WHAT’S NEW IN SAPPHO STUDIES: THE COLOGNE PAPYRI

by Marilyn B. Skinner

In 2002, the Institute for Archaeology at the University of Cologne, with financial support from various German agencies, was able to purchase a group of twenty-five papyri offered for sale by a private collector. Once the fragile documents were housed in the Cologne Papyrus Collection, papyrologists set about conserving and then deciphering them. Scraps extracted from mummy cartonnage (the richly painted casing, usually made of recycled papyrus, laid over the linen-wrapped body) were edited by Michael Gronewald and Robert Daniel and published two years later in a specialized journal, the Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik. These papyri were part of an early third-century B.C. poetic anthology arranged thematically, containing passages on aging, death, and song – and they preserved a breathtaking find, two fragmentary poems in aeolic metre by Sappho (see Fig. 1). One was formerly unknown; the second could furnish most of the supplements needed to restore the text of a previously recovered fragment. When the report became more widely known, it made headlines around the world.

In an article entitled “A New Sappho Poem” appearing in the June 24, 2005, edition of the Times Literary Supplement (available on-line at http://tls.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,25337-1886659,00.html), British papyrologist Martin L. West provided details of the discovery continued on page 2
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and a translation of the restored second text. Twelve lines of verse on the Cologne papyrus partially overlapped with right-hand verse endings already known from the second-century A.D. Oxyrhynchus papyrus no. 1787, printed in the editions of Lobel (1925) and Voigt (1971) as Sappho fragment 58. The papyrus indicated, furthermore, that a new poem began with what had been line 11 of fragment 58 and concluded with line 22, comprising twelve lines in six two-line stanzas (see Fig. 2). Eight of the lines were virtually complete, and the sense of the others could be inferred from the remaining words. Up until then only three of Sappho’s poems were intact enough to be appreciated as literary compositions. Now there are four.

The new text is often called the “Tithonus poem,” because it employs the myth of Tithonus to underscore the inevitability of human aging. Eos, goddess of the dawn, fell in love with Tithonus, a handsome young Trojan prince, and carried him off. She asked Zeus to bestow immortality on her consort but neglected to ask for eternal youth as well. When Tithonus grew old and enfeebled, she shut him away in a chamber, where, unable to die, he babbles on endlessly. For Sappho’s contemporaries Mimnermus (fr. 4) this was a case of a fate worse than death. Sappho, therefore, gives the tale a different slant.

In line 10, the papyrus is damaged and the reading debated. From the ink traces, it would appear that what is required is an active or passive participle modifying “Eos” and expressing an action she performs, or which is performed upon her, as a result of erōs. I have supplied “gripped,” though there is no paleographic evidence for it, because of the imagery of overtaking and seizing elsewhere in the poem. Eos “went and bore off” (ἐπέλαβε... φέροισα) Tithonus, but old age also “laid hold” (ἐπέλαβε) of the speaker’s body and eventually “reached and caught” (ἐμαρτοσέ) Tithonus. Age, like Eos herself, is a predator.

Meanwhile, West’s verdict upon the conclusion merits quotation in full:

Sappho is very economical with the myth, giving it just four lines and ending the poem with it. At first sight it might seem a lame ending. But the final phrase gives a poignant edge to the whole. Tithonus lived on, growing ever more grey and frail, while his consort remained young and beautiful – just as Sappho grows old before a cohort of protégées who, like undergraduates, are always young. The poem is a small masterpiece: simple, concise, perfectly formed, an honest, unpretentious expression of human feeling, dignified in its restraint. It moves both by what it says and by what it leaves unspoken. It gives us no ground for thinking that Sappho’s poetic reputation was undeserved.

Yet this reading has not commanded full assent, for momentous papyrological findings inevitably disrupt the communis opinio and create further unresolved issues.

One of the very problems raised by the “New Sappho” has to do with its ending. The ninth line of the poem from the combined Cologne papyrus, which contains the names of both Tithonus and Eos, overlaps with line 19 of fragment 58, where only the last two words, “rosy-armed Eos” (φροδότατην Εώς), are preserved. Scholars already knew, then, that fragment 58 contained an allusion to the Tithonus myth, although the precise context was unclear. Furthermore, the text on the Oxyrhynchus papyrus appears to continue on for a number of lines after the mention of Eos. Two of the ensuing verses could be restored from yet another source. Lines 25 and 26 of fragment 58 are quoted by the Peripatetic moralist Clearchus of Soli, whose remarks are transmitted in Athenaeus’ Deipnosophistae (15.687b). Arguing that refinement must be accompanied by moral excellence, Clearchus cites two lines of Sappho to prove his point. There the speaker, presumably rejecting other options, affirms, “But I love elegance (ἀφροδίνασαν).” Something is then said to have obtained for her the splendor and goodness of the material world, though we are uncertain whether it was an intangible quality, “love of life” (ἔρος τὸσελί), or instead the actual god Eros. Previous editors of Sappho assumed that the poem on P. Oxy. 1787 had concluded with this aphoristic pronouncement.

When lines 25 and 26 are taken as part of the poem, they change the meaning of the Tithonus exemplum completely. Earthly beauty, it is then implied, compensates for the losses of old age. Such an optimistic attitude seems consistent with the positive expectations about poetry and the afterlife expressed in numerous other Sapphic passages, like fragment 150: “For mourning in the <house> of those who serve the Muses is not right; such things would not be fitting for us.” However,

Fig. 2. The “New Sappho Papyrus” (P. Köln. Inv. 21351 and 21376), which can be viewed at http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/PK21351+21376r. JPG. Photo courtesy of Institut für Altertumskunde, Universität zu Köln. Used with permission.
the new Cologne papyri call that long-established textual reading into doubt, for they unquestionably show a new poem commencing after the reference to Tithonus’ “immortal wife” in line 12.

Several explanations of the inconsistency between the two witnesses have already been tendered. Since the Cologne papyri come from a thematically structured anthology, its compiler may well have chosen to abbreviate selections, leaving out material deemed irrelevant. Some experts have therefore argued that the Cologne text is a truncated version of the actual poem, or, alternatively, that both the longer and shorter versions circulated orally as separate performance scripts. Others, while agreeing that the lyric does conclude with verse 12, posit a covert allusion to Tithonus’ eventual metamorphosis: in later sources, he is turned into a cicada. Because it sings incessantly while allegedly living on dew and shedding old age along with its skin, the cicada became a symbol of artistic immortality. Tithonus’ transformation, if implied, would look forward to Sappho’s ongoing fame. Thus the aesthetic tension has three possible resolutions: each provides a psychologically satisfying closure, but as philosophical responses to old age, they differ profoundly. There is no emerging consensus, as yet, on whether the twelve-line text is complete or not, or whether we are meant to recall what ultimately happened to Tithonus.

Just enough is left of the lines before the “Tithonus poem” to reveal that in them, conversely, Sappho explicitly anticipated her own posthumous survival. There she calls for celebration: “let there be revelry.” She then envisages herself in the underworld, endowed with honor, “as is fitting,” and marvelled at by the dead, as now she is by the living, “If, taking up the clear-ringing harp . . . I sing, Muse, beautiful things.” So closely do the last two lines resemble the opening lines of the Tithonus poem that the first editors termed them a “prelude” to the next one. Whoever assembled the anthology may have put them together for that reason. We might note that Horace refers to Sappho’s account of the underworld in Odes 2.13.21–32, where he too imagines himself in the realm of the dead observing both Sappho and her countryman Alcaeus singing as the shades marvel (mirantur) in reverent silence. Having the actual context of Horace’s intertextual allusion helps us understand why his own ode modulates from thoughts of the unexpectedness of death (the poet

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**Book Review: Wise Guy: The Life and Philosophy of Socrates**

by Andrew Reece


Many or most of us make our first acquaintance with Socrates in Plato’s shorter and more dramatic dialogues, especially those that depict or foreshadow Socrates’ imprisonment and execution. These dialogues present Socrates as a sly but humble devotee of truth, an inquisitor of political and religious convention, and a courageous and attractively cantankerous man of principle. Plato’s Socrates cheerfully mulls the Big Questions of life with interlocutors both friendly and hostile, and readers delight when Athens’ gadfly sinks his teeth into the latter variety, like Gorgias’ Callicles or Republic’s Thrasymachus. As Socrates himself observes in Apology, young folks particularly enjoy seeing proud men who are convinced of their own brilliance methodically divested of that opinion by Socrates’ needling; they then find themselves eager to try their own hand at reducing petard-hoisted adults to absurdity. Without a doubt, young teens are especially drawn to the more subversive side of Socrates, and surely there are legions of us who are drawn to the more subversive side of Socrates, and surely there are legions of us whose abiding relationship with Plato began when we were fifteen, following the master of irony as he dismantled Euthyphro’s smug piousness. If our own efforts at refuting our parents’ hidebound insistence on merely conventional behaviors (keeping to curfews, say, or tucking in our shirts) came up short, certainly we were to be encouraged in the general inclination to test assumptions and traditions.

Now even younger readers, who may not be ready for Plato but can still appreciate the story of a character revered for his integrity, frugality, and intellectual humility, will enjoy this introduction to Socrates by author M. D. Usher and illustrator William Bramhall. Usher draws on several biographical sources, including Xenophon’s Memorabilia and Diogenes Laertius’ Lives of Eminent Philosophers, to craft his narrative of the stages of Socrates’ life from “a curious boy, and cheeky too” through to his imprisonment. The adult Socrates of Wise Guy, however, most resembles Plato’s hero in Apology, Crito, and Gorgias, while the child is an imaginative re-creation. As in the text, so also in Bramhall’s lively illustrations, this Socrates encourages young readers to be curious about ideas, to wrinkle their brows at pompous elders, to delight in continuing their pursuits, and to reflect on their lives and priorities.

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**The Agora Online: Keep up to Date on News and Events in Classics**

To find out the most up-to-the-minute information about classical events all over the U. S. and Canada, go to the APA website (http://www.apaclassics.org) and then go to the quick link (bottom left) for The Agora of the APA: News and Events. There you will find up-to-date information on plays, movies, videos, and museum exhibits, articles on aspects of classics, websites of note, and a link to The Dionysiac, a free electronic newsletter listing performances of classical and classically-inspired plays as well as conferences and other announcements relating to performance (an initiative of the Committee on Ancient and Modern Performance of the APA).

Barbara K. Gold, APA Vice-President for Outreach
THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN ONSTAGE IN CHICAGO

by Mary-Kay Gamel

Chicago is a great theater town. In the United States it is second only to New York as a center of theatrical production (as the well-known Chicago improv comedy troupe “Second City” acknowledged in naming itself ironically in 1959). Famous Chicago theater companies include the Goodman, the Steppenwolf, and Chicago Shakespeare Theater. Hundreds of other venues offer everything from touring shows (Shubert), new plays (Chicago Dramatists), women’s ensembles (Redmoon), Latino theater (Teatro Vista), and musicals (Marriott) to performing horses (Noble Horse). New companies spring up frequently; http://illyria.com/theatre.html offers a comprehensive list of Chicago theater companies, with links.

Performances drawing on ancient Mediterranean material have a long history in Chicago. At the 2008 APA meeting in Chicago, Kathryn Bosher is presenting a paper on Chicago productions dealing with classical themes between 1868 and 1930 (Section 56: Classical Tradition II, Sunday, January 6, 2008, 11:30 a.m.-1:30 p.m.). During recent years, when productions of ancient drama around the world have become more numerous than at any time in history, Chicago has seen many such productions, including Hillbilly Antigone (Lookingglass, 2005) and Hecuba in Frank McGuinness’ translation (Chicago Shakespeare, 2006). In Fall 2006, Lyric Opera of Chicago offered a brilliant production of Gluck’s 1779 opera Iphigénie en Tauride. The stripped-down, highly physical staging, with three bare walls, and principals and chorus alike in black, was entirely in keeping with Gluck’s “reform” opera, which discarded the operatic conventions of his time to probe to the emotional core of Euripides’ drama. In 2007, there was an explosion of shows based on ancient Mediterranean material, including the musical adaptation of The Frogs by Shevelove and Sondheim, staged as it was intended to be done, in a swimming pool (Pegasus Players); The Love of the Nightingale, Timberlake Wertenbaker’s 1983 interpretation of the Philomela story (LiveWire); and Frank Galati’s Oedipus Complex, which includes Freud as a character (Goodman).

Two Chicago companies are especially invested in staging ancient drama. One is the Court, a professional company in residence at the University of Chicago. Nicholas Rudall, actor, director, translator, and longtime Professor of Classics at the university, was the founding director of the Court, which staged many of his translations. He has now retired, but the tradition continues. JoAnne Akalaitis, who directs frequently at the Court, was born in Chicago and graduated from the University of Chicago with a degree in philosophy; she is now a major director and founding member of the avant-garde theater group Mabou Mines. Among her classical work for the Court, Akalaitis staged The Iphigenia Cycle (Iphigenia at Aulis and Iphigenia among the Taurians) in 1997, and her striking production of Seneca’s Thyestes in Caryl Churchill’s translation opened the 2007-2008 season. “The impulse to make [Thyestes] contemporary was never on the table,” Akalaitis says in the Thyestes program. “What was on the table was Rome itself; the complexity, sophistication, and horror of Roman society.” She calls the Neronian period (during which slaves and criminals were executed in the arena) “the most perverse and perverted era of theater that I know about” and argues that Seneca’s verse “does not allow us to escape from the horror of the event.” (Thyestes program, 2007). As she often does, in this production Akalaitis combined different styles of acting (naturalism, expressionism), set design (the outline of a classical temple, wall-to-wall carpet), and costume (modern dress, mask, and an Indonesian costume for the Fury). Atreus was the center of attention, as he should be in Thyestes; actor Mick Weber, using all of the ranges of his voice, shifted abruptly from suavity to manic glee, and his final appearance in a high-tech Roman costume reflected Akalaitis’ belief that Atreus is Nero. Even if there are still scholars who think Seneca’s plays could not have been staged in Rome, Akalaitis and Churchill have certainly shown that these dramas can be very powerful in contemporary theaters.

Another important Chicago company is Lookingglass, which frequently creates new theatrical adaptations of existing texts. The company defines itself as combining “a physical and improvisational rehearsal process centered on ensemble with training in theatre, dance, music, and the circus arts, and seeking to redefine the limits of theatrical experience and to make theatre exhilarating, inspirational, and accessible to all” (http://www.lookingglasstheatre.org). Befitting their name, Lookingglass’ first production (1988) was based on Alice in Wonderland, and the company’s connections with children’s theater and story theater remain clear.

The most famous member of the Lookingglass ensemble is Mary Zimmerman, who is also a professor in Performance Studies at Northwestern University in Evanston. She has adapted a number of nondramatic texts for the theater, including The Odyssey (1989-1990), Arabian Nights (1992-1993), and The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci (1993), but her breakthrough production was Metamorphoses, her adaptation of twelve episodes from Ovid’s poem translated by David R. Slavitt. Opening in 1998 in Chicago, it was produced in theaters nationwide and finally made Broadway, earning Zimmerman the 2002 Tony Award for Best Director. The production made very creative use of a large rectangular pool of water whose depth ranged from a few inches to a couple of feet; it was used to suggest different ideas: creation, passion, self-absorption, and self-destruction. “Water has transformational abilities – baptismal, rebirth, sea change – but it’s also a corruptive and corrosive force,” says Zimmerman (Metamorphoses program, Berkeley Repertory Theatre, 1999). This was a theatrically powerful
show, but it avoided the hard edges – divine caprice, injustice, violence – of Ovid’s poem. The gods were benevolent, and the endings untragic. (See further Zimmerman’s script, published by Northwestern University Press, and Joseph Farrell’s review in American Journal of Philology 123 [2002]: 623-627.)

For years the Lookingglass company performed in different locations around Chicago, but in 2003, they moved to a permanent home in the Water Tower Water Works. This historic landmark on the Magnificent Mile in downtown Chicago was constructed in 1869 of limestone blocks quarried in Illinois. During the great Chicago fire two years later, the Water Tower was one of the few buildings left standing. The renovated facility now houses two theaters and associated public and performer support spaces; the main stage allows Lookingglass to reconﬁgure the performing space and audience seating as dictated by the needs of each production.

In Fall 2006, Lookingglass premiered a new production by Zimmerman. Argonautika stages the story of the voyage of Jason and the Argonauts to claim the Golden Fleece, including the leader’s involvement with Medea. It is based on two ancient versions of the story, one by Apollonius of Rhodes in Peter Green’s translation and the other by Gaius Valerius Flaccus in David R. Slavitt’s translation. Each of the fourteen members of the ensemble played various roles. The stage was a long raised wooden platform spanning the space with doors at each end and the audience on both sides. During the performance, the space became various landscapes, palaces, and most memorably, with the actors stringing ropes and pulling oars, the Argo. A platform above also allowed much work in the air by actors and wonderful puppets, and the lighting throughout was superb (see Fig. 3).

Like Metamorphoses, Argonautika made thrilling use of theatrical devices, constantly changing not only characters and locations but mode (narration, drama, song), scale (intimate scenes, large groups), tone (sad, comic), and style (naturalism, stylization). The opening Invocation associated theater with innocence – “What was it like when the world was so young?” – suggesting that a medium which allows the audience to “see the stars . . . feel the swell of the waves . . . hear the snap of the sail” is the right one for myth. But contemporary ideas were at work too. Zimmerman is deeply inﬂuenced by Joseph Campbell’s Jungian ideas; in an interview with Bill Moyers, Zimmerman said, “the Greek gods I believe are 12 different names for feelings inside ourselves” (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/transcript/transcript_zimmerman.html). Accordingly, she had Athena act as Jason’s “reason,” literally cueing him in dangerous situations. Jason was not at all Apollonius’ amêchanos (“clueless”) and self-centered protagonist but a thoughtful, caring leader. As in Metamorphoses, hard edges were consistently avoided: the gods were generally kind and helpful to the mortals rather than manipulative; Hylas was the “companion,” not lover, of Hercules (Greek and Roman names are used indiscriminately); the Lemnian women were deceived by Rumor into killing their husbands; and so forth. The most striking theatrical effect in the show was the arrow with which Eros pierced Medea: she wore it, the barb protruding from her back and the shaft from her breast, throughout the rest of the play, as her white dress grew redder and redder with blood from one scene to the next (see Fig. 4). The weakest parts were Jason’s betrayal of Medea, her murder of their children, and his death, all of which were passed over very quickly, with Athena offering an allegorical interpretation of the children’s murder: “think of them as her own broken heart, and the murder as the willful destruction of her own ability to love.” In the same vein, the Chicago show ended “with grace” and a ﬁnal coup de théâtre: the characters were immortalized as zodiacal signs, constellations hovering in the air above the audience’s heads, ﬂickering with lights, eternally beautiful and consoling: “every night you see them, wherever you are, in New York or Bangkok, in Cairo or Chicago. Sailing, sailing, even as we sleep.”


Mary-Kay Gamel is Professor of Classics, Comparative Literature, and Theater Arts at the University of California, Santa Cruz. She has staged many productions of ancient Mediterranean drama, often in her own translations or versions. Helen of Egypt, based on Euripides’ Helen, will be performed at UCSC in March 2008.

Fig. 4. Ryan Artzberger as Jason and Atley Loughridge as Medea. Argonautika, October 18-December 23, 2006, Chicago’s Lookingglass Theatre Company. Photo Credit: Liz Lauren. Used with permission.
THE ANCIENT WORLD AND AMERICAN COINS: THE ARTISTIC INFUSION PROGRAM AT THE UNITED STATES MINT

by Joel Iskowitz

For three decades, my artistic work as a designer of stamps, an illustrator for various published works, and a creator of documentary paintings for the U. S. Air Force and NASA has called for a thorough exploration of a vast array of human endeavor. In preparation for my illustrations, I have learned much while researching about topics in the natural sciences and about notable figures in the arts and letters and the context of their eras. I have always thought of my work as visual narrative, and I have found myself not only striving for esthetic beauty but also being guided by the notion that visual narrative must always be in service to the story being told.

In my work as a designer in the Artistic Infusion Program (AIP) of the United States Mint, I have had the honor of adding my voice as an artist to a colloquy of ideas, images, political ideals, and myths. I have begun to increase my knowledge of Greco-Roman cultures and the archetypes and laws that later Western cultures, including our own, often used as models when they established their own governments. In much the same way that Pericles of Athens gave form and substance to the emergent concept of democracy and that Augustus managed the majesty he sought for Rome, so too our American founders acted as the architects and art directors of a new nation by personally selecting the artists and the content of what would best embody its most cherished ideals. The site and architectural plans of our nation’s Capitol, for example, were selected by George Washington, who personally placed the cornerstone of the building in a Masonic ceremony on September 18, 1793. Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and James Madison personally commissioned numerous statues, murals, frescoes, and reliefs that would come to define our national identity. But it is the most potently public of civic art, our coins, which have come to serve as miniature ambassadors of the ideals of the body politic. Our coinage narrates the arc of our national history from its classical roots in Greco-Roman settings to its modern incarnations. The coin is public art in its most durable and far-reaching form.

The concept of the Artistic Infusion Program at the United States Mint is nothing short of visionary. It is quintessentially democratic. From a pool of more than 300 applicants who responded to the first “Call for Artists” by the United States Mint in 2003, eighteen were selected and designated as Master Designers by the United States Mint with the assistance of the National Endowment for the Arts. In 2005, another “call” was issued, to which I responded. I was selected as one of two artists added to the program as Master Designers. After having reduced the number of Master Designers to seven (including me) in 2006, the United States Mint issued another “call” in 2007 and added seven associate designers and four student designers. These eighteen artists (based on their own specific skills) will be invited to submit designs for U. S. coin and medal programs that have been enacted through Congressional legislation and signed into law by the President of the United States. Inviting artist-citizens in an open competition to enrich the coinage of the United States. The process begins as a bill, generated and refined and finally approved by both bodies of Congress and signed into law by the President. The United States Mint is then charged with executing the law and creating the new coins or medals. This double procedure keeps intact the democratic concepts provided by the framers of the Constitution. I have worked on many an inspirational project, but nothing comes close to the magnitude of an assignment that is literally the law of the land.

My first assignment for the Artistic Infusion Program catapulted me back in time to the classical images of ancient Greece and Rome and, to a lesser extent, to the European civilizations and their stately variations and invocations of the ancients, as epitomized in the Napoleonic era among others. Along with other Master and Associate designers, I was given the task of designing the “Foundations of Democracy” series, which would depict and symbolize the three branches of our government in the order that they appear in our Constitution. First, I tackled the Legislative Branch, and between rereading the Constitution and searching for inspiration, I came upon Clio, the muse of history as interpreted by Carlo Franzoni in his 1819 marble figure that graces Statuary Hall in the Capitol. Rekindling her image as the scribe of history, Franzoni depicted Clio recording events while standing in a chariot of time; he entitled his work “The Car of History.” I reincarnated her as the muse or scribe for our Legislative Branch. I borrowed her posture and invented a tableau in which she is seated between two Corinthian pillars that symbolize each body of Congress (see Fig. 5). Atop these columns are...
Book Review: Harrius Potter et Camera Secretorum
by Bryan C. Daleas


I confess that, prior to being asked to review this second Latin volume of the Harry Potter series, I had never read the English original, Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets (1998). My strategy, therefore, was to read the Latin version from cover to cover, without using either a dictionary or the English version along the way. I wanted to discover the story from the Latin before making comparisons to Rowling’s original. I was immediately impressed with the readability of Needham’s translation, which creates a vivid narrative while preserving classical syntax and vocabulary and using sentence structures that generally do not befuddle the reader’s ability to follow the story. A reader versed in Latin literature will enjoy, in addition to the high quality of Needham’s Latin prose, allusions to classical authors.

Needham begins Harrius Potter et Camera Secretorum with a nod to Greek and Latin epic in his use of the simple word rixa (fight, brawl) as the first word of the first chapter, Dies Natalis Pessimus (“The Worst Birthday”), which not only indicates the immediate strife within the Dursley household but also foreshadows the struggles that are so frequent in Harry’s life. Needham’s opening invites comparison to Vergil’s Aeneid as well as to Homer’s iliad and Odyssey. All three ancient epics begin with one simple, yet significant, idea: The Aeneid opens with arma (weapons), The iliad with, μῆνα (moan), and The Odyssey with ἀνέφη (man). These words bring to the reader’s attention prominent themes in those stories. By beginning with rixa (fight), Needham adds an epic touch to his Latin translation, which the opening of the English original lacks. This idea of struggle sets the tone for the first two chapters that concern Harry’s experience in the world of the Muggles (where he is out of place, misunderstood, and friendless); it also foreshadows the coming year in Harry’s life during which he must fight to prove himself in the world of magic.

Allusions to classical Latin literature enhance the book. Throughout the story, Harry suffers the clinging attentions of Colin Creevey, whose persistent adoration and stalking are reminiscent of the social boor in Horace’s Satire 1.9. Anyone familiar with Horace’s poem will recognize the similarity: celebrity attracts unsolicited and annoying attention. Another allusion involves Needham’s characterization of the gamekeeper Hagrid, whose particular style of speech does not translate precisely into Latin. In the Latin translation, Hagrid, for example, aspirates the word occisiones, which becomes hoccisiones (214), and is mocked for his speech by the evil Lucius Malfoy on the next page. Where Rowling has used “killin’s,” dropping the g from the end of the word “killing,” Needham uses an incorrect aspiration, which communicates the same mannerism. The rusticity of Hagrid’s speech recalls that of Arrius in Catullus’ poem 84, in which Arrius is said to aspirate his words incorrectly: this is a very nice touch for those familiar with Catullus, and yet a reader unfamiliar with Catullus’ poem can still appreciate the subtle characterization of Hagrid through his speech. Needham’s use of the incorrect aspiration in Hagrid’s speech is not, as in Catullus’ poem, meant to display any pretensions on the part of the speaker. Rather, the mispronunciation enhances Hagrid’s down-to-earth nature and lack of refinement.

The careful thought that Needham used in choosing both his Latin vocabulary and style is apparent throughout the book, not only in his adaptation of Rowling’s characters but also in preserving nuances of the original English. For example, Needham translates Moaning Myrtle’s “Miserable, moaning, moping, Myrtle” as “Myrta maerens, miserabilis” (109), which preserves the alliteration of the English.

While Latin makes the translation of the sound and meaning of that passage easier, a few words ought to be said about the continuing challenges that Needham has faced in translating English names into Latin in the Harrius Potter series. In rendering into Latin those English names with no Latin roots, Needham exercises several options.

As he did in the first book of the series, Needham transliterates some names into a phonetically appropriate Latin form, such as Vścilius for Weasley. Other names are Latinized by the addition of Latin inflections. Needham treats the name Malfoy, for example, as a third declension noun: Mal-foy, Malfonis. Some names, such as McGonagall and Pomfrey, are left uninflected and unchanged from their English form. Context helps to decipher the syntax of the uninflected names, usually with the aid of an inflected Latin title such as Professor or Magistra. In Rowling’s second book the reader meets several new characters, such as the house-elf Dobby, Dobbius (see Fig. 6), and Moaning Myrtle, Myrta Maerens, whose names are Latinized in a predictable way. Gilderoy Lockhart, however, is rendered as Gilderoy Lockhart in the nominative, but we see Lockhartis in the genitive and Lockharte in the ablative while Gilderoy does not change (79).

Exclamations, too, pose a challenge: Needham uses Latin idioms to render the sense of the English exclamation, rather than a strict translation or transliteration of the English. He uses, for example, edepol, “by Pollux,” (27) for the British idiom “blimey.” Furthermore, he writes pro pudor (263), which means “for shame” (Oxford Latin Dictionary), for urgh in the English text muttered by Ron in response to Myrtle’s insinuation that she is fond of Harry.

In general, Needham has written an appealing and readable Latin version of Rowling’s English story. I found only two small mistakes: in one case Harrius (220) is printed, where Harrius must surely be meant; and in another instance, the Latin text reads Fauscis (266) where we would expect Fawkes.

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Antiquity has long been a fruitful source of inspiration for Hollywood filmmakers. Decades after the release of mega-productions such as Spartacus (1960) and Cleopatra (1963), there has been a recent revival of the ancient world at the box office. Both classicists and the general public are likely aware of the latest crop of cinematic representations, from the epics Gladiator (2000), Troy (2004), and Alexander (2004) to the most recent cable-television production Rome (2005-2007) and the graphic-novel-turned-film 300 (2007). It is in great part due to the widespread effects of such Hollywood productions that the ancients reach the masses beyond the walls of academia. The now familiar and stereotypical well-muscled Greeks and toga-clad Romans attract the public’s eyes through multiple venues: on the big screen at their local movie theaters, on the small screens in their homes, and in promotional leaflets that arrive in the mail encouraging them to subscribe to HBO to watch Rome, to name but a few (see Fig. 7). In turn, the reception of the classical world in film has become a growing area of scholarship among professional classicists. Groundbreaking works such as The Ancient World in the Cinema (1978, revised edition 2001) by Jon Solomon; Projecting the Past (1997) by Maria Wyke; Classical Myth and Culture in the Cinema (2001), Gladiator: Film and History (2004), Spartacus: Film and History (2006), Troy: From Homer’s Iliad to Hollywood Epic (2006), all four edited by Martin Winkler; Imperial Projections (2005) edited by Sandra R. Joshel, Martha Malamud, and Donald T. McGuire Jr.; and Big Screen Rome (2005) by Monica Cyrino have paved the way for future studies of the ancient world in popular culture.

Typically, Hollywood films set in the ancient world have found themselves at the intersection of two conflicting currents, caught between the Scylla of specialized academic accuracy and the Charybdis of Hollywood mass entertainment. For instance, critic Alessandra Stanley argued that the HBO-BBC series Rome failed because of a desire for accuracy: “historic accuracy in made-for-television dramas is a bit like frugality in the restaurant business: admirable, but not the kind of virtue that attracts four stars. ‘Rome’ would have been better off exploring psychological strains that link us to a remote past that is ever present, from our legislative system to the nomenclature of plants and the costume of choice at a college fraternity party” (The New York Times, August 21, 2005). Against Stanley’s opinion, many critics seem to be ready to sacrifice anything on the altar of historical accuracy. This is perhaps especially true for viewers who have some knowledge of antiquity, such as students of classics.

Around the time of the release of the blockbuster Troy, Catherine Price published a piece in The New York Times, entitled “In a Classical World, Nerds Walk With Gods,” on the growing population of students in the U. S. studying classics, in which numerous students of the classical world indeed decried the adaptation of antiquity. She noted that “all of them are sticklers for historical accuracy” and further quoted students reacting to Troy with quasi-moral overtones: “We have to stay true to ‘The Iliad’ and traditional mythology” (The New York Times, October 9, 2005).

But whether they decry or endorse it, for most knowledgeable viewers accuracy is the crucial thread in the discussion of recreating the classics. This raises two questions, one more philosophical and the other properly methodological. First, what is accuracy? More precisely, what makes something an accurate representation of something else? Some of the complexity of this question is revealed by Jorge Luis Borges’ witty essay, “Pierre Menard, Author of the Quixote” (Collected Fictions, trans. Andrew Hurley, 1998, 88-95). In this essay, Borges refers to Menard who wrote a new version of parts of Cervantes’ Don Quijote, but his new version turns out to be a word-for-word transcription of Cervantes’ novel. The same exact words written in the twentieth century, however, have acquired a completely different meaning. Borges also tells us that the “archaic” and “something affected” style of Menard is strikingly different from Cervantes’ style since Cervantes “employs the Spanish of his time with complete naturalness.” In short, accuracy appears to be heavily dependent upon context. When it comes to movies, any claim to accuracy is challenged not only by specific historical details but, more profoundly, by the fact that movies are watched by modern audiences who have expectations that are often foreign to the ancient world.

The second, methodological question is whether we can approach films about antiquity from a perspective other than the issue of their accuracy. On April 27-28, 2007, under the auspices of the Classics Department at Union College in Schenectady, New York, a two-day conference was held not only to explore the issue of accuracy but also to debate other topics relevant to film adaptation. In order to achieve this goal, the conference attempted a new approach: bringing together the two seemingly separate worlds of academia and Hollywood by inviting both filmmakers and classicists interested in modern adaptations of antiquity. One of the participants, Martin Winkler, remarked that “panels and workshops on the cinematic reception of Greece and Rome have become regular
Capital Campaign News

There is more exciting news about the APA’s Gatekeeper to Gateway Campaign to establish an Endowment for Classics Research and Teaching and obtain the gifts necessary to receive funds offered in an NEH Challenge Grant. Recent progress in the campaign includes:

- The APA has received nearly $600,000 in pledges and over $250,000 in partial and in some cases complete fulfillment of these pledges. Funds received to date are being invested.
- On October 1, the second installment of challenge grant matching funds ($200,000) became available from the NEH. In November, the APA will claim and start investing those funds.
- Campaign Co-Chair Peter G. Fitzgerald has made a pledge of $100,000 to the campaign. These funds will be used to support the Association’s teaching awards. We thank the Roses for their support of the Association’s efforts to encourage outstanding teaching and produce the next generation of classicists.
- An anonymous donor has made a very generous contribution of $25,000. This contributor explained that she wanted to support the campaign because “I’ve had a varied career – from business and finance to art (printmaking) and credit the flexibility to my rich educational foundation which emphasized from the start classics and history. Learning Italian, a current endeavor, has been my latest reminder of the worth of my many years of Latin!”

You can obtain information about the Campaign, follow its progress, and make a donation on the APA web site: http://www.apaclassics.org/campaign/campaign.html.

features at, e.g., CAMWS [Classical Association of the Middle West and South], the APA [American Philological Association], and individual colleges and universities, but the meeting held at Union College stood out from all. It involved, for the first time, and with great success, a number of film and TV professionals in formal and, equally useful, informal exchanges with academics and students. This conference has raised the bar for future meetings on classics and cinema.”

Participating scholars included Monica Cyrino (University of New Mexico), Judith Hallert (University of Maryland), Christopher McDonough (University of the South), Hans-Friedrich Mueller (Union College), Kristina Milnor (Barnard College), Jon Solomon (University of Illinois), and Martin Winkler (George Mason University). Among the Hollywood participants were Nate Goodman (cinematographer, NBC’s Heroes), Kevin Kennedy (writer/producer, The Assassination of Richard Nixon), Niels Mueller (director/producer, The Assassination of Richard Nixon and Tadpole), Brad Silberling (director, Lemony Snicket’s A Series of Unfortunate Events and Moonlight Mile), Jonathan Stamp (historical consultant to Rome), and Jonathan Zimbert (executive producer, American Outlaws and The In Crowd). While not all the filmmakers had direct connections to productions based on antiquity, they provided insights into the intimate workings of a film set. The conference was attended by faculty and students from across all disciplines of the college as well as by administrators, staff, and visitors from the local community.

Scholars presented papers on various depictions of the ancient world in film, while Hollywood filmmakers answered questions in roundtable panel discussions and engaged classicists in conversations about the making of films. Papers and discussions were organized around broad themes such as politics and religion, sex and morality, and the intersection of the liberal arts and entertainment.

Engagement with filmmakers brought to the fore issues of artistic license, ideology, and practical matters of time and finance in recreating the classical world. Why might a filmmaker make changes to history or literature? What is actually at stake? Filmmakers reminded scholars that changes are rarely made because of ignorance of sources but rather as a result of strategic decisions. The use of the word “accuracy” itself was debated, for a common theme of the papers and discussions was to see inaccuracies not as lack of knowledge but as the result of a series of constraints and desires on the part of filmmakers, actors, and investors.

To center the discussion on the issue of strategy rather than accuracy reinforced a theme already present in much of the current scholarship, namely that modern cultural and societal contexts are often revealed behind the thin veil of an ancient setting. But the active presence of filmmakers forced classicists to take into account a multiplicity of factors involved in the making of films with which they might not be familiar, including the involvement of agents, actors’ contracts, financial support, artistic vision, creation of the public persona of an actor (such as actors refusing to be depicted in certain ways), and the process of writing for film. In the collection Gladiator: Film and History, Kathleen Coleman discussed her first-hand experience with the Hollywood epic Gladiator in an essay entitled, “The Pedant Goes to Hollywood: The Role of the Academic Consultant.” Coleman points to some of the competing agendas mentioned above and notes that these agendas may be at odds with the work of the academic consultant. Since most academics never have the chance to be consultants, the conference gave the participants a brief glimpse into what happens on a film set.

By its very nature, a film about the ancient world calls for interdisciplinary collaboration. Monica Cyrino described the conference as “simply a paradigm-shifting event” precisely because “for the first time we were able to interact with real filmmakers and hear first-hand the real processes that take place when they are adapting history, literature, and myth onto the screen. The symposium opened up an opportunity for fruitful discussion with filmmakers and perhaps even the possibility of future collaboration.” While this conference is certainly not the first to discuss the ancient world in film, it brought together members of two worlds, film and classics, in a rare opportunity for an exchange of ideas, with neither group working within the mindsets of their own fields but open to the influences of the other.

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I NAXOS

I Naxos of Pylus
Smile while I labor,
As fame in my marble
Will last forever.

REMEMBER DIONYSIUS

Remember Dionysius
When his play was crowned?
He drank his fill in Syracuse,
Then in his joy he drowned.

DINOCRATES SHOULD HAVE

Dinocrates would have carved
From the rock of Athos
A figure of the conqueror
Standing in the sea
Which would barely reach my knees
Then rise six-thousand feet!
In one hand I would have held
Some ships in a harbor,
And a hundred buildings would have filled
The space of the other.
Well, of course I was flattered, but
I’d not have put him out.

Michael Curtis is a classical painter, sculptor, and architect in Virginia who makes statues of generals, justices, and presidents. He has been asked to make a half-scale statue of Julius Caesar and is working on a spear-bearing Alexander, like that of Lysippus, but in a canon of his own invention. He is also a widely-published poet. These three epigrams are from “Weaving Purple Flowers,” a collection of verse on classical themes and events.

Book Review: Ulysses in Black: Ralph Ellison, Classicism, and African American Literature

by John T. Quinn


Three years ago, Patrice Rankine shared with readers of Amphora (issue 2.2) his work on the role the Odyssey plays in Ralph Ellison’s Invisible Man. Rankine ventures much farther in this new study. Ulysses in Black is not simply a searching analysis covering a broader range of Ellison’s writing. It also keeps a remarkably steady focus on why any of this matters for the discipline of classics, for African American cultural expression, and indeed for an America whose identity has been shaped by its own history as a slave nation as well as by the Greco-Roman past.

Rankine divides his work into two separate parts—“journeys,” he calls them, in keeping with the Odyssean metaphor. The first consists of three chapters that trace the history of the relationship between classics and African American literature. On this journey, Rankine establishes that, although the masterpieces of the Greek and Roman worlds can accommodate a diversity of perspectives, postclassical Eurocentrism tended to establish the classical heritage as a dividing line between the races. In America, for instance, Thomas Jefferson was one of many who doubted that the former slave and eighteenth-century writer Phillis Wheatley, despite her classically influenced verse, was truly a poet. The belief was that African slaves might gain a mechanical sort of facility with the ancient Western tradition, but they were deemed incapable of internalizing it.

This opinion was belied as more educational opportunities opened for African Americans after Emancipation. But Rankine cautions us not to be content with seeing black classicism as proof against the overt racism that had sought to deny blacks a share in the West’s foundational culture. Such a stance turns black classicism into assimilation’s measuring-stick. Rankine instead urges a deeper exploration that examines how blacks have creatively reformulated classical themes, and in so doing, how they are contributing to a broader understanding of them.

Rankine surveys the formidable obstacles to this exploration. The bitter fringes of the Black Athena debate demonstrate how far away a race-informed perspective on classics can go. Beginning in 1987, Martin Bernal’s series of books propounded Asia and, especially, Africa as the origins of classical civilization. Supporters and critics alike of Bernal sometimes went beyond him and held that a corollary to his thesis was that the achievements of Greece and Rome could be bypassed in favor of their putatively authentic sources. This corollary cheered those for whom Africa was already the cynosure and made the protests of many classicists smack of protectiveness. Either way, the result was the same: there was nothing to convince African Americans that the discipline was something relevant to them. Indeed, nationwide, classics had long since fallen from the privileged position in education it held before World War I; among blacks, the fall was still more precipitate. Whereas Booker T. Washington’s call for African Americans to favor vocational training over the liberal arts had met significant resistance at the end of the nineteenth century, support for classics within the black community eroded with twentieth-century movements in black thought and esthetics. In an era of segregation and the struggle to overturn it, interest centered on the distinctive components of racial identity. Classics was regarded as too implicated in the majority culture.

One consequence of an active hostility to classics was to turn black artists elsewhere for inspiration. Rankine, however, sees a more pernicious result: misunderstanding even those instances in which black artists consciously engage the classical tradition. He diagnoses two tendencies among critics: one tendency is to dismiss black classicism as “selling out”; the other is to insist that the classicism is there to be subverted (84). Rankine takes as paradigmatic the reception of Countee Cullen’s Medea (1935). Failing to win a major production, the play was largely ignored in its own day and elicits divergent
interpreters from modern scholars. Victor Kramer views Cullen’s turn to Euripides as a sign of Cullen’s “rejection of race” (The Harlem Renaissance Re-examined [1987], 220). On the other hand, Lillian Corti (“Countee Cullen’s Medea” in African American Review 32 [1998], 621) finds it all about race. Building on the fact that Cullen had hoped a black actress would play the title role, Corti reads Medea as the Other in an unwelcoming America, and the Greek tragedy as a vehicle for social protest against the very society that enshrines it in its literary canon.

Rankine urges a deeper exploration that examines how blacks have creatively reformulated classical themes.

Although he acknowledges that Cullen highlights the foreignness of Medea and that, as such, she is correlative to the African American experience, Rankine denies that she is a symbol of it. Quite the contrary, both in the play and in “Byword for Evil,” a prologue and epilogue he later fashioned for the tragedy, Cullen follows Euripides in giving his audience, black as well as white, a Medea with whom they cannot finally sympathize. Rankine’s own analysis is grounded on the assumption that the writer’s craft was central to Cullen’s enterprise. As a literary artist committed to his profession, Cullen used his personal self, social reality, and inherited literary traditions to create a work informed by them all. Out of the interplay of these various particulars – the framework of Euripides’ tragedy, race in America, the quick collapse of his marriage owing to his sexual ambiguity – Cullen shaped a drama in which what ultimately disturbs us about Medea is not the otherness of her place in society but the alien and alienating nature of her intense passion.

Rankine’s attention to the notion of artistic craft is borrowed from the theorizing of Ralph Ellison. Appropriately enough, therefore, the second, shorter “journey” of Ulysses in Black explores Ellison’s fiction for examples of how the melding of racial concerns and classicism is effected by a “craftsman,” that is, an artist devoted to making a work which, although rooted in personal and social realities, and attentive to artistic tradition, is a thing-in-itself, with all the inner coherence that implies. Rankine makes the case that the Cyclops episode of the Odyssey was especially important to Ellison because it contained themes resonant with America’s grappling with race: issues of identity and hospitality, the yearnings for escape and for ultimate homecoming. Rankine has previously shown how fractured versions of the episode recur in Invisible Man, with characters variously assuming traits now of Odysseus, now of Polyphemus. Among new directions here, he considers the unmasking of Brother Jack as, quite literally, a one-eyed ogre. In the narrator’s showdown with Jack, it is Jack who falls apart, losing emotional control as well as his glass eye. The climactic scene therefore juxtaposes the disintegration of Jack with the start of Invisible Man’s ability to see himself and the world around him more clearly. In the process, Invisible Man becomes ever more the Ulysses figure. He also simultaneously becomes a Brer Rabbit, and Rankine examines how the convergence of these heroes, one African American and one classical, is developed in Juneteenth, the posthumously published fragment of Ellison’s last novel.

The most provocative convergence is the one that Rankine articulates in the penultimate chapter. He takes as his starting-point two essays in Orlando Patterson’s Rituals of Blood: Consequences of Slavery in Two American Centuries (1998). In “Feast of Blood,” Patterson suggests that lynching in the post-bellum South was a quasi-Christian rite that affirmed the dominance of the majority culture by literally sacrificing and dismembering, sometimes even symbolically cannibalizing, a black male body. In “American Dionysus” Patterson likens the image of the African American man in contemporary society to Dionysus, evoking fear as well as fascination. Patterson fashions each essay around a different deity, a strategy that reflects his own belief that the phenomena examined in each essay are fundamentally different. Rankine intimates that they are related and uses the myth of Dionysus Zagreus to replace Christ with Dionysus as the divine exemplar, sacrificed and consumed. The usual Greek myth has Dionysus inspire his followers to kill and devour a victim marked as a transgressor. In the Orphic telling of the tale, the god himself is the victim who, however, will be reborn as Dionysus Zagreus. Rankine applies this version of Dionysus to the African American body: a body broken by the alienating gaze (whether of attraction or repulsion), and living in the shadow of the sad history of lynching and dismemberment. Acknowledging that Ellison never explicitly mentions Bacchic rites, Rankine nevertheless finds the theme of lynching as Dionysiac sacrifice pervasive in Ellison’s writings, from his portrait of jazz great Charlie “Bird” Parker to Bliss, the central character of Juneteenth whose impending birth occasioned the lynching of the African American alleged to be his father and who, although raised by that man’s brother, became a black-baiting politician – to end up shot on the floor of the Senate and seeking some sort of ante mortem rapprochement with his past.

The rebirth experienced by Dionysus Zagreus bears many, perhaps too many, meanings in Rankine’s application of the myth: violation against blacks repeated from generation to generation, the legend into which Parker was transformed, the personal transformation that never quite happens for the dying Bliss but which Rankine posits in witnesses who honestly confront racial violence, the eventual political revolution that might result from such personal transformations. Rankine reserves for his last chapter another addition to this list. A tenet of Ellison’s theory of craft was that craftsmanship completes the person. By making an artist into an artist, the artwork also makes that person whole. It is all the more pointed, therefore, that Ellison aims to effect this wholeness by writing about the fragmentation of the lynching victim. For classicists, it is also fascinating and inspiring to consider how the fragments of classical culture are themselves transformed by the new usages to which Ellison puts them.

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The eruption, in the Late Minoan period, of the volcano on the Aegean island of Santorini, just sixty miles north of Crete, was one of the most powerful in human history. It could have generated tsunamis, some of which may have struck Crete. Yet without direct proof, it is difficult to determine whether a tsunami caused by the volcano’s eruption in turn caused the widespread destruction in eastern Crete that prosaged the fall of an independent Minoan society and the takeover of Crete by the Mycenaean Greeks. Although this theory, proposed in 1939 by the late Greek archaeologist Spyridon Marinatos, is dramatic, direct evidence for it is sparse because (as discussed in “The Minoan Tsunami, Part I” in Amphotera 6:1, available online at www.apaclassics.org) the Cretan coast lacks old marshes that would likely have retained sediments deposited by an ancient tsunami. The likelihood that a tsunami devastated the Minoan civilization would be increased if the eruption of the Santorini volcano and the destruction on Crete coincided. Whether the latter two events coincided can be determined by comparing pottery found in the remains of the ruined and abandoned Minoan settlements in eastern Crete with pottery from the Santorini town of Akrotiri that was buried under volcanic ash.

When Marinatos first proposed his theory, he believed that the pottery found up to that point in the ruins on Crete and on Santorini came from the same Late Minoan era and thus tended to show that destruction occurred contemporaneously in both places. He was aware of two pottery styles associated with the Late Minoan era—one style has floral designs and the other, rarer style, depicts marine life—but he took no particular note of this distinction because he thought the styles were likely contemporaneous (see Fig. 8).

In current practice, archaeologists further divide this era into Late Minoan 1A and Late Minoan 1B and regard the pottery of these two periods as largely distinct. The floral style is found in both periods, but the latter era, although “difficult to characterize” according to archaeologist Philip Betancourt, saw a multiplicity of styles that included not only marine-style pottery, but also pottery with abstract and geometric designs and pottery (called, appropriately enough, the alternating style) on which elements such as double axes or sea anemones alternated around a vase.

When Marinatos began excavating Akrotiri in the 1960’s, he revealed a Minoan-style town with multi-storied houses—and pots that pose a problem for his tsunami theory under the current consensus that there are identifiable differences between Late Minoan 1A and 1B pottery. None of the pottery found on Akrotiri can be dated from any time period later than Late Minoan 1A, but pots found in the destruction layers in eastern Crete are from Late Minoan 1B.

If the Santorini volcano erupted during the height of the floral style, Late Minoan 1A, one would be hard pressed to attribute the destruction on Crete to this much earlier event. For Marinatos’ theory to be viable, some way would have to be found to explain how the pottery on Santorini and eastern Crete came from two different eras and yet the volcano caused destruction in both places.

The Akrotiri excavation offered a number of possibilities for explaining the timing discrepancy. One of the striking features of Akrotiri is what is missing: skeletons and valuables. Unlike the citizens of Pompeii, the residents of Akrotiri had sufficient warning to escape before their world was buried. Akrotiri was apparently rocked by an earthquake that damaged the town sufficiently to cause its temporary abandonment (see Fig. 9). Workers returned to try to repair the damage. They cleaned the streets of debris, swept rubble into piles, and even used stone wrecking balls to take down walls too damaged to be fixed. Then the volcano erupted and dropped an inch of ash on the town. Those remaining left in a hurry—fresh buckets of mortar were abandoned in the midst of wall repairs. The volcanic eruption then continued with fury in four separate phases that buried the town completely.

This sequence offers numerous opportunities for significant time gaps that could show the residents of Akrotiri leaving long before the final volcanic eruption, thus explaining why their pottery came from an earlier time. The first ash fall shows signs of oxidation, which means that rain fell on it before the major eruption began. But the ash fall does not show decades of rain, for the layer is not eroded and none of it turned into soil. So at most, this gap buys only a rainy season or two between an initial milder eruption and the ultimate cataclysm that buried the town.

German geologist Hans Reck, who examined Santorini in the 1930’s, thought the major phases of the eruption were separated by long time periods, and for thirty years, Marinatos thought this explained how Akrotiri could have been abandoned early in the eruption sequence, while the tsunamis damaged Crete during a later phase of the eruption. But volcanologists today think the entire eruption...
sequence was brief, lasting from hours to days, and the absence of any oxidized ash located at the boundaries of the various phases supports their view. So Marinatos had to look elsewhere to account for the pottery discrepancy.

Here the attempt to explain this discrepancy takes an unusual turn and involves a vacation of James Money, a British government official and antiquarian with “an intimate knowledge of the soils of Kent and Sussex,” according to an introduction to an article he wrote for the English periodical Antiquity in 1973 (42: 50-53). In May 1972, Money visited Santorini armed with an article by classical scholar Sir Denys Page, which described the problem of the pottery discrepancy. Christos Doumas, who was by then in charge of the excavation at Akrotiri, allowed Money to take samples of a soil layer at the site between the rubble and the ash overlying it. Money had the samples examined by a University of London archaeologist who determined that some of the samples contained humus that may have taken decades to form before the ash fell. Marinatos accepted this as proof that Akrotiri was abandoned long before the volcano erupted.

Doumas did not. He responded that the soil was found only on the top of rubble piles, which came from walls that were themselves made from earth. Moreover, the town did not look like it had been long abandoned. Building walls showed no signs of weathering or erosion that would have been expected if the town had been left to the elements for decades before it became encased in ash.

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Ask A Classicist

Q Does the image of Blind Justice go back to classical antiquity?

A The image of Justice (or Jusitia, as she is sometimes known) as a blindfolded woman holding the scales of justice and a sword is a familiar and common image today, especially in America (see Fig. 10). Most people seeing such an image would not hesitate to identify it as a personification of Justice. This image, although not the only image of Justice we have today, can be seen, for example, in statues in public places such as courthouses, in figurines on lawyers’ desks, and as part of the letterhead and logos of countless law firms and government departments. This image of Blind Justice is second only, perhaps, to the image of a judge’s gavel or to the scales of justice by themselves as a symbol of Justice.

Some aspects of this modern image of Justice can be traced directly back to antiquity. The idea of Justice as a woman can be traced to Hesiod’s account of Themis, a female Titan, who personified the established, eternal laws that give order to the universe (Hesiod, Theogony 902) and her daughter Astraea (later known as Dikê), a personification of justice (Hesiod, Works and Days 256-262). The image of Justice, depicted as a beautiful, vigorous female wearing a classical-style gown and, like a proper goddess, barefoot, may also be traced back to the statues of classical goddesses, such as Athena, goddess of wisdom, who in Aeschylus’ Eumenides advocates that justice is the wise exercise of judicial discretion in contrast to the unthinking application of primitive rules.

There are, however, no ancient images of the scales being used as a symbol of justice either alone or in connection with female figures representing Justice. The association of the image of scales with justice is puzzling. While scales are used by moneylenders and businessmen, they also have a mythological connection with Fate – Zeus holds up his “mighty scales” in Homer’s Iliad (12.433 and 16.658) to judge the fate of mortal warriors. Do the scales represent the idea that justice is for sale, or predetermined, or predictable?

Aristotle, in his account of justice, would certainly disagree, and in the celebrated Book 5 of his Nicomachean Ethics, he speaks of “justice in exchange” (using transactions in the marketplace as an example) and expounds on the doctrine of the Golden Mean and the idea that justice in human law is in fact the middle of two opposites.

In addition, the sword usually carried by today’s Justice is not a classical symbol for justice. The sword, often mistakenly regarded as a symbol of the law’s association with state sovereignty, became a symbol of high rank in the Middle Ages as a result of its association with medieval knighthood. Because of its resemblance to the Christian cross, it also became a symbol of the knight’s nobility of character and moral code. Today’s Justice carries the sword, not as a symbol of her power or the law’s monopoly over violence, but because the sword represents the aspiration of human law, namely, justice.

Although many public statues of Justice today do not show her wearing a blindfold at all (for example, the statue atop London’s Old Bailey, where she lifts up her sword in a triumphant gesture, and the statue in front of Canada’s Supreme Court, which bears a resemblance to a mourning Athena), the blindfold remains the most recognizable attribute of Justice today. The earliest statues depicting Justice wearing a blindfold first appeared in Germany in the sixteenth century as an apparent protest against unjust verdicts. Today, however, most people feel that the blindfold is a positive image of the law and that it represents Justice as an unbiased and fair adjudicator, unaware and uncaring of the identity of the individual who is appearing before her.

But could the blindfold also represent the wisdom associated with justice? This idea could be traced back to Themis, who is associated with prophecy, or to blind prophets such Teiresias, whose blindness might be associated with deeper insight into the human condition. In Sophocles’ Antigone, the blind Teiresias warns Creon that his law is unjust, and towards the end of the play, the leader of the chorus taunts Creon with the words, “now you see, too late, what justice is” (1270).
Findings on Crete also militated against any explanation based on a long gap between the abandonment of Akrotiri and the eruption. Santorini ash was found on Crete at Late Minoan 1A levels, the same era in which Akrotiri was abandoned. And pumice found in the ruins of a shore-side building in the harbor town of Amnisos, which Marinatos thought had been deposited there by a storm after a tsunami destroyed the town, was reexamined by Dorothy B. Vitaliano, author of *Legends of the Earth: Their Geologic Origins* (1973). Vitaliano thought that the pumice found at Amnisos was not randomly spread about the ruins by a storm but was deliberately stored in a walled receptacle. Pumice has been found at other sites on Crete, and Vitaliano thought it was kept for rituals meant to appease the gods who caused the eruption. Whatever the use of the pumice, if the Minoans put it in the building in Amnisos, they could not have done so until after the eruption, and therefore Amnisos could not have been destroyed until the eruption was over.

Doumas saw a way out of this conundrum that would preserve the essence of Marinatos’ theory – and still have a tsunami level Amnisos. What if the volcano collapsed long after it had ceased erupting and created a tsunami only then? He had heard of an instance in Iceland where such a delayed collapse of a volcanic roof had occurred and speculated that either an earthquake set off the ultimate collapse or the collapse caused an earthquake, thereby putting in play the forces Marinatos thought caused the damage on Crete.

Doumas’ solution cleverly accounts for the pertinent facts. It explains how the eruption caused the abandonment of Akrotiri and the ash fall on Crete in one era and the destruction of structures on Crete in another era. Despite its cleverness, this theory seems based more on a hope that the millions of tons of rock forming the roof of the magma chamber had stayed put while ash-covered Minoans developed Late Minoan 1B pottery styles rather than on any geological reason. Doumas soon abandoned this theory because the considered opinion of volcanologists who have looked at the timing of the collapse of the roof of the volcano is that it occurred sometime during the final two phases of the eruption and not thereafter.

Yet in all these efforts to reconcile the pottery and the eruption, one thing is missing: the date of the eruption. Marinatos had no independent proof on the subject. He simply placed the eruption where he thought it fit in the pottery sequence. The dates of Minoan pottery eras have traditionally been derived largely by determining what Minoan pottery was extant during particular Egyptian dynastic periods. By the 1960’s, this method dated Late Minoan 1A to 1550-1500 B.C. and Late Minoan 1B to 1500-1450 B.C. If the eruption occurred at the end of Late Minoan 1A, the burial of Akrotiri would be placed at 1500 B.C.

Far more precise dating methods are available, but the potentially most reliable one used by archaeologists, radiocarbon dating, long proved frustrating. Testing of the structural beams in the houses at Akrotiri might have yielded a reasonably accurate date, but the buried beams have long since disintegrated. Into this void stepped two American dendrochronologists, V. C. LaMarche, Jr. and Katherine Hirschboeck, who examined wood from California, not Santorini. Bristlecone pines from California’s White Mountains live up to 5,000 years, and their growth rings can show changes in weather. A massive volcanic eruption may cool the earth if its ash spreads throughout the upper atmosphere, blocking the sun’s rays, or if the ash has a high sulfur content and contributes to acid rain, which itself has a cooling effect. Such cooling can cause frost damage to bristlecone pines that is observable in their tree rings. When LaMarche and Hirschboeck examined bristlecone pines for frost damage, they found nothing around 1500 B.C. but a telltale frost ring at 1627 B.C., potentially connected to the Santorini eruption.

This new dating caused a stir among Aegean archologists. The problem LaMarche and Hirschboeck created is not only that they dated the Santorini eruption more than one century earlier than previously thought but that this new date called into question the accuracy of the entire dating of the Late Minoan era and, by implication, the accuracy of long-accepted Egyptian dates.

LaMarche and Hirschboeck drew an immediate response from Peter Warren, a professor of history and archaeology at the University of Bristol in England. Warren questioned the predictive value of frost rings because, based on information LaMarche and Hirschboeck included in their paper, volcanic eruptions do not always cause frost rings, which can also be caused by other climate-changing events. To this criticism, the defenders of the 1627 B.C. date responded that there is no plausible alternative explanation for the frost rings that year.

And so a new debate began and continues with vigor. Two other possible aids to dating the Santorini eruption have been found in Greenland ice cores and Anatolian tree rings. Volcanic ash recovered from the ice cores has been dated to 1645 B.C., and Cornell professor Peter Kunitzlohm, who heads the Aegean Dendrochronology Project, discovered a growth anomaly in Anatolian tree rings that is from around that same date. But whether the ash recovered in Greenland came from the Santorini eruption is disputed, and the Anatolian tree ring anomaly, like the bristlecone pine frost rings, has not been tied definitively to the Santorini eruption.

The latest efforts at radiocarbon dating, bolstered by the recovery on Santorini in 2002 of the branch of an olive tree that was buried alive during the eruption, tend to support a date of 1628 B.C. The accuracy of radiocarbon dating of plant specimens that grew near an active volcano is made difficult because of the possibility that the plants, while living, took up carbon dioxide emitted by the volcano. Carbon from volcanic sources tends to be low in C14 and can skew the results of radiocarbon dating by making a sample appear older than it really is. Thus, radiocarbon dating results based on Santorini sources are unlikely to settle definitively the timing of the eruption of the Santorini volcano.

The viability of Marinatos’ theory would be further strained if the supporters of a seventeenth century B.C. eruption date ultimately prove correct. That can be seen from an attempt by Sturt Manning, a classics professor now at Cornell University, to try to figure out new dates for the Minoan eras based on an eruption before 1600 B.C. Manning concludes that the Late Minoan era was much longer than previously thought, with Late Minoan 1A extending from 1700 to 1600 B.C. and Late Minoan 1B from 1600 to 1490 B.C. Marinatos’ claim that the Mycenaean ascendance in Crete was related to the Santorini eruption looks more plausible if the Mycenaeans took over in a matter of years or decades after the eruption, not if more than one hundred years passed between the eruption and Mycenaean dominance.
For all the criticisms Marinatos’ theory has received, some variations of it still have believers, partly because no other explanation for the demise of the Minoan civilization has gained universal acceptance. But many, including Vitaliano, have fallen back on an earlier theory that the final blow to Crete came from an earthquake. After his final effort to defend Marinatos’ theory failed, Doumas came to believe, twenty-five years ago, that the destruction was caused by pirates who were known to raid the Cyclades Islands during this time. Still, the supporters of a volcano connection have shown the ability to come up with new ways to make it work. University of Hawaii geologist Floyd McCoy thinks that the eruption caused damage not only because of a tsunami but long thereafter because of the ash from the volcano, which spread out in the upper atmosphere, changing the climate and leaving a legacy of ruined harvests. Other archaeologists think the eruption undermined the authority of the ruling priestly class, possibly to the point of civil war.

Until someone convincingly puts together all the somewhat contradictory information that has been generated by the efforts to prove or disprove Marinatos’ theory, we can expect one form or another of the theory to have adherents. The image of a peaceful island civilization washed away by a tsunami is too powerful to give up.

Further Reading:


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Book Review: Wise Guy: The Life and Philosophy of Socrates

continued from page 3

the company of friends, and to get their priorities straight, with wisdom outranking consumer goods and with good looks falling behind magnanimity. This boy, and the man he becomes, will be familiar to Wise Guy’s young readers once they encounter him again in Plato’s dialogues. Noticing a more ascetic and moralistic figure in Plato and Xenophon, however, the same readers may suspect that the boot-shaking dancer in a couple of Bramhall’s illustrations owes more to Anthony Quinn’s Alexis Zorba in the film Zorba the Greek (1964) than to the dour sage of Plato’s Phaedo. But it should be noted that not all of the ancient sources show Socrates despising his body and “training for death” to the degree that Phaedo does.

Readers likely to have fun with Wise Guy and to learn from it are those who, while not quite up to Plato yet, read with some confidence, and they will range in age from about eight to about twelve. Usher and Bramhall have cleverly accommodated this audience by telling Socrates’ story in two different ways concurrently. Each two-page spread gives Bramhall ample space to show Socrates in the Athenian marketplace, a cobbler’s shop, the dining room, courtroom, or his jail cell. At most turns of a page, one finds, on the left, a simple narrative corresponding to the illustration and, on the right, longer explanations of the philosophical views of Plato’s Socrates, Greek cultural norms and values, and stories from the ancient biographical tradition. Novice readers will be satisfied with the illustrations and shorter passages, while more experienced ones will tend to keep their eye on the right-hand page, and the intermediates will be engaged by both. The longer commentaries, taken together, provide a fine succinct introduction to Socratic and Platonic thought. Usher does not draw attention to the elusive distinction between the historical figure and Platonic protagonist, but for readers old enough to be troubled by this, the suggestions for further reading offer a quick entry into the controversy.

As we are reminded in an illustration adapted from Raphael’s sixteenth-century painting School of Athens at the end of the book, those who take Socrates seriously are in good company. Here illustrator Bramhall introduces into the gathering of those in Socrates’ tradition men and women whom we are encouraged at a young age to admire, such as Thomas Jefferson, Gandhi, and Martin Luther King, Jr., as well as those we only get to know later, such as Søren Kierkegaard and Hannah Arendt. Wise Guy encourages young readers to imagine that a posture of restless, rigorous inquisitiveness toward nature, society, and values may lead to a rich, important, and even joyful life. This notion deserves as much encouragement as we can give it.

Andrew Reece is a faculty member in Classical Studies at The Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington. His son Philip, a fifth-grade student at L. P. Brown Elementary in Olympia, contributed to this review.

Amphora for Everyone! Roundtable at the Annual Meeting in Chicago

Saturday, January 5, 2008, 12:00 noon-1:30 p.m., Grand Ballroom B

As Amphora enters its seventh volume, a new editor (T. Davina McClain) and a new assistant editor (Diane Johnson) will try to build on the wonderfully successful work of Anne-Marie Lewis, the outgoing editor. We, therefore, want to offer the APA membership an opportunity to talk directly with us about what you like about Amphora, what you would like to see in future issues, how we can encourage more submissions, and how we can continue to make Amphora more accessible to our target audience – those who are interested in the ancient world but are not necessarily specialists. Please drop by our table!

Elizabeth Friedmann undertakes a daunting endeavor in *A Mannered Grace*, her magisterial, authorized biography of the iconoclastic American poet and thinker Laura (Riding) Jackson (1901-1991). Merely presenting the life of this malignedit and misunderstood literary figure, referred to here as Laura Riding (see Fig. 11), sympathetically and even-handedly, posed challenges enough. But Friedmann also succeeds admirably in making Riding’s writing—which is far from easy reading—accessible to a non-specialist audience.

Riding’s life story and writings hold special interest for classicists. She lived and collaborated for many years with the British author Robert Graves (1895-1985), a devotee of Greco-Roman antiquity whose books and translations have long figured in the classics curriculum. Furthermore, Riding studied Latin seriously, read Greek literature in translation voraciously, and repeatedly evoked the classical world in her writings. Her alma mater, Cornell University, now houses her papers in part because of the favorable impressions she formed of its classicists, among them the eminent authority on classical rhetoric, Harry Caplan (1896-1980).

Quoting from Riding’s correspondence, Friedmann relates that when Riding arrived at Cornell from her native Manhattan in 1918, “after her strenuous application to Charles Edwin Bennett’s *Latin Grammar* during high school, Laura was delighted to find the distinguished Professor Bennett ‘a happy Latinist’ with considerable passion for his subject.” A reminiscence Riding wrote for the Cornell alumni magazine in 1983, Friedmann notes, fondly recalls both Bennett and Professor Lane Cooper, whose many scholarly specialties included Plato and Aristotle (20).

Friedmann identifies Caplan, a friend of Riding’s during those undergraduate years, as a “young instructor who was to become a distinguished professor of classical studies at Cornell.” In a 1985 letter, Riding reminisced that Caplan “delighted in finding famous names in history who [like himself and Riding] were Jewish . . . and also telling Jewish jokes” (24). His pride in his Jewish identity, at times in the face of anti-Semitic prejudice, contrasts with Riding’s own attitude toward her Jewish background. Believing, in the name of truth and universality, that freedom of thought must transcend the constraints of ethnicity, nationality, and even gender, she did not publicly identify as a Jew, religiously or culturally, and abandoned her birth name of Reichenthal in favor of Riding in the early 1920’s.

A *Mannered Grace* establishes that Riding was involved as soon as Robert Graves was, and as much as Graves was, in employing the lens of the classical past in her writing, particularly when reflecting on women and their relationship to language. Classical references abound in Riding’s earliest poems, written soon after her first marriage to the historian Louis Gottschalk in 1920, long before she met Graves. Indeed, Friedmann states that Laura chose the name Riding to “embrace the symbolism and poetic tradition of Pegasus while declaring herself the master of the Muses’ beast [and] aspirant to the poet’s immortality” (30).

Soon after changing her name, Friedmann observes, Riding sought out and became the lover of Allen Tate. A magna cum laude classics graduate of Vanderbilt University, and occasional Latin teacher, he was at that time the associate editor of *The Fugitive*, the journal that published Riding’s first poem, awarded her its Nashville Prize in 1924, and promptly added her name to its masthead. It was through John Crowe Ransom, one of the other young Southern poets whose verses filled the journal’s pages, that she attracted Robert Graves’ notice in 1925. By that time, she had divorced Gottschalk and was living in Greenwich Village near Tate and his new wife.

Immediately after relocating to England in January 1926, at the invitation of Graves and his then-wife, Riding traveled to Egypt with the Graves family while he taught in Cairo. There he helped edit her first book of poetry, *The Close Chaplet*, published in both the U.K. and U.S. and enthusiastically reviewed by, among others, her former lover Allen Tate. Upon resettling in England, she and Graves left his wife and four children in their home near Oxford and relocated to London to write *A Survey of Modernist Poetry*, published in 1927. In this book, Friedmann argues, Graves and Riding’s close reading of e.e. cummings’ poem “Sunset” helped to lay the foundations of what would be called “the New Criticism,” although later scholars have not accorded them sufficient credit in this regard.

Biographical and critical studies of Graves readily acknowledge that Riding influenced Graves’ writings, in particular his two novels about ancient Rome, *I, Claudius* (1934) and *Claudius the God* (1935), and his non-fictional books about women in Greek mythic thought and poetic creativity, chief among them *The White Goddess* (1948). Friedmann, moreover, illuminates the interconnections between the works of Riding and Graves and documents how Riding’s influence has been discounted and misconstrued.

In demonstrating Riding’s originality as a thinker, especially on both classical antiquity and women’s place in the universe, Friedmann pays close heed to Riding’s correspondence, poetry, fiction, and essays from her years with Graves, focusing on those from 1929-1939, when the couple lived in Majorca. Most notable among Riding’s non-fiction works at this time is *The Word “Woman,”* which was left unfinished when Riding departed from Spain and only rediscovered by Graves’ second wife in their attic, several decades later. Finally published in 1993, it questions mythic defi-
nitions of women that silence their voices and constrain their identities. As Friedmann documents and Riding herself claimed, The White Goddess owes much to its ideas.

While living on Majorca, Riding also published two novels of her own about classical antiquity: A Trojan Ending (1937) and Lives of Wives (1939). The former, about the last days of Troy, centers on the character of Cressida, beloved of the Trojan prince Troilus. Riding jettisons Cressida’s image in Chaucer’s poem (“Troilus and Criseyde”) and Shakespeare’s play (Troilus and Cressida) as a faithless, shallow object of men’s lust, ascribing to her astute analytical powers and principled, self-assertive conduct. The latter novel casts the ancient past and such personages as Aristotle, Alexander, and Herod the Great in an unconventional light because, in Riding’s words, “the principal male characters are here written of as husbands rather than as heroes” (314).

In examining the criticisms leveled at Laura Riding and her work, Friedmann calls attention to two 1970 essays assessing Riding’s poetry in the British periodical The Review: one by Roy Fuller, then the Oxford Professor of Poetry; the other by Martin Seymour-Smith, who would publish a biography of Graves in 1982. Each associates Riding with divinity, albeit differently. Fuller’s essay praises Riding’s intellectual gifts stating, “someone has said that the White Goddess [Graves’ image of the female deity who inspires poetry] is a thin disguise for Laura Riding” to honor her alleged role as Graves’ divine muse. Seymour-Smith, however, assails her personally, describing her work as “its author’s postulation of . . . herself as God.” He also dismisses Riding’s renunciation of poetry after her marriage to Schuyler Jackson and return to the U. S. in the 1940’s, as sheer egomania.

Friedmann quotes from Riding’s correspondence with literary editors – in which Riding characterizes the poem as “a relic of past ages . . . now socially incongruous” – to illuminate Riding’s complex rationale for abandoning poetry writing, and even refusing to allow the reprinting of her earlier poems (392). In addition to challenging Seymour-Smith’s characterization of Riding’s decision, Friedmann’s research contextualizes Seymour-Smith’s essay itself as foreshadowing “the frenzy of Laura Riding bashing for which character assassination is much too mild a term,” launched by his later biography of Graves (408). When approached by Seymour-Smith in 1965, Riding had been unwilling to “concur with [his] harsh criticism of Robert Graves” or endorse his uncritical analysis “of her ideas and terms” about poetry (407). Hence she broke off correspondence with him.

Friedmann also quotes a 1965 letter to Riding by Seymour-Smith, archived among letters from Riding herself, that Seymour-Smith eventually sold. Here he threatens that his biography of Graves will have to take into account the claims of “many people” that she wrote A Trojan Ending, “which was a flop, because she was jealous of Graves’ success with I, Claudius.” He then accuses her of “being in love with power” and “suffering from delusions” that, in Friedmann’s words, “people were trying to appropriate her work” (407-408).

Sadly, Riding did little to combat the criticisms of her detractors. An impassioned concern with women’s distinctive language and perspectives looms large in her writings. Yet she objected to having her poem “The Forgiven Past” in The Penguin Book of Women Poets, regarding “the separatist concentration on women’s performances in literature and the arts” as an offense against the human dignity of women (444). By abandoning the manuscript of The Word “Woman” and renouncing poetry itself, she removed herself and her thinking from the public eye in the years when Graves enjoyed immense literary renown.

Determining the extent of Riding’s influence and collaboration with Graves remains difficult. Their actual published works cannot begin to record all that Riding and Graves thought from 1926 through 1939, as they read and edited each other’s work, constantly exchanging ideas. By Friedmann’s estimate, for example, at least 157 of the 331 pages in The Common Asphodel (1949), a collection of Graves’ essays on poetry, contain work written by Riding; 48 more contain essays she edited for Epilogue, a joint project they inaugurated in 1933.

As the book’s prologue recounts, Friedmann knew and assisted Riding in the decade before her death in 1991. While she sheds a clarifying light on the much-misunderstood Riding, she testifies, candidly, to her subject’s personal shortcomings as well: Riding emerges from A Mannered Grace as demanding and difficult, spiritually generous but self-absorbed, and intellectually uncompromising. Seven words encapsulate Riding’s credo: “Who lived for truth and so lives.” They grace the headstones of the graves that Riding and Schuyler Jackson now occupy, near what was once their commercial citrus farm in Wabasso, Florida. The truth for which Riding lived may be well beyond our grasp, but Friedmann has attempted to bring us closer to it through her study of Riding’s life and influence.

Judith P. Hallett [jep@umd.edu] is the 2008-2012 APA Vice-President for Outreach. Professor of Classics at the University of Maryland, College Park, she teaches an honors seminar on Robert Graves’ I, Claudius novels and their adaptation for the small screen by BBC-TV in 1976. A longer version of this review is among the required readings, and available from the author by request.
Throughout my teaching career I have tried to develop assignments that will encourage or oblige students to approach course materials in ways that are personal and original. An assignment in the myth course I taught at Carleton College required students to create, in any medium, their own version of one or more of the myths studied in the course. A 2005 Willa Cather seminar at Williams College gave students the option of writing an original piece in response to what they had found and admired in Cather’s fiction. My Williams course on Greek and Roman drama requires both a ten-page term paper and an original creation inspired by one or more plays read during the term.

As suggested by this last model, I have always assumed that these creative assignments should complement, not replace, more traditional critical and analytic approaches. And I have always recognized that the original projects students produce will vary widely in intrinsic artistic merit. What I have found over some forty years of experimenting with such assignments, however, is that almost invariably students take them seriously and become deeply involved in them. Instead of viewing the course materials from the outside, attempting to come up with “the right answers,” with what the professor “is looking for,” students inhabit these materials, make them their own, find themselves in them, transform them. Even those students who resist initially, maintaining that “they are not creative” and begging to be let off from these assignments, often admit subsequently that in working on them they have discovered talents they did not know they had and have come to see not only the materials of the course but even themselves in new and revealing ways.

Among the most remarkable projects of this ilk I have ever received is the short story that constitutes the heart of this article. Written in 2006 for our course on ancient drama, it represents a student’s highly original response to Antigone, whom he had encountered in plays we read by Sophocles, Anouilh, and Fugard. As in all the best such recreations, the author has absorbed his ancient myth or model so completely that what emerges feels natural, inevitable, and self-contained, so much so that without the story’s title one might not even suspect its firm roots in the tragic tale of Antigone. Given that title, however, the reader finds powerful and moving resonances which color the story and, in turn, make one see this familiar myth in ways that recall Cesare Pavese’s comments on his own encounter with ancient myth: “What is more acutely disturbing than to see familiar stories troubled into new life? . . . The surest, and the quickest, way for us to arouse the sense of wonder is to stare, unafraid, at a single object. Suddenly – miraculously – it will look like something we have never seen before” (Foreword to Dialogues with Lenin, 1965).

The author, Godfrey M. Bakuli, is an African American who graduated from Williams in 2007 with majors in both history and economics. During the term in which he wrote “Antigone,” he was elected president of the Williams student body, a position he occupied with great distinction into the spring term of his senior year.

**INTRODUCTION: A NEW ANTIGONE**

*by David H. Porter*

**Antigone**

*by Godfrey M. Bakuli*

She remembered exactly how her father had taught her. Her body wrapped tightly around a tree branch that jutted out high above the ground, the memory of her first tree-climbing lesson was one of only two thoughts steadying the girl. The lesson happened many years ago. He had taught her that she had to first plot her path before she even stepped toward the tree. She had to keep focused on her destination, let hands and feet do the climbing, and not worry about limbs breaking beneath her.

“There is nothing below you worth seeing that you cannot feel with your feet,” he had once said. He pointed at his own, still swollen beneath his shoes from a barefoot youth spent scaling the rough bark of elms and dogwoods. “You can never waver—never lose sight of the branch you want to bring yourself to. Life is lived at its fullest by the dogged and the able, and you had dog-gone better believe any child of mine is able.”

She remembered his words as though right before the ascent he had stood tall at her rear and whispered them warmly into her ear. As if she again were a child and had drawn her hair back into a tight ponytail, she hugged the smooth, pale trunk with her soft arms and knees, and shimmied up the old tree for the first time.

She remembered that first climb vividly. How quickly and assuredly she had hoisted herself to a branch within inches of the one she had set her sights on, and how it had been slightly out of reach. Standing on tiptoes to extend herself, she instead skinned a large piece of bark off the branch. She wobbled, yet regained balance by spreading her arms apart and bowing her knees like a gymnast.

Had the girl’s father not been standing on the ground below, looking up and saying not to look down, she may have done so, and may have seen the piece of bark fall and break into halves. But the sound of it thumping against the tree’s exposed roots was the only proof she needed that she had never been that high before. Tonight—years later—the girl was even higher. It was just like old times, as though history were repeating itself, except on this night there was no audience to witness the ascent.

She was perched high above the earth in dark woods miles away from the nearest plantation. The reddened fingers of her right hand held a hunting knife that slowly but unshakably gnawed at a thick rope knotted around the branch. She had reached her destination, but now focused on seeing the rope’s threads split and its ends fall to the earth.

Aside from childhood memories of her father, one other thought steadied her. A thought that had led to a silent supplication before she scaled the tree. That thought concerned the body of the man at the other end of the rope.

The brown body of a young man whose crooked neck cocked to his right, mouth gaped open, and unblinking eyes bulged out of their sockets. The white
I'll face them alone. I won't let the Klan build a kingdom in my conscience."

The knife finally cut through the rope. The limp body dropped from its suspension in midair and thumped against the tree's roots.

Two thoughts were still on the girl's mind: how her father had taught her to climb trees, and safely burying the body of the man whom she had always held dear. She was perched high above the earth in a dark forest miles away from the nearest person. She had reached her destination, but she would not stop until she had buried the man.

She used sweaty palms to raise her upper body and push herself back down the branch. Stopping in mid-movement, she wobbled. Had the girl's father been standing on the ground below her, looking up and saying not to look down, she may have avoided doing so, and may have not seen the lifeless body on the ground beneath her, neck and head severed from the torso. But he was not there to say those words, and she could not look away. She slipped from where she sat and fell the long way to the ground. The sharp crook of a root shattered her ribs.

Clutching one hand to her chest, she crawled over to the man and covered him with fallen leaves. She curled up next to his body, feeling its cold seep into her. She stared up at the stars.

It was just like old times, as though history were repeating itself.

David H. Porter (ddodger@skidmore.edu) is Harry C. Payne Visiting Professor of Liberal Arts at Williams College. Prior to coming to Williams in 1999, he taught classics and music at Carleton College (1962-1987) and was president of Carleton in 1986-1987 and of Skidmore College from 1987-1999. He has written books on Greek Tragedy and on Horace and two monographs on Virginia Woolf, and has a book on Willa Cather forthcoming in 2008.

Godfrey M. Bakuli (godfreybakuli@gmail.com) grew up in Amherst, Massachusetts and graduated from Williams College in 2007 with a degree in History and Economics. He currently lives and works in New York City.
Dr. Jonathan Shay, clinical psychiatrist and author of *Achilles in Vietnam* (1995) and *Odysseus in America* (2002), has been named a 2007 MacArthur Fellow by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation for his use of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in his work with combat veterans. (See Dr. Shay’s article on Homer and military leadership in *Amphora* 2.2, available at www.apaclassics.org.)

You can find Greek and Latin at Walt Disney World in Florida. At the MGM theme park, in the waiting area for the Muppets’ show, you will find BANANVM IN AVRE HABEO as the caption on a picture of Fozzie Bear who, in fact, has a banana in his ear. At Epcot, you can hear Greek and Latin spoken on the ride Spaceship Earth. At the Magic Kingdom, in the graveyard outside the Haunted Mansion, (sometimes bad) Latin graces the tombstones.

**Suzanne Vega’s 1994 CD Solitude Standing contains Homeric references in two songs: “Calypto” offers the perspective of the goddess who loved Odysseus and let him go because it was what he wanted. “Wooden Horse” refers to a wooden horse that “became alive,” perhaps recalling the trick of the wooden horse filled with live soldiers who took Troy.

Classicist and former APA President, Elaine Fantham, is appearing in radio ads for Jameson’s Irish Whiskey. The label sports the motto SINE METU, and the announcer seeks out a Latin expert, Elaine Fantham, to translate the motto, which means “without fear.” The announcer even suggests that Jameson’s popularity might be attributed to having Latin on its label.

J. P. Losman, who started at quarterback for the National Football League Buffalo Bills, earned a B.A. in classical studies from Tulane University.

The ill-fated Apollo XIII (see Fig. 12) was the only lunar mission to have a Latin motto: EX LUNA, SCIENTIA, “from the moon comes knowledge.” For the mission insignia, see http://science.ksc.nasa.gov/history/apollo/apollo-13/apollo-13.html.


**WHAT’S NEW IN SAPPHO STUDIES: THE COLOGNE PAPYRI**

continued from page 3

had barely escaped being crushed by a falling tree) to a meditation upon the capacity of poetry to transcend mortality.

Subsequent publication in 2005 of the thirteen broken lines of a third poem on the Cologne papyri, obviously not by Sappho but closely linked to the two preceding texts, has complicated debate as experts attempt to determine its content and define relationships within the whole poetic sequence. The original editors, Gronewald and Daniel, noted that the third piece is written in a hand different from that of the two Sapphic lyrics. Its metre, although itself uncertain, cannot be one that Sappho would have employed, and its dialect is not Sappho’s Aeolic Greek. Yet there are obvious echoes of Sappho’s language, especially in its first lines, “Whisper-weaving, deceitful, devise of tales, / plotting boy . . . / companion, I steal away.” The run of descriptive adjectives in the vocative case recalls the beginning of Sappho’s ode to Aphrodite, “Parquet-throned immortal Aphrodite, / child of Zeus, trick-weaver . . .” (fr. 1).

After the opening line, more than half the poem is lost on the right-hand side, and what remains is puzzling: references to the light of the stars and the blazing sun; to Orpheus [whom] all beasts [followed?]; to a lyre, probably modified by the adjectives “lovely” and “well-sounding”; and, finally, to a female having a helper. Is this an exchange between two singers, or a woman’s complaint about her lover? Why is Orpheus mentioned? At present, these are unanswered questions. Still, the reference to Orpheus, the supreme musician, and the final emphasis upon the lyre indicate that the theme of song was foregrounded in this poem and that Sappho’s works were somehow linked to it.

The last few years have been banner years for papyrologists. Several exciting new finds have recently been published – the “New Simonides,” the “New Empedocles,” the “New Posidippus.” Those texts have greatly changed the way classicists think about archaic and Hellenistic Greek poetry. But, as a discovery, the “New Sappho” is in a category by itself. It poses fascinating problems of textual transmission and interpretation, yes, but its Tithonus poem is also a compelling artistic statement – as West pronounced it, “a small masterpiece.” Because it captures human experience perfectly, because it is so rich in feeling yet so understated, it will doubtless soon be anthologized and taught in all Humanities survey courses as part of the classical canon. To the children of our current students, it will be a familiar school text. For us, its emergence is still incredible.

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In his preface, Matthew L. Hunter observes that people watch so much film and television these days that they no longer have the ability to read a book and use their imaginations. On the other hand, he admits, we have become a much more visual culture because of this same reliance on television and film. In order to balance these opposing qualities, Hunter has created a striking new format for his book, *Jason and Medea: A Whirlwind of Ruin*. By selecting from plays, film, and even television, Hunter creates what he terms a visual “mind play” (ix) for the reader to explore the myth of Jason and Medea.

Instead of a novel, the result is a unique mixture of stage play and screenplay. On the first page, Hunter includes a cast list of nearly a hundred characters. In place of chapters, the story is told in over fifty scenes, each introduced by expository stage/scene directions that help the reader visualize both location and action. Instead of using a traditional narrative prose, the characters interact through theatrical dialogue and soliloquies. Although Hunter’s format looks like a script on the page, he does not intend for it to be staged (at the very least, it would be cost prohibitive to hire a hundred actors!); rather, he has created this format to make the story feel interactive and immediate.

The book is divided into two acts. Act One (scenes 1-45b) covers the same ground that Apollonius of Rhodes covers in the *Argonautica*, but within his unique format, Hunter is able to use his imagination to add depth and ornamentation to the myth. All the familiar adventures occur, but Hunter makes sure we see some of the lesser-known adventures as well. The boxing match between Medea and Jason is entwined with the Argonauts’ adventures. The first act ends with the Argonauts’ arrival in Greece, and the second act (scenes 1-9) picks up the story ten years later in Corinth, echoing the plot of Euripides’ *Medea*.

Hunter creates a cast of complex and memorable characters. It is not only Jason and Medea who leap from the page. Hunter’s storytelling is so detailed that even the most minor players have a story arc. For example, each Argonaut emerges with a distinct personality. Telamon is a braver leader than Jason, and Polyphemus (the man, not the Cyclops) is the most treacherous man aboard the Argo. In several scenes, these two balance each other with an almost comic effect. After Polyphemus has bludgeoned a young boy in an ambush, Telamon disapprovingly remarks: “You seem to have practiced striking children,” to which Polyphemus replies, “They are of better use when silent” (134). A sense of connection with the Argonauts grows from such details and deepens our emotional investment in the story.

As successfully as Hunter creates real characters, however, it is often hard to take them seriously because of their stilted dialogue and bizarre turns of phrase. His nineteenth-century language and vocabulary are meant to help the reader imagine how the ancient Greeks might have spoken and acted. Unfortunately, these ancient Greeks often sound like melodramatic soap-opera characters. Hunter is also somewhat overly preoccupied with bodily fluids in many of his descriptions. He writes, for example, “A king, slimy with the mucous of sin, made amends” (27) and “Like the mucous that runs in winter, it will pass” (121).

That said, some of Hunter’s strongest and most descriptive writing is in his stage/scene directions, and here he is at his cinematic best. His descriptions of battle scenes are especially graphic, and for the reader with affection for the grotesque, they will be quite thrilling. For example, in the scene directions describing the Argonauts’ onslaught against the Lemnians, Hunter writes:

Herakles smashes into the head of a man trying to flee. His great club through crushing force exposes the splinters of bone, grey matter of brain and red bloody pulp. The eyes of the man are burst or burgeoned forward, held to the man’s face by the optic chord. The jaw is broken apart too, lips or cheeks now uncover teeth and the mandible sits askew on the man’s damaged face. (43)

Although some scene directions can be wordy, Hunter can also be quite succinct when describing action. “The Argonauts set themselves a hard pace. In unison, they stroke their oars into the sea and propel the Argo. They need little guidance. The Argo cuts the seas” (64). This sentence style suggests a film-editing technique called the “jump cut,” where things happen in a disjointed, rapid-fire style. With this effect Hunter creates a sense of urgency that propels the story forward.

*Jason and Medea: A Whirlwind of Ruin* is a creative teaching tool for high-school or college students taking an introduction to myth course. Since the story is so action packed, it is an excellent complement to the primary texts. No previous knowledge of the myth is required, so the reader can take the story on its own terms. Hunter’s is a highly visual tale and will surely bring new readers into the world of ancient epic and tragedy.

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volumes of law and learning on which two eagles, the symbol of our nation’s strength, are perched, guarding my recon-figured “Legislative Muse/Scribe.” She is looking away from the law she has just written as if to ponder its integrity and durability over time.

I am only hinting here at the wide variety of influences, inspirations, and reconstructed themes with which I attempted to tell the story of the Legislative branch in a concise and understandable way. The tangible result of my efforts has been my 2006 American Eagle Platinum “Legislative Muse,” but the process of accessing an amalgam of many different influences, artifacts, and manifestations from ancient to present day is the essence of what is so exciting for me.

Similarly, in creating the images of the second president of the United States, John Adams, for the Presidential $1 Coin, I conducted the usual amount of background research, such as reading biographies, contemporary accounts in newspapers and journals, and Adams’ letters to his intellectual equal and beloved wife Abigail in order to get a sense of the man. I also studied portraits of Adams by Gilbert Stewart and John Trumbull. I was especially drawn to Trumbull’s 1793 portrait of Adams, which hangs in the Smithsonian’s National Portrait Gallery. I also looked at Trumbull’s mural, The Declaration of Independence, which was placed in the Rotunda of the Capitol in 1826. I chose Trumbull’s portrait of Adams as the prime model for my interpretation, mostly because Adams not only sat for Trumbull but also because he admired the artist as a patriot who laid down his brush for the better part of a decade to serve as George Washington’s aide-de-camp (Vivien Green Fryd, Art and Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States Capitol, 1815-1860, 2001, 12-15). While preparing my own portrait of Adams, I discovered that Trumbull had asked his good friends Thomas Jefferson and John Adams for a letter of recommendation when he was lobbying the architect of the Capitol, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, for a commission to paint the Rotunda murals.

At this point in the process, the Founders became, for me, living entities. I saw them in real time, even eavesdropped on their conversations as they carved out both the government and the culture of the fledgling democracy. Adams revered art and poetry as a counterbalance to his practical, ambitious, and sometimes impatient, personality. He said to his son John Quincy, “you will never be alone with a poet in your pocket” (David McCullough, John Adams, 2001, 260). He was also a scholar fully versed in the classics. He read the orations of Cicero, as well as other Roman authors in Latin. In his retirement, he read (with the aid of French translations) all of Plato in the original Greek, which he considered the supreme language (John Adams, 19). Adams was always a moral man to the core. He risked his reputation in 1770 to defend in court the hated British troops who had fired into a crowd of American colonists in Boston because he believed that the soldiers deserved a defense. I found Adams to be thoroughly deserving of Jefferson’s commendation of him as “the Colossus of Independence.” I was amazed to learn that Adams even envisioned future Independence Day celebrations as times “of sports and parades and fireworks.” All these elements that I encountered came from a myriad of sources – words, images, ideas, and period vignettes – and they found their way into my drawings of Adams for the Presidential $1 Coin (see Fig. 13). As a result, they are ultimately based on, but quite different from, Trumbull’s likeness of the man.

In many ways now, I look upon my past artistic work as a career-long preparation for my current work as a public artist for the United States Mint. I find myself with a deeper appreciation of the ancient worlds of classical Greece and Rome. I feel, on an intensely personal level, that I have become an active participant in images and ideas that have been continually tapped by visionaries, architects, and artists of the past who have given form and substance to the highest ideals of civilized governments. I am reminded daily of André Malraux’s Les Voix du Silence (1951) in which he speaks of a “museum without walls” and says that the “time of art is not the time of history.” Malraux’s concept of a brotherhood and sisterhood of artists and their collective, collegial, and intimate communication, free of the restraints of time and distance, has new meaning for me thanks to the opportunity I have had to create images for these tiny pieces of monumental and very public art and to send them on their journey through time.

Joel Iskowitz is a renowned American artist and lecturer whose work has graced the covers of books, periodicals, journals, public spaces, coins, and more than 3,000 philatelic designs issued by more than forty separate nations worldwide (see www.themountainstudio.com). In addition to the designs discussed here, his design credits for coinage include the Presidential $1 Coin (released in November 2007) that features, on the obverse, James Madison, the fourth President of the United States. Six more of his minted designs will appear in 2008. He thanks Susan Ford Wiltshire, Professor Emerita, Vanderbilt University, for her generosity and encouragement, which led him originally to select Clio as the inspiration for what would evolve into his “Legislative Muse.” He also thanks the masterful sculptors and engravers at the United States Mint for their superb execution in bas-relief of these designs.
PARSING THE NOWHERE MAN

by Anne-Marie Lewis

Yellow Submarine, released in theaters in 1968 and re-released in 1999, is a complex collaboration. Episodes are built around songs by the Beatles, imaginative visuals by Heinz Edelmann, and the work of dozens of animators, with everything linked by a screenplay credited to four writers, including Erich Segal.

Segal, then assistant professor of classics at Yale University, is widely acknowledged as the most important scriptwriter for Yellow Submarine. Already known in theater circles, he was not yet famous for his novel Love Story (1970) and its film version, for which he won a Golden Globe (Best Screenplay) and a nomination for an Academy Award, both in 1971. Yellow Submarine also appeared in the same year as Roman Laughter, a revision of his Harvard dissertation and the first book in English devoted solely to the comedy of Plautus.

Segal gave an overall epic flavor to the screenplay by casting the Beatles as Odysseus-like figures who brave monsters and threatening seas in order to restore music and life to Pepperland. The Beatles see a “bi-cyclops” in the Sea of Monsters, and upon arriving in Pepperland, Paul says that they are none the worse for their “adventures.” John adds, “Reminiscent in many ways of the late Mr. Ulysses [Roman Odysseus].”

In a world of white, the Beatles soon find a little blue-faced creature typing furiously. In this character, Jeremy Hillery Boob, Ph.D. (see Fig. 14), the hand of Segal the classicist is most evident. Ringo decides that he is “probably one of the nothings” who inhabit the place, an identification that recalls Odyssey 9.366, where Odysseus, after getting the Cyclops Polyphemus drunk, identifies himself as Outis (Nobody). Ringo’s befriending of Jeremy is also reminiscent of Aeneid 3.588-683, which describes the rescue of the unfortunate Greek Achaemenides, left behind by Odysseus on the island of the Cyclopes.

Jeremy speaks cryptically in rhyme sprinkled with Latin: “Medic, pedic, zed oblique, orphic, morphic, dorphic, Greek/Ad hoc, ad loc and quid pro quo/So little time, so much to know.” When the Beatles ask where they are, he answers, “A true Socratic query, that.” He identifies himself as “eminently physicist, polyglot classicist, prize-winning botanist, hard-biting satirist, talented pianist, good dentist, too.” There is something of Socrates (especially the Socrates satirized in Aristophanes’ Clouds) in Jeremy. He is witty, pedantic, and clever. He fixes the submarine motor and writes the footnotes to his nineteenth book (with his foot) while reviewing it at the same time.

In a further play on Outis, Jeremy is linked to the song “Nowhere Man,” after which he joins the Beatles aboard the sub. When it breaks down, he advises, “Repair, revive, revamp, renew/Ipse dixit, just turn the screw.” But like the stereotypical intellectual, he is impractical: he neglects to get himself and the Beatles back inside before fixing the propeller, and the sub sails off without them.

Finally, like the heroes of the ancient epics and the historical Socrates (who fought for Athens at Potidaea, Amphipolis, and Delium), Jeremy demonstrates his warrior skills (which he gets from a book): “Left to the nostril, right uppercut/right to the eyebrow, left to the gut.” His weapons, flowers, sprout from his wordplay – “Arise, arise, arouse, a rose./A rosy nose?/ . . . Turn off what is sour,/turn into a flower and bloom, bloom.” So effective is his battle strategy that Ringo comments, “First time I saw that Nowhere Man, that nobody, I knew he was somebody,” which reflects Odysseus’ own reclaiming of his name and property in Ithaca. At the end, it is Jeremy who, atop the Blue Bird of Happiness, rises up to the big “YES,” a scene reflective both of Yoko Ono’s interactive installation, “Ceiling Painting” (Indica Gallery, London, 1966) and of Diotima’s ladder of love, described by Socrates in Plato’s Symposium 210a-212b.

Al Brodax, the film’s producer and one of its co-writers, has commented that Segal considered himself and Jeremy to be one and the same (Up Periscope Yellow, 2004, 110). While Segal shaped Jeremy as a comic parody of himself and fellow academics (R. Hieronimus, Inside the Yellow Submarine, 236), it is easy to see his affection for a creature who is able to move between the world of the academic and that of the pop icon.

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