about the principate. It is an article one would readily recommend to students for its content and methodology.

The final essay, 'Uncivil Discourse', will strike a ruefully familiar note among South African university teachers, with its tale of cuts in university funding and unsympathetic attitudes in government towards the humanities. Wiseman's vigorous criticism of the inequities of Thatcherite education policy makes bracing reading.

This is a delightful book, one which amply demonstrates how versatile

Wiseman is, from cartography to the sonnets of Hopkins, dabbling in depth, always to be taken seriously, always securely grounded in scholarly evidence. Latin quotations are either translated or paraphrased, so that the book is accessible to the classical civilisation student and the non-specialist reader; and this (idle) reviewer welcomes the return of footnotes to the bottom of the page, where they can be easily consulted, instead of at the back of the volume. It is a book wholly within the humanist tradition; and it is a book classicists will love to give like-minded friends for Christmas.

Like several of Wiseman's essays, Christopher Stray's study of W. H. D. Rouse recalls for current readers the life and times of a notable classicist of an earlier generation.[4] Stray's title reflects his view of Rouse's driving compulsion, a reaction against the unrealistic grind of rote-learned grammar and a commitment to the appreciation of Greek and Latin as living, usable languages: Rouse's pupils learnt not only to read, but to converse in Latin. Stray implies repeatedly (though without substantiating the idea from Rouse's writings or the reminiscences of those who knew him) that the religious fervour presumably inherited by this son of Baptist missionary parents was redirected into proselytising for the Direct Method; the book ends with an acknowledgement of the debt of modern Classics teaching 'to Rouse and his gospel of the living word'.

Rouse had a distinguished career at Cambridge, taking firsts in both parts of the Classical Tripos, and was a Sanskrit scholar as well as a classicist. After a six-year fellowship at Christ's College, he became a schoolmaster and eventually headmaster of the Perse School, Cambridge, which he took over at a time of financial crisis and put on a sound footing. His educational credo included a firm belief in the need for the involvement of both hand and eye; outside the classics curriculum, he pressed for the teaching of natural sciences by observation[5] and the learning of crafts. With his friend T. E. Page he became one of the founding editors of the Loeb Classical Library and was still actively involved in translation work throughout his retirement. (In a letter quoted on pp. 67f., Dorothy Sayers says his translations of Greek tragedies 'are very pleasant to read and contain many lines of quite remarkable beauty', but takes him to task for some 'expressions with which any actor would have difficulty'.) In 1911 Rouse was instrumental in starting a highly successful series of Summer Schools for teachers, followed by the establishment of the Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching in 1913; later he was to make gramophone records on the pronunciation of Greek and a Latin course for Linguaphone.

Stray has produced a carefully researched and meticulously documented study of Rouse's teaching life. Biographical details serve only to provide the framework for the account of his 'secular mission' and of 'its relationship to the crisis of

---

[4] Rouse was born in Calcutta in 1863 and died in 1950.

[5] He was, however, inimical to 'stupid materialism' and to attempts to steer education more towards the sciences and away from the classics (p. 44 and n. 105).

classical studies in late Victorian and Edwardian England' (p. 7). In consequence the account lacks something of the personal warmth that might have turned Rouse into a character for the reader, rather than a phenomenon; anecdotes and personal reminiscences are few and are often relegated to the footnotes. Only in the final chapter, dealing with Rouse's retirement activities, does the book really come to life, and then it is more through the irreverent vigour of Ezra Pound's epistolary expletives than through real personal insight into Rouse himself. Perhaps Rouse's commitment to the 'living word' (and his known aversion to paperwork) meant that he came across more vividly in spoken contact than in his writing, though Stray refers to numerous pamphlets, articles and the like promoting his teaching method and educational ideals. At any rate, the book tends to be pedestrian, abounding in passages such as 'Amid such disappointments, Rouse was cheered by the successful careers of two of his ex-pupils, Frank Lockwood and Cyril Peckett. Both became headmasters, and both carried on and adapted the Direct Method for the next generation': dry, factual cataloguing, not quickened by any 'living word' on the subject from Rouse himself or Lockwood or Peckett, or anyone who knew them.[6]

A few computer-generated gremlins have escaped the proof-reader. The chapter heading 'Early Life' recurs twice in subsequent chapters (pp. 45 and 57). Some opening quotation marks are printed in reverse, as in notes 135, 146. On p. 42, note 96 should be numbered 97, and on p. 68, 'spech' should read 'speech'.

READING LATIN FOR LAWYERS

John L. Hilton, *An Introduction to Latin*. Durban: University of Natal, Department of Classics, 1991. 5 vols. *Grammar*: pp. 117, ISBN 0-86980-773-0; *Exercises*: pp. 103, ISBN 0-86980-775-7; *Vocabulary*: pp. 106, ISBN 0-86980-776-5; *Reading and Background*: 0-86980-777-3; *Reference*: pp. 103, ISBN 0-86980-774-9. Set: ISBN 0-86980-772-2. R50.

Jo-Marie Claassen
Department of Latin, University of Stellenbosch
Stellenbosch 7600

This concise *Introduction to Latin* is clearly aimed at a very specific target group: university students who have the statutory obligation to complete one year of university Latin towards ultimate admission to the Bar. It comes in five small

---

[6] In fairness, the book does not pretend to be a full-scale biography. But the formula 'x + y + z = a' is dry compared with 'oranges + apples + bananas = fruit salad' and the writing is too often formulaic rather than graphic. A recent article by C. W. E. Peckett, 'The Oral Method', *JACT Review* 11 (Summer 1992) 4-8, makes livelier reading and is in some aspects more informative.

volumes, A5 size, of about a hundred pages each. The five parts comprise *Vocabulary*, *Reading and Background*, *Grammar*, *Exercises* and *Reference*. A sixth volume, comprising a teachers' handbook and a short exposition of the author's teaching theory, would be a welcome addition. As the work now stands, it has, from the student's point of view, an admirable lack of theory. Teachers would, however, welcome some methodological guidance. A seventh volume with a students' commentary on the texts would also not come amiss.

A table of contents, listing order of presentation in twenty-four chapters, seems to indicate that the *Grammar* volume can be usefully applied, a chapter per week, in the usual twenty-eight academic weeks of a university year, with a little leeway at either end. The order of presentation is usual to the grammar-translation method of time-hallowed traditional beginners' books like Ritchie. What is unusual is the organisation into 'classes A and B' based on the relationship of nominal and adjectival forms of the traditional first/second declensions and the third declension (with the relatively infrequent forms of the fourth and fifth declensions), respectively. Such organisation will tend towards reducing students' rote learning. The basic relationship between the morphology of nouns and adjectives is stressed, with consequent simplification. Students may, however, find a little confusing the grouping together of first and second conjugation verbs into another 'class A' and third, mixed and fourth conjugation verbs into another 'class B' on the basis of differences in the formation of the future tense.

Unfortunately the exigencies of A5 presentation apparently preclude 'horizontal' presentation of noun and adjective forms with their English equivalents in the *Reference* volume. A 'horizontal' presentation of the complete nominal paradigm would show students certain basic characteristics of all nominal forms (e.g., *-m* accusative singular, *-(e)i/-is* alternation for the genitive singular, almost consistent vowel lengthening in the ablative singular, the accusative plural *-s* with lengthened vowel (except for neuter words), the relationship between *-a/o/u(r)um* genitive plurals, and the regularity of *-i(bu)s* dative and ablative plurals. There are other minor points that I disagree with in this *Reference* volume, for example, its emphasis on the difference between 'non-increasing' and 'increasing' nouns in its class B (third declension nouns), the order in which comparison of adjectives is set out, and the exposition of the paradigms of verbs (there being no visual indication of the relationship of present stem verbs and perfect stem verbs, except for the deponents).

These objections are, however, almost wholly related to format. The content and presentation of the *Grammar* volume are admirable. It treats Latin learning 'cognitively', that is, with emphasis on recognition of structure. The novelty of its approach lies in the stress it appears to lay on students' need to understand structures in English before being shown the Latin equivalent (e.g., p. 59 on participles). An assumption that formal English grammar is not necessarily familiar to the student underlies this approach. This is particularly welcome in the South African context, where not all learners are familiar with colloquial spoken English,

since many speak it only as a second or third language. The author appears to have taken the best of the modern, structural approaches and fused these to traditional grammatical terminology.

One of the most positive aspects of the relationship between the *Grammar* and *Reference* volumes is frequent cross-referencing. The manner in which the *Reference* volume organises its summary of syntactic uses (pp. 68-78) is extremely useful. After a student has gradually learned the morphology and use of cases, this summary gives a new perspective based on sentence structure and on the fact that the verb is the most important 'growth point' in a Latin sentence. The exposition of case usage is organised around 'verbs requiring a particular case as complement', similar sections for adjectives and nouns (which leads to various uses of the genitive), and a section entitled 'special uses', or adverbial modifications (pp. 75-77). Prepositions are organised in relation to the case they govern. Here I differ with the author (p. 78) on his inclusion of the (explanatory) ablatives of *causa* and *gratia* as prepositions ('strictly postpositions') taking the genitive. A section on word structure (suffixes and prefixes, pp. 79-90) is followed by a list of grammatical terms (pp. 91-100).

It is not possible ever canonically to fix the ideal order of presentation of grammatical features. The presentation in the *Grammar* volume of relatively infrequent gerundives (Chapter 13) before frequent relative clauses (Chapter 14) may strike the traditionally inclined teacher as bizarre. When it is realised, however, that the author has attempted to tie all new grammar to the reading passages (that is, from Chapter 4 onward) and that the content of the readings follows a logical order, then this objection should fall away.

In general, the simplified grammatical exposition is to be welcomed, as in Chapter 16 on adverbial clauses, where 'mood' is omitted, and in the explanation of case usage in the *Reference* volume referred to above. Sometimes description in the *Grammar* volume is, however, unnecessarily complicated (e.g., 'adjectives governing nouns' [p. 55], 'countable and uncountable nouns' [p. 56]). A particularly good feature of the *Grammar* volume is, however, the global manner in which the presentation of subordinate clauses is organised, particularly Chapter 22 (uses of *cum*), and the relegation of relatively infrequent conditional clauses to the last chapter (24).

Texts in *Reading and Background* accompany all but the first three chapters of *Grammar*. The choice of texts is very good, starting from a simplified version of Plautus' *Pseudolus* and progressing rapidly to readings from Gaius, Justinian's *Digesta*, Cicero's *Verrines*, and finally Livy. All except the readings from Plautus have a legal thrust or illustrate matters such as the struggle for democratic reform, the place of women in Roman society, and the use and abuse of power, all matters of intrinsic interest to South African students of today. The last passage from Livy, on intermarriage between the orders, will be of particular interest when students compare it with the recent repeal of South Africa's notorious marriage laws.

The second half of the aforementioned volume comprises a short history of

the Roman world, the Roman government, army and imperialism, and the Roman family and family names (by the author) and contributions by colleagues on the administration of justice in Roman times, Roman religion, Roman money, and on Roman houses and property. The wide range of topics is admirable, but illustrations are lacking, particularly maps of the Roman empire, Italy and Rome, and a floor plan of a Roman house.

Vocabulary comprises three parts: first, an index (pp. 1-36) of all word forms occurring in the course, with the frequency of each word, its base form (where applicable), and a reference to each occurrence (passage and sentence) in the reading passages. Next an extensive vocabulary list (pp. 37-83) gives the principal parts and basic meanings of all the words in the reading passages and exercises, comprising something over 2000 individual entries. The third list (pp. 84-101) comprises some 500 of the most frequent words, ostensibly from the last-mentioned list. In spite of some minor quibbles, I find the abbreviated word list representative of Diederich's list;[1] the volume as a whole is admirably suited to its purpose as reference, basic dictionary and vocabulary learner.

As has become apparent above, the activities in the *Exercises* volume are also tied to individual *Grammar* chapters, repeat suitable vocabulary, and expand on what has been introduced in the *Reading and Background* volume. Exercises are varied and are aimed at both testing and teaching understanding of grammatical concepts. Much use is made of English or English-Latin combined (e.g., Ch. 22, ex. 1: 'State the function and meaning of the *cum* conjunction in the following English sentences. What mood would the Latin verb be in?').

Traditionally inclined teachers may be worried that so little is made of the need for students to be able to name (i.e., label) the case, tense or mood of Latin words, but if it is accepted that something must be left out in a concise, one-year course, such labelling may be considered a luxury that is discardable. There are, however, useful exercises in stating the function and meaning of subordinate clauses. A further 'luxury' that I consider discardable would be to leave out sentences to be translated into Latin in favour of exercises in relating case usage of nouns to the verbs that require such a case (i.e., structural analysis).

In spite of certain reservations expressed in the course of my discussion, I find *An Introduction to Latin* an admirable work, well suited to the aims of any university that hopes to give its law students a meaningful glimpse into the Roman legal world while complying with the minimum statutory requirement of one year of Latin for aspirants to the Bar. I can thoroughly recommend the course as an entity. Its *Reading* and *Vocabulary* volumes could also be usefully employed as setwork for the new optional 'Legal Latin' module accepted into the new core syllabus for Latin in high schools.

---

[1]   *The Frequency of Latin Words and Their Endings* (Chicago 1939).

REVIEWS

Michael Dewar (ed. and tr.), *Statius:* Thebaid *IX. Edited with an English Translation and Commentary*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991. Pp. xlix + 232. ISBN 0-19-814480-6. UK£32.50.

This edition of Statius, *Thebaid* 9, which developed from a commentary accepted for a D.Phil. at Oxford, conforms to all the requirements of the genre. In addition to the commentary, which has been revised, there is an edited text, apparatus criticus, prose translation and introduction. Dewar's commentary is an important addition to the commentaries of Fortgens on *Thebaid* 4.1-295 (Zutphen 1934), Mulder on Book 2 (diss. Groningen 1954), Snijder on Book 3 (Amsterdam 1968), Venini on Book 11 (Florence 1970), Williams on Book 10 (Leiden 1972) and Smolenaars on 7.1-451 (diss. Amsterdam 1983).

The introduction covers Statius' life and works, particularly the *Thebaid*: themes and characters, the text, sources, language, style, metre, the Parthenopaeus episode, and Statius and European literature. Although his introduction is generally a useful one, Dewar views the *Thebaid* in traditional critical terms. The deaths of key figures such as Tydeus, Hippomedon and Parthenopaeus 'are due punishment for their sins' (p. xxiii). Dewar completely ignores the cruelty and injustice of Jupiter and other supernatural powers in bringing about their downfalls. The only evidence for his assertion that their 'deaths have been ordained by Fate as part of Jupiter's plan to cleanse both the wicked cities of Thebes and Argos' (p. xxiii) is Jupiter's own specious argument in 1.214-47. On the contrary, the deaths of Hippomedon, Parthenopaeus and even Tydeus are due to the harmful machinations of the gods and not at all due to inherent human sin. Dewar's concluding sentence to the section in which he briefly treats the themes of *Thebaid* 9—'In the dark world of the *Thebaid* even the gods may suffer the injustice of man' (p. xxvii)—would accurately portray the relationship between the gods and humankind if it were to read: 'In the dark world of the *Thebaid* man is made to suffer the injustice of the gods'.

Although Book 9 has been viewed as one of the *Thebaid*'s less successful books, it plays an important role in stressing not only the destructiveness and futility of war and violence but also the powerlessness and ignorance of humanity. Dewar is on better critical ground when he examines aspects of these themes in the introduction. He rightly points out that characters such as Parthenopaeus and Atalanta 'come to symbolize the wasteful destructiveness of war and the suffering

of the innocent bystanders' (p. xxvi). The futility of violence and human strength is seen in the fates of certain characters who appear in Book 9 such as Hippomedon and Parthenopaeus, whose deaths follow almost immediately in the wake of their own *androktasiai*. That war has a definite reality in terms of its human cost is evidenced especially in the appearance of the youthful Crenaeus and Parthenopaeus just prior to their deaths on the battlefield. Crenaeus is misled by the superficial glamour of war and foolishly takes to the battlefield untrained in the art of combat (319ff.). The description of Parthenopaeus just prior to his brief *aristeia* (683ff.) reveals that he too is uninformed about the true perils of war and unaware of the imminence of his death (cf. 570ff.). Parthenopaeus shows a boyish enthusiasm for slaughter (683) and fascination with his splendid accoutrements and clangorous weapons (694ff.); to him war is a game (785f.). The intoxication of these youths with the imagined glory of war and their ignorance concerning its real dangers leads directly to their untimely ends. In no sense can their tragic deaths be said to have achieved anything remotely positive. This complete waste of human life bears testimony to the total futility of war as presented elsewhere in the *Thebaid*.

Minor criticisms of the introduction include Dewar's use of the outdated pejorative term 'Silver' in referring to postclassical Latin poetry, his subjective judgements concerning matters of Statius' style and descriptions (e.g., 'More successful are the grisly details sketched in a few words', p. xxxiii), his unhelpful remarks on the *Thebaid*'s structure (e.g., 'it seems best to regard it as a deliberately episodic work', pp. xvii-xviii), and some questionable assertions concerning particular scenes (e.g., 'its titillating sensualism will no doubt have seemed to some further proof of the degeneracy of contemporary society', p. xxxviii). However, these minor criticisms are more than offset by what is Dewar's greatest single contribution in the introduction: his engaging discussion of Statius' influence on later European literature (pp. xxxvii-xlviii), which scholars interested in *Nachleben* will find especially valuable.

The text and apparatus are dependent largely upon the 1983 edition of D. E. Hill. In fact Dewar departs from Hill's text in only twenty-one places (p. xxvii). The facing translation is fluent and readable (if literal and plainly worded), but it suffers from the inevitable drawbacks that result from a prose translation of a verse text (see *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 4.3 [1993] 187-92); partly as a consequence of this, it does not seem to me to be an improvement upon Mozley's 1928 Loeb translation. Nor does the commentary, since it is not a *literary* one, tell us much what the *Thebaid* is *about*. However, students of Statius will find much of lexical and philological value. The discussion throughout of his diction, style, metre and *imitatio* represents a major contribution to Statian scholarship. Hence Dewar's place among contemporary scholars of the poet is assured through this single work alone.

William J. Dominik   *University of Natal, Durban*

John Dillon and Jackson Hershbell (edd. and trr.), *Iamblichus: On the Pythagorean Way of Life. Text, Translation, and Notes.* Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991. Pp. ix + 285. ISBN 1-55540-523-1. US$29.95.

Iamblichus' *De Vita Pythagorica* (*On the Pythagorean Way of Life*) is the first of a multi-volume work *On Pythagoreanism* in which Iamblichus attempts to offer a new programme for philosophy on Pythagorean principles.[1] The *De Vita Pythagorica* probably functioned as a moral propaedeutic within this programme: it gives an exposition of the Pythagorean (and, by implication, the true philosophical) way of life as exemplified by the life and teachings of Pythagoras and other Pythagoreans. For modern scholars, the *De Vita Pythagorica* is a significant text mainly for two reasons: it is an important source for ancient Pythagoreanism, since it incorporates many earlier testimonies, sometimes verbatim; and it provides invaluable evidence for the religiosity and philosophy of Late Antiquity. According to Dillon and Hershbell, '*On the Pythagorean Way of Life* can be seen as a kind of protreptic summation of the whole ethical tradition of Greek philosophy, a tradition in which all the schools agreed, that philosophy was not simply a set of doctrines, but a whole way of life' (p. 29). Since the only existing English translation of this text was a most unsatisfactory work by Thomas Taylor (1818), Dillon and Hershbell have done the broader scholarly community a great service with the present publication.[2] Following the requirements of the SBL Texts and Translations series, the present work contains a brief (29-page) introduction, the Teubner text of the *De Vita Pythagorica* (ed. L. Deubner; rev. U. Klein [Stuttgart 1975]), a translation and a few brief notes.

The introduction has sections on 'The Importance of Iamblichus' Treatise for Graeco-Roman Philosophy and Religion', 'The Legend of Pythagoras', 'The Biographical Tradition', 'Pythagorean Communities', 'Iamblichus: Life and Works' and 'Form and Structure of *On the Pythagorean Way of Life*'. As may be expected from scholars like Dillon and Hershbell, the introduction gives an excellent survey of the history of research on this text. The various sections are regrettably brief, although 'The Biographical Tradition' and 'Iamblichus: Life and Works' are exemplary introductions on these topics. The final section sparkles with stimulating suggestions: the work should be viewed as a gospel—perhaps it even reflects knowledge of the Christian gospels; it is 'a kind of protreptic summation of the whole ethical tradition of Greek philosophy' (p. 29); the repetitions within the work are probably due to its pedagogical function in 'the initial training of pupils in Iamblichus' own school' (p. 28). One wishes that the authors could have expanded

---

[1] See Dominic J. O'Meara, *Pythagoras Revived: Mathematics and Philosophy in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 1989).

[2] Another translation of the *De Vita Pythagorica* by G. Clark, *On the Pythagorean Life* (Liverpool 1989), has appeared only a couple of years earlier than Dillon and Hershbell's, but it is meant for a more popular audience.

on these suggestions, especially on the rationale of the composition, and on the function and social setting of the *De Vita Pythagorica*, but at least they have provided us with pointers for future research.

The Teubner text is reproduced unchanged without apparatus, with only a few sparse notes relating to possible alternative readings. The translation is, on the whole, a faithful rendering of the Greek text; special effort has been made to give an approximation of Iamblichus' somewhat ponderous style in English. The notes are useful and to the point, but this text deserves more extensive commentary; it is to be hoped that either the authors themselves or somebody else inspired by this translation will provide us with a full treatment of this fascinating text. Dillon and Hershbell's translation is heartily recommended for students and scholars interested in the philosophy and ethics of Late Antiquity, as well as for those interested in the Pythagorean tradition in general.

Johan C. Thom   *University of Stellenbosch*

Two centuries after its founder had been buried between the twelve apostles Constantinople wore its Christianity with surprising uneasiness. Ordinary people were Christian and fiercely orthodox: Justinian's lavish rebuilding of Constantine's Hagia Sophia Church was aimed at earning popular support after the Nika riots of 532. But while street-level popularity was won by shows of Christian zeal, the wealthy Byzantine bureaucracy hid a matrix of pagan sympathizers.

Michael Maas profiles John Lydus, a sixth-century civil servant whose career in the Praetorian Prefecture started brilliantly but ended in embitterment. When Zoticus, from Lydus' home town of Philadelphia, became Praetorian Prefect in 511, he gave the twenty-one year old hopeful a job as an *exceptor*, a shorthand secretary. This modest-sounding post brought in a thousand gold *solidi* in fees in the first year, over and above the official salary. But there was more. Lydus soared to the corps of *a secretis*, the bureau that supplied the men who did the emperor's own paperwork. This was based at the imperial palace but Lydus was allowed to keep his post in the Prefecture as well. Then in 524 a new law banned the holding of two public offices. Lydus chose to resign his palace job and pursue a career in the Prefecture. It was the cautious choice.

Staying in the Prefecture looked all right in the medium term. In 532 John the Cappadocian was sacked as Praetorian Prefect and Phocas, who comes across as a hero in Lydus' *De Magistratibus*, was given the job. It was Lydus' finest hour. As a Latin specialist in the Greek-speaking Byzantine civil service, he was commissioned to compose a Latin panegyric and speak it in front of visiting

dignitaries. The moment in the limelight did not last. By October 532, as the Nika riots receded into the past, Justinian felt more secure on the throne and John the Cappadocian was reinstated as Prefect. John Lydus never received another promotion in the Prefecture.

The first two of his surviving books (*De Mensibus* and *De Ostentis*) come from the years in the 540s when hopes of advancement were blocked. The last and bitterest, the *De Magistratibus*, in which he writes about the traditions of his own government department, was written during his retirement in the 550s. Maas examines the works for what they show about their author and Justinian's Constantinople. Throughout all three books, Lydus avoids any discussion of Christianity or any reflection of the Christian society in which he lived. His reticence about Christian features of the deeply Christianized society he lived in looks back to a pagan tradition: in the late fourth century, when bishops had been building basilicas and whispering in the emperor's ear for two generations, Ammianus Marcellinus could still write of the Christians and 'their leaders, whom they call "bishops"' as if his readers needed the elucidation. But Lydus' usage has gone past affectation and reaches the realm of paradox. There is no suggestion that contemporaries suspected Lydus of pagan sympathies. Yet it was easy for people in the public eye to fall victim to such suspicions. Procopius in his *Persian War* says that John the Cappadocian muttered pagan prayers under his breath while in church and in 579 even a Patriarch of Antioch was accused of performing pagan rites. Lydus, on the other hand, was made a professor at the imperial school in the 540s in the wake of one of Justinian's anti-pagan purges. The suggestion that profiting from action taken against pagans must have embarrassed Lydus may seem plausible, granted Lydus' apparent lack of Christian zeal, but as there is no written evidence on the point it remains only Maas' own inference.

Throughout the book, Maas returns to this problem of a Christian acting up the part of an old-time pagan strictly on the written page. Justinian was sharpening the Christian-pagan distinction to some extent because militant Christianity provided a card he could play against people who might want to treat the government as greater than the individual emperor. Probably this made Lydus uncomfortable and certainly his antiquarian writings represent a line of thought that opposed Justinian's way of doing things. However, Maas is a bit quick to read Justinian as motivated mainly by fanatical pro-Christian feelings; he even warns his readers not to be intolerant like Justinian (p. 77). The corollary is that he wants to give great weight to Lydus' work as an expression of a more tolerant and humane impulse.

It is too easy to take Lydus at his own evaluation of himself. Maas notes that 'within the offices of the eastern Prefecture . . . Latin had been abolished by Cyrus (Prefect 439-41), much to Lydus' dismay' (p. 32). 'Dismay' is the wrong word. This had been done fifty years before Lydus was born. To think one's department is going to the dogs may define one as old-fashioned, but a man who thinks it went to the dogs seventy years before he joined it is deliberately exempting himself from discussion of real issues.

But then that was John Lydus from beginning to end. From his student years he specialized in Latin, by this time a language not much needed in government. Maas sums up Lydus' non-Christian view of society as a 'wilful denial of reality' (p. 117), but there is more that must be drawn from the personal side. John Lydus followed an obscure specialism. He left the palace for the relative backwater of the Prefecture. He stayed stubbornly loyal to a boss who had only held office momentarily. He was a man who did everything to avoid accepting the responsibility (and risks) that exerting his abilities fully could have brought.

Paul McKechnie   *University of Auckland*

Michael W. Taylor, *The Tyrant Slayers: The Heroic Image in Fifth Century BC Athenian Art and Politics*[2]. Salem: Ayer, 1991. Pp. xxi + 115, incl. 37 plates. ISBN 0-88143-113-3. US$25.

Taylor sets out to analyse the significance of the Tyrannicides' statues set up in the Athenian Agora, and their subsequent influence on art and literature throughout the fifth century. Chapter I, 'Athenian Laws and Customs Regarding the Tyrannicides', factually establishes the fame of Harmodios and Aristogeiton and the public honours paid to them and their descendants. Chapter II, 'The Statue Groups of the Tyrannicides', looks briefly at the evidence for the first 'Antenor' group stolen by Xerxes and for the replacement by Kritios and Nesiotes. It is anomalous that neither here, where arguably most relevant, nor in the later chapters tracing visual influence, where most needed, does this monograph offer a single illustration showing the statues' appearance.[1] Nevertheless, Taylor does show that the statues were a 'tangible symbol of Athenian liberty . . . an heroic image which was ever present and ready for emulation' (p. 19). This is an important premise for what is essentially his main thesis in the fourth chapter, that the representations of Theseus on vases between about 470 and 450 BC were deliberately composed after the pattern of Harmodios or Aristogeiton.

First, however, Taylor offers in Chapter III, 'The Tyrannicide Scolia and Epigram', discussion of the elevation of Harmodios and Aristogeiton to a heroic, even Homeric, level by the associations of the words and images used in the skolia. Most times when Taylor quotes texts in the original he provides an English translation, but in a few instances he fails to do so (e.g., in the case of the epigram of Simonides, p. 32); where the text is the subject of discussion, this could be a

---

[1]   Either in the form of the Naples versions (Naples, Mus. Naz. inv. 6009/6010) or, less controversially, of vase-painting representations such as the panathenaic amphora London B 605 (J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford 1956) [hereafter *ABV*] 411,4—wrongly listed by Taylor on p. 109 as *ABV* 411,1), where Athene's shield has the pair as a blazon.

drawback for the 'general reader' anticipated in the Introduction (pp. xii-xvi), which gives the historical background to the act of tyrannicide.

Chapter IV, 'The Tyrannicides and the Labors of Theseus in Vase-Painting', is by far the weightiest section, offering analysis of over fifty vases to show how the manner of representing Theseus established in the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods is reformulated in the 460s and 450s, as vase painters assimilated him variously with Aristogeiton or Harmodios in their famous Kritios and Nesiotes poses. The case is tightly argued and, as references to vases abound, Taylor would have been well advised to have adopted the numbered catalogue system commonly used by those discussing numerous ceramic or epigraphic examples. The assertion that the representation of a long-established mythological character was influenced by the images of historical figures is striking and casts new light on the ancient habit of drawing visual and conceptual analogies between historical and mythological events. Taylor's argument for deliberate assimilation is convincing and well supported by his thirty-seven plates (of varying quality and clarity); his cautious comments on the political connotations of the pose as the century progressed are less conclusive, but are further explored in the last chapter.

Chapter V, 'The Tyrannicide Motif in Monumental Painting and Sculpture', somewhat hypothetical in places owing to the nature of some of the evidence, nevertheless succeeds in tracing a line of development in the major arts which complements the ceramic evidence. Taylor notes that the active pose of Harmodios gradually began to eclipse the defensive one of Aristogeiton. This is a distinction that recurs to more purpose in Chapter VI; at this stage Taylor merely raises the possibility of a conservative 'message' encoded in the placing of Theseus in the pose of Aristogeiton in the frieze directly over the east door of the Hephaisteion.

Chapter VI, 'The Reaction Against the Tyrannicides', evaluates the significance of literary references to the Tyrannicides. Further developing the programmatic interpretation introduced in the previous two chapters, Taylor puts forward a theory that Athenian attitudes to the Tyrannicides hinged on the response to the τόλμα ('dash and bravado') that they were perceived as exemplifying in their deed. For instance, in Thucydides' and Aristophanes' references to Harmodios and Aristogeiton both writers, Taylor suggests, were criticising ἀλόγιστος τόλμα on the part of contemporaries like Cleon and urging Athens toward a more cautious, defensive position. At the end of this short book (pp. 98-109) are lists of ancient sources—literary, epigraphic, numismatic, ceramic and other—which should prove of value to anyone embarking on research on the Tyrannicides.

There are certain flaws in the book: there is an occasional doggedness in the pursuit of every conceivable aspect of a point (e.g., the discussion of the nature of a skolion, pp. 27ff.). As the author acknowledges, the bibliographical references are not complete.[2] The physical presentation of the book is marred in places by

---

[2]   Notable omissions are P. Suter, *Das Harmodiosmotiv* (Basel 1975) and B. Fehr, *Die Tyrannentöter, oder: kann man der Demokratie ein Denkmal setzen?* (Frankfurt 1984).

erratic spacing of letters (especially in the Greek text) and words, and even of lines (in the notes). There are some textual inconsistencies: on p. 39, the Fogg neck-amphora 1960.312 is erroneously said to be 'painted in the manner of Antimenes' (*sic*), while the caption to its photograph in Plate 1 reads 'Group E near Exekias': the attribution is properly Near Exekias, by no means synonymous with Group E.[3] There are transliteration inconsistencies in the text and photograph captions: Kachrylion/Cachrylion (p. 38 and subsequently/captions to pll. 2-5); Stoa Poikile/Poicile (p. 71/p. 97); and this reader prefers skolion to scolion. Few real misprints stand out: an exception is p. 20 n. 8 (Hommole for Homolle). Illustrative omissions must be noted: in addition to the above-mentioned need for illustration of the Tyrannicide group, a plan of the relevant part of the Agora would have made the discussion of the probable position of the group (pp. 16f.) easier to follow.

The Tyrant Slayers is a stimulating book which, as Gregory Nagy writes in his Foreword, demonstrates the idea that 'Harmodios and Aristogeiton achieve immortalization by unwittingly becoming the founding cult-heroes of Athenian Democracy' (p. x). It brings together evidence from archaeology, literature, epigraphy and history in a thought-provoking blend of fact and hypothesis, which should have some impact on scholarly work in the separate disciplines.

E. A. Mackay   *University of Natal, Durban*

B. E. Lewis (tr.), *Latin Literature for Contemporary Readers: An Anthology of Latin Prose and Verse Translated into English with an Introduction and Notes.* Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth Press, 1992. Pp. xv + 159. ISBN 0-86988-493-X. R22.50.

There cannot be many teachers of the Classics in translation who have not at some time wrestled with the problem of which texts to prescribe for their courses. In effect, there are two solutions to the problem: the prescription (or loan) of long lists of translations or the prescription of a single anthology. The first alternative is transparently ineffective. Few students are now able to afford to buy all the prescribed works that are needed, while the loan-and-photocopy system borders on, if it does not actually transgress, the limits laid down by copyright legislation. In addition, few of these texts are suitable for rigorous analysis, since many do not contain the references used in the definitive editions and what little commentary is provided is generally rudimentary. The argument that prescription of a list of translations has the merit of inviting students to read beyond the minimum requirements, since individual editions typically include more material than can be effectively taught, is no more than special pleading. Consequently, the prescription of an anthology of readings has become the only feasible answer to the problem.

---

[3] *ABV* 148 foot and J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford 1971) 62.

It is greatly to the credit of Lewis to have recognised this and to have done something about it. Nevertheless, there are difficulties. These can be reduced to two: what readings to select and how to translate them.

Lewis has chosen approximately one hundred short readings from the whole of Latin literature (from Livius Andronicus to Boethius). The range and extent of the passages selected from the works of the various authors is therefore extremely restricted (despite Lewis' implication on p. xi that her work contains more passages than M. Grant's *Latin Literature: An Anthology*). For example, Lewis prints only ninety-one lines of Plautus, eight paragraphs of Cicero (from *On Friendship*, *On Duties* and the *Philippics*), part of the preface to Livy's history together with one short passage on how the geese saved Rome, and so on. This is due to the fact that the anthology originated as a textbook for use in Lewis' own classes (p. xi). However, as a result, the anthology does not provide enough variety to allow it to be used in courses that differ in structure and content from that of the University of Port Elizabeth. Of course, Lewis does include many passages of great interest in her collection, but what is ideally required is a comprehensive selection of fairly lengthy readings along the lines of the *Norton Anthology of English Poetry*. Such an anthology would provide sufficient extensive readings to be used in a number of heterogeneous Classical Civilisation courses. Alternatively, if the aim of presenting a comprehensive survey of Latin literature were abandoned (as it is, Lewis has only given Cato, Varro, Persius, the elder Seneca and elder Pliny an honourable mention), it would be possible to explore the works of major writers in greater depth.

A second reason for the relatively jejune nature of the readings provided in this book is that Lewis has translated all the passages herself on the grounds that existing translations are inadequate (pp. xii-xiii). Admittedly, dated and inaccurate translations abound, but there are also many good translations available in print, some of them considerable literary achievements in their own right. Surely the first step in producing an anthology would have been to seek permission to reprint already existing translations that do meet the required standard? In general, Lewis' translations are thorough and precise but all of them are rendered in prose. Inevitably this lays Lewis open to her own strictures on translations which do not resemble the original poetry (p. xii). Thus Horace *Odes* 1.9.21-24 (*nunc et latentis proditor intumo / gratus puellae risus ab angulo / pignusque dereptum lacertis / aut digito male pertinaci*) is turned into 'now too for the sweet laughter from a cosy corner which betrays the girl concealed, and the keepsake snatched from the arm or finger which feebly resists'. This is a difficult passage to translate, since in Latin Horace is able to exploit the tension between the semantics of the word order and the syntax of grammatical agreement to give a sense of the ambiguity of the girl's attitude. Nevertheless, the English prose translation is a flattened, two-dimensional representation of the verbal hologram Horace has created.

One of the most attractive features of Lewis' work is undoubtedly the assistance which is provided in the text for students who do not share a knowledge of mythology and history that is frequently assumed by those who teach them. For

such students Lewis has included numerous brief notes and comments (twenty-four on Vergil's fourth *Eclogue*: almost equal to the length of the text of the passage). Lewis also includes a useful, though sketchy, introduction to her anthology together with a table of important writers, showing the genres in which they wrote and their approximate dates. Both the notes and the introduction should be expanded.

There is merit in this carefully produced and painstaking work. It will be necessary, however, to augment the number and length of the selected readings considerably, particularly in the case of the more important authors, if this textbook is to become more widely used.

John L. Hilton   *University of Natal, Durban*

Ann Norris Michelini, *Euripides and the Tragic Tradition*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.[1]   Wisconsin Studies in Classics.   Pp. xvi + 384. US$32.75.

Like Proteus, Euripides assumes a bewildering variety of guises in the hands of his interpreters. To Aristotle he seemed 'the most tragic of poets' (*Poet.* 1453 a.30), while Satyrus said he perfected the features of New Comedy (*POxy.* 1176, fr. 39, col. 7); the women of Aristophanes denounced him as a misogynist (*Thesm.* 383-432), while modern suffragists hail him as an advocate for women's rights;[2] and the atheist who, in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, 'taught men that there are no gods' (450f.), according to some modern critics endorsed conservative piety.[3] These contradictory responses to the plays of Euripides seem to reflect contradictions in the plays themselves—contradictions that scholars now tend to regard as evidence, not of poor writing, but of irony or duplicity or polyphony.[4] Yet if we agree to respect the many shapes of our Protean poet, it would seem that no single description of him is truly right or wrong. In *Euripides and the Tragic Tradition*, Michelini offers a general interpretation of Euripidean drama as a reaction against the norms of tragedy: the ironies and contradictions in his plays reflect a conflict between the tragic tradition of which Euripides was a part and his challenge to the assumptions embodied in that tradition. This way out of the impasse argues that the

---

[1] Although *Scholia* usually reviews books recently published, occasionally older books that have not received due critical attention may be reviewed.

[2] 'British suffragists used to recite speeches from Euripides at their meetings', S. B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves* (New York 1975) 108 [without references].

[3] Most recently J. D. Mikalson, *Honor Thy Gods* (Chapel Hill 1991) 225-36; see also M. Lefkowitz, 'Impiety and Atheism in Euripides' Dramas', *CQ* 39 (1989) 70-82 and D. Kovacs, *The Heroic Muse* (Baltimore 1987) 1-10.

[4] See, for example, P. Vellacott, *Ironic Drama* (Cambridge 1975); H. P. Foley, *Ritual Irony* (Ithaca 1985); and B. Goff, *The Noose of Words* (Cambridge 1990).

plays present not a particular argument or a coherent point of view but a conflict over values traditionally embodied in tragedy.

Part I, 'Toward Interpretation', describes the confused situation of Euripidean criticism and sets forth the author's view of the confrontation between Euripides and his tradition. After a detailed survey of scholarship from the Schlegels to Whitman (Ch. 1), Michelini describes the norm of fifth-century tragedy represented by Sophocles (Ch. 2), the themes of Euripides which shocked the audience by violating this norm (Ch. 3), the formal style which allows abrupt shifts in tone and diminishes organic unity (Ch. 4), and Euripides' sophistic rejection of tragic norms (Ch. 5). Part II, 'Four Plays', applies these observations to the interpretation of selected works. The *Hecuba* reverses tragic aesthetics with its disjointed structure, cynical rhetoric and ugly revenge (Ch. 6); the *Electra* deflates the tragic mode of 'high mimetic' with its domestic and comic detail (Ch. 7); the *Heracles* reveals that traditional and contemporary ideas of man and hero cannot be reconciled (Ch. 8); and in the *Hippolytus* the traditional tragic structure fails to provide a tragic hero (Ch. 9). Finally, there are four brief appendices (on use of the term 'melodrama', on interpretations of the *Alcestis*, on lyrics in the *Hecuba*, and on dating the *Electra*) and an exhaustive bibliography.

Michelini's interpretation is based chiefly upon the contrast between Sophocles and Euripides and the wholesale rejection by Euripides of his rival's approach to tragedy: 'Euripidean drama can be defined in virtually every aspect by the rubric "non-Sophoclean"' (p. 64). This thesis is supported by the review of scholarship, which shows that critics usually fail to understand Euripides when they judge him by Sophoclean standards (Ch. 1), and by a description of the remarkable success and popularity of Sophocles, who thus established a norm for Athenian tragedy (Ch. 2). If we find provocative themes or disjointed structure in Euripidean tragedy, we may regard these as a rejection of Sophocles' decorous and organic style (Chs 3, 4). Although emphasis upon the contrast between the two tragedians 'necessarily produces a somewhat flattened view of Sophokles' (p. xiii), it allows a sympathetic description of unconventional features in Euripides. Less convincing is the insistence that such features are always a reaction against Sophocles: if the *Hecuba* questions received notions about *physis*, this is because 'Sophokles used traditional ideology about *physis* to support a rebirth of the concerns and tone of heroic epic' (p. 140); and if we cannot prove the priority of Sophocles' *Electra*, we must nevertheless consider 'the response of the Euripidean *Elektra* to Sophoclean drama as a whole' (p. 337). Michelini thus attributes the peculiar qualities of Euripidean drama not to the poet's personality, nor to cultural or historical circumstances, but to the anxiety of influence: once Sophocles had perfected the form of tragedy, 'the attempt to renew his art form and to reshape it in his own image, the attempt of every great artist in every period, forced upon Euripides a deviation from the established norm' (p. 99). Unfortunately, this attempt to vindicate the playwright also implies poor sportsmanship: Euripides chose to dismantle the tragic norm because he was no match for Sophocles.

The discussion of individual plays illustrates the tension between traditional and non-traditional, or Sophoclean and anti-Sophoclean, elements in four different examples. This tension is most obvious in the *Electra*, which seems to challenge earlier versions of the legend, and in the *Heracles*, which juxtaposes heroic and non-heroic values; more subtle are the interpretations of the *Hecuba* as an ugly reversal of tragic aesthetics and of the *Hippolytus* as an exceptional union of Euripidean irony with Sophoclean form. Although Michelini gives passing endorsement to structural criticism (p. 121), her approach is practical rather than theoretical and ranges from a structural emphasis upon opposites (heroic/anti-heroic, *spoudaion/geloion*) to a post-structural view of tragedy subverting itself. A good example of the former is the discussion of Heracles as a 'modern hero'. Michelini shows that, although Heracles is Euripides' most heroic protagonist, his comic associations, his non-heroic bow, his civilising exploits and his interest in domestic values allow the hero to embody conflicting cultural values. An example of the latter is Michelini's discussion of the Polyxena scene in the *Hecuba* (pp. 158-70). Rather than viewing the young woman's sacrifice as a noble foil to the cynical plots of the other characters, she argues that the artificial sentimentality of Polyxena's gestures exposes the emptiness of the heroic model. Structural oppositions can sometimes lead to oversimplification. Valuable observations on the comic or 'low mimetic' tone of the opening scenes of the *Electra*, for example (pp. 182-206), lead to an emphasis upon the general contrast between comic and heroic roles, largely neglecting the moral issues of the play. The portrait of Euripides the anti-traditionalist can likewise be overly negative. The useful discussion of inverted values in the *Hecuba*, for example (Ch. 6), leads to the conclusion that 'like the Sophistic itself, the play is both false and valid, empty and futile, yet filled with a demonic energy (*spoude*) that is itself a celebration of the aspirations that it mocks' (p. 180). Does it follow that the play is an intellectual exercise in nihilism? As Reckford reminds us, 'the analysis of ideas should always bring us back in the end: back to Hecuba, back to the horrid shore of Thrace, and back to those basic human feelings and concerns which are . . . our necessary lot'.[5] Michelini's analysis of these plays is illuminating, but the wealth of valuable observations tends to reveal important antitheses without developing a broader interpretation of the drama.

Euripides and the Tragic Tradition asks all the right questions. It forces us to confront the many contradictions in Euripides' work, demonstrates the differences between the literary assumptions of Sophocles and Euripides, and challenges us to respond to Euripidean drama with sophistication and sensitivity. If Michelini fails to fashion a clear portrait of the Protean poet, she helps us to understand why the ancient world hated and loved him more than any other playwright.

Francis M. Dunn   *University of California, Santa Barbara*

---

[5] 'Concepts of Demoralization in the *Hecuba*', in P. Burian (ed.) *Directions in Euripidean Criticism* (Durham 1985) 113.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Books for review should be sent to the Reviews Editor, **Scholia.**

A. P. Bos, *Cosmic and Meta-Cosmic Theology in Aristotle's Lost Dialogues.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993. Pp. xx + 242. ISBN 90-04-09155-6. Gld120/ US$68.57.

Jerry Clack (ed.), *Meleager: The Poems.* Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1992. Pp. vii + 160. ISBN 0-86516-254-9. US$18.00.

Mary DeForest, *Woman's Power, Man's Game: Essays on Classical Antiquity in Honor of Joy K. King.* Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1993. Pp. xix + 428. ISBN 0-86516-258-1. US$35.00

Hilary J. Deighton, *A Day in the Life of Ancient Rome.* London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992. Pp. 95. ISBN 1-85399-136-8. UK£6.95.

Carl Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 6. Brussels: Collection Latomus 217, 1992. Pp. 516. ISBN 2-87031-157-5. BF2,500.

S. Farron, *Vergil's Aeneid: A Poem of Grief and Love.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993. ISBN 90-04-09661-2. Pp. xii + 174. Gld 75/US$43.00.

Tony Harrison (tr.), *Palladas: Poems.* London: Anvil Press, repr. 1992. Pp. 47. ISBN 0-85646-127-X. UK£3.95.

Danny P. Jackson (tr.), *The Epic of Gilgamesh.* Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1992. Pp. xlvi + 96. ISBN 0-86516-252-2. US$4.95.

John H. Molyneux, *Simonides: A Historical Study.* Illinois: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1992. Pp. viii + 375. ISBN 0-86516-223-9. US$24.00.

Laurent Pernot, *Les Discours Siciliens d'Aelius Aristide (Or. 5-6): Étude Littéraire et Paléographique: Édition et Traduction.* Salem: Ayer, repr. 1992. Pp. viii + 475. ISBN 0-405-14047-9. US$49.00.

Christopher Stray, *The Living Word: W. H. D. Rouse and the Crisis of Classics in Edwardian England.* London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992. Pp. v + 89, incl. 5 figures. ISBN 1-85399-262-3. UK£5.95

Michael W. Taylor, *The Tyrant Slayers: The Heroic Image in Fifth Century BC Athenian Art and Politics*[2]. Salem: Ayer, 1991. Pp. xxi + 115, incl. 37 plates. ISBN 0-88143-113-3. US$34.95.

Charles Tomlinson (ed.), *Eros English'd: Classical Erotic Poetry in Translation from Golding to Hardy*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992. Pp. xxviii + 226. ISBN 1-85399-159-7. UK£9.95

Raoul Verdière, *Le Secret du Voltigeur d'Amour ou le Mystère de la Relégation d'Ovide*. Brussels: Collection Latomus 218, 1992. Pp. 168. ISBN 2-87031-158-3. BF400.

P. G. Walsh (ed. and tr.), *Love Lyrics from the Carmina Burana*. Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1993. Pp. xxxv + 218. ISBN 0-8078-2068-7. US$14.95 (hb).

William Thomas Wehrle, *The Satiric Voice: Program, Form and Meaning in Persius and Juvenal*. Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 1992. Altertumswissenschaftliche Texte und Studien 23. Pp. 155. ISBN 3-487-09613-7. DM32.80

M. A. Wes, *Classics in Russia, 1700-1855: Between Two Bronze Horsemen*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993. Pp. 366. ISBN 90-04-09664-7. Gld165/ US$94.29.

Peter Whigham, *Martial: Letter to Juvenal*. London: Anvil Press. Pp. 119. ISBN 0-85646-092-3. UK£4.95 (pb).

T. P. Wiseman, *Talking to Virgil: A Miscellany*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992. Pp. 212 + xii, incl. 8 plates and 11 figures. ISBN 0-85989-375-8. UK£12.95.

IN THE UNIVERSITIES

Information about programmes in Classics at the university level in Africa is welcome and should reach the In the Universities Editor, Scholia by 30 June.

CLASSICAL STUDIES IN GHANA

Fabian Opeku
Department of Classics, University of Cape Coast
Cape Coast, Ghana

Ghana is a small country that has only three universities with a total undergraduate population of under ten thousand. Even so, two of Ghana's three universities, Cape Coast and Legon, have Departments of Classics, while only one Nigerian university, Ibadan, teaches Classics. If we consider the comparatively small classes that are the rule in Ghana's universities, we can better appreciate the optimism that the relatively large and increasing student enrolment in our Departments of Classics engenders.

Large classes are a recent development but one with roots in the post-independence period. This phenomenon was encouraged by several factors, including the greater flexibility of our new syllabi, which provide for combinations of courses in Greek and Roman Studies with courses in other areas of the humanities and also (even more encouragingly) with courses in the sciences. The new syllabi are the natural outcome of the healthy holistic approach to knowledge and learning that has been very strong in our universities from the beginning, surviving even the heady days of Marxist ideology and the demands of politicians for narrow specialisation (especially in the sciences) to meet specific material needs.

The most significant loss or sacrifice to this development is that of the full Classics honours course with its preponderant and compulsory component of Greek and Latin languages and literature. These languages had never been widely taught in our secondary schools, certainly not since the educational expansion of the sixties when the newly established schools abandoned them altogether for 'modern' languages (French and German). Then the four old prestige schools (Achimota, Mfantsipim, St Augustine's and Adisadel) discontinued their tradition of Greek and Latin. The result of this was that only the first generation of our Classics graduates had the benefit of the traditional English public school style tuition in both Latin and Greek. They went on to acquire excellent degrees (usually firsts and upper seconds) from the universities in London, Oxford and Cambridge. Those who followed in the late fifties and early sixties usually had only Latin to begin with (Greek was the first to go in the secondary schools); they then had to acquire the university

143

entrance requirement in Greek by private study.

The virtual abandonment of Greek and Latin was a gradual process, but inevitable, once the awareness was created that, with the introduction of combined subject degree courses, the demands of other disciplines on students' time would not permit exclusive devotion to the full language component of the Classics course, since many hours had to be devoted not only to literature but also to philology, unseen translations, grammar and syntax, and above all prose composition. Our Classics Departments met this challenge by devising courses in Classical Civilisation (Legon) or Greek and Roman Civilisation (Cape Coast), which could be studied profitably with other subjects in the Faculty of Arts for a combined (i.e., two-subject) degree or as 'cognate' courses in combination with other Arts courses in the first and second years, or as 'liberal' courses in the first year in combination with courses in other faculties. Since cognate and liberal course options are compulsory for all undergraduates, our Classics Departments are assured of a good number of interested students. In 1992 at the University of Cape Coast, for example, 152 students from the Faculties of Education and Science out of an intake of 800 freshmen were enrolled in the Classical Theatre class in the Department of Classics (many more had applied for this option) during the first semester, while fifty were enrolled in our Classical Philosophy course in the second semester. Total student enrolment in our Classics Department is now well over the two hundred mark, a far cry from the dozen or so in the days of the pure Classics course.

Clearly we owe the increase in our student enrolment to our ability to devise and introduce courses not only that are interesting and relevant to the wider intellectual horizons of the universities of our time but also that take advantage of the flexible subject combinations that our modern needs have made necessary. For example, we are great lovers of drama in this country, a fact that is clearly illustrated by the very large numbers from the Education and Science Faculties that enrol for the Classical Theatre course at Cape Coast University. At the University of Ghana, Legon, the Department of Classics offers a course in Classical Drama for students of the Institute of African Studies. One would like to believe also that it is the growing popularity of the Classical Philosophy course in the Classics Department that has demonstrated the need to establish a new Department of Philosophy at Cape Coast University, in the preliminary organisation of which our Classics Department is being closely consulted.

Moreover, students find that they combine with profit the modern languages that are taught in our universities (English, French, German, Russian, Arabic, Spanish, etc.), as well as History and Religions, with the Classical Civilisation courses. The Classics Departments are therefore engaged in devising courses that go beyond the Literature (epic, drama, satire) and Ancient History courses of traditional Classical Civilisation courses, namely, Political Theory and Practice of Greece and Rome, Greek and Roman Historiography, Greek and Roman Religion, Pre-Socratic Philosophy, Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, The Ancient History of North Africa, and others, all of which are demonstrably relevant to our political and

social ferment. Given the varied interests of our lecturers, there should be even more new and interesting formulations to follow. The fertility of the idea and its application is indicated by the topics of long essay projects written by increasing numbers of final year students: 'The Paradox of a Democratic Athens and Her Rule of an Empire', 'The Philosophical Foundations of Athenian Democracy', 'The Rise of the Military and Their Rule in Rome' (with various comparative studies of military dictatorship in Africa), and 'The Fescennine Verses and Agozi Songs of Abuse'. Given the increasing student population, new disciplines, student career prospects, and the perceived needs of a developing country that does not have room for the old Classics courses that were tailored so as to enable the few exceptionally gifted ones to achieve the exacting but narrow standards of skill in the Classical languages, these new experiments are justified. The success of our curriculum shows that the ancient Greek and Roman civilisations are an excellent way of gaining academic proficiency. In short, the interdisciplinary approach is at the root of the effort in Classical Studies and their survival in our universities.

Much of the credit for this development must go to academics in all the faculties of our universities, many of whom learned Latin and even Greek at our prestigious secondary schools mentioned above and therefore show considerable appreciation of the value of the Classics to the extent of cooperating with our Classics Departments in this interdisciplinary approach. Our Science and Education Faculties regularly consult with us for information and teaching material for liberal arts courses such as the History of Science and the History of Education.

While the University of Ghana, Legon, does have a Department of Archaeology, Cape Coast does not. However, in 1966 our Classics Department started a Classical Museum, which rapidly attracted the attention of the University's Department of History and eventually the government's Ministry of Trade and Tourism. Finally, Ghana's Museum and Monuments Board took over this museum and housed it, much expanded and still growing, as the West African Historical Museum in its present appropriate premises within the Cape Coast Castle; this Castle originally was Fort Carolusburg, which was built by the Danish in 1653 and then taken over and reconstructed into a formidable gold and later slave-trading fortress by the English in 1664.[1] The Smithsonian Institute presently is executing a development plan for the Museum with a fund of US $796 000 from USAID.

Classical Studies in Ghana, far from being regarded as useless or obsolete, have much prestige attached to them as a discipline that requires the highest academic excellence of its teachers and students. However, with the insistence (for reasons of economy) that Ghanaian academics man their own universities and not employ large numbers of teaching staff from abroad, one wonders what will happen when the present generation of lecturers retires. Although the old Classics syllabus is still available and indications are that a very small minority are willing to attempt it, the pressures of other disciplines ensure that our future graduates will be largely

---

[1] A. van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana* (Accra 1980) introd., 28f., 34ff.

deficient in Greek and Latin. Our other constraints, like our scandalously low level of funding for books, periodicals and other research facilities, will hopefully be addressed if and when the country's economy improves; in any case, this is the predicament of all university activity in this country.

Consideration of constraints brings us to the question of research by university staff and students. We have our undergraduate long essay projects and courses in Research Methods and Communication Skills, which are compulsory and aimed at introducing students to research. Teaching staff and research fellows continue to do their private research and publish it while they supervise the work of the very few postgraduate students. (We have not had any PhD students in Classics yet owing to our poor facilities.) Very small academic Departments sometimes mean that there is little chance of interaction with specialists in the various fields, a situation that is further bedevilled by a serious lack both of access to newly published material and of any tradition of a senior common room. The nearest we come to the ideal is through opportunities provided by our interdisciplinary approach, for example, in the need to supply special courses outside the Department, such as New Testament Greek for majors in the Study of Religions and Classical Literary Criticism for English majors, and in our regular faculty public lectures, where interested lecturers meet in a public forum to present aspects of their research discussion and to exchange ideas.

Finally, we look at the future, where Classics with a language bias seems to have little chance of revival. What we have tried to do is to salvage sterling and relevant areas of Classical Studies and integrate them into new and flexible university syllabi. Our present and future graduates will by and large have combined subject degrees. If our present run of prestige and goodwill for the Classics continues in Ghana and if our few outstanding students continue with government support to gain MA and PhD degrees abroad, our discipline will remain viable in the universities. For ordinary Ghanaians, who do not perhaps appreciate the so-called invisible benefits of Classics, more tangible attractions exist. Their great enthusiasm for Classical Greek drama on stage and television and the success of plays such as Soyinka's *Bacchae* and Ola Rotimi's *The Gods Are Not to Blame* (adapted from *King Oedipus*) continue to be popular pointers to continuing future interest in the Classics in Ghana.

CLASSICAL STUDIES IN MALAWI

Jozef de Kuyper
Department of Classics, Chancellor College, University of Malawi
Zomba, Malawi

The University of Malawi is made up of five constituent colleges. One of these, Chancellor College, Zomba, has since 1985 had a Department of Classics in

the Faculty of Humanities. Before that some Classics courses were offered in the Department of Philosophy. The Department of Classics presently has a staff of three full-time Classicists.

The Classics Department has gradually extended the range of courses it offers so that there are now four complete cycles. Two language cycles are provided: one for Greek and one for Latin. Students can start both cycles without any prerequisites. In addition to general courses, such as Greek and Latin prose and poetry, that are offered in the third and fourth years of study, there are more specialised courses available in areas such as historical and comparative Greek and Latin linguistics, literary theory and stylistics.

The Classical Civilisation cycle is accessible for students at all levels without any prerequisites. This cycle consists of a global course on Ancient History at first-year level, Classics in Translation during the second year, Ancient Philosophy at third-year level, and Art and Archaeology during the fourth year. In this cycle the Department has also included a course entitled 'Introduction to Computational Research', in which we introduce Humanities students to the use of the computer in fields such as linguistics, history and education. Students who register for one or more of these courses come exclusively from the Faculties of Arts and Education. Naturally the more general subjects attract larger numbers than the more specialised ones.

The Classics Department also offers courses in Latin methodology for secondary school teachers on behalf of the Curriculum and Teaching Studies Department in the Faculty of Education. Our Department also offers courses to students enrolled in the Department of History in the Faculty of Social Sciences; these students enrol in the general course on Ancient History. The Classics Department also offers New Testament Greek to Theology students. The Department has been able to attract an increasing number of competent students. We look forward to a future in which the Department will be run by an exclusively Malawian staff of able Classicists.

Although our library resources are restricted, we have access to specialised computer equipment and programs such as CD-ROM (for TLG and PHI), Centaur (educational software for Latin), Greek keys (for Apple McIntosh), Micro-OCP (special package for text analysis) and Nota Bene (specialised wordprocessor).

On the secondary level Latin is available at ten schools distributed all over the country. These schools are either government schools or private (mainly mission) schools serviced by the Ministry of Education. Whereas in the past most of these schools offered Latin only as far as Form 2 (Year 8/Standard 6), the Junior Certificate of Education level, the subject is now offered through Form 4 (Year 10/Standard 8), where the Malawi School Certificate of Education can be obtained. There is an official syllabus for both levels prepared by the Malawi National Examinations Board. This Board also organises the Junior Certificate and Malawi School Certificate examinations for all schools in the country. A national subject officer for Latin administers the examinations, which are prepared by the Chief

Examiner for Latin and moderated by a special panel. A Malawi School Certificate of Education examination is the equivalent of an O-level examination. In addition to this, students at Kamuzu Academy in Kasungu can take Latin and Greek for six years so as to reach an A-level standard.[1]

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

Lloyd Thompson
Department of Classics, University of Ibadan
Ibadan, Nigeria

Ibadan is the only Nigerian university with a Classics Department. The Department at Ibadan was established in 1948 at the time of the establishment of the University itself, which began as a London University outpost known as 'University College'. The Department offers courses in Latin and Greek, Classical Literature, Greek and Roman History, Ancient Philosophy and Religion, and Africa in Classical Antiquity. It also offers a Classical Civilisation programme that requires no knowledge of Latin and Greek and is not a degree programme but simply a package from which students majoring in other disciplines select courses of varying unit values.

Most of the Department's own majors take only Latin; a small minority (never more than six, or twenty per cent of any one 'class') take both languages; and occasionally one or two are to be found taking Greek but not Latin. The annual intake of majors is about thirty; since the degree programme is four years, there is usually a total of about one hundred undergraduate majors at any given time. The Department has always had a Beginning Greek programme; from the early 1970s it has also provided New Testament Greek for Christian Theology majors in Religious Studies. From the mid-1970s the Department has been offering Beginning Latin with increasing success.

Classical Studies graduates are found in practically every sphere of employment, including politics and the police, but (oddly enough, or perhaps not so oddly) not the military. Alumni/alumnae in commerce, industry and the public service maintain close contact with the Department.

---

[1] See P. McKechnie, 'Kamuzu Academy, Mtunthama, Malawi', *Scholia* ns Vol. 1 (1992) 142f.

IN THE MUSEUM

MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

A FRAGMENT ATTRIBUTED TO THE CENTAUR PAINTER

E. A. Mackay, Curator
Museum of Classical Archaeology, University of Natal, Durban
Durban 4001

Abstract. A hitherto unpublished fragment of an Attic black-figure Lip Cup in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, University of Natal, Durban, should be attributed to the hand of the Centaur Painter. The piece preserves two horsemen on the lip and an inscription in the handle-zone.

In the Museum of Classical Archaeology, University of Natal, Durban, the form of the Attic black-figure Lip Cup is represented by two joined fragments (1983.9) which preserve a pair of riders to left in the lip-zone, and an inscription in the handle-zone below;[1] the piece has been attributed to the distinctive hand of the Centaur Painter, who was active in Athens in the third quarter of the sixth century BC.[2]

The name of the Centaur Painter was coined by Villard[3] for an artist whose hand can be identified with certainty on some twenty-eight cups,[4] ten of which

---

[1] See figure 1.

[2] Attributed by Joan T. Haldenstein. Greatest dimension of joined fragments 86mm, height 43mm; added red: chitoniskos of left rider, single stripe on hindquarter of left horse, mane and tail of right horse and two stripes on its hindquarter; added white: mane and tail of left horse, chitoniskos of right rider. The reins are incised. Provenience unknown.

[3] F. Villard, 'Le Peintre des Centaures', in G. E. Mylonas and D. Raymond (edd.), *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson* 2 (St Louis 1953) 65-69.

[4] Fifteen Lip Cups and thirteen Band Cups (similar in form, but with different decorative scheme): J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford 1956) 189-190; 689 (hereafter *ABV*); *Paralipomena* (Oxford 1971) 78f. (hereafter *Para.*). For more recent publication references see T. H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda*[2] (Oxford 1989) 52. In

feature centaurs, while four more are decorated with horsemen and one with a donkey—it would seem that the equine form appealed to the painter. His other motifs are variously satyrs, maenads, warriors, huntsmen, deer, rams and a panther. Like most of the painters of Little-Master cups,[5] the Centaur Painter was a miniaturist decorating his cups with one or two delicate figures on either side. His scenes are always lively: his human figures run with limbs outstretched and expansive gestures which transcend their small stature; his elongated centaurs and horses canter or gallop, their dainty fore-hooves prancing and manes and tails flying. A significant number of his figures move from right to left with no contextual reason for doing so, in contrast with the general tendency in Attic black-figure vase decoration. His figures are characteristically enlivened with touches of added red and white in almost equal quantities (most of his contemporaries tend to use red rather more than white).

On a number of his cups, there is a clear narrative connection between the figures on one side and those on the other: a hunter on the obverse aims his spear at a fawn on the reverse;[6] a centaur (obverse) throws a stone at a fawn (reverse);[7] two centaurs (obverse) are pursued by a youth and a man (reverse);[8] a maenad (reverse) runs to meet a satyr (obverse);[9] a man with a club (obverse) pursues a centaur (reverse).[10] On others there is a possible but less obvious connection between one side and the other. It is thus not an improbable supposition that the figures on the missing reverse of the cup from which the Durban fragment derives may have provided a context for the two riders.

In most respects the figures on the Durban fragment can be seen to be characteristic of the Centaur Painter's style. The two horsemen (both beardless youths) find their nearest parallel in the painter's extant corpus in the two horsemen to left preserved on a Lip Cup fragment in the British Museum:[11] the figures are in very similar positions (although on the Durban fragment there is a small overlap, which is unusual for this artist); on the London fragment too the left horse has a white mane and tail, the right a red mane (the London tail has not survived), and

---

ABV and *Para.* Beazley refers to a few further cups which are related and may prove to be attributable to the same hand.

[5] As Beazley termed the Lip and Band Cups; for a general discussion of the form and its development see J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*[2] (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1986) 46-52.

[6] New York 74.51.1371 (*ABV* 189,5).

[7] Basel Market (M.M.) (*Para.* 78,3 *bis*).

[8] Logie Collection, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand 52/57 (*Para.* 78,1 *bis*).

[9] Rome, Conservatori 296 (*Para.* 79,8 *bis*).

[10] Bucarest 03.209 (*Para.* 79,8 *ter*).

[11] London B 600.32 (*ABV* 189,7).

the right rider preserves vestiges of white on his chitoniskos, like his better-preserved Durban counterpart. Occasionally, as on these two fragments, the painter pairs his motifs, perhaps recognising that the tiny figures are thus in better balance with the expanse of their picture-field.[12]

Although the Centaur Painter's attributed works do not preserve many inscriptions, Lip Cups in general often have an inscription in the handle-zone; it may be an artist's or potter's signature, such as ΤΑΛΕΙΔΕΣΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ,[13] or appropriate injunction, like the Durban example which as it stands translates 'be cheerful and drink up', or even a string of jumbled letters—an imitation-inscription from the hand of an illiterate artist, perhaps.[14] The inscription preserved on the Durban fragment reads +ΑΙΡΕΚΑΙΠΙΕΙ ; comparison with the inscription on the Centaur Painter's cup in Christchurch[15] would suggest that the entire Durban inscription might originally have read +ΑΙΡΕΚΑΙΠΙΕΙΕΝ ('be cheerful and drink well') and on the Durban fragment the position of the extant inscription in relation to the horsemen would support the hypothesis of two further letters to the right of the break, as the figures would then be centred over the inscription, a symmetry which the artist may be supposed to have preferred.[16]

As an exhibit in a teaching collection, the fragment, though small, provides exemplary evidence of most of the defining elements of a typical Lip Cup—in shape the slightly concave lip clearly set off from the convex bowl; in painting the miniature figures in the lip-zone and the inscription in the handle-zone; and some indication of the regular basic scheme: on the exterior the lip- and handle-zones are reserved, separated by a fine black line which runs right around the cup just below the change of curvature. A standard feature of the exterior decoration, though not preserved on the Durban fragments, is the black applied to the lower bowl and foot of a Lip Cup, relieved only by a narrow reserved band on the bowl and the reserved edge of the foot. The interior is painted black except for a narrow reserved line on the inner edge of the rim, and in the centre one would expect a small reserved disc containing a narrow black ring, or (less probable in a work by the Centaur Painter) a reserved medallion with a small figured scene. The loop

---

[12] For instance, the Lip Cup in Christchurch (see above, n. 8): on one side a pair of galloping centaurs and on the other a pair of pursuing men; also the fragmentary Lip Cup in the Louvre, C 10267: on each side one warrior pursuing another (*ABV* 189,4); and the single fragment Louvre C 10268: a warrior seizing a woman (*ABV* 189,6).

[13] As, for example, the Lip Cup in the collection of Marchese Giorgio Guglielmi in Rome (*ABV* 175,15).

[14] As, for example, on a Lip Cup in the Logie Collection, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand inv. 34/55: A. D. Trendall, *Greek Vases in the Logie Collection* (Christchurch 1971), pll. X and XIV a.

[15] See above, n. 5.

[16] On both the Centaur Painter's Lip Cups bearing inscriptions a symmetry is apparent: the Christchurch cup (detailed in n. 8 above) and Bucarest 03.209 (*Para.* 79,8 *ter*).

handles would be painted black (reserved on the inner surface), and in the handle-zone on each side of the cup there would regularly be painted a palmette 'growing' on a curved tendril from each handle-root.

It is vital for students of ancient art to have the opportunity to examine for themselves original examples of the various forms and techniques. Like most university museums, the Museum of Classical Archaeology, University of Natal, Durban is restricted in its acquisition policy by very limited funding, and in such circumstances a fragment of painted pottery, purchased at a fraction of the cost of a more substantial piece, can provide first-hand evidence of a standard shape that will complement the students' consultation of published photographs of entire examples. Furthermore, since it exhibits the only sizable collection of ancient art in the area (one of only three in Southern Africa), this Museum adheres to the philosophy that for the money it is better to exhibit a substantial or typical fragment of a work by a significant artist rather than a virtually intact piece which is of poor quality in the potting and/or painting. The Lip Cup fragment attributed to the Centaur Painter goes a long way towards fulfilling these aims.

Figure 1: Durban 1983.9.

B. X. DE WET ESSAY

The paper judged to be the best undergraduate essay submitted to **Scholia** *by 30 June for the preceding year is published annually as the B. X. de Wet Essay. The competition is open to undergraduate students every year and to Honours students in even-numbered years. Classics Departments in Africa are encouraged to send their submissions to the B. X. de Wet Essay Editor,* **Scholia***. Papers should not exceed 3 000 words in length. The author of the essay chosen for publication should be prepared to edit it if so requested.*

This essay is named in honour of Professor B. X. de Wet, who was Head of the Department of Classics at the University of Natal, Durban from 1975-89.

The finalists in 1993 were Theresa Biberauer (University of Stellenbosch), Samantha Masters (University of Natal, Durban) and Daniel Roux (University of Cape Town).

A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF SOME ASPECTS OF PALMER'S DISCUSSION OF CHRISTIAN LATIN AS A 'SPECIAL LANGUAGE'

Theresa Biberauer
3rd-year Latin, Afrikaans en Nederlands,
General Linguistics, English, and Flute major
University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch 7600

In Chapter VII of *The Latin Language*,[1] Palmer attempts to characterise Christian Latin as what he terms a 'special language'. Close analysis of this chapter, however, reveals various difficulties with respect to this classification. Some of the problems that arise are discussed below.

What Does Palmer Mean by 'Special Language'?

Chapter VII is primarily concerned with illustrating that Christian Latin can justifiably be regarded as a so-called special language, a denomination that in itself is not overly helpful in revealing what it designates. Palmer clarifies what he means by this term as applied specifically to Christian Latin on p. 198: ' . . . an idiom rich in technical terms and largely incomprehensible to the uninitiated . . .'. From the linguist's point of view at least, this definition and its application to Christian Latin are problematic.

The term 'special *language*' (my italics) within the linguistic context implies a comprehensive communication system employed for a particular, specialised

---

[1] L. R. Palmer, *The Latin Language* (London 1961).

purpose. An example of a special language is sign-language, which is a self-sufficient communication system employed specifically by those unable to hear and which in no way lacks any of the devices available to users of any of the more conventional spoken languages. Deaf people can express every known human emotion by means of their sign-system, they can play games with it, learn, question, explain and campaign in it. 'Language' in its generic sense denotes 'the systematic, conventional use of sounds, signs or written symbols in a human society for communication and self-expression'[2] and it consists of five generally distinguishable components: (a) the phonological/sound system, (b) the morphological/word-form system, (c) the semantic/meaning system, (d) the syntactic/word-order system, and (e) the lexicon/vocabulary. That Palmer cannot possibly be conceiving of language in the absolute sense of the above-mentioned definition becomes clear when he admits that the 'special language', Christian Latin, could only be distinguished from secular Latin on the strength of lexical peculiarities, that is, only in terms of *one* of the five components comprising language. On p. 194 Palmer says, 'The existence of a special Christian vocabulary is . . . beyond reasonable doubt. . . . But . . . it would appear that no important differences of syntax can be detected between secular and Christian Latin prose.' Christian Latin can thus not be viewed as a separate, comprehensive communication system; it contains only a unique lexical component, sharing the other four components with secular Latin. According to the linguist's (and most laymen's) definition of the term 'language', Christian Latin can thus not be regarded as a 'special language' at all. Palmer's application of the term to Christian Latin is undeniably confusing and inaccurate. Did he unintentionally neglect to restrict the meaning of the term 'language' as he applied it or did he genuinely have a misconception of the term's full significance?

Once one has established that 'special language' as applied by Palmer does not refer to a fully-fledged and uniquely specified language such as English, Afrikaans, German or a sign-language, the following matter of importance is to establish precisely what he *did* mean by the term 'special language'. Palmer's observation that 'individual acts of speech form part of a number of differing "languages" which reflect differences in the degree of intimacy, local differences, dialects, differences of social position, and so on' (p. 181) casts some light on the problem. 'Language' as he has employed it in the excerpt cited corresponds with what the linguist would term 'register', that is, 'a socially defined variety of language, for example, scientific, legal, etc.'[3] Christian Latin may, to a certain extent, be regarded as a register since, like the scientific or legal register, it is employed under specific social circumstances. Christian Latin can, however, not be viewed strictly in this sense since it was, as Palmer himself illustrates, more than just a 'variety of language' employed according to the demands of the social situation: the peculiar vocabulary of Christian Latin was found in all contexts, not

---

[2] D. Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language* (Cambridge 1987) 396.

[3] Crystal [2] 429.

necessarily only the strictly religious ones. This Palmer indicates implicitly in referring to a 'Christian *vernacular*' (my italics), that is, an everyday variety or 'lect' (p. 195) as opposed to a lect confined solely to religious occasions and uses. Christian Latin can thus also not be viewed as a special language in the purely register-oriented sense of the word since its use was not socially situation-bound.

The true denotation of 'special language' as conceived by Palmer emerges from his description of the speakers of such 'languages': they 'have their own esoteric interests, a special world of objects and notions, and they develop the necessary linguistic machinery to communicate and co-ordinate their peculiar activities' (p. 182). Particularly the reference to 'esoteric interests' and 'a special world of objects and notions' is significant for establishing Palmer's conception of 'language': language employed for the particular (special) purpose of discoursing about such topics is commonly called 'jargon', a term that *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language* defines as 'the technical language of a special field; the obscure use of specialised language.'[4]

That Palmer does, to some extent, conceive of Christian Latin as a jargon of sorts is evident from his references to its 'exclusiveness' (p. 182) and to the fact that it was (originally at least) 'largely incomprehensible to outsiders' (p. 183). The most convincing argument for interpreting 'special language' as a jargon is, however, furnished when Palmer states unequivocally that we 'are dealing with a particular *adaptation* of the Latin language to express new "things"—objects, acts, notions, forms of organization . . .' (p. 194; my italics).

Now that we have established what precisely Palmer had in mind when denoting Christian Latin as a 'special language', a further problem arises. At the conclusion of his argument he alludes to the well-known fact that Latin was the basis of the Romance languages in Western Europe. Palmer, however, specifies *Christian* Latin, which he has characterised throughout as a variety of secular Latin employed by adherents of the Christian faith, that is, a 'sub-language' of secular Latin, as the Latin basis of the Romance languages. He states that the '(Christian) group absorbed the whole community, and its special language became the κοινή of the Western world. It is medieval Latin.' (p. 205) How can a jargon give rise to a fully-fledged language, or, even more incomprehensibly, how can it form the basis for an entire family of languages? In this instance, Palmer is inaccurate in employing the term 'special language' since the language of a group that 'absorbed the whole community', that is, became the dominant language in a community, can no longer be regarded as a 'special language'; it has now become what Palmer earlier refers to as a 'common language', that is, a language 'in general use among the majority of the members of a given community' (p. 182). Once Christian Latin had permeated secular Latin and the two had become inextricably combined (that is, when the vast majority of the citizens of the Roman Empire had been Christianized), the distinction between the two varieties of Latin was neutralised.

---

[4] Crystal [2] 424.

Palmer would have thus been more correct in concluding that medieval Latin was born when Christian Latin and secular Latin no longer represented distinct varieties of the same language. What had previously been a specialised jargon relating only to matters religious became part of the common vernacular either in its original technical sense or with an adapted meaning and, in the process, a new, more multi-faceted language was born.

Palmer's Views on 'Terminological Hair-splitting'

Probably at the root of all the confusing application of linguistic terminology in Chapter VII is Palmer's rejection of several key concepts in the assessment of a language and its status. On p. 195, for instance, Palmer categorically dismisses the usefulness of determining whether Christian Latin was an 'agglomération' or a system 'sensiblement une'. This distinction is, however, of cardinal importance in determining the light in which one should view Christian Latin. If it is merely an 'agglomération' of peculiar lexical items, it cannot justifiably be regarded as a language since 'language' necessarily implies a system whereby meaning is regularly and methodically conveyed in all its facets. If we were to regard Christian Latin as an 'agglomération', we would necessarily be viewing it as an incomplete collection of terms and usages not sufficiently ordered and systematic to enable successful communication. Christian Latin as Palmer views it throughout his argument—in the sense of a jargon—would be an 'agglomération' of terms dependent on secular Latin for its completion (the latter provides the syntactic, morphological and phonological basis for Christian Latin). In concluding that Christian Latin was the basis for medieval Latin, Palmer, however, suggests that he is now regarding it as a system 'sensiblement une' since only a self-sufficient language can give birth to another self-sufficient language. Had Palmer thus taken the trouble to indulge in some so-called 'terminological hair-splitting', he might have been clearer in his own mind as to his own view of Christian Latin.

Another set of terms which Palmer could fruitfully have considered is what he terms 'de Saussure's fatal dichotomy between "la langue" and "la parole"' (p. 195). This distinction is as significant and valid in assessing Christian Latin's status as a language as the above-mentioned distinction between 'agglomération' and system 'sensiblement une'; it is actually 'fatal' *not* to bear it in mind!

Ferdinand de Saussure defined 'la langue' as 'the basic language-system shared by a speech-community'. In the Roman Empire, the 'langue' would thus have been Latin. The fact that it was spoken variously in the various provinces is of no importance here; these are idiosyncracies related to 'la parole', that is, the concrete utterances of a speaker. If Palmer had taken into account the significance of 'la langue', he would never have termed Christian Latin a 'special language', for the lexical peculiarities characteristic of Christian Latin do not constitute a 'basic language-system', but they depend in their turn on another system, the morphological, syntactic system of secular Latin. When Christian Latin first emerged, it was

thus more closely related to the idiosyncratic 'parole', since it characterised the speech-habits of a minority of speakers. Later, when it became part of secular Latin, it constituted one of the components of 'la langue'. Christian Latin was never at any point a self-sufficient 'langue'; hence the inaccuracy of the term 'special language'.

Although Palmer undeniably furnishes his reader with extensive evidence for the existence of a unique Christian vocabulary or lexicon, he fails to provide any proof for the existence of a unique Christian language. His failure to recognise Christian Latin's limited function and capacity and his subsequent incorrect designation thereof as a 'special language' may be attributed almost entirely to the fact that he failed to consider the purely linguistic aspect of Christian Latin sufficiently. From this one may learn the importance of assessing any language in *all* its aspects: linguistic, historical, social, literary, political, and so on. No language can be described in full by a one-sided approach such as that attempted by Palmer.

EXCHANGES WITH *SCHOLIA* (1992-93)

Scholia is exchanged with journals not subscribed to by the University of Natal. The list below includes publications received in exchange for *Scholia* (1992-93). Requests by editors of journals for exchanges should be directed to the Editor, *Scholia*.

Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis (Debrecen, Hungary) Vol. 27 (1991) includes Harmatta: 'Prolegomena to the *Libykoi Logoi* of Herodotus' *Histories*', Fisher: 'The "Palace Miracles" in Euripides' *Bacchae*: A Reconstruction', Szekeres: 'Ein logisches Argument in Cicero's *De Fato*'.

Ancient History: Resources for Teachers (Sydney, Australia) Vol. 22 (1992) No. 1 includes Major: 'Claudius' Ascent to Power'; No. 2; No. 3 includes Granger: 'The Life of Xerxes', Marshall: 'Corruption, Incompetence and Scandal in Pre-Marian Rome'.

Ancient History Bulletin (Calgary, Canada) Vol. 7 (1993) No. 1 includes Bicknell: 'Blue Suns, The Son of Heaven, and the Chronology of the Volcanic Veil of the 40s B.C.'; No. 2 includes Henry: 'Athens and Egesta (IG i³ 11)', Worthington: 'The Date of the Tegea Decree (Tod ii 202): A Response to the *Diagramma* of Alexander III or of Polyperchon?'

Arctos (Helsinki, Finland) Vol. 26 (1992) includes Aronen: 'Notes on Athenian Drama as Ritual Myth-Telling Within the Cult of Dionysos', Heikkilä: 'Sappho Fragment 2 L.-P.: Some Homeric Readings', Jäkel: 'Die aesthetische Function der lyrischen und epischen Elemente in der griechischen Tragödie', Salomies: 'Zur Namengebung der Konsuln in den handschriftlich überlieferten Konsulverzeichnissen für die Zeit 15-284 n.Chr.'

Arion (Boston, USA) Vol. 2 (1992) No. 1 includes Skalsky: 'Visual Trope and the Portland Vase Frieze: A New Reading and Exegesis', Szegedy-Maszak: 'A Perfect Ruin: Nineteenth-Century Views of the Colosseum'.

Asemka (Cape Coast, Ghana) Vol. 6 (1989) includes Opeku: 'Our Literary Antecedents'.

AUMLA: Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association (Christchurch, New Zealand) Vol. 79 (1993) includes Gossip: 'Tragedy and the Tragic Emotions in Corneille', Whitehorne: 'Menander's *Dyskolos* as Detective Story'; Vol. 80 (1993).

Bollettino dei Classici (Rome, Italy) Vol. 13 (1992) includes Menchelli: 'Per la fortuna di Diodoro nel secolo X', Napolitano: 'Euripide, *Cycl.* 14-15', Hemmerdinger: 'Théophraste, *Caractères* XI, 6-7'.

Bryn Mawr Classical Review (Bryn Mawr, USA) Vol. 3 (1992) Nos. 1-6; Vol. 4 (1993) Nos. 1-5.

Classica (Belo Horizonte, Brazil) Vol. 1 (1988) includes Cardoso: 'Economia e sociedade antigas', Novak: 'Epicuro e a natureza da alma'; Vol. 2 (1989) includes Prado: 'O *lógos* de Tucídides sobre a guerra', Ribeiro: 'Nero: Política extrema e defesa do Império', Brandão: 'Ver, ouvir, interpretar: a propósito dos *Sete contra Tebas*', Mendes: 'Filosofia e tragédia'; Vol. 3 (1990) includes Humphreys: 'Filosofia e religião na Grécia: dinâmica de ruptura e diálogo', da Fonseca: 'O gênero deliberativo na oratória grega: A *Terceira Filípica* de Demóstenes e a *Retórica* de Aristóteles'; Supp. 1 (1992).

Classical Bulletin (Wauconda, USA) Vol. 68 (1992) No. 1 includes Bartoněk: 'History and Bibliography of Classical Scholarship in Czecho-Slovakia, 1900-1987'; No. 2.

Classical Studies (Kyoto, Japan) Vol. 9 (1991) includes Kiso: 'Two Figures of Ajax', Iwaya: 'The Simile in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius'; Vol. 10 (1992) includes Wakimoto: 'Gods in the *Iliad*: The Glass Reflecting the Human World', Takahashi: 'Minerva and Arachne'.

Drama (Stuttgart, Germany) Vol. 1 (1992) includes Eire: 'Aristoteles über die Sprache des Dramas', Slater: 'Two Republican Poets on Drama: Terence and Accius', Thiercy: 'La Réception d'Aristote en France à l'époque de Corneille'.

Emerita (Madrid, Spain) Vol. 60 (1992) No. 1 includes Daroca and Cruces: 'Cércidas sobre la creación poética', González: 'Sobre *Salmacida spolia*, v. 18 Vahlen del *Aiax* de Ennio'; No. 2 includes Ibáñez: 'La cesura: Metro y sentido en el verso griego', del Pozo: 'Naturaleza y relación de las nociones ciceronianas de *sapiens* y *princeps*'; Vol. 61 (1993) No. 1 includes Sullivan: 'Person and θυμός in the Poetry of Hesiod', Morenilla: 'Periplectómeno. La *aristeia* de una vieja figura cómica'.

Epistula Witwatersrandensis (Johannesburg) Vol. 2 (1992).

Epistula Zimbabweana (Harare, Zimbabwe) Vol. 25 (1991); Vol. 26 (1992) includes Dominik: 'Rhetorical and Declamatory Influences on Ovid'.

Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook Twelve (1992) (Fort Washington, USA).

Les Études Classiques (Namur, Belgium) Vol. 61 (1993) No. 3 includes Dehon: 'Tradition et innovation dans Tibulle, I, 1, 45-48'; No. 4 includes Cormier: 'Le lien mystique. *Topos* classique quasi-virgilien transposé et adapté au XIIe siècle'.

Euphrosyne (Lisbon, Portugal) ns Vol. 21 (1993) includes Alexandre: 'A Rhetorical Analysis of Philo's *Virtutibus*', Kecskeméti: 'Doctrine et drame dans la prédication grecque', Carvalho: 'Sur la grammaire du genre en latin', Alberto: 'Séneca e Marthino de Braga: Alguns fantasmas de uma recepção'.

Florilegium (Ottawa, Canada) Vol. 10 (1988-91) includes Frendo: 'Religion and Politics in Byzantium on the Eve of the Arab Conquest', Harris: 'Aeneas's Treason and Narrative Consistency in the Mediaeval Irish *Imtheachta Aeniasa*'; Vol. 11 (1992) includes Clogan: 'Lydgate and the *Roman Antique*'.

Gerión (Madrid, Spain) Vol. 10 (1992) includes Posadas: 'Mujeres en Tácito: Retratos individuales y caracterización genérica', Rodríguez: 'La misericordia en las *Historiae Alexandri Magni* de Quinto Curcio'.

Hellenika (Thessalonica, Greece) Vol. 43 (1993) includes Σακελλαρίδου-Σωτηρούδη: Ο Ηρόδοτος στις Παρεκβολές του Ευσταθίου Θεσσαλονίκης στον Διονύσιο τον Περιηγητή', Kotzabassi: 'Die Progymnasmata des Gregor von Zypern. Fabeln, Erzählung und Ethopoiie'.

Hermathena (Dublin, Ireland) Vol. 150 (Summer 1991) includes Rudd: 'Two Invitations: Tennyson *To the Rev. F. D. Maurice* and Horace to Maecenas', Jackson: 'Myrsilus of Methymna and the Seven Muses', Doumas: 'What Did the Argonauts Seek in Colchis?'; Quatercentenary Issue (1992).

Journal of Classical Studies (Kyoto and Tokyo, Japan) Vol. 40 (1992) includes Tanaka: 'An Interpretation of the *Cratylus*', Sakurai: 'Property Confiscated by the Thirty Tyrants and the Restored Democracy of Athens', Nakahata: 'The Subject of Cognition in Plato's *Republic*', Hiwaki: 'Kin Groups in Roman Society'; *Report of Research Project: Formation and Transformation of Greek and Roman Myths* (1984); *Report of Research Project: Religious Meaning and Artistic Form of the Greek and Roman Myths* (1992).

Journal of Humanities (Zomba, Malawi) Vol. 6 (1992) includes McKechnie: 'The Downfall of the Children of Night: Physical and Non-Physical Entities in Fifth-Century B.C. Greek Thought', Waegeman: 'On Semonides Fragm. 7, Fables and Old Creation Myths'.

Latinitas (Vatican City) Vol. 41 (1993) includes Carbonero: 'Annotatiunculae Plautinae'.

Museum Helveticum (Basel, Switzerland) Vol. 48 (1991) No. 1 includes Damon: 'Aesthetic Response and Technical Analysis in the Rhetorical Writings of Dionysius of Halicarnassus'.

New England Classical Newsletter (Fairfield, USA) Vol. 21 (1993) No. 1 includes Lawless: 'Promises Made, Promises Kept in Tibullus 1.3'.

Papers on Grammar (Bologna, Italy) Vol. 1 (1980) includes Maraldi: 'The Complement Structure of Perception Verbs in Latin', Bertocchi: 'Some Problems About Verbal Aspect'; Vol. 2 (1986) includes Gernia: 'Latin Declension: A Theoretical and Methodological Approach', Calboli: 'A Struggle with a Ghost and the Contrast Between Theme and Rheme (Pliny, *Epist.* 7.27.5-10)'; Vol. 3 (1990) includes Elerick: 'Latin as an SDOV Language: The Evidence from Cicero', Venzi: 'Azioni, "Aktionsarten", Risultati'.

Papers on Rhetoric (Bologna, Italy) Vol. 1 (1993) includes Calboli: 'Zur Textüberlieferung der *Rhetorica ad Herennium*', Pasini: 'Tecniche della metafora in Virgilio'; Montefusco: *Exordium Narratio Epilogus* (1988); Pasini: *Grammatica del chiasmo in Virgilio* (1991).

Parnassos (Athens, Greece) Vol. 34 (1992) includes Gigante: 'Virgilio e i suoi amici tra Napoli e Ercolano', Zoras: 'L'elemento divino nel *Ippolito* di Euripide'.

Pegasus (Exeter, England) Vol. 35 (1992) includes Sowray: 'The Diet of the Roman Soldier'; Vol. 36 (1993) includes Nice: 'Superstition and Religion in Tacitus' and Dio's Accounts of the Boudican Revolt'.

Platon (Athens, Greece) Vol. 44 (1992) includes Stagman: 'Aristophanes and Shakespeare', Meron: '*Antigone* de Sophocle', Κώνστα: 'Πινδαρικά'.

Primitiae (Canberra, Australia) No. 8.

Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society (Cambridge, England) Vol. 38 (1992) includes Cairns: 'Theocritus, *Idyll* 26', Fantham: 'Ceres, Liber and Flora: Georgic and Anti-Georgic Elements in Ovid's *Fasti*', Halstead: 'The Mycenaean Palatial Economy', Hölkeskamp: 'Written Law in Archaic Greece', Walker: '*Eros* and the Eye in the *Love-Letters* of Philostratus', Williams: 'On Ovid's *Ibis*: A Poem in Context'.

Prudentia (Auckland, New Zealand) Vol. 24 (1992) No. 1 includes Zhai: 'Does Plato in the *Republic* Have Two Claims About the Best Life?', Little: 'The Song of Iopas', Baldwin: 'Samuel Johnson and Virgil'; Vol. 24 (1992) No. 2 includes Bond: 'Ajax and Antony and the Time-Expired Hero', McKechnie: 'Tertullian's *De Pallio* and Life in Roman Carthage'; Vol. 25 (1993) No. 1 includes Hester: 'The Ignorance of Oedipus', Matthews: 'Constantine and the Second Roman Revolution'.

Quaderni di Storia (Bari, Italy) Vol. 19 (1993) No. 37.

Syllecta Classica (Iowa City, USA) Vol. 4 (1993) includes Konstan: 'Friends and Lovers in Ancient Greece', Tatum: 'Ritual and Personal Morality in Roman Religion', P. Hubbard: 'Poetic Succession and the Genesis of Alexandrian Bucolic', Feldman: 'Josephus' Portraits of the Pharaohs'.

Živa Antika (Skopje, Macedonia) Vol. 40 (1990) Nos. 1-2 includes Marcovich: 'The Gold Leaf from Hipponion Revisited', Papazoglou: 'La Population des colonies romaines en Macédoine'; Vols. 41-42 (1992) Nos. 1-2 includes Sauge: '*Iliade* 9: L'Attitude d'Achille', Babič: 'Word Order in Plautus: Interrogative and Imperative Sentences'.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. Submissions are invited in every area of Classical Studies. Preferred languages are English and Afrikaans.

2. (a) Contributors should address two copies of the submission to the Editor, *Scholia*, Department of Classics, University of Natal, King George V Avenue, Durban, 4001, Republic of South Africa. Submissions are not normally returned unless return postage is pre-paid. 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) While the Editorial Committee undertakes to publish submissions accepted as soon as possible, it reserves the right to hold over any contribution to another volume.
   (e) First (and occasionally second) proofs are sent to contributors whose submissions are accepted for publication. Proofreading is then the responsibility of the author.

3. (a) Articles should be submitted in clear type and be double-spaced throughout on 210mm x 297mm or 8.5" x 11" paper.
   (b) Articles should not ordinarily exceed 7 000 words in length. Review articles should not be longer than 3 000 words; short reviews of 300-600 words are preferred.
   (c) Articles should preferably be accompanied by copy on a diskette in computer-readable form; contributors should indicate clearly the word-processing program used in writing the article. (To avoid damage to the diskette during mailing, please post in a diskette mailer.) Manuscripts not accompanied by copy on a computer diskette are also acceptable.

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*.

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. All Greek and Latin text should be translated, preferably by the author.

(a) 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.

(b) 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 end of the text.

(b) Authors should be cited by initials and surname only.

(c) Titles of books, periodicals, and Greek and Latin technical terms should be italicised.

(d) Titles of articles should be enclosed in single inverted commas.

(e) Volume numbers of periodicals should be given in Arabic rather than Roman numerals.

(f) 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.').

(g) 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, endnote number of the first citation of the work, and relevant page numbers. The following forms should be used:

Cancik [4] 38-40; Waters [17] 55f.

(h) The author is responsible for ensuring the accuracy of all references to primary and secondary materials.

(i) 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*, 2nd ed. (1970) or in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* and Liddell-Scott-Jones' *Greek-English Lexicon*.

(c) In citation of classical works, names of texts should be italicised and Arabic rather than Roman numerals should be used.

(d) Titles of standard reference works should be written out in full the first time that the works are cited:

Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft; *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*.

Subsequent citations of the works should be by abbreviation:

RE; *FGrH*.

10. *Scholia* retains copyright in content and format. Contributors should obtain written permission from the Editor before using material in another publication.

FORTHCOMING IN *SCHOLIA* (1994)

Articles and reviews forthcoming in *Scholia* ns Vol. 3 (1994) include:

ARTICLES

Cloud Morality and the Meteorology of Some Choral Odes
    Dougal Blyth University of Auckland, New Zealand

Antony as *Miles Gloriosus* in Cicero's Second *Philippic* Oration
    Lewis A. Sussman University of Florida, USA

Oedipus and His Parents: The Biological Family from Sophocles to Dryden
    David Konstan Brown University, USA

Claudius' Edict on Sick Slaves
    Ann Major Macquarie University, Australia

Statius' Hypsipyle: Following in the Footsteps of the *Aeneid*
    S. Georgia Nugent Princeton University, USA

Hesiod's *Theogony*: Oak and Stone Again
    Edward A. Schmoll Concordia College, USA

REVIEWS

A. J. Boyle (ed.), *Roman Epic* / Peter Toohey, *Reading Epic: An Introduction to the Ancient Narratives* (Peter Davis)

Peter Whigham (ed.), *Letter to Juvenal: 101 Epigrams From Martial* / Tony Harrison (ed.), *Palladas: Poems* / Charles Tomlinson (ed.), *Eros English'd: Classical Erotic Poetry in Translation from Golding to Hardy* (Michael Lambert)

IN THE UNIVERSITIES

Information about programmes in Classics at South African universities, including Natal (Durban and Pietermaritzburg), Orange Free State, Rand Afrikaans and the Witswatersrand.

To subscribe, please cut along the line or photocopy the entire page.

Subscription Form

Name: _____

Institution: _____

Address: _____

_____

City and Province/State: _____

Postcode/Zipcode: _____

Country: _____

Rates (1994): Africa R15; outside Africa US$15/UK£10

Foreign subscribers should send payment with all bank charges paid; the preferred method of payment is an international money order or bank draft in South African Rand. Foreign subscribers who send personal cheques in any currency should include an additional US$3/UK £2 to cover bank charges. After initial payment, a subscription to the journal will be entered.

Mail subscriptions with money order or bank draft to:

Business Manager, *Scholia*
Department of Classics
University of Natal
King George V Avenue
Durban 4001
Republic of South Africa