PEGASUS

EXETER UNIVERSITY
23 JUN 1978
LIBRARY

NUMBER 21

15p

No. 21.

June, 1978.

P E G A S U S

University of Exeter Classical Society Magazine

Editor : Paul Denny

Business Editor : Penelope Hyder

The editors are relieved to announce the publication of the long-awaited Pegasus incorporating a couple of new features, namely a crossword, and a new cover designed by Michael Pring.

We regret it has been necessary to increase the price of this issue to 15p., due largely to a rise in production costs.

The Classics Department, in terms of social events and financial enterprises, has had a moderately successful year. The film 'Satyricon' did not run at a loss, and perhaps we may look forward to more parties outside university premises, in view of the enjoyable evening spent at Ros Williams' flat.

The current issue seems to contain a preponderance of articles by members of staff. It would be pleasing to see more student participation in future editions.

Finally, the editors would like to thank Mrs. Harris for her steady encouragement, help and advice during the year, and for her magnificent achievement in the sphere of typing.

Contents

Version

anon. p.17

THE JUDICIOUS GLUCKER

The Classics department at Exeter is enjoying a brief moment of unparalleled glory: almost half of the staff are professors. We have one Emeritus Professor; one Professor and Head of Department; and now one Professor Elect: John Glucker, who has been appointed Associate Professor in the Departments of Classics and Philosophy at the University of Tel Aviv. Vae, muto professor fio, he might be heard to mutter; or rather, Io for him, but Vae for us. It will be a great loss to Exeter.

I first met John in Oxford in 1961; we were introduced after a lecture on the Pre-Socratics by G.E.L. Owen - a course which, incidentally, Rosemary Arundel was also attending. We had no idea that we were all to have Exeter in common. John had just arrived in this country, and was a research student at Pembroke College. He had taken his first degree and his M.A. at Jerusalem; I later discovered that the University regards him as one of their most distinguished graduates in Classics. He had also done a period of National Service in Israel, and had risen to the rank of Sergeant-Major. In view of his quiet manner, a friend once enquired how he had got people to obey orders. "I just asked them, and they did it", he said. I still have some letters from John's early days in Oxford, beginning "Dear Mr. Slavery" - or at least, that's what it looks like in his handwriting.

In summer 1963 I was staying with John in his lodgings in Kingston Road, soon after he had applied for an assistant lectureship at Exeter. John kept asking me "Just what sort of a place is Exeter?", whereas people at Exeter had kept asking me "Just what sort of man is this Glücker?" - and in particular, "How foreign is he?" (In those days he had an umlaut, which he lost in the train between Oxford and Exeter.) This seems a quaint question nowadays, since John has become so much a part of the English scene. Born in Vienna, brought up in Israel, and thus bilingual from an early age, he has become trilingual apparently without effort. In the early sixties there may have been a few unconventional phrases ("I shall come crawling on all my fours"); but his mastery of English - both spoken and written - has always been so secure that no-one would suspect that it is not his native tongue. John also reads Arabic, French, Italian and American.

When John arrived in Exeter, he used to live in a flat at 32 Pennsylvania. We often went round there for a meal - usually tahini - on the kitchen table with newspapers serving as tablecloth. It is a result of John's influence that tahini is stocked in the shops of Exeter, and even, I am told, in remote Scottish villages. There were oranges, too: John's mother used to send him a whole crate, fresh from Jaffa, every year. Now he is going back to the land wo die Orangen blühen, where his umbrella, from which he has been almost inseparable in England, will be rarely used. His room, even in those days, overflowed with books; you opened the sideboard, covered with books, and found more books, and behind them, a second rank of books, and behind them, the knives and forks. He has a fascinating library. One useful volume, for example, tells you how to live for ever ("no-one has yet succeeded, but there is no reason why it should not be possible"); one of its tips is that you should always sleep with your head sticking out of the window.

John has taught at Exeter for fifteen years. He is a born teacher, and unsparing of time and energy in helping his pupils.

Anyone who has taken a problem, personal or academic, to John will have found that his patience and his time are apparently unlimited; and his advice is always worth having. This endless willingness to listen, with unfailing courtesy, and to discuss - the therapeutic role of the tutor - may have something to do with the fact that John's father was a doctor. And this care is spent not only on "high fliers"; more pedestrian pupils have benefitted just as much, and low crawlers too. He has always maintained close personal contact with students, keeping open house to them at all times; and friendships thus formed do not end when the student leaves the University. Indeed, John got on so well with one student, treating her so affectionately after her Thucydides exam in finals, that I felt that perhaps I ought to point out that he was exceeding a tutor's duties, and that maybe this was a bit foreign; but then we learnt that John was going to marry Carol Evans, and all was explained. The wedding was in 1968, and it has been a happy and successful marriage. Ruthie was born in 1969, Ilana in 1973; I can't remember when the cats were born.

He has taught a wide variety of subjects: the usual translation classes, naturally, and set books, and contributions to the Greek and Roman literature courses; the vital but time-consuming Beginners' Greek; Cicero as Set Author - thirty lectures on Cicero as philosopher, orator and letter-writer; Latin textual criticism as a third-year Special Subject; the whole of the third-year course on Greek drama; Modern Greek for anyone who wanted to learn ("Translate into Modern Greek: God and the world are more beautiful than your old sisters. Yes they are. The baker will not become a priest: he will become an angel. You are not a friend of the Prime Minister. No, I am a friend of the Greek Nation. Really?"); and another Special Subject, Post-classical Greek, from the Hellenistic period to this morning's newspaper. I doubt whether this list is complete.

John has also done much else for classics at Exeter. For the past few years he has taken care of admissions to the Department. He has lectured to the South-West branch of the Classical Association: in 1965 on "The Academy after Antiochus"; in 1969 on "Professor Key and Doctor Wagner"; and in 1976 on "Plato through the eyes of a Sceptic". He has an astonishing and enviable ability to lecture entirely without notes. With some speakers, this might mean drift and chaos; but John can present a complex argument lucidly, stage by stage, without a word in front of him. From 1968 to 1970 he was secretary of the local branch of the Classical Association; his minutes make entertaining reading ("The chairman proceeded to deliver a detailed disquisition upon the time and place of meetings since the University moved from Gandy Street ..."). He was also responsible for the amazing term in which we had visiting speakers from Toulouse, Mannheim and Graz. In 1976 he was the driving force behind the production of Seneca's Phaedra in Latin. Play-readings in Greek and Latin were nothing new (John had been active in organizing these, too, in earlier years), but a fully-staged performance like this had never been attempted before, and it achieved a remarkable success. It was good to hear the Latin language, uncluttered by the consonantal agglomerations and half-vowels that afflict modern languages, drifting across the Exe valley in the open-air production. The gory mangled limbs from the final scene are still preserved. Pegasus itself owes an enormous amount to John. He has always insisted that the idea came from the students of 1964, not himself; but without his encouragement, even if it had got off the ground, I suspect that it might have collapsed after a year or two, like so many student journals (where is Daedalus these days? or Clio?). But here is the twenty-first number - time for a

birthday party? - and it is read all over the country, and in Eire, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Germany, Luxembourg, Italy, Spain, South Africa, Canada, the United States ... John was for many years the éminence grise who ensured the continuity of the journal; and he must surely have contributed more articles than anyone else.

Another equally impressive achievement is his work for the Library. Shortly after he arrived until 1971 John was responsible for ordering the Classics books. Working from a small grant, he made a great impact on an inadequate collection: by the use of extra-departmental funds, by evoking special grants that no-one else knew existed, even by persuading students to give books - which is how the Modern Greek section originated -, John built up all the sections in which we have an interest. The emphasis was, rightly, on texts; but a host of new journals appeared on the shelves, too, and complete back runs of those already established; and standard works, such as the two corpora of inscriptions and the entire Oxyrhynchus Papyri, were at last acquired. Of course there are still howling gaps; but if one ever discovers with surprise that we actually have the Revue du Altertumswissenschaft di San Marino, the credit will almost certainly due to John. Attitudes have of course changed over the years. There was for example the classic response of the librarian, whose name I know but shall not mention, who took one look at one of John's order-lists and enquired "More rubbish, Mr. Glucker?"

John has an unusually wide range of interests: on the Greek side, from Homer to modern literature (or should I say from the Creation to Karamanlis?) via the history of philosophy, in particular Aristotle and, of course, the later Academy; an equally impressive scope in Latin, where he has specialized in Cicero; textual criticism; and the history of classical scholarship, particularly during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. No doubt there are others whose interests are just as numerous and varied; but few, I imagine, - certainly few of his own generation - possess anything like the consistent depth of knowledge and firmness of grasp which John shows in every one of these fields. Some notion of this range may be gathered from the bibliography attached at the end. A better idea may be gained from a glance at the footnotes to his forthcoming book Antiochus and the Late Academy, where he deals with many areas which to the average classicist are "faraway countries of which we know little" with equal confidence, skill and understanding - a healthy corrective to the arrogant pig-ignorance of those who imagine that the study of the ancient world is a narrow, well-trodden path. The history of philosophy will never look quite the same after his book has been published. If John is right (and to my non-expert eye his arguments, which are very thorough and converge from many angles, look entirely convincing), he has demolished a whole nexus of long-standing beliefs, and the history of the late Academy will need to be re-written - or rather, John has himself re-written it. His book is primarily historical; it will be followed by a philosophical sequel; and we are also promised an edition of the fragments of the sceptical Academy.

The distinction of John's work has been recognized. In 1971 he was elected Fellow of the Center for Hellenic Studies at Washington D.C., which enabled him to write the bulk of his book in ideal surroundings. In 1973 he was Visiting Senior Lecturer at the University of Tel Aviv, where inter alia he lectured in Hebrew on the Pre-Socratics to audiences of two hundred. War broke out as soon as he arrived in Israel. The worst moment was when the family thought they were being bombed immediately overhead; it was in fact a thunderstorm. Term eventually began on Christmas Eve. John's

return was equally dramatic: he stopped at Athens on the way back, just at the time of the collapse of the military dictatorship. ("I was working in the library, and there was all this noise in the street outside ...")

The distinction of John's character has also been recognized: he had the honour of being named on the Vice-Chancellor's notorious list as "awkward". Unswerving perhaps, even in some matters inflexible - but surely "awkward" in no sense. His presence is not easily described. Bearing something of a resemblance to Michelangelo's David, in the opinion of one colleague, he deploys a gently mocking irony; sceptical, not easily impressed, indeed on first impressions appearing somewhat aloof, he is in fact the soul of kindness and understanding: his kindness to myself and my family, for instance, has been constant over the years, and he has proved a good friend at all times, including times of difficulty. A few days after our son Francis was born, John presented him with three gifts: a shooting-stick, an elementary Latin grammar, and a Greek primer. The first of these was used tentatively last year (he fell off); the second will come in handy in the autumn; as for the third - well, we shall see. John's interests include music and English literature, in which he is unusually widely read; and if he is immersed in a book when one calls, it is as likely to be Stephen Leacock or McGonagall as Aenesidemus or Hippobotus. A number of jeux d'esprits in Pegasus - for example, the hilarious mock examination-essay in no. 1 - give some indication of his own idiosyncratic, wry humour. Perhaps that statuette of Socrates, wearing a tartan bonnet and leading a giraffe, is in some way symbolic.

Unfailingly considerate and generous; painstakingly fair; scrupulously honest; unselfish; erudite, with a passionate belief in the maintenance of the highest standards; whole-heartedly devoted to his subject, his family, friends and pupils; astonishingly energetic - in saying all this, true as it is, I feel as though I were half way between Pliny writing his Panegyricus and Eamonn Andrews introducing This Is Yer Laife, with results just as tedious for the audience, and just as embarrassing for the recipient. Perhaps it would have been better if colleagues and pupils past and present could have written a symposium. We tend to take people for granted until they are gone. We shall certainly miss the Gluckers. We wish John, Carol and the children well in their new life, and hope they won't forget to come back to Exeter from time to time.

David Harvey

PUBLICATIONS OF JOHN GLUCKER

1. Modality in Maimonides' Guide to the Perplexed, Iyyun, Hebrew Philosophical Quarterly 10 (1959), 177-91 [in Hebrew]
2. A misinterpretation of a passage in Thucydides [I.22.1], Eranos 62 (1964), 1-6
3. Casaubon's Aristotle, Classica et Mediaevalia 25 (1964), 274-96
4. 'Consulares philosophi' again, Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes 11 (1965), 229-34

5. (with John Foreman) Thucydides II. 83.3, Pegasus 5 (1966), 38-48

6. Euripides, Hippolytus 88, Classical Review n.s. 16 (1966), 17

7. A presentation copy of Casaubon's Athenaeus in Exeter Cathedral Library, Pegasus 6 (1966), 13-19

8. The classical publications of W.F. Jackson Knight: a bibliography, Orpheus 12 (1965), 157-80

9. An autograph letter of Joseph Scaliger to Sir Henry Savile, Scientarum Historia 8 (1966), 214-24

10. The case for Edward Casaubon, Pegasus 9 (1967), 7-22

11. Richard Thomson to Isaac Casaubon, 1596, Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance 30 (1968), 149-53

12. Notes on the Byzantine treatise on tragedy, Byzantion 38 (1968), 267-72

13. Cicero, Orator 63, 65, 80, Latomus 27 (1968), 904-6

14. Professor Key and Doctor Wagner, Pegasus 12 (1969), 21-41

15. A classical metrical pattern in Rolfe, The Antigonish Review 1 (1970), 46-51

16. Thucydides I. 29,3, Gregory of Corinth and the ars interpretandi, Mnemosyne 23 (1970), 127-49

17. Ciceroniana [de Amic. 20; de Fin. I. 8], Eranos 68 (1970), 231-3 [in Latin]

18. Articles in the Oxford Classical Dictionary^2 (1970) on Arcesilaus; Critolaus; Lyco; Philo of Larissa; Pyrrho of Elis

19. Review of A. Fuks, The Athenian Commonwealth, Journal of Hellenic Studies 91 (1971), 194-5

20. Casaubon goes forth again, Pegasus 14 (1972), 24-30

21. Vergiliomastiges, Pegasus 15 (1973), 15-51

22. Dioscorides, Anth. Pal. VII. 411.2 and some related problems, Eranos 71 (1973), 84-94

23. Aeschylus and the third actor, Classica et Mediaevalia 30 ("1969"; publ. 1974), 56-77

24. Some passages in Cicero's Orator [12, 23, 57, 93, 105], Giornale Italiano di Filologia n.s. 5 (26),(1974), 170-9

25. On imperfect being, Iyyun, Hebrew Philosophical Quarterly 25 (1974), 247-311 [In Hebrew, with English summary. Subtitle: Methodological problems in the study of ancient philosophy]

26. (with Hermann Funke) Mehler to Bernays, 1853, Pegasus 16 (1973 or 74), 1-6

27. Translation of poem, 'Antigone', by Leah Goldberg, Pegasus 18 (1975), 1-2

28. (with Stuart Fortey) Actus tragicus: Seneca on the stage, Latomus 34 (1975), 699-715

29. One of those things, Pegasus 19 (1976), 23-35

30. Resurrection, saints and city, Pegasus 20 (1977), 16

31. †Dunttia (Cicero, Lucullus 135), Classical Philology 73 (1978), 47-9.

32. Britannicus' swan-song, Pegasus 21, 9-17.

33. ANTIOCHUS AND THE LATE ACADEMY, Hypomnemata 56, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Gottingen (forthcoming, summer 1978)

34. Translation of Matthias Gelzer, Cicero (publication pending)

35. An account of Jackson Knight and Erasmus in G.Wilson Knight, Jackson Knight, a Biography (1975), 321-330.

Erratum: nos. 26 and 35 are alas chronologically misplaced. More lighthearted pieces have been omitted; they can easily be traced in the indexes in Pegasus nos. 11 and 21. I hope nothing has been overlooked.

F.D.H.

ELYSIUM REVISITED

(The First Jackson Knight Memorial Joke)

Why did the pedestrian cross the road?

Because he wanted to get to the Other Side.

THE ANGER OF AUGUSTUS

Sir Ronald Syme

[On November 21st, 1977, Sir Ronald Syme gave a lecture to the Classical Society (and the South-West branch of the Classical Association) entitled "The Error of Caesar Augustus," in which he discussed the reasons for Ovid's exile and argued that "the carmen and the error (Tristia II,207) are in a tight nexus: neither charge was good enough without the other." Sir Ronald's text was part of a book forthcoming from Oxford Universit Press, but he has generously given permission for Pegasus to print the following extract. "The error of Caesar Augustus played into Ovid's hands": that is, by including the Ars Amatoria among the reasons for Ovid's disgrace, Augustus gave him the opportunity of self-defence - and counter attack - and this is one of the ways he used it.]

The first of the poems from exile introduces 'principis ira' (Tristia I.1.33), and before long a single piece has 'numinis ira,' 'Iovis ira,' 'ira dei' (I.5). In a later poem (III.11) 'Caesaris ira' appears three times. Variants occur such as 'vindicis ira,' 'ira deorum,' 'iratum numen.'

Some frequencies are remarkable. Thus 'ira dei' and 'numinis ira' (five times each). Above all 'principis ira' (seven) and 'Caesaris ira' (nineteen).

The iteration is deliberate and ominous. Whereas 'iracundia' denotes the manifestation of bad temper, or the propensity to it, 'ira' is choice and concentrated: anger excited by resentment at an affront or an injustice,[1] and often infused with the spirit of revenge. 'Ira' is appropriately the wrath of deities unrelenting. Thus in the exordium of the Aeneid, with 'saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram' and 'tantaene animis caelestibus irae?' Or, for that matter, in another author.

Hellespontiaci sequitur gravis ira Priapi.[2]

Ovid's iterations carry a double edge. First, if Caesar is a 'caelestis vir,' nay, a divinity in person, he ought not to display anger, since he is omnipotent. Rather mildness and mercy. The word is 'clementia' (which occurs ten times in these poems), now becoming reputable: it was dubious and equivocal in the previous age, when 'clementia' connoted the power of a master who may forgive but need not. Ovid does not venture on 'inclementia,' which occurred in Virgil, 'divum inclementia, divum' - - and is applied by Tacitus to the grim demeanour of Tiberius Caesar.[3]

Second, a 'princeps' should not give way to anger, neither should a Caesar. Ovid makes 'ira' adhere to both impressive names, repeatedly. Therefore, at the lowest, the comportment of this Caesar is shown discrepant with the dignity of his station.

One may usefully adduce Sallust's version of the oration of Julius Caesar, the praetor designate, deprecating anger and hasty decisions: if small men surrender to passion,

who knows, who cares? It is otherwise with governments or with persons of rank and power and prestige, who 'magno imperio praediti aetatem in excelso agunt.'[4] The orator quietly concludes, 'irasci minume decet.'

1 The definition of Seneca is not very good (De ira I.4.1). Statistics in Tacitus are instructive. For 'ira' nearly three columns in the lexicon of Gerber-Greef; for 'iracundia', Agr. (1); Hist. (3); Ann. (2).

2 Petronius, Sat. 1,9.

3 Aen. II.602; Ann. IV.42.3.

4 Sallust, Cat. 51.13.

What might archaeologists in 1500 years' time, on excavating the ruins of the University Library, make of the following graffiti to be observed on a wall of the lower stack in the Classics section?

L O L O A Q I C I 8 2 Q B 4 I P.

Linear G perhaps?

BRITANNICUS' SWAN-SONG

Tacitus, Annals XIII,15,3 : ubi Britannico iussit exurgeret progressusque in medium cantum aliquem inciperet...ille constanter exorsus est carmen, quo evolutum eum sede patria rebusque summis significabatur.

In his large commentary,[1] Furneaux merely remarks : 'The poem was probably not an 'impromptu' but a quotation.' This is fairly obvious, since Tacitus is using the rather impersonal expressions eum and significabatur, as if Britannicus, invited to sing some poem (cantum aliquem) sang one in which it was indicated or hinted[2] (or more freely: from which it could be gathered) that he, too - that is, Britannicus - was being driven out of his native land. But which poem? In Pitman's abridged edition of Furneaux' commentary,[3] we read: 'The song chosen by Britannicus is conjectured to have been a passage from Ennius' Andromache, on Priam's downfall.' This is still far from helpful. Pitman's commentary is intended for schoolchildren and for 'students desiring a less copious and advanced commentary than Mr. Furneaux' large edition of the Annals.'[4] Such students are not very likely to be exceedingly familiar with fragments of Ennius' Andromacha - or indeed, with any fragments of Ennius.[5] And all they are told by Pitman is that the song is about Priam's downfall. But why should Britannicus, who was not emperor, choose to sing a song describing the downfall of the King of Troy- who, in any case, was not expelled from his country but killed at the altar of Juppiter well inside Troy (as every schoolboy does know)?

Our puzzled student may by now feel desirous of more copious and advanced opitulation. He will find it if he turns to some of the older commentaries. They will explain to him that the song meant here was the one beginning with the lines :

O pater, o patria, o Priami domus
saeptum altisono cardine templum etc.

-adding that this identification had been established by Lipsius.[6]

Now, at last, our student will realize that, although Priam's downfall may have been the theme of this song, the song itself was most unlikely to have been put in the mouth of Priam himself - not with words like Priami domus. Indeed, the words o pater (so suitable, of course, to a vera dignaque stirps suscipiendo patris imperio) would suggest that the speaker - or singer - in Ennius was one of Priam's children. And since the tragedy in question is called Andromacha, why not Priam's daughter-in-law Andromache herself?

Our bewildered but enterprising student will now rush to the library in search of a complete text of this song. Huic subvenire debemus; quaerit enim auxilium. This is what he will find in Professor Jocelyn's edition of the fragments of Ennius' tragedies - and, with slight variations, in Professor Warmington's Remains of Old Latin :[7]

ex opibus summis opis egens Hector tuae.

* * *

quid petam praesidi aut exequar? quoue nunc
auxilio exili aut fugae freta sim?
arce et urbe orba sum. quo accedam? quo applicem?
cui nec arae patriae domi stant, fractae et disiectae
iacent,
fana flamma deflagrata, tosti +alii+ stant parietes,
deformati atque abiete crispa.

* * *

o pater, o patria, o Priami domus,
saeptum altisono cardine templum.
uidi ego te adstante ope barbarica,
tectis caelatis laqueatis,
auro ebore instructam regifice.

* * *

haec omnia uidi inflammari,
Priamo ui uitam euitari,
Iouis aram sanguine turpari.

A beautiful song. But what is our guarantee that this is what Tacitus has in mind? Merely the similarity between o patria and ex opibus summis of Ennius and sede patria rebusque summis of Tacitus? If this is all there is to it, are not Furneaux and Pitman justified in their cavalier attitude to Lipsius' suggestion ?

I suspect that the network of similarities and connections does not end here. It is true that Cicero[8] is our main source for this fragment of Ennius. But this canticum was not unknown to other writers, both contemporary and later. Among the literary reminiscences and imitations of this canticum, Jocelyn[9] quotes passages from Plautus' Bacchides, Sallust's Jugurtha, Virgil's Aeneid, a controversia of Porcius Latro preserved by Seneca the Elder - and our own sentence of Tacitus. I find one sentence of Porcius Latro's controversia especially helpful - Seneca, Controv. I,1,p.153 Kiessling:[10]

nam quid ex summis opibus ad egestatem devolutos loquar?

The connection with the first line of our fragment of Ennius is clear enough : ex summis opibus = ex opibus summis, and egestas = egens. But the similarity to Tacitus is only a little less striking. For does not Tacitus have evolutum where Latro has devolutos, and rebus summis where Latro has summis opibus (but Tacitus has it in Ennius' order, like opibus summis)?

Seneca the Elder, our source for this controversia of Porcius Latro, had a son, most naturally known as Seneca the Younger (which he could not help being), or less naturally known as Seneca the Philosopher (which he would not help being). In one of his Epistulae ad Lucilium (74,4) Seneca the Younger writes :

occurrent acti in exilium et evoluti bonis; occurrent, quod genus egestatis grauissimum est, in diuitis inopes.

Again, the reminiscences are unmistakable: euoluti where Latro has devolutos and Tacitus evolutum; egestas, the same word used by Latro and echoing Ennius' egens; and inopes, echoing ex summis opibus of Latro and ex opibus summis opis egens of Ennius. What is even more interesting is that Seneca uses here evolvo with the ablative in the same unusual sense this verb (also in the past participle) has in our passage of Tacitus, and in a sentence reminiscent of the Ennian canticum.[11]

Another example of evolvo with the ablative, in the same sense of 'turn out of', occurs in Plautus, Menaechmi 903:

quem ego hominem, si quidem uiuo, uita euoluam sua.

The interest of this line of Plautus does not end with its unusual use of evolvo. The words uiuo, uita euoluam are obviously a sound-play reminiscent of another line of our fragment of Ennius (Jocelyn 1.93; Warmington 107) : Priamo ui uitam euitari, where the sound-play on the recurring u and the subject matter, that of depriving a man of his life, combine to render coincidence unlikely.[12] Especially since Plautus shows knowledge of this Ennian canticum in another passage, Bacchides 933-4, rightly taken by Ribbeck and Jocelyn to be a parody of our passage of Ennius.[13]

Did the verb evolvo with the ablative occur somewhere, in a line now lost, in this canticum of Ennius' Andromacha? Perhaps. Latro has devolutos, Seneca the Younger evoluti, Plautus evolvam and Tacitus evolutum - all in passages reminiscent of this Ennian canticum.

There is a fragment of Accius which may, perhaps, provide a further clue - Phinidae 1.576 Ribbeck, 582 Warmington :

aut saepe ex humili sede sublima evolat.

Admittedly, evolat comes from evolare, not from evolvere; and what else in this line to remind one of Ennius? But Tacitus has evolutum...sede patria, and Accius has both sede and evolat, which sounds, at least, near enough to evolutus even if it is a different verb. And alliteration and 'sound-effects' are not to be despised in dealing with early Latin poetry. Did Ennius have sede (or any other form of sedes) as well in a lost line of our canticum? And perhaps in connection with evolvo + ablative? I should not press this point. It is just possible that this was the case, and that Accius' line - although in a different context and using a different verb - is yet another sound-echo of our Ennian passage. Neither evolvo nor sedes seem to occur in the extant fragments of Ennius' tragedies. Sedes in the sense of 'domicile', 'dwelling-place' or 'homeland' is quite common in Augustan authors and is a special favourite with Livy, whose vocabulary influenced Tacitus far more than that of Ennius. But Livy uses this noun in this sense - if I am not mistaken - mainly in the earlier books, and may well be there under the influence of archaic Latin. In any case, I think that the cumulative evidence - and especially the evidence of the line of Plautus' Menaechmi - would make it quite likely that at least evolvo + ablative may have been used by Ennius. I should let the matter rest there.

The matter of Britannicus' song, that is. For perhaps it is not the only Ennian reminiscence in this story of Tacitus. In ch.16,6, we read:

> quippe sibi supremum auxilium ereptum et parricidii exemplum intellegebat.

If we take Cicero's order of the lines of our canticum - the order followed by Warmington and Jocelyn - [14] we may have here two more reminiscences of the first lines of our fragment, and in that order: ex opibus summis ≅ supremum(auxilium); auxilio ≅ auxilium. Again, I should not press this point. But where we have already found such a network of echoes and reminiscences of our Ennian passage, all leading to Tacitus, two more such reminiscences are not all that unlikely. Especially if Britannicus did sing this canticum from the Andromacha of Ennius. Did he do so?

We have, of course, no evidence that the tragedies of Ennius were still produced on the stage under Claudius and Nero. We do not even know that they were widely read. [15] But a canticum can have its own life long after the play in which it was first sung has sunk into oblivion. Many a popular song in our own time started its career in an opera, a film or a 'musical', and has continued to live its own independent life long after its original context had been forgotten. A Republican Roman tragedy had something in common with a modern play with songs - if not quite with a modern 'musical'. The chorus - as far as we know from fragments assigned to it by the sources - used mainly spoken verses. [16] So did the actors in the dialogue parts. But the actors clearly had their monodies, or cantica, whose metres are lyric, and which were quite probably sung - as were actors' cantica in comedy. [17] At the very least, they were accompanied by music. The trend had probably been set by Euripides, in whose tragedies the actors' arias in lyric metres, the monodies, make their first appearance in our extant tragedy. By the time of Lysimachus - that is, c.300 B.C. - as Lucian (Quom.Hist.Conscr. I,1) tells us, the citizens of Abdera τὴν Εὐριπίδου Ἀνδρομέδαν ἐμονῴδουν. Indeed, late Hellenistic tragedy - probably even more so than comedy - must have abounded in such monodies: this, after all, is what gave rise to the Medieval and Modern Greek words τραγούδι = song and τραγουδῶ = I sing. [18] Andromache's canticum in Ennius' play may not have been widely known in its original context much later than the Augustan age. Porcius Latro and the two Senecas may have read it in its original context. [19] So, perhaps, did Tacitus. [20] But it is more likely that as a song, this canticum survived the loss, or the eclipse, of the play itself. It is not unlikely that as a detached song, it was still being popular enough under Claudius and Nero to be known to Britannicus and sung by him. Indeed, it is not impossible that the son of a scholar and antiquarian like Claudius may even have heard from his father where the song came from. And it is quite likely that Tacitus, who shows familiarity with the words of this song, knew who its author was - if only from the quotations in Cicero's Tusculans, our chief source for this fragment, and a source which was available to Tacitus and may have been read by him. There is enough elemental force in this particular canticum- one of

the most powerful fragments of early Latin poetry we possess - to make it difficult to forget it once you have read it, even in its present mutilated form. And ancient memories were better trained than ours.

If so, why does not Tacitus spell it out? Why not quote the song in full, or at least mention its author and source? It is true that Tacitus, like most Roman historians, does not usually quote literary sources, and that even his literary allusions are hidden allusions.[21] But it is one thing for a historian not to parade his literary allusions and reminiscences before his readers where they are merely literary devices; it is quite another matter not to specify the historical fact (if it is one) that the song sung by Britannicus was derived from Ennius' Andromacha, and to leave it to the more literate among the readers to guess this from hidden verbal reminiscences. Why?

One possible answer is that - as I have already suggested - by the time of Tacitus this canticum had already become a detached song with a life of its own. To specify its ultimate literary source, now lost in the mists of antiquity, in a historical narrative would be precisely the sort of antiquarianism and pedantry Tacitus usually avoids. The cognoscenti would pick this up from Tacitus' phraseology. Other readers need only to be told what the song was about and what it could be construed to allude to in the circumstances.

Another possible - but somewhat perverse - answer is that Tacitus did not wish to specify the source of this song since in the canticum itself references are made to the burning of Troy (fana flamma deflagrata, tosti +alii+ stant parietes. haec omnia uidi inflammari.) A full text of the song, or even an explicit reference to it, could have made some people believe that Britannicus predicted the Great Fire five years or so before it happened - or that the whole story of this song was fabricated by Tacitus or his source ex post factum, after the Great Fire of Rome.

There is, of course, another possible answer: that the song sung by Britannicus was not, after all, the canticum from Ennius' Andromacha. Why should Classical philologists assume that only what is available to us was available to Britannicus, and that, if a Roman felt like singing a song about banishment from one's native land, the only avenue open to him was to reach for his Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta, or his Enniana Poesis Reliquiae, for a suitable song - or should we say text? The Romans must have had popula songs other than the cantica of Ennius, and songs about exile and banishment must have been quite topical under the Julio-Claudian Emperors. In his description of the event, Tacitus, with his wide literary culture, was quite probably using some verbal reminiscences of Ennius' celebrated canticum. Does this necessarily imply that this canticum was the song sung by Britannicus - or that Tacitus wants us to understand that it was? The Romans, after all, sang many songs in their own language. They were not restricted, in singing their songs, to literary texts which have reached the modern reader of Latin through the many shipwrecks in the transmission of ancient literature. Not even to the large amount of Latin poetry known to a Justus Lipsius or to an Otto Ribbeck. And yet even Furneaux, who probably felt that restricting the choice of Britannicus to fragments available to modern scholars was somewhat unkind, cannot refrain from describing Britannicus' song as a 'quotation'! Sing, o Muse, the fragment....

JOHN GLUCKER

NOTES

1. The Annals of Tacitus, edited with introduction and notes by Henry Furneaux, vol.II, Oxford 1891, p.327, note on line 5 ('constanter').

2. See the example quoted by Lewis and Short, significo I β from Cicero, Fam.V,13,2: itaque hoc saepius dicendum tibique non significandum solum sed etiam declarandum arbitror - followed by an object-clause. For the same distinction between declarare and significare see their other example, Cic. Mil. 4. Significo can, of course, be used for more explicit indications - as, e.g., Cic. Att.II,1,1. But even in the most explicit context, its meaning is 'to indicate' rather than 'to spell out'.

3. Cornelii Taciti Annalium Libri XIII-XVI, with introduction and notes abridged from the larger work by Henry Furneaux, M.A., by H.Pitman, M.A., Oxford 1904 and reprints, Notes p.16, s.v. constanter.

4. Ibid. p. III (Preface).

5. Some years ago, I set for comments in an examination paper the passage in Cic. Att.II,19,2, where Cicero uses jestingly of Bibulus the famous verse of Ennius (Ann.XII, line 360W., 370 V^3) Vnus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem. The student taking this paper made no comment whatsoever on this line and the literary allusion in it.

6. On Justus Lipsius, see Sandys' Hist. Class. Sch. II, pp.301-5. Lipsius' own note reads :

> constanter exorsus est carmen.] Vetus illud ex Ennio tritum:
>
> o pater, o patria, o Priami domus,
> Septum altisono cardine templu &c.

I quote this note as it appears in the only two exemplars of Lipsius' commentary available to me in Exeter Cathedral Library : Iusti Lipsi Annales Cor.Taciti Liber Commentarius, Variis in locis auctus, n.d.,p.341, and the 1648 edition of Tacitus and Velleius Paterculus with Lipsius' notes, published by Plantin in Antwerp, p.217. Lipsius' note is reproduced in full in Ernesti's commentary (C.Cornelii Taciti Opera, iterum recensuit notas integras Iusti Lipsii I.F.Gronovii Nic. Heinsii et suas addidit Io.Augustus Ernesti, Leipzig, Weidmann & Reich, 1772, pp. 636-7), where nothing is added to it. Orelli, in his edition of the Annals (P.Cornelii Taciti Opera Quae Supersunt...recensuit atque interpretatus est Io.Gaspar Orellius, vol.I, ed. altera, Zurich 1859, p.401), refers to Lipsius in an extended note, mentions Cic.Tusc.III, 44 as the source, and quotes in full the passage of Ennius from o pater, o patria to instructum magnifice (as he has it).

He stops short of haec omnia uidi inflammari - because this is where Cicero takes a break, or for other reasons?

Otto Ribbeck, Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta, vol.I, Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta, 3rd ed., Teubner Leipzig 1897, p.29, ascribes this identification to Columna - that is, the first edition of the fragments of Ennius by Hieronymus Columna (Girolamo Colonna), Naples 1590. Needless to say, this rare edition has not been available to me here. But Lipsius' first edition of Tacitus was published in 1574 - that is, a good fifteen or sixteen years earlier. The following editions by Lipsius were published in 1581 and 1589. I have not been able to check these editions. But unless the identification was first mentioned in Lipsius' posthumous 1607 edition of Tacitus, which is rather unlikely, the priority is his.

7. The Tragedies of Ennius, the fragments edited with an introduction and commentary by H.D.Jocelyn, Cambridge 1969, Andromacha, fr. XXVII h,p.86; Remains of Old Latin, newly edited and translated by E.H.Warmington, Loeb 1935, revised ed. 1956 and reprints. Ennius, Tragedies, lines 94-108, pp. 250-2. I omit Cicero's connecting remarks and mark these omissions with asterisks. Jocelyn treats all the quotation in Cic. Tusc.III, 44-5 as one fragment. Warmington divides them into two fragments: ex opibus summis...abiete crispa and o pater...sanguine turpari. Presumably since Cicero's words scitis quae sequantur, et illa in primis, may imply an omission before o pater eqs. Ribbeck, pp.27-8, prints it as one fragment (Andromacha Aechmalotis fr.IX), but indicates a lacuna between the two passages, presumably for reasons similar to those of Warmington. He begins the fragment with quid petam praesidi and treats the first line quoted by Cicero (and taken as the first line of what remains of this canticum by Warmington and Jocelyn), ex opibus summis eqs., as a separate fragment X following our fragment. It is true that Cicero's words in Tusc. III,44 do not make it certain that this line came before quid petam praesidii. But why should it follow our fragment? And why separately?

8. Sest. 120-3 (Joc.a,pp.81-3): De Orat.III,102-3 (b-c,pp.83-4): 217 (d,p.84): Orat.92(e,p.84): Tusc.I,85 and 105 (f-g,pp.84-5) - and, of course, our own passage from Tusc.III,44-5(h,pp.85-6), which provides the fullest version.

9. Jocelyn p.87, XXVIII*.

10. Ribbeck p.29 remarks: 'Colorem ex hoc loco traxit Porcius Latro in Senecae controv. p.153K. (106 M.)'. I quote only the sentence most relevant to our passage of Tacitus. Jocelyn is of course right in beginning his quotation (as a reminiscence of Ennius) with Seneca's previous sentence : uidi ego eqs.

11. Furneaux loc.cit.n.1 above, s.v. evolutum, has a reference to this sentence of Seneca, but does not comment on its similarity to Ennius.

12. Jocelyn in his commentary on this line, p.250, does not mention Plaut. Men. 903, although he does adduce two other examples of a sound-play on u, only the first of which has uita.

13. Ribbeck p.29 (referring to his Quaestiones Scaenicae p.353 - a work not available to me); Jocelyn p.87,XXVII*.

14. See note 7 above.

15. See discussion in Jocelyn's Introduction, p.49ff.

16. See Jocelyn's Introd., pp.19-20. Leo's theory (mentioned by Jocelyn p.20, n.1) would, of course, make the presence of the chorus on the stage - apart from that of the coryphaeus - rather superfluous. The problematic chorus fragment of Ennius' Medea (fr.CX, lines 234-6 Joc.; XIV lines 237-9 R.; lines 291-3 W.) may be in lyric metres and not in tragic septenarii - see Jocelyn's comments, pp. 369-70. Even in that case, there is no evidence that it was sung.

17. See W.Beare, The Roman Stage, London 1950, pp.211-224, who takes the extreme view that 'there is no song in Plautus' (and, by implication, in tragedy). But here must have been some singing : Cic. De Or. I,254 (with Wilkins' comments s.v. tibicinis); Legg.I,11.

18. See references to articles on the etymology of these two words by Corais, Hatzidakis and Menardos in Ν.Π. Ἀνδριώτη, Ἐτυμολογικὸ Λεξικὸ τῆς κοινῆς νεοελληνικῆς, Salonica 1967, p.373, s.vv.

19. An unassigned tragic fragment is quoted in a controversia of Porcius Latro, Sen.Controv.I,1,21. Another unassigned fragment appears in Sen.Controv.VIII,5,20. A phrase taken from a fragment of Ennius is employed by Seneca the Younger, Apocol.8,3. In his Consolatio ad Polybium 11, 2-3, Seneca draws on a passage of Ennius' Telamo in a manner which shows familiarity with the whole play (although I would not go as far as some in taking Seneca's connecting remarks as a sufficient proof that he saw this play on the stage). In the excerpts from the lost Book XXII of Seneca's Epistles taken by Gellius XII,12,2-13 and printed on pp. 540-1 of Mr. Reynolds' OCT of the Epistles, Seneca speaks of tempora...cum illa legerentur, and treats Ennius mainly as an epic poet. But the excerpts seem to me to indicate some familiarity with Ennius, not only through Cicero's quotations. There are no certain reminiscences of our passage of Ennius in Seneca's tragedies that I can detect in a brief examination. Agam. 699, quae patria restat, quis pater, quae iam soror, is not necessarily an echo of our canticum, unless we already assume that Seneca was familiar with it (which he may have been anyway, if only through Cicero's Tusculans). Troades 728, patrioque sede celsus solio, may be a reminiscence of it if the word sedes appeared in it as it does in Tacitus and Accius. More problematic are the verses of the chorus in Agam. 656-8,

uidi, uidi senis in iugulo/telum Pyrrhi vix exiguo/sanguine tingui. Professor Tarrant in his notes ad loc. (Seneca, Agamemnon, ed. R.J. Tarrant, Cambridge 1977, p.294) is probably right in maintaining that, by Seneca's time, uidi uidi was already a commonplace in Latin poetry and one need not have known or remembered Ennius to use it; and that the last detail of these lines is no earlier (as far as we know) than Ovid. But the combination of uidi, uidi and sanguine tingui (reminiscent of Ennius' sanguine turpari) in the space of three short lines, may be more than mere coincidence. More work may reveal a larger number of hidden quotations and reminiscences of Ennian tragedy in Seneca. But one should not be too sanguine. Ennius was the greatest Latin poet known to Cicero, and he was admired by him. Seneca had a larger quantity of far more finished and sophisticated poetry in Latin to draw on, and his attitude to Ennius is far from admiring.

20. In Dial. 20, he mentions Accius and Pacuvius, but not Ennius. This may be because he would not level against him the criticisms he makes against the other two. But it may well be that Ennius was no longer widely read. Quintilian X,1,88 mentions Ennius among the Roman epic poets. But in 97-8 he does not mention him among the Roman tragedians.

21 For some such hidden literary allusions in the Annals, see Furneaux, vol. I, pp.61-2.

VERSION

A rose is a rose is a rose

Gertrude Stein.

Cicero Cicero Cicero

Anon.

'MORTAL TRASH' : AN ESSAY ON HOPKINS AND PLATO

If, as the Editor forecasts, this number of Pegasus only appears late in the Summer Term, most of its readers will no doubt have examination papers much in mind. Let them spare a thought for Father G.M.Hopkins, S.J., Professor of Greek at University College, Dublin from 1884 until his death in 1889. He was appointed at the age of thirty-nine, a man with a brilliant mind (double First at Balliol) but no experience of teaching beyond a seven-month stint as a schoolmaster immediately after taking his degree, and a year as 'professor of rhetoric' at a Jesuit seminary in 1873-4. He didn't mind the lecturing part of his duties - though what he gave his students was evidently far above their heads, and they paid him back for it with uproar in the classroom - but the examining was a constantly recurring nightmare.

'Several times a year', his biographer reports (1), 'he had to mark batches of examination papers, up to five hundred at a time, sent in from the constituent colleges of the Royal University [of Ireland]. It seems to have been part of the professor's ordinary duties to carry this load single-handed....'. That would be bad enough for anyone ('331 accounts of the First Punic War with trimmings', he groaned to his friend Robert Bridges) (2), but for one of Hopkin's temperament it was particularly demanding. He was obsessively punctilious, and his moral scrupulousness in making decisions was so acute that grading the papers practically paralysed him. 'While the Examining Board were crying for his returns, he would be found with a wet towel round his head agonizing over the delivery of one mark' (3).

In 1888, wet weather had added to his miseries. 'What a preposterous summer!' he wrote on July 29th: 'It is raining now: when is it not? However there was one windy bright day between floods last week: fearing for my eyes, with my other rain of papers, I put work aside and went out for the day, and conceived a sonnet.' (4) Though hardly recognisable as a sonnet in the normal meaning of the word, what he conceived became one of the great poems of the English language.

Clear light after the rain, bright cumulus driven by the wind - the weather that day was just the sort that appealed to Hopkins, as we know from many descriptions in his Journals, and brought out his most exact and imaginative observations. On this occasion he noticed how the wind was drying up the mud, and perhaps it was that that put him in mind of the Ionian philosopher Heraclitus, who had said,in his oracular way, 'Earth lives the death of water... to water, it is death to become earth'. (Had Hopkins been marking papers on the pre-Socratics?)

In Heraclitus' view, the elements earth, air and water were all mutations of the original element, fire:

> This ordered universe...was not created by any one of the gods or of mankind, but it was for ever and is and shall be everliving Fire, kindled in measure and quenched in measure. (5)

The idea of the physical universe as a great consuming fire, ever re-fueled and never failing, was very attractive to Hopkins, who adapted it without difficulty to Christian theology. 'Yet, for all this, nature is never spent', he had written in God's Grandeur (1877); and the reason was the immanence of the Holy Spirit. In that poem, he had turned to the everlastingness of nature as a consolation for industrial man's corruption of the world; here, the contrast between men's 'footprint' and nature goes the opposite way. Nature is everlasting, man is mortal. He is the most wonderful of creatures, but doomed to oblivion.

Or at least, he would be but for Christ. Father Hopkins pulls himself up short, and exults in the immortality of man, as assured by the Resurrection. The tragedy becomes a triumph; the meditation on nature and the eternal flux of things becomes an affirmation of Christian belief. It is a beautiful illustration of the way Hopkins' poetic genius is inseparable from his life and his faith. Three weeks later, spending his vacation in Scotland, he used the same experience as the basis of a sermon: 'I am going to preach tomorrow', he wrote to Bridges from Fort William, 'and put plainly to a Highland congregation.. what I am putting not at all plainly to the rest of the world, or rather to you and Canon Dixon, in a sonnet in sprung rhythm with two codas'. (6)

Here, at last, is the poem:

That Nature is a Heraclitean Fire, and of the Comfort of the Resurrection

Cloud-puffball, torn tufts, tossed pillows flaunt forth, then chevy on an air-
Built thoroughfare: heaven-roysterers, in gay-gangs they throng; they glitter in marches.
Down roughcast, down dazzling whitewash, wherever an elm arches,
Shivelights and shadowtackle in long lashes lace, lance, and pair.
Delightfully the bright wind boisterous ropes, wrestles, beats earth bare
Of yestertempest's creases; in pool and rutpeel parches
Squandering ooze to squeezed dough , crust, dust; stanches, starches
Squadroned masks and manmarks treadmire toil there
Footfretted in it. Million-fuelèd, nature's bonfire burns on.
But quench her bonniest, dearest to her, her clearest-selved spark
Man, how fast his firedint, his mark on mind, is gone!
Both are in an unfathomable, all is in an enormous dark
Drowned. O pity and indignation! Menshape, that shone
Sheer off, disseveral, a star, death blots black out; nor mark
Is any of him at all so stark
But vastness blurs and time beats level. Enough! the Resurrection
A heart's-clarion! Away grief's gasping, joyless days, dejection.
Across my foundering deck shone
A beacon, an eternal beam. Flesh fade, and mortal trash
Fall to the residuary worm; world's wildfire, leave but ash:
In a flash, at a trumpet crash,
I am all at once what Christ is, since he was what I am, and
This Jack, joke, poor potsherd, patch, matchwood, immortal diamond,
Is immortal diamond.

The collocation of Greek and Christian ideas in the title is entirely characteristic: as a Jesuit classicist, Hopkins was as familiar with the pagan authors as he was with Scripture and the fathers of the Church. In September, though suffering from an affliction of the eyes which made reading difficult, he wrote to Bridges: 'I must read something of Greek and Latin letters, and lately I sent you a sonnet, on the Heraclitean Fire, in which a great deal of early Greek philosophical thought was distilled; but the liquor of the distillation did not taste very Greek, did it?' (7)

Well, yes and no. In the first part of the poem at least, the four elements of early Ionian philosophy make their appearance in turn: air, water, earth, fire (8). On the other hand, the imagery is developed according to the Franciscans' scheme of stages towards the apprehension of the divine being: shadow, footprint, reflection, light (9). The Greek ideas and the Christian application of them are hardly to be disentangled. With that in mind, we may, I think, detect a hitherto unnoticed classical allusion in the poem, which connects it with one of Hopkins' most cherished preoccupations.

* * *

At the end of his second year at Oxford, Hopkins wrote a lengthy piece entitled 'On the Origin of Beauty: a Platonic Dialogue' (10). Both the subject and the manner remind us that among the influences on him in those formative years were Walter Pater, already a stimulating exponent of the theory of aesthetics (11), and Benjamin Jowett, Hopkins' tutor as Classical Fellow of Balliol, whose deep knowledge of and love for Plato is reflected in that of his pupil (12).

Of all Plato's works, there is none Hopkins is likely to have known and loved more than the Symposium. Socrates' speech at the banquet, in which he reports how Diotima, the wise woman of Mantinea, instructed him in the nature of love, culminates in a great passage on the apprehension of transcendental beauty which is very close to Hopkins' own preoccupations at the time he was both reading Greek philosophy for 'Greats' and making his resolve to enter the Roman Catholic church.

In 1866,he copied into one of his Oxford notebooks a passage from St. Bonaventure's Life of St. Francis:

> Everything incited him to the love of God, he exulted in all the works of the Creator's hands and, by the beauty of His images, his spirit rose to their living origin and cause. He admired Supreme Beauty in all beautiful things, and by the traces impressed by God on all things he followed the Beloved. To him all creation was a stairway which led him up toward Him who is the goal of all desires....(13)

It is easy to see how much this has in common with Diotima's instructions to Socrates, on the graduation of the true lover from desire of the physical beauty of an individual to that of physical beauty in general, and from there

the beauty of knowledge, and finally to the contemplation of abstract Beauty itself. All that had to be added to the Platonic conception was the Christian God, and it was from Plato, via the Greek fathers of the Church, that the Franciscans derived their doctrine.

How much this idea meant to Hopkins throughout his life may be seen both in his preaching and in his poetry. His sermon at St. Joseph's, Leigh, on November 23rd, 1879, was on the beauty of Christ - and Plato (though in the Republic, not the Symposium) naturally suggested himself:

> Far higher than beauty of the body, higher than genius and wisdom the beauty of the mind, comes the beauty of his character, his character as a man. For the most part his very enemies, those that do not believe in him, allow that a character so noble was never seen in human mould. Plato, the heathen, the greatest of the Greek philosophers, foretold of him: he drew by his wisdom a picture of the just man in his justice crucified and it was fulfilled by Christ. (14)

Physical beauty as a stage towards the beauty of God appears most clearly in his 1885 sonnet To What Serves Mortal Beauty? (in which his answer to the question was 'it .....keeps warm/Men's wits to the things that are'), and above all in the beautiful 'maidens' song' of 1882, The Leaden Echo and the Golden Echo. Despair at the inevitable loss of beauty in physical decay is countered by the promise that its sacrifice to God ensures its eternal preservation.

> Give beauty back, beauty, beauty, beauty, back to God,
> beauty's self and beauty's giver.
> See; not a hair is, not an eyelash, not the least lash lost...

In that poem, Hopkins' marvellous cumulative rhetoric is deployed on the mundus muliebris (as he put it) of earthly beauty (15), just as it is on the flaunting clouds in the 'Heraclitean fire' poem. Gay-gangs of clouds: gaygear for the girls; long lashes lace: loose locks, long locks.... And the very 'flower of beauty' in a girl is described by comparison with nature and landscape:

> the wimpled-water-wimpled, not-by-morning matchèd face...

For the beauty of nature, no less than the beauty of persons, provides an insight into the beauty of God(16). Another striking cloudscape, this time in Wales in 1877, had produced Hurrahing in Harvest, where the point is made explicitly:

> I walk, I lift up, I lift up heart, eyes,
> Down all that glory in the heavens to glean our Saviour...

The point of this argument is to suggest that the idea of a progression from transient visible beauty to the eternal beauty of the Divine is likely to be present, even if only subconsciously, in That Nature is a Heraclitean Fire...; that the physical beauty of nature was, for Hopkins, no different in this regard from the physical beauty of persons; and therefore that Socrates' speech in the Symposium, in which the apprehension of ultimate beauty begins with the desire of beautiful individuals, was part of the

complex of ideas in Hopkins' mind as he 'conceived' the poem on that day in July. The proof of it, I think, lies in the phrase he uses for the transition from mortal to immortal: 'flesh fade, and mortal trash....'.

The culmination of Socrates' speech - supposedly repeating what Diotima had told him - is as follows:

> 'This above all others, my dear Socrates', the woman from Mantinea continued, 'is the region where a man's life should be spent, in the contemplation of absolute beauty... What may we suppose to be the felicity of the man who sees absolute beauty in its essence, pure and unalloyed, who, instead of a beauty tainted by human flesh and colour and a mass of perishable rubbish, is able to apprehend divine beauty where it exists apart and alone?... He will have the privilege of being beloved of God, and becoming, if ever a man can, immortal himself.' (17)

μὴ ἀνάπλεων σαρκῶν τε ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ χρωμάτων καὶ ἄλλης πολλῆς φλυαρίας θνητῆς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον καλὸν.....

What the Penguin translator renders as 'perishable rubbish' is really just 'mortal trash'.

You may object that even from a work so central to his ideas, Hopkins could hardly have remembered an unemphatic detail like that. But listen to his friend Bridges, who tried to spend one of Hopkins' visits to him in reading classical authors together: 'He was so punctilious about the text, and so enjoyed loitering over the difficulties, that I foresaw we should never get through, and broke off from him to go my own way' (18). It was just the same disproportionate obsession with detail that made him so hopeless an examination marker.

****

It is just ninety years since Hopkins wrote That Nature is a Heraclitean Fire....: and already twenty since I first noticed 'mortal trash' while reading the Symposium as a set book, in Hopkins' old college.

T.P.Wiseman

Notes

1. Bernard Bergonzi, Gerard Manley Hopkins (London 1977), 126.

2. C.C.Abbott (ed.), The Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins to Robert Bridges (ed.2, London 1955), 236.

3. Anon., Dublin Review, September 1920: quoted in M.Bottrall (ed.), Gerard Manley Hopkins: a Casebook (London 1975), 63.

4. C.C.Abbott (ed.), The Correspondence of Gerard Manley Hopkins and Richard Watson Dixon (ed. 2, London 1955), 157.

5. H. Diels (ed.), Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker vol. I (ed. 6, Berlin 1951), 168, 159, 157: fragments 76, 36, 30 (trans. Kathleen Freeman).

6. Letters to Bridges, 279. (In fact, there are three 'codas'.)

7. Ibid. 291.

9. A.Heuser, The Shaping Vision of Gerard Manley Hopkins (Oxford) 1958), 94 and 117 n.7 (quoting St. Bonaventure on umbra, vestigium, imago, lúmen).

10. H.House and G. Storey (ed.s), The Journals and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins (London 1959), 86-114.

11. See Bergonzi, op.cit. 18f; Journals and Papers, 80-3 (an essay for him by Hopkins), etc.

12. See especially Correspondence with Dixon, 141 and 147 (on Plato and Wordsworth) in 1886; but references to Plato abound, from 1865 onwards (Journals and Papers, 53: Jowett's lectures on the Republic).

13. Quoted by Heuser, op. cit. 108 n.5; ibid. 37 on the tradition - including Duns Scotus, who made such an impression on Hopkins when he read him in 1872 (Bergonzi, op.cit. 69f).

14. C.Devlin, S.J. (ed.), The Sermons and Devotional Writings of Gerard Manley Hopkins (London 1959), 37; the reference is to Republic II 361e-362a.

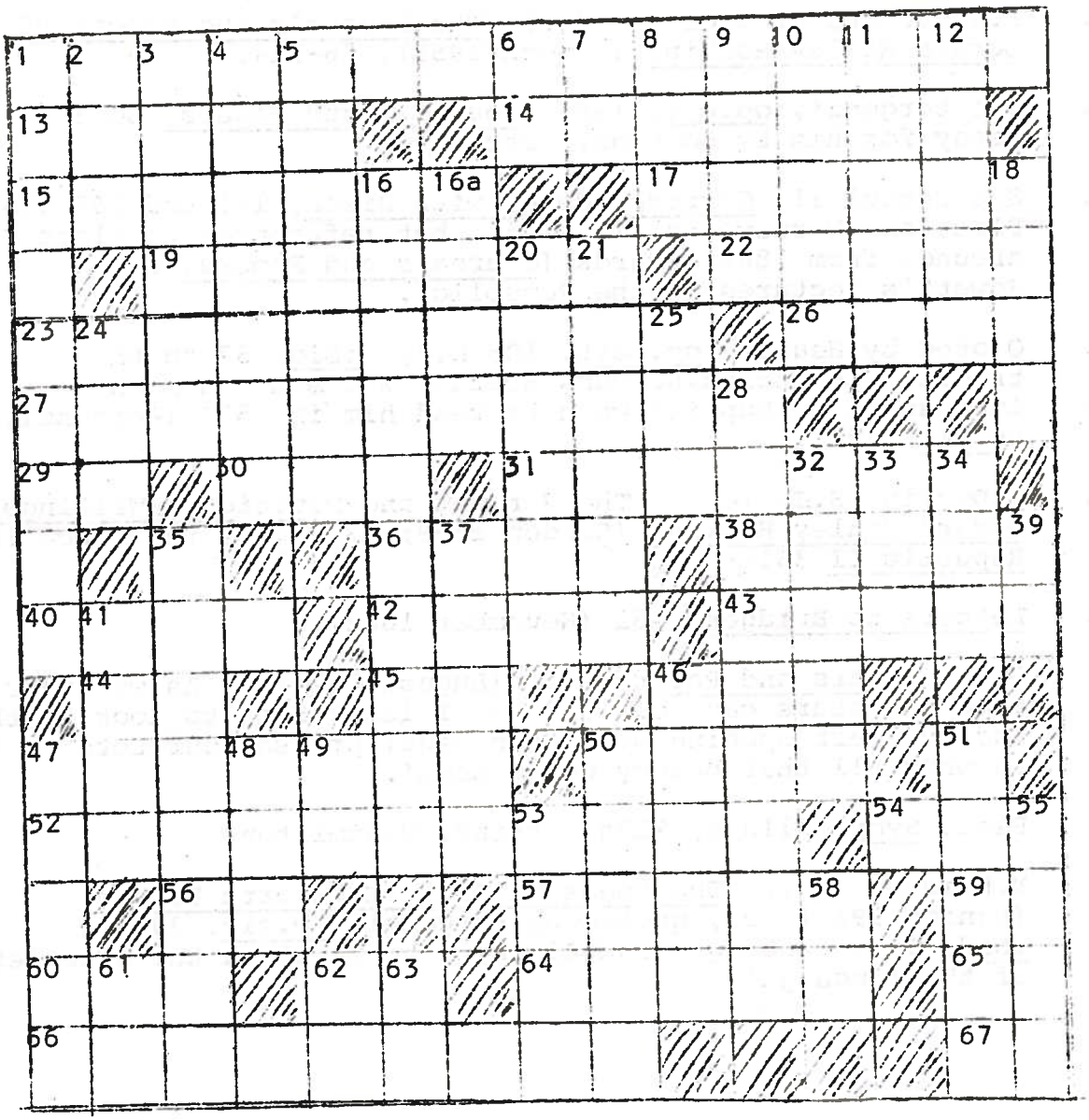
15. Letters to Bridges, 161 (November 1882).

16. Cf. Journals and Papers, 254 (August 1874): 'As we drove home the stars came out thick: I leant back to look at them and my heart opening more than usual praised our Lord to and in whom all that beauty comes home'.

17. Plato Symp. 211d-e, 212a: trans. W.Hamilton.

18. R.Bridges (ed.), The Poems of Digby Mackworth Dolben (London 1915), ci, quoted by Bergonzi, op.cit. 39 (cf. ibid. 129, quoting Canon Dixon: 'he dwelt on the niceties of the language').

VERBUM IRATUM : I IN MAXVMAM MALAM CRVCEM



ACROSS

1. Not wholly cat among the ladies - mais un ami du peuple romain (15).
13. Juppiter was seized by it - for Alcumena, says Maccus (5).
14. Breathlessly he would be leading out - but with hard breath, six-cornered.....fight? (7).
15. Archimedes could have put it that way, had he known the lingo (7).
17. Remember your compounds, and you'll be in on it (6).
19. In soil pus is long-haired (7).
22. Ask in Athens, and it will come out of a Roman chariot (5).
23. A Roman tourist's confused description of that poor Diogenes: ussi te, Gene! (6:4).
26. Concubinus addressing each before parting (1:3).
27. '.....and an uncouth young man, too' - as a paterfamilias would say (2:5:4).

29. Beware, Greek period continues - with a difference (2).
30. Do pass in Rome: she's mine (3).
31. In a roundabout wasy, this is why (7).
35. 'Alas!' I shout - and a departure from some fixed point too, says Dr. Short (1).
36. Of my female, to her - or are there many of them? (4).
38. This is where Phalaris would place them - in case (5).
40. Quite well, indeed, you healthy one (4).
42. Not a verb - on the contrary (4).
43. Two sets of objects - male, that is (5).
44. It doesn't always go with subjunctive, like (2).
45. A Roman would add it to give strength to this, that and the other (2).
46. Persicos...puer, apparatus (3).
47. Press 'un, Roman, and we'll have you captive (7).
50. Accuse your Roman wings, and you'll be moaning in good English (4).
51. Another point of departure - but more introvert this time (1).
52. In aequalem lem, I would prefer these things too without ditto-graphy (5:6).
54. Our correspondent in Italy sends many regards briefly (1:1:1)
56. Follow 29 or 67, and an objective divinity will appear (2).
57. They say - but mainly the Roman poets (5).
59. Allow me, Greek, these things in Latin (2).
60. What a guilty female - or is it all in the mind, as the lawyer would say? (3).
62. Questionable to a Greek - twice followed by a Roman Gaius (2).
64. There she sat at the entrance - Romane, memento (5).
65. In Latin same as in English (2)
66. These he sings - but he wished them burnt (4:5).
67. Concerning Latin, but Greek (2).

DOWN

1. In care, sedan would go on doubting (9).
2. From me - not a single Latin imperative (1:2).
3. Livius liked this one - translated with total workmanship (6).
4. Pun with Mari - or did he, and another incipient parliamentarian, originate in this one ? (7).
5. Do make me a laughing stock in Rome (2:5).
6. In one single breath in a Greek deity (2).
7. Put this in front of a Roman needle - and Neptune's your uncle, European (2).
8. Threescore and one - before the Moslems changed it all (3).
9. A Roman talking to his ring? (1:3).
10. For example, I shall be a perfect leader in the future (5).
11. Danai would bear it - speaking properly, that is the end (5).
12. Rather rare for Latin - in the beginning (5).
16. Flaccus, satirist four times over, would disapprove of what I did to an absent friend (4:6).
16a. Twice you go, by the Egyptian cow (4).
18. Vmida...super uiridi stillantia musco (4).
20. 'I am dutiful', as a confused matron would put it - anywhere (6).
21. Where the Greekling would hurry, I, a Roman, only strive (6).
24. We have all done it in Latin, but the ancients never heard of it (1:1:1).
25. Κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων; An emporium they had no need of in olden times (1:1:1).
28. Censure him rite and proper, Roman (4:5).
32. Bark, boat - for, or in, the right proportions (5).
33. Why, Roman - it's a plebeian English dog ! (3).

34. I beseech you, o Hellenic liquid (3).
35. Prius would also do - before the action (8).
37. Elagabalus, be not proud : Nemesius the Christian will be there as well (5).
39. Male objects end up in a Roman's mouth (2).
41. Et reserata uiget genitabilis ...Favoni (4).
46. Mu, Leo - here's a Roman sports hall (5).
47. What's rock to the Greek is rock to the Roman (5).
48. Bottomless Sabine religious reformer - do you expect a positive reply? (3).
49. Here's reflexive Roman, you objective Greek (2).
50. Another objective - but never makes it in Latin (5).
51. After Greek - but then don't open your mouth too wide (4:1).
53. Take it in case you are in the tank (4).
55. 'Do you give?' asks Maccus (4).
58. Ni...plus oculis meis amarem (2).
61. In German he rose from the dead a Pamphylian (2).
62. ....quoque litoribus nostris eqs. (2).
63. They? I went? Make it two, anyway.

J.Glucker.

COMPETITION

Latin palindromes are quite common, but, according to one recent writer, only one Greek palindrome has been preserved. Readers are invited to remedy the situation. All I can think of is αἱ αἰτίαι, ἃ , uttered by Thucydides while writing Book I. surely readers can do better than that? Suitable prizes will be awarded for the most ingenious and entertaining Greek palindromes, which will be published in Pegasus 22. Entries to the Editor, Pegasus, or myself, David Harvey, Department of Classics, Queen's Building, University of Exeter.

F.D.H.

OSTRACISM AT ATHENS

Ostracism was one of the key political issues in Athens during the Fifth Century B.C. Its use seems to have been confined to the period 487-c.417 B.C. and although it remained on the statute books after this time, it does not seem to have been applied. We have two principal sources about the institution of the law: the Constitution of Athens, attributed to Aristotle, and a reference to Androtion, the Atthidographer, in the lexicon of Harpocration. We also have evidence in other writers about the ostracism of individual men. Ostracism was basically the relegation of a man for ten years from Athens and at the end of this time, he was able to return to Athens with full full possession of property and citizen rights. There is some dispute as to where the ostracised had to go, but it is possible that it was originally anywhere outside Attica, although just before the Persian Wars, more severe limitations may have been set up to prevent those ostracised deserting to the Persians. The process for ostracism was as follows. During the sixth prytanny, the question was put at the assembly 'Do you think that there should be an ostracism this year?' (No names were mentioned) If the answere was negative, nothing would be done but if the answer was affirmative, later in the year (probably at the start of the eighth pyteny) the vote would take place. The agora was fenced off leaving ten gates, one for each tribe, and each person brought a piece of pottery (ὄστρακον) inscribed with the name of the person whom they thought should be ostracised. Each voter was probably checked off by de.e and tribe officials as they entered the enclosure to prevent anyone voting more than once. If a total of 6,000 votes were cast (or, according to Philocorus, a total of 6,000 against a candidate, but this is unlikely), the one against whom the most votes were cast, would be ostracised.

There are two dates for the introduction of ostracism which are suggested in our sources. The earliest is in the 1st decade of the sixth century. All the measures of Cleisthenes are placed under the year 508/7 in the Constitution of Athens and the law of ostracism is placed somewhere between this and 501. The other date is 487 stated by Androtion in his second book, quoted by Harpocration. There are a number of possible explanations of this. Firstly that Androtion dated the law of ostracism to 488/7 and so because of this difficult hiatus of twenty years, it becomes necessary to believe that Aristotle (i.e. the author of the Constitution of Athens) is passing over Androtion's view, but, strangely, almost quoting his words. Secondly that Androtion did not mean that the law was passed precisely in 488/7 but in a period later than the time of Cleisthenes. Thirdly that Harpocration in fact paraphrased the Constitution of Athens and erroniously attributed it to Androtion (ἐν τῃ Β΄) and were following some other tradition - another atthidographer(?) about the date of introduction. The fourth explanation is that Herpocration is either misquoting Androtion who actually included the law of ostracism under the reforms of Cleisthenes and Aristotle followed Androtion in this, or the text he was copying was corrupt. Psychologically it is quite reasonable for Cleisthenes to introduce the law of ostracism because his earlier struggles with Isagoras and the intervention of Cleomenes would have been prevented.

The twenty-year gap suggested in the Constitution of Athens is not so unreasonable as at later dates in the fifth century there were gaps of ten years between Themistocles' ostracism in 472 and Cimon's in 461, and at least 26 years between the ostracisims of Thucydides, son of Melesias, in 443 and Hyperbolus in 417/5.

The Constitution of Athens[2] says that the law of ostracism was directed against Hipparchus, the son of Charmus, (archon in 496/5), but Davies[3] believes that he was born in 530 or soon before and so it is unlikely that he would have been old enough to be a serious politician in c.505. It seems likely that the author of the Constitution of Athens was arguing from result to cause, as Hipparchus is said to be the first man ostracised in 485. The law was directed against the possibility of tyranny springing up again as we learn from the Constitution of Athens. This reason is more consistent with the earlier date and in agreement with the general intention of Cleisthenic reform than a later period. Also the fear of tyranny was real in the late sixth century as Cleomenes had tried to set up Isagoras as tyrant[4] in 508/7 and 506 and restore Hippias[5] in c.505. Finally in 490 the Persians intended to restore Hippias but were thwarted at Marathon. And so the Athenians always feared tyranny. Themistocles alleged that Aristeides was aiming at 'Monarchy without a bodyguard'[6] and Alcibiades the Younger was suspected of aiming at tyranny[7]. However this aim seems to have been superceded by the political situation as time went on. The first three men ostracised: Hipparchus, son of Charmus, Megacles, son of Hippocrates and the third who is unknown, were all friends of the tyrants (i.e. the Peisistratids)[8]: Hipparchus because he was related to them and Megacles because he was an Alcmeonid and they had been discredited by a scandal, as they were supposed to have been in league with the Persians and the Peisistratids at the time of the battle of Marathon[9]. These were probably manoeuvred out by the anti-Persian "lobby" during the period after Marathon. It becomes apparent that ostracism could be used for the disposal of rival politicians, one by one, so that opponents were eliminated. This is certainly true later at the ostracisms of Aristeides, Themistocles, Cimon, Thucydides and Hyperbolus. However it is difficult to see how this could have been done. Perhaps it would have been done by a 'smear campaign' and preparation of ready-made ostraca against one's opponent but there would have to be very strong popular feeling against the man whom one wanted out, if one was to have any success. And there was always the risk that you would be ostracised yourself. This is in fact totally against the spirit of the Cleisthenic law and so in some ways we must admit that the law failed although it did have one important effect. It provided political unity in Athens in difficult times because only one point of view was being strongly represented. This is particularly true after the ostracism of Aristeides, as Athens went into the Persian War united behind Themistocles' naval policy. Later the conflicting view of whether Athens should be pro-Persian and anti-Spartan or vice-versa was solved by the ostracisms of Themistocles and Cimon.

The large number of ostraca that have been found during excavations in recent years in Athens, have enabled us to see some details of Athenian history in a completely new light. We have ostraca from all those who are mentioned in literary sources as being involved in an ostracism with the interesting

exception of Nicias. However there are one or two names which are quite significant among the discovered ostraca who do not appear in literary sources and about whom we know little or nothing. The first is Callixenos, son of Aristonymus. His ostraca appear along with those of Themistocles and Aristeides. One rather fragmented ostracon clearly shows that he was an Alcomeonid. Another calls him ὁ προδοτης - the traitor - and this would fit in with the shield-signal story and the Alcmeonids. There are many votes against him (approx. 265) which indicates that he was a prominent man. It is unlikely that he was ostracised at all because a large majority appear with a larger number against Themistocles and in a fill lower down than a large number against Aristeides who was ostracised in 482[10]. Another otherwise unknown is Callias, son of Cratios, for whom 760 were found in the great Cerameicos deposit. Four of these call him "ο Μηδος" and another bears a caricature of him in Persian dress. And so it is quite possible that he was the third friend of the tyrants ostracised in 485. As the Persistratids were in Persia, he is seen as a friend of Persia. These two have only become known to us as a result of the discovery of ostraca.

We can also discover about other men who are said to have been involved in ostracism and how a change in the political thinking of a city affects them. For instance, we have ostraca against Alcibiades, son of Cleinias, which could be either the great Alcibiades of the Peloponnesian War or his grandfather. It is reported[12] that Alcibiades' grandfather was ostracised and it used to be popular to date this in 485 as the 'third friend of the tyrants' but through the discovery of ostraca we know differently. Of the 19 we have, 14 are against the elder Alcibiades, dateable from letter and pottery forms, and because of the type of kylix base found among these his possible ostracism must be placed in the second quarter of the fifth century. And as the letter forms are similar to those of the ostraca against Cimon, ostracised in 461, it is conjectured that he was ostracised in 460. To support this, it is known that Alcibiades was at some time proxenos to Sparta[13] and must have lost face by the Ithone affair[14] and although he resigned, it was too late, public opinion (with a little help from Pericles et alii (?) had turned against him and he was ostracised.

The discovery of a large collection of ostraca (191) in a well on the side of the Acropolis[15] which are all against Themistocles, and written in only 14 quite distinctive hands, has much to tell us about how ostracism could be manipulated. It proves a concerted effort to get rid of Themistocles from Athens by ostracism. However this deposit shows that too many ready-made ostraca were made up. The total collection of ostraca which we have at the moment suggest that the ostracism of Hipparchus, son of Charmus, was the first ostracism because we have none which date before 487 and not even evidence for an unsuccessful ostracism when less than 6,000 votes were cast. However this sort of argument is never conclusive and new ostraca are being dicovered all the time. The most interesting of the ostracisms is possibly that of Hyperbolus in 417-5. The people involved are variously reported as being Alcibiades, Nicias and Phaiax combined to oust Hyperbolus, or just Alcibiades and Phaiax. We have no large number of ostraca for this ostracism: Phaix 5, Alcibiades 5, Hyperbolus 2 and Nicias 0, and some others including 6 against Cleophon. It is difficult to conclude anything definite from this but it is interesting that we have no ostraca against Nicias.

Is Theophrastus[16] right that Nicias was not involved? One surprising think is that there are very few ostraka which have abusive epithets on them such as κατα πυγων, especially because of the naughty words written elsewhere by Athenians There are one or two examples such as Callixenos described as ὁ προδοτης and Callias caricatured in Persian dress. A very good example is one against Cimon which says ἰτω την Ἐλπινικην λαβων (let him go and take Elpinice with him)[17]. Elpinice was his sister who had a very dubious reputation and was officially married to Callias, son of Hipponicus, who is said to have concluded a Peace with Persia in 449.

In these ways, we can see that our knowledge of fifth century Athenian history has been greatly affected by the discovery of ostraca. In fact our view of it could be greatly changed again when the 9,000 ostraca recently discovered in the Cerameicos by Prof. Willemsen have all been published. We would hope that they will confirm some of our conjectures, but it is quite possible that they will throw all writing on the subject into turmoil.[18]

P.W.BRIGGS

NOTES

1. Constitution of Athens (Aristotle) 22.1.
2. Constitution of Athens (Aristotle) 22.4.
3. J.K.Davies: Athenian Propertied Families pg.451.
4. Herodotus V. 70ff and V.74.
5. Herodotus V.91-3.
6. Plutarch: Aristeides 7.
7. Xenophon: Hellenica I.4.17.
8. Constitution of Athens (Aristotle) 22.6.
9. Herodotus VI.115.
10. R.Meiggs and D.M.Lewis: A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions pp. 44-5 and E.Vanderpool: Ostracism at Athens (Semple Lectures Vol. II), pg. 234.
11. D.M.Lewis: Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik Vol. 14 (1973), pp 1-4 regards the nickname as innocuous (pg.3) but this is unlikely in the political atmosphere between the two Persian invasions.
12. Lysias XIV.39.
13. Thucydides V.4.32.
14. This is a guess based on Thucydides VI, 89.2. See Andrews in Gomme H.C.T. vol. 4, pp. 49-50.
15. Meiggs and Lewis: p. 43.
16. Plutarch: Nicias XI.7. cf. also Plutarch: Aristeides VII.2 and Alcibiades XIII.
17. Not yet published in Greek, but referred to by Mattingly in Univ. of Leeds review 1971.
18. I would like to thank F.D.Harvey for all the help and advice which he gave to me during the writing of this paper.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

R.Meiggs and D.M.Lewis: A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions No.21.
C.Hignett: A History of the Athenian Constitution 159-166, 185-6.
A.R.Burn: Persia and the Greeks 286-93.
E.Vanderpool: Ostracism at Athens (Semple Lectures 1970)
K.J.Dover: "Androtion on Ostracism" Classical Review 1963, 256-7.
R.Thomsen: The Origin of Ostracism (1972)

JUVENAL X 324-9

The Oxford text (ed. Clausen) and commentary are as fol ows :

'sed casto quid forma nocet?' quid profuit immo
Hippolyto gra e propositum, quid Bellerophonti? 325
erubuit † nempe haec † ceu fastidita repulso
nec Stheneboea minus quam Cressa excanduit, et se
concussere ambae. mulier sae issima tunc est
cum stimulos odio pudor admouet.

326 om. Lond. mus. Brit. Add, 11997, del. Knoche
nempe haec P Q: certe FLOZ repulso P S: repulsa Q

Line 326 surely looks more like the wreck of a real Juvenal line than anyone else's invention. A word like "nempe" could belong to the wreck of an explanatory note.

It will be noted that, if we assume this line to be mainly sound, it gives us a contrast between blushing red and white, followed by references to the Cretan woman, "Cressa" - though "Phaedra" would scan equally well - and to the goads of shame. The name "Phaedra" could be rendered "candida". Stheneboea could hint at cows. And "repulsa", if not "repulso", could be linked with candidates for office.

The argument from association of ideas is, I know, not popular. Nor are puns, and several in Juvenal have been ignored or overlooked. But I suggest that "creta" in its two senses lies at the heart of this passage, with guide-lines leading to it from various adjacent words and ideas. The nominative "creta" might be corrupted to "cret then "certe". Or the genitive "cretae" might be the true reading. We may still be left with a choice between variants on this theme.

We find "creta" often linked, naturally enough, with "candidus" - Isidore 16.1.6, Varro R.R. 1.7.8. In one context "Creta" and the idea of whiteness (cold, not hot) are connected with the relatively rare word "excandescere" - "Creta albet iugis montium...qui...excandescunt" (Sol.11.6). (The scholiast on Juvenal 2.107 has "excandendam cutem" for beauty treatment.)

We also find "creta" linked with "ruber" in some form, red contrasted with white, as in Pliny 17.34, Columella 2.10.4, Cato 34, of soils of various colours, "rubricam, cretam".

This contrast is applied to make-up. Plautus (Truc. 294) has cheeks treated "rubrica", the rest of the body "creta". Compare also Ovid, A.A. 3.199 and Nov. Atell. 84.

References to chalk ("creta" or "cretatus") in make-up occur with old women and liability to washing off in rain or with exertion - Martial 2.41.11, 6.93.9, 8.33.17, Horace Epod. 12.10, Seneca's epigram on Sertoria, Petronius 23. Horace has words recalling cattle. Petronius has a comparison with a peeled wall - "detectum parietem nimbo laborare." One chapter earlier a rejected maid - "depulsa" - paints a young man with soot and rouge. Ausonius has an epigram (17) in which an old man called Myron gets a "repulsa" from a girl and paints

his white head with soot. Should we read "repulsa" in Petronius? The only other "repulsa" in Ausonius is in a poem to Paulinus (418.5), one line away from "fasta." He has eleven epigrams on the life-like cow produced by the sculptor Myron.

We find "fastidium" in various forms, noun and verb, nearly 20 times in Horace. Only in Epode 12 does it meet bulls, cows and "creta" used for make-up. Horace uses "Cressa nota" for a white mark in Odes 1.36.10.

The Greek for "creta" is "gypsos." Cicero (Fam. 7.6.0) has a reference to an actor playing Medea, - not Phaedra - "gypsatis manibus." Varro R.R. 1.57.2 refers to "creta" in walls.

There are references in English literature to powder peeling like plaster from elderly women in rage or excitement. So for instance in Congreve's "The Way Of The World" Foible in 3.5 says, "Your Ladyship has frowned a little too rashly... There are some cracks discernible in the white Varnish." Her Ladyship looks in the mirror and declares, "I look like an old peeled Wall." In 5.9 the danger of frowning is mentioned again. The lady's forehead, we're told,"would wrinkle like the Crust of a Cream-cheese." Chalk and cheese have some points in common.

The phrase "cretata ambitio" is used by Persius (5.177), with reference to the white garments of "candidati" (Compare Isidore 19.24.6). Eight lines earlier "solea rubra" occurs - possibly by coincidence. In line 66 of this tenth satire Juvenal has "cretatum bovem", in 270 a "vertulus bos" (Priam) "iam fastiditus aratro."

In Cicero Murena 44, Livy 39.32.6 and elsewhere "repulsa" is very naturally associated in political contexts with "candidatus." Compare also Horace Odes 3.12.17, where "sordidae" connects the idea of dark, dirtied garments with "repulsa."

The word "fastidium" tended to be derived from the "fastus" meaning "pride." The other "fastus" in the plural was connected with names of consuls - "candidati" who had succeeded, suffered no "repulsa." Ausonius (419.27) has a pun on "fastorum" and "fastidiorum." Martial (12.26.5) has "purpureis fastis," Sidonius (Epist. 8.8.3) "fastus purpurissatos." This last word is used for rouged cheeks by Plautus (Truc. 290 - just before "creta" and "rubrica" and Apuleius (Mag.323).

One possible reading here would be "Erubuit creta (Creta) hac ceu fastidita repulsa." It is then made clear in the next line by "Cressa" that our chalk/Crete is Phaedra, whose name means "candida", the Cretan queen going red after being desperately whitewashed to attract her young stepson. The ancients rated pale skin higher than tan. We are then told that Stheneboea went as white as the chalky queen had been. The goads of shame naturally fit red-and-white cow-like women.

As for "se concussere ambae", the verb "concutere" is used of buildings and walls being shaken and shattered - cf. Ovid Met.11.569, 13.176 etc. In Paul Dig.29.2.18.11 we have it with "paries" - compare Petronius 23.

The two elderly women are thought of as like two frail, crumbling buildings shaking themselves to pieces with anger so that white or red chalk or stucco, powder, or rouge, comes flying off. Their skin or "cutis" disintegrates.

It is natural to connect Crete with bulls and cows. Minos in Ovid Met. 7.463 is linked with the "cretosa rura Cimoli."

It must be admitted that variations such as "Cretae (cretae) haec", "creta (Creta) heac", "erubuit nam Creta (creta) hac fastidita " are not impossible. Or"Cressa" might come in line 326 and "Creta (creta)" in the next line. The theme is Cretan chalk, but how exactly does Juvenal use it? How deliberate or unconscious, apt or awkward, is his "pun"? He poses this question elsewhere - like other poets.

F.W.Clayton

MUSICAL SETTINGS OF GREEK AND ROMAN POETRY

The record company "Audite" of Stuttgart, in collaboration with the Seminar für Klassische Philologie of the University of Heidelberg, has brought out a long-playing record entitled ANTIKE DICHTUNG IM SPIEGEL DER MUSIK, which is devoted to musical settings of ancient poems. The settings range from baroque to contemporary, and are as follows :

> Songs by Telemann, J.A.Steffan, Méhul, Spontini, Loewe, Schubert, Moniuszko, Reynaldo, Hahn, Pizzetti, Kodály, Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Hermann Reutter; a duet by Massenet; canons by Haydn and Salieri; a solo cantata by Arne; and a piano piece by Alkan.

This is the first recorded performance of practically all the works. A sheet containing the texts of the vocal works (Anacreontic poems, fragments of Sappho and Odes of Horace) and a general introduction is included with the record.

The performers are: Norma Sharp (who took part in the 1977 Bayreuth and Schwetzingen Festivals), soprano; Helge Zimmermann, baritone; Christoph Mahla, Ernst-August Schulze and Günther Storch, tenors; Hans Börner and Odin Günther, violins; Odin Günther, viola; Joachim Draheim, cello; Wolfgang Kessler, harpsichord; and Joachim Draheim, piano.

The record will be on sale at 22.00 DM, but is available at a special reduced subscription price of 16.00 DM from the secretary's office of the Seminar für Klassische Philologie, Kollegiengebäude Marstallhof, 69 Heidelberg 1, West Germany. Postage and packing 2.50 DM extra. Offer closes 31 Dec. 1978.

At the present rate of exchange, 18.50 DM (i.e. 16.00 + 2.50 DM) comes to approximately £4.65. Anyone interested in buying the record should get in touch with David Harvey, 53, Thornton Hill, Exeter, who will explain the most convenient method of payment, and will be happy to play the record to anyone, whether or not they intend to buy it.