

FROM SICILY WITH LOVE: THE MYTH OF GALATEA AND POLYPHEMOS IN IAN FLEMING'S *MOONRAKER*

by Patrick Callahan

"After all you must have had some education?"

Bond laughed. "Mostly in Latin and Greek. All about Caesar and Balbus and so on."—*You Only Live Twice*, 86.

With the release of the film *Casino Royale* in November of 2006 and the upcoming release of *Quantum of Solace* in November of 2008 revitalizing the Bond film industry, there has been an enthusiastic return to Ian Fleming's 007 novels and short stories. As old readers return and young readers begin to discover the fun in reading these works, they will find with unanticipated pleasure a depth of thought and subtlety in the 007 literary works which are often lost in their film versions. This literary sophistication is of particular interest to those familiar with the Greeks and Romans, since the novels are replete with the classical allusions and themes with which Fleming's Eton schooling – the British secondary education emphasizing the classics – made him familiar.

Often these classical allusions are quite explicit in the text. For example, though we find out in *You Only Live Twice* (1964) that Bond had a classical



Fig. 1. Statue group from the Museum at Sperlonga. © Marco Prins and Jona Lendering. From Livius.org with permission.

education, his Greek is a bit rusty when in *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (1963) the Corsican Mafioso and Bond's future father-in-law, Marc-Ange, must explain to Bond what he meant by keeping secret information within his *ἔρκος ὀδόντων* ("the hedge of the teeth," 37), a play upon a common Homeric phrase to describe the mouth (e.g., *Iliad* 4.350: "Son of Atreus, what word has escaped the hedge of your teeth?"). Large portions of plot are remodeled on classical myth as well. For example, in *Dr. No* (1958) the final sequence where the heroine is tied up on the rocks of the island and Bond must fight off a giant squid – which Fleming calls "the

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Book Review: *Breaking Ground. Pioneering Women Archaeologists*

by Ingrid Edlund-Berry

Breaking Ground. Pioneering Women Archaeologists. Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Sharp Joukowsky, Editors. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2004. Pp. 582; 24 pp. of b&w photographs; 9 pp. of maps. Clothbound \$80.00. ISBN 0-472-11372-0.

Antecedent, adventuress, or archaeologist? These were the labels used to characterize some of the pioneering women in anthropology and archaeology in an exhibit at the library of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in 2000. In *Breaking Ground* we find twelve biographies of women who mostly fit in the third category, ranging in time from the mid 1800s to the late 1900s. In her introduction to this collection Margaret Cool Root highlights the framework of society in which these women were educated and how the limitations imposed on them by their own families and the field of archaeology, just beginning to emerge at this time as an academic discipline, affected them individually and personally. Yet each of them made important contributions to the areas they studied, and their lives provide an insight into how they achieved what they did in spite of outside obstacles.

The biographies of these pioneering women are written by their colleagues, their students, friends, and family members. The following list, a sort of table of contents, provides the best glimpse of the history and influence of these women:

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"Common is the word 'friend';
rare is true friendship."
– Phaedrus, *Libellus* 3.9.1.

FROM SICILY WITH LOVE

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mythical kraken" (201) – is reminiscent of the myth of Andromeda, who is rescued by Perseus from a sea monster (Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 4.663-739).

Yet the most sustained and prevalent classical myth in a Bond novel appears in *Moonraker* (1955). Here the villain's name, Sir Hugo Drax, is a bit deceptive about his mythological antecedent. His actual name of Graf Hugo von der Drache might suggest that he is some sort of dragon, since Drache is German for dragon. However his physical descriptions paint a different monster at work in Fleming's novel. For, as becomes clear both in Drax's character and his place within the plot, Drax is actually another Polyphemos, the Cyclops of the *Odyssey* (Book 9) and later Greek and Latin authors such as Euripides, Theocritus, and Ovid.

During 007's previous adventure in *Live and Let Die* (1954), Bond had expressed the wish to find in his adversary "a giant, a Homeric slaying" (21) and that is certainly what he now gets in Drax. The remarkable characteristic, indeed the first Bond notes upon seeing him, is his huge and ogre-like physique (101, 103), exaggerated by his overly broad shoulders (38). Every part of the man is monstrously proportioned so that Fleming speaks of his hands as big (37, 39), his face as great and hairy (120, 133), and his nose as large (66). Fleming even goes so far as to say that Drax has "ogre's teeth" (206, 213).

Drax's exposure to a bomb at the end of the Second World War made his face even more monstrous than his huge, ogre-like figure would have first suggested. This same blast left Drax's right eye "a surgical failure" (38). Because of an error in the skin graft on his eyelids, Drax's right eye is so large that Bond supposes that he must put a patch on it when he sleeps (38). The likeness to the Cyclops' eye is strengthened by Fleming's preference of speaking about Drax's eyes separately depending on the context. When Drax is cold and calculating, Fleming refers to the unharmed left eye (70). When Drax rages, Fleming describes his monstrous right eye (60). More than this, almost all the descriptions of Drax's right eye seem to describe the wounding of Polyphemos' eye by Odysseus (see Fig. 1). His eye is perpetually "red" (60, 70, 81) or "bloodshot" (38) and accompanied by a description of blood being drained from his face (70, 81).

The social character of Drax is also

akin to that of Polyphemos as portrayed in the *Odyssey*. He is, as Bond describes to M (the head of MI6), something of a loner (17), much like Polyphemos (*Odyssey* 9.188-9). Like the Cyclops described by Homer (*Odyssey* 9.189, 215), he thinks that he is "a law unto himself" (79). And as if Fleming were winking perpetually at Homer, he speaks again and again of Drax's "deplorable manners" (86, 96, 148) and presents us with the contradiction of a host (103) who is trying to kill his guest. Even after Drax has shown his hand and has Bond and Galatea Brand – a Scotland Yard agent posing as Drax's assistant – tied up in his office, Drax still refers to them as his "guests" in that manner that now has become the cliché of cartoon villains (203). This same theme of the relationship between guest and host is equally prominent in the *Odyssey*, most especially in 9.266-71, where Odysseus begs Polyphemos to treat him and his crew well and to beware the wrath of Zeus who is guardian of hospitality.

Fleming first placed Bond in this role as guest at the beginning of the novel in a game of bridge, where by a drunken deception he beats Drax at his own game of cheating. Even the element of mistaken identity is present in this representation of Book 9 of the *Odyssey*. To Drax and the rest of the members of Blades (M's club), M and Bond pose as just an ordinary Admiral and Commander who had once seen action but now have some vague job at the Ministry of Defense (33-34). Drax, unaware of the danger posed, dismissively calls Bond "Commander Thingummy" (40) – an English equivalent to that famous joke of *Ourts* ("Nobody," *Odyssey* 9.366). But it is the moment of victory for Bond that finds Drax most like Polyphemos (70):

Drax's first reaction was to lurch forwards and tear Meyer's cards out of his hand. He faced them on the table, scrabbling feverishly among them for a possible winner. Then he flung them back across the baize. His face was dead white, but his eyes blazed redly at Bond.

Here, Drax, like Polyphemos blindly feeling the rams as they exit the cave (*Odyssey* 9.440-2), is found madly feeling among the cards for some way to stave off total defeat and then falls back with a face drained of blood but his eyes full of it. Polyphemos cannot detect the men tied beneath the rams, nor can Drax see the real deck of cards hidden in Bond's coat pocket.

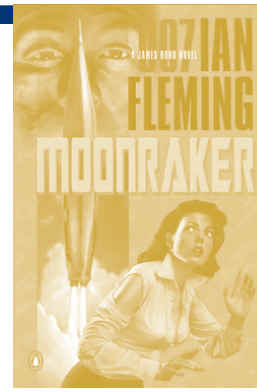


Fig. 2. "Cover," copyright © 2002 by Penguin Group (USA) Inc., from *MOONRAKER* by Ian Fleming. Used by permission of Penguin, a division of Penguin Group (USA) Inc.

This is only a temporary victory for Fleming's Odysseus. Soon he finds himself drawn to Drax's complex on the cliffs of Dover. This seaside lair of Drax bears an uncanny resemblance to the seaside cave of Polyphemos. The Moonraker – an Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile equipped with a nuclear warhead (see Fig. 2) – itself is housed in a cave cut forty feet into the white cliffs, while Drax's house is described as being surrounded by a remarkably high and thick courtyard wall (100-1), matching the monstrous stone courtyard Homer describes as surrounding Polyphemos' cave (*Odyssey* 9.184-6). Moreover, the cave serves the same sort of purpose for Bond as for Odysseus. Bond must hide as Drax blasts each ventilation shaft with steam in a vain attempt to flush him out (224-6). Thinking that this has put an end to 007, Drax leaves to attend to the launch of the Moonraker. But sure enough, Bond has survived, though in such bad shape that they must carry him out of Drax's cave on a stretcher (239). This exit strategy, though somewhat askew, has its parallel in Odysseus' own method of escape on the underside of a ram (*Odyssey* 9.444-5).

Thus far, the parallels have been in plot and character, but Fleming makes the allusion explicit when he refers to Drax's Moonraker rocket as "a new toy for Cyclops" (201). Indeed, it is the new weapon of the Cyclops as it turns out: when it plunges into the sea and explodes causing a tidal wave that capsize several distant observation boats (236), there is a parallel to the mountaintop that Polyphemos threw at Odysseus' ship (*Odyssey* 9.481-6).

Polyphemos and the Odysseus of Book 9 of the *Odyssey* contribute a good deal to the character and relationship of Drax and Bond. The introduction of Galatea "Gala" Brand into the latter half of the novel extends the myth to that of later antiquity. Gala repeatedly rebuffs the advances made by Drax, creating a relationship between the two similar to that found, for example, in Theocritus' Eleventh *Idyll*, where Polyphemos sings of his hopeless love for Galatea.

Though Bond certainly fares better with Gala than Drax does, he also runs the risk in the novel of succumbing to the fate of Galatea's unfortunate suitor, Acis, in Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 13.750-897). This danger is most obvious when, sunning themselves beneath the Dover cliffs, Bond – to distract himself from thoughts of her beauty – asks Gala the meaning of her name. It is only then she reveals her real name to be Galatea and it is at this exact moment that Drax and his henchmen blast the cliffs above and send them down upon Bond, who by the time the boulders fall, suddenly finds himself in an embrace with Galatea (152-4). This whole affair where the scorned suitor heaps rocks upon the beautiful nymph and the man in her embrace is a parallel to the unfortunate demise of Acis at the hands of Polyphemus as described by Galatea in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 13.873-85:

When the great savage saw me and Acis, unaware and not fearing anything, he shouted, "I see you and I'll make this the final tryst of your love." And his voice was as great as an angered Cyclops ought to have. Aetna bristled with the clamor. But frightened, I plunged below the nearby sea. My hero, son of Symaethis, had turned his back in flight and had said, "Help me, Galatea, I pray! Parents, come and admit one about to die into your realms." The Cyclops followed and launched an overturned portion of a mountain; and although the extreme corner of the heap reached him, it nevertheless buried all of Acis.

What is extraordinary in all these parallels is the wonderful way in which Fleming seamlessly weaves together the many stories of Odysseus, Polyphemus, and Galatea into what is, after all, a genre of literature not accustomed to be known for literary subtleties or meaningful, learned allusions. Though the reader may enjoy the spy novel on the simplest of levels, *Moonraker* and other 007 novels hold hidden depths of pleasure for the classicist and classical enthusiast. But the real surprise is to discover that such a popular hero of print and film is in fact a clever composite of classical myth and literature.

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Book Review: *Atticus of Rome*

by Margaret Antonitis

Denenberg, Barry. *Atticus of Rome*. Scholastic, Inc. (1-800-724-6527; <http://content.scholastic.com/>), 2004. Pp. 166. Hardcover \$10.95. ISBN 0-439-52453-9.

Atticus of Rome is a novel for students in grades 4-8. It is the first book in "The Life and Times" series, which focuses on young adults facing difficulties in ancient times.

Atticus of Rome focuses on Atticus, a twelve-year-old boy in 30 B.C., the year after the man who would soon assume the name of Augustus Caesar defeated Antony and Cleopatra at Actium. Immediately Atticus has to face several difficulties. The story begins with Roman soldiers invading Atticus' village in the middle of the night. Atticus and his father escape their burning hut, leaving Atticus' mother and sister behind. The Roman soldiers eventually drag them into captivity. After three days Atticus is separated from his father and sold to a slave trader.

Atticus is subsequently sold for the high price of 1500 denarii to a wealthy and influential political figure in Rome named Lucius Opimius. After he is taken to Lucius Opimius' house and nursed back to health by the family physician, Cassius Macedo, he starts his job as Lucius Opimius' personal slave, a much-longed-for position among the rest of the household slaves. From the start Atticus is treated better than the other slaves, occupying a bedroom in the main house close to Opimius' room and accompanying his master on all of his daily duties. They greet clients, visit the barber-shop, and spend time at the baths. Atticus pays close attention to everything that is going on and learns about the inner workings of Rome's political system.

When Lucius Opimius hears about a conspiracy against his close friend Augustus, he enlists Atticus to ascertain the details of the plot. Atticus undertakes missions both to the barbershop and a gladiatorial show to observe and report back everything that he sees and hears. Unexpectedly, however, Lucius Opimius orders his household to prepare to leave for his villa in Capua for the summer. Once they have relocated in Capua, a senator, Caius Curtius, arrives in the middle of the night with news for the

master. Although they have not yet been in Capua a full day, Lucius Opimius orders the household back to Rome.

In Rome, we see the conspiracy against Augustus unfold. But will Lucius Opimius and Atticus return in time? Are suspects apprehended? Is Lucius Opimius really Augustus' friend? As the story unfolds, Atticus comes to realize how important his missions are and what effect they will have on the outcome of the conspiracy. Ultimately Atticus is rewarded for all the difficulties he has had to undergo, owing to an unexpected twist of fate at a gladiatorial show.

Atticus of Rome has not only a captivating storyline, but also an array of interesting minor characters. Lucius Opimius' second wife, for example, fifteen-year-old Lady Claudia, is obsessed with gladiators. Bloodthirsty, she attends a private show and demands a fight to the death. Among the members of Lucius Opimius' household staff is his most trusted astrologer, Aristide, who spends hours calculating the stars and birth charts. Lucius Opimius confides in him frequently and also gives him the task of tutoring young Atticus in rhetoric and writing. Atticus greatly respects Aristide, often spending his free time observing the astrologer at work. By memorably narrating the tale of Spartacus, the slave who defied Rome, Aristide teaches Atticus that there is life beyond submissive slavery.

Another intriguing minor character is Galerius Traculus, a wealthy Roman citizen whom Lucius Opimius gives Atticus the difficult and unpleasant task of shadowing. Through Atticus' comical observations we learn that Traculus is a disgustingly obese man with a bad comb-over, known for cheating people in real estate and treating his slaves very cruelly. Despite the man's obvious shortcomings, Lucius Opimius invites Traculus to his dinner party, much to the amazement of all the other guests. Traculus and his wife enter Opimius' house already drunk and heavily drenched in perfume. Clearly Denenberg paints Galerius Traculus as the antithesis of an ideal Roman citizen.

Throughout the novel Denenberg introduces the reader to many cultural aspects of ancient Rome, vividly describing an opulent Roman villa, the crowded streets of

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Rome, and the baths. He also depicts a Roman wedding, dinner party, and different types of gladiators. Such descriptions enable his younger readers to understand what it was like to live in Rome during the time of Augustus.

As a critically acclaimed author of non-fiction and historical fiction, Denenberg is well-known for his contributions to several young adult series, including the "Dear America," "My Name is America," and the "Royal Diaries" series, for Scholastic, Inc. In addition to writing books, Denenberg volunteers as director of Creative Writing and Library Services at an independent school dedicated to the education of gifted children from low-income families in Stamford, Connecticut.

Denenberg's background in working with young adults and young adult literature is apparent from various features of his novel. He has arranged the layout of the book using a format designed to maximize young readers' comprehension. *Atticus of Rome* begins with a "Cast of Characters" that briefly describes each character in the book; this not only helps young readers get a sense of what the story is about, but also functions as a point of reference throughout the novel. Denenberg concludes the novel with a "Historical Note," in which he recounts the history of Rome from the founding in 753 B.C. down to the age of Augustus, calling attention to the important contributions that the Romans made to later Western civilization. By furnishing young readers with background information about the story, this section of the book encourages further study of the Roman world. *Atticus of Rome* provides students with a fun, adventure-filled story while familiarizing them with the history and culture of ancient Rome.

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A TALE OF TWO BROTHERS: CARACALLA AND GETA

by R. J. Schork

The fatally ill Septimius Severus ran a hand over the stone urn prepared for his ashes and said, "This will contain a man on whom the entire world set no limits" (Dio Cassius 77.15.4). The geographical facts of his political and military career justify the Emperor's elegiac exaggeration. He was born in Leptis Magna (coastal Libya); proclaimed Rome's master in Upper Pannonia (along the middle Danube); fought the Empire's barbarian foes – and an occasional Roman rebel – at Byzantium (later Constantinople, now Istanbul), in Syria, Mesopotamia (Iraq), Parthia (Iran), Egypt, the northern rim of the Sahara, central Gaul, and Caledonia (Scottish Highlands); in early A.D. 211 he died at York (north of England), and his urn was escorted back to Rome for burial by his two young sons.

Severus left some concise advice for his heirs, Caracalla and Geta, the new co-emperors: "Get along with each other, give huge bonuses to the troops, pay no attention to anyone else" (Dio Cassius 77.15.2). The primary element in that paternal legacy was immediately ignored. On their trip to Rome for the funeral, the brothers occupied separate quarters; in the imperial city, their palace was split with guards stationed at passageways. There was talk of dividing the Empire: Europe and western North Africa would go to the elder, Caracalla, with a capital at Rome; the Asiatic provinces and Egypt were for Geta, with a capital at Alexandria or Antioch.

The actual division of territory was forestalled by murder. Caracalla pretended reconciliation in their mother's apartments, where a detachment of his escorts broke cover to assassinate Geta (late A.D. 211). The elder son sought to mollify their mother, Julia Domna, by permitting his brother to be buried with full imperial honors. Geta was even accorded traditional posthumous deification: *sit divus, dum non sit vivus* ("Let him be an immortal, as long as he's dead," *Historia Augusta: Geta* 2.9).

After these concessions to his mother, however, Caracalla tried to fortify his position by embarking on a campaign of *damnatio memoriae*, a modern term for an ancient practice. By imperial command, images of Geta on every monument were to be cut away or defaced; all inscriptions containing his name and

titles were to be re-carved or erased; coins featuring his brother's "head" were to be melted down or the despised portrait chipped away. In the minutes of a council meeting from a Nile-side town, Geta and several other ill-fated members of the imperial family are briefly mentioned; a decade later, after their disgrace, the names were blotted out in black ink. Think of a modern censor with a heavy magic marker at work on copies of a classified document.

My initial survey of Septimius Severus' active duty throughout the Empire underscored the immense span of Roman rule in the early third century. In what follows, the geographical scope of the fraternal rage expressed by Severus' elder son will also highlight the cross-cultural expanse of the realm through a paradoxical focus on the monumental absence of Geta, Caracalla's rival-victim.

Rome. The Forum Romanum was the heart of the capital city. Among its surviving structures is the Arch of Septimius Severus, erected in A.D. 203 to commemorate his defeat of the Parthians. Caracalla and Geta were too young to have been carved into the formulaic siege and battle scenes on both frontal panels, but it is likely that the image of the younger brother was officially removed from the bronze statuary group on top of the arch. The elaborate dedicatory inscription in the monument's central "attic" was certainly modified after Geta's death and dishonor: the entire fourth line (where his name and titles originally appeared) has been recut to form an additional honorific detail about Caracalla and his triumphant father. Another arch honoring the imperial family was built near Rome's ancient market at more or less the same time by the city's cattle-merchants and its moneymen. Here again, all traces of the images of Geta, as well as of Caracalla's disgraced wife (Plautilla) and father-in-law (Gaius Fulvius Plautianus), have been obliterated and two lines in the dedicatory inscription modified to eliminate any reference to these three proscribed "non-persons."

Libya. At Leptis Magna (Severus' birthplace) a four-sided arch was erected to celebrate imperial *concordia* (harmony) as personified by the first family. After the murder of Geta mocked that

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Book Review: *Breaking Ground. Pioneering Women Archaeologists*

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Jane Dieulafoy (1851-1916)
by Eve Gran-Aymerich

Esther B. Van Deman (1862-1937)
by Katherine Welch

Margaret Alice Murray (1863-1963)
by Margaret S. Drower

Gertrude L. Bell (1868-1926)
by Julia M. Asher-Greve

Harriet Boyd Hawes (1871-1945)
by Vasso Fotou and Ann Brown

Edith Hayward Hall Dohan (1879-1943)
by Katherine Dohan Morrow

Hetty Goldman (1881-1972)
by Machteld Mellink and Kathleen Quinn

Gertrude Caton-Thompson (1888-1985)
by Margaret S. Drower

Dorothy Annie Elizabeth Garrod (1892-1968)
by Ofer Bar-Yosef and Jane Callander

Winifred Lamb (1894-1963)
by David Gill

Theresa B. Goell (1901-1985)
by Donald Sanders and David Gill

Kathleen Kenyon (1906-1978)
by William G. Dever

While individual readers may find some of these women's names more familiar than others, in each case the biographies provide information about the background and education of the women discussed, as well as an analysis of their contributions as excavators, museum scholars, teachers, or writers. However, what makes *Breaking Ground* different from an encyclopedic collection is that the biographers also attempt to gain an understanding of the lives of these pioneering women and of their personal successes and failures.

This is a fascinating and thought-provoking book on many levels. For a reader interested in the history of archaeology, there is insightful evaluation of the lasting contributions of scholars such as Esther van Deman for Rome and ancient Italy and Kathleen Kenyon for Jericho and Jerusalem.

Many of the women included here were involved in difficult fieldwork in distant and sometimes dangerous lands. As indicated on the maps at the back of the book, these women archaeologists worked in areas far afield: Persia (Jane Dieulafoy), Egypt (Margaret Alice), Iraq (Gertrude L. Bell), Crete (Harriet Boyd Hawes and Edith Hall Dohan), Turkey

These women archaeologists have made contributions to our understanding of the ancient world in Africa, the Middle East, and the Mediterranean.

(Hetty Goldman, Winifred Lamb, and Theresa Goell), central Africa (Gertrude Caton-Thompson, and Kurdistan (Dorothy Garrod).

The biographies chosen for this volume illustrate not only the differences in the professional lives of these women scholars and archaeologists but also the ways in which their personal lives had an impact on their careers: their marital status and the great variety of their cultural and social backgrounds affected their activities as highly intelligent and adventurous individuals. Depending on the relationship between the individual biographers and the women they describe, the tone of each piece varies from informal and personal to more distant and scholarly. The illustrations accompanying the biographies include images of work in the field along with more formal portraits.



Fig. 3. Theresa Goell, used by permission of Martha Lubdell.

The biographers raise questions about their subjects that pertain not only to the history of women archaeologists but to the field as a whole. To what extent does it help us evaluate and appreciate a scholar's work if we know his or her personal life history? Theresa Goell (see Fig. 3), for example, suffered from otosclerosis; her health issues had an impact upon her ability to interact with students and colleagues. And to what extent are the women described in this book unusual in their seeking of goals?

Editors Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Sharp Joukowsky have provided, for the general reader as well as for students of archaeology and women's studies, an informative work and a valuable tool for further research. As archaeology continues to expand in time and place, we are able to follow trends in education and research, while the family trees of teachers and students indicate the close-knit interaction that governs our work.

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**“The weak can overcome and defeat the strong in a just cause.”
– Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, 880.**

CLASSICA JAPONICA: GREECE AND ROME IN THE JAPANESE ACADEMIA AND POPULAR LITERATURE

by Akihiko Watanabe

On October 12, 2007, the prestigious Japan Academy, which was founded in 1879 and counts the Duke of Edinburgh among its members, elected as its twenty-fourth president Dr. Masaaki Kubo, a distinguished academic and public figure. Dr. Kubo may also be known to some American classicists as an alumnus of the Harvard Classics Department and a former junior fellow of its Center for Hellenic Studies. As this example highlights, despite the wide geographical and cultural divide between the Mediterranean and East Asia, the discipline of Western classics has attracted enough devotees to make its presence felt in the intellectual history of Japan during the last four and a half centuries that it has been cultivated there.

The Greco-Roman classics first came to Japan together with Portuguese traders and missionaries in the mid-sixteenth century. A few Jesuit seminaries were operating in Japan from around 1580 to the early 1600s that provided solid training to Japanese seminarians in reading, writing, and speaking classical Latin. The charismatic missionary and educator Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606) had confidence in the ability of his Japanese followers to imbibe European humanistic education. One of his students, Martino Hara (c. 1569-1629), proved him right by thanking him in a flowery Latin oration delivered in the then-Portuguese colony of Goa. The text of this oration, printed in the 1588 pamphlet *Oratio habita a Farad. Martino Iaponio (And Oration Held by Hara Martino of Japan)*, is the first known sample of Latin produced by a Japanese. Another early Japanese Latin writer is Ryōjun Gotō (c. 1580-c. 1655?), baptized Miguel, who was educated in the Nagasaki Jesuit seminary. During his stay in the Philippines, he is known to have written an eight-line Ovidian elegy celebrating the first translation of the Bible into the native Ilokano language. The subsequent fate of Gotō, however, shows that linguistic dexterity does not necessarily signal lasting religious conviction. Upon his return to Japan, when he was arrested by the authorities and threatened with execution, he renounced his faith and worked as a translator and anti-Christian interrogator



Fig. 4. Illustrated woodblock edition of *Eiri isoho monogatari*, published in 1659. Used with the permission of the University of Tsukuba Library. (<http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/exhibition/jyouseitu/nihon/isop.html>)

for the rest of his life.

From the early seventeenth century to the abolition of isolationist feudalism (a period known as the Shogunate) in 1868, European learning had a markedly lower profile in Japan, although traces of Greece and Rome do occasionally crop up in records from this period. Writings by medical authors and other intellectuals who were covertly studying Western culture show that the names of Aristotle and Hippocrates were sometimes whispered about. Aesop's fables, on the other hand, which had been imported by Christian missionaries, proved popular and continued to circulate freely in Japanese guise under the title *Isoho monogatari* (*The Tales of Isoho*) (see Fig. 4). Nevertheless, classical references, along with awareness of and interest in general European culture, occur infrequently in the two and a half centuries of national isolation.

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 changed everything. In a national drive toward modernization and Westernization, cultural exchange through visiting foreigners and Japanese studying abroad began to flourish. The Greco-Roman classics had a significant part to play. We know, for example, that Dairoku Kikuchi (1855-1917), who later became Minister of Education and did major work in educational reform, studied classics in Britain and was awarded first place in the Latin graduation exam at

the University College School in 1873, before going on to study classics and mathematics at Cambridge. As for Oxford, the best-known Japanese who studied classics there may be the scholar-poet Junzaburō Nishiwaki (1894-1982). Nishiwaki traveled to Oxford in the mid-1920s to study English literature, but, dissatisfied with that discipline in part because it was full of female students, he turned to the more “masculine” field of classics. Although his chief claim to fame today is as a modernist Japanese poet, he tried his hand at some (excruciatingly bad) Latin verses as well. The first two lines of a poem in his *Ambarvalia* (1933) amply demonstrate his disregard for, or ignorance of, Latin grammar, stylistics and metrics:

...rosa, color tuus est murex aurora
doloris,
ah! Mota aura, ista tremitque coma.
(Rose, your color is dawn, the seashell
of pain,
Ah! The breeze moves, and your hair
trembles).

In the United States, Sen Katayama (1859-1933) was perhaps the first Japanese student to major in classics. A desperately poor youth supporting himself through menial work, he nevertheless found the time and energy to study Greek and Latin at Grinnell College from 1889 to 1893. He read Plato's dialogues

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Book Review: *The Labors of Aeneas: What a Pain It Was to Found the Roman Race*

by Rex Stem

Rose Williams. *The Labors of Aeneas: What a Pain It Was to Found the Roman Race*. Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers (www.bolchazy.com), 2003. Pp. 108 + vi. Paperback \$14. ISBN 0-86516-556-4.

Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem. This is the momentous final line of the introduction to Vergil's *Aeneid* (1.33): "to found the Roman race was of such great effort." The line is deliberately ponderous, emphasizing Aeneas' struggle as the theme of the epic. Accordingly, Latin teachers have spent centuries making sure their students understand it just right, especially the nifty genitive of description used predicatively. The taxed student mutters in response: "The genitive of what? What a pain!" Exactly right, says Rose Williams, for it is from this line, and to the reward of all such students, that she subtitles her irreverent retelling of Vergil's masterpiece: what a pain it was to found the Roman race.

A life-long Latin teacher from Texas (for more about the author, see www.rosewilliams.com), Williams knows plenty about the genitive of description, but in *The Labors of Aeneas*, she offers a very different approach to comprehending Vergil's *Aeneid*. She cuts out the highfalutin' stuff, replaces it with clear storytelling, and injects a strong dose of colloquial attitude. She stays close to Vergil's story but makes it more directly accessible to a modern youthful audience by contextualizing plot and motive in disarming and humorous ways. In Williams' version, for example, Dido's change of heart results from "some serious curdling" in her "milk of human kindness" (36), and the Fury Allecto, flinging her torch at the chest of Turnus, gives "new meaning to the word heartburn" (63). Juno also suffers heartburn upon seeing "Aeneas' happy face" arrive in Italy at last (62): "Charm and audacity [Juno] had expected in [Aeneas], considering his ancestry. She had never wasted a moment, however, in suspecting that any son of Venus might have a brain" (73).

Williams presents Vergil's twelve books of poetry in twelve prose chapters of her own, each about six to nine pages. Her

only significant change is to follow strict chronological order (i.e., since the events of Books 2 and 3 occur earlier than those of Book 1, Williams starts with Troy in Book 2, and her Chapter 3 is Vergil's Book 1). But because of the tone, the story becomes Williams' own in many ways. She adds, for example, some memorable characterizations of some of the mythological figures that appear in the *Aeneid*, such as the curmudgeonly Charon, unkempt ferryman of Hades (54), and the disorganized Sibyl, marking her prophecies on leaves to be swept off by the wind instead of instituting a filing system (17). She also delights in offering explanations of some of the unusual details or improbabilities of Vergil's story that the devoted reader can merrily take into account. How can only one honey-cake feed three-headed Cerberus? There must have been at least three (55). Why did Aeneas place a lion skin under his father as they fled Troy? Because old men are bony and uncomfortable to carry (11). How did Aeneas acquire robes of Helen to give to Dido? A question "delicacy forbids us to ask" (27).

Williams' presumed audience for this book is students who are also reading the *Aeneid* itself, either in Latin or in translation. Its brisk and jocular style would provide a nice diversion from conventional classroom work. Although best suited for high-school readers, it can also be recommended for the general reading public, though it is difficult to imagine contexts for which the general reading public would desire such a complete retelling of the *Aeneid* in modern idiom. Teachers may be the ones who enjoy this book the most, for the more one knows the *Aeneid*, the more one is likely to appreciate many of the jokes.

Yet since the evident purpose of the book is to complement the *Aeneid*, Williams would have been wise to indicate explicitly that it should not be a substitute. The power of Vergilian pathos, such as at the death of Priam (10) or at Aeneas' poignant inability to understand the events depicted on his own shield, is largely absent from Williams: "the great miracle is how he managed to lift

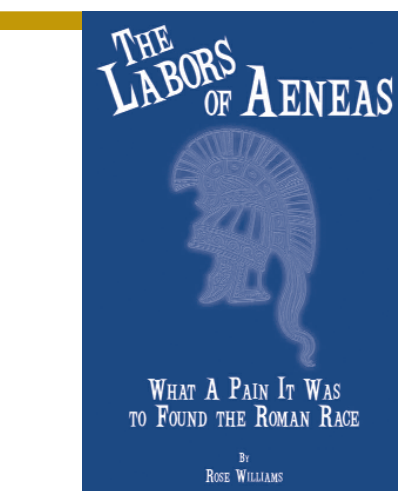


Fig. 5. A new presentation of Aeneas' travels and struggles. Used with permission of Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Inc.

it" (72). Her focus is not the deep humanity of Vergilian struggle; the foibles of epic grandeur make for better comic material. But this is a rather educated roast, and one born from admiration, not mockery. Hence it is disappointing that Williams does not say anything about how to take Vergil seriously or how this book reflects her own long familiarity with him. At the minimum, an annotated recommended bibliography of how to approach Vergil in Latin and in English is a desideratum.

The teacher in me sometimes bristled at a characterization I did not find apt – Patroklos does not die in a fair fight (9), and Vergil is not so clearly in the employ of Augustus (57) – but what would be the point in quibbling? This book is the counterpoint to a scholarly lecture. Williams' message is to let go of pedantry and have fun, for learning will still follow, likely even prosper. Vergil's manifest greatness as a poet will secure enough reverence for his achievement. But when you have had enough of the reverence, and you want to follow Aeneas' adventures without being slowed by Vergil's poetic gravity, read Rose Williams.

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ANCIENT OUTREACH: HONEYCOMBS, BANQUETS, AND FLOWERY FIELDS OF KNOWLEDGE

by Diane Johnson

In recent years scholarship in the arts and sciences has seen an extraordinary growth. Steadily keeping pace with these specialized studies are vehicles of outreach, of which the purpose is to make current research available to a wider and more diverse audience. Periodicals (e.g., *Amphora*, *Archaeology*, and *Scientific American*), television programs (e.g., The Public Broadcasting System's "Nature"), and radio shows (e.g., National Public Radio's "Science Friday") inform the general public about recent discoveries, theories, and new areas of research, while presenting specialized and complicated information in a language and context intelligible to the non-specialist.

Educated Greeks and Romans struggled to keep in touch with the specialists in their cultures as well. By the early years of the Roman Empire, keeping up with the research of others had grown complicated and difficult. Data could be hard to locate because they were imbedded in lengthy texts, or a challenge to digest because they were presented in complicated language. Or there were simply too many works to read. The Alexandrian scholar Didymus – an extreme case – gives us an idea of the situation: a contemporary of Cicero, Didymus authored some four thousand monographs. He thereby acquired two significant nicknames: Guts-of-brass (*Χαλκέντερος*) because of his work ethic, and Forgot-the-book (*Βιβλιολάθας*) because even he couldn't remember all that he had written. How then was the average educated, informed but busy adult supposed to benefit from this glut of information?

The answer in antiquity, as now, lay in outreach. As knowledge continued to grow more specialized and the busy but interested Greek or Roman grew more and more frustrated at not being able to keep up with this new and increasingly specialized information, a way was found to present material and explain its significance while making it fun to learn. The fun-element is important in outreach activities, for at the basis of both modern and ancient concepts of outreach is the conviction that it is fun to learn and, therefore, acquiring knowl-

edge is a form of entertainment. One could probably survive without pursuing knowledge, but who would want to? According to Aristotle learning is natural to humans, and all naturally conditioned things like eating and drinking and sleeping – and learning – are pleasant (*Poetics* 1448b-1489a). Some ancient devotees of learning even referred to their passion for facts as "the *orgia* (mystery rites) of the Muses." (Plutarch, "Were the Athenians more glorious in war or in wisdom?" 348.) So outreach developed ways of keeping the fun in learning even when the data grew increasingly complex.

One modern way to keep learning fun is to employ non-threatening presenters: Disney's Gyro Gearloose and Ludwig van Drake (see Fig. 6), for example, or Bill Nye the Science Guy can lighten the intellectual burden of learning about such things as gravity, condensation, or electricity. Using technology to present complex material in an analytical way – Powerpoint presentations, for example, that can utilize light, color, and sound to aid explanation – greatly increases our pleasure in acquiring new information.

Although ancient outreach had no technology beyond writing, it recognized that its methods of presentation were crucial to a successful learning experience. One of its most successful formats was the miscellany: an assortment of disconnected facts arranged to maximize the randomness of presentation. The intriguing and colorful names of some of these collections emphasized their variety. Aulus Gellius, who wrote during the the middle years of the second century of our era, refers in his preface to miscellany-titles such as *Muses*, *Amaltheia's Horn*, *Honeycombs*, *Meadows*, and *Tapestry*. Pliny the Elder, writing in the first century A.D., mentions works called *Impromptu* and *Violets*. Gellius' contemporary Clement of Alexandria called his miscellany *Crazy Quilt*. These titles show that their authors believed the information contained in them was sweet, easy to understand, and pleasant to learn. Through their random arrangement they created a brilliant patchwork of knowledge, a bright meadow of infor-



Fig. 6. Ludwig von Drake educates viewers on a variety of subjects.
© Disney.

mation-flowers where the reader could flit from one fact to another like a bee gathering honey.

Some of the titles listed in Gellius' miscellany convey another feature of these texts. Titles such as *Lamp*, *Done in my Free Time*, and *My Notebooks* indicate that putting together a collection of facts drawn from many specialized works was a long and laborious process. Gellius' own miscellany was called *Attic Nights*; he had chosen this title, he relates in his preface, because "in the Attic countryside, through the long winter nights, I undertook to devote my leisure hours to compiling this miscellaneous collection." Writers of miscellanies wanted their readers to know that they had struggled hard and responsibly to select items that were useful, tasteful, and worth learning. They pointed out that it was hard work to gather specialized information, to select data worthy of the reader's attention, and to write down such material in an appropriate fashion.

Modern outreach usually has a wide focus: the more minds reached, the more successful its mission. The ancient writer of a miscellany, a person lucky enough to have received an education, has a more specific readership in mind: the educated adults seeking to learn more, but severely limited by the demands of adult responsibilities. This writer knew that such readers had holes in their education. He or she saw a personal collection of data as just the means to fill those gaps.

One of these agents of outreach, at work during the time of Nero, was Pamphila, daughter of the grammarian Soteridas; because her work has survived only as quotations in later authors such as Diogenes Laertius and Photius, she and her family cannot be more precisely

dated. As a child Pamphila had acquired from her father a basic literary education, but once married and occupied with running her household, her opportunities for filling the gaps in her knowledge were limited. So she found a way to supplement her education; whenever her husband, a powerful and erudite man, told her anything interesting, she wrote it down. Often Pamphila's husband invited his friends and colleagues to their home. According to Photius, the ninth-century patriarch of Constantinople who read and enjoyed her work, Pamphila listened to the conversations of these gentlemen when they came to visit. As soon as they left she would recall the most relevant facts she had heard, and add them to her collection. After thirteen years of marriage she found that she had collected quite a large stock of material, and so she set about selecting the best parts, writing them down, and arranging them into a miscellany. The result was a collection in thirty-three books, composed for a reader whose formal opportunities to learn were, like hers, practically nonexistent.

In conveying complex data to the general public, modern outreach often restates complicated concepts in simpler terms to make them more accessible for non-specialists. A glance at the pages of modern magazines such as *Natural History* or *Smithsonian* shows how the discussion of complex data is also simplified through charts and line-drawings, subtitles, and text-boxes with definitions of relevant vocabulary. The ancient miscellanist, without recourse to printing, simplified and demystified complex information by rephrasing material to make it quicker and easier for the reader to process. For example, Claudius Aelianus, in the preface to *On Animals*, a miscellany presenting hundreds of facts and stories about animals, insects, birds and fish, tells his readers,

I have labored to create a keepsake well worthy of serious attention, painstakingly gathering together all that I could and clothing the results of my research in a casual style.

In fact Aelianus' style is breathtakingly casual. Consider, for example, this fact about bees:

Here's evidence that bees love their work. In the very coldest places, from the setting of the Pleiades until the spring equinox, bees are stay-at-homes and keep safe indoors in their longing for warmth and avoidance of cold. For the rest of the year they hate to be lazy and idle, and are good workers. You'd only see a bee relax during

the time when the weather's so cold its legs go numb. (5.12)

Trying to sound non-scholarly, Greek and Latin authors of miscellanies often wrote up their data using familiar patterns learned at school. A favorite type of entry in a miscellany was the *chreia*. This school exercise addressed an important event or a saying by a famous person. Imagine George Washington's famous line about not being able to tell a lie, or John Paul Jones' statement about not having yet begun to fight; then imagine a "two-pages double-spaced" essay explaining the quote and why the event happened or why the words were appropriate, and you have a good idea of the *chreia*. The miscellanist's *chreia* was usually much shorter, but followed the school format. Here is an example of a brief *chreia* from Aelianus' *Assorted Stories*:

The tyrant Dionysius was under siege by the Carthaginians, and no salvation was in sight. He was despondent, and had thought about running away. One of his courtiers, a man named Ellopidides, approached him and said, 'Dionysius, the tyranny makes a fine shroud.' Upon hearing this he was ashamed of himself, and so regained his spirit. Then he went out with just a few men and did battle with many tens of thousands, and made his power even greater than before. (4.8)

Miscellanists could also dramatize data. Gellius, for example, after explaining in his own voice dozens of separate facts, would sometimes construct a short dialogue in which characters explained facts to each other. In one well-known passage he presents the Greek philosopher Favorinus and the Roman statesman Fronto discussing color words. By introducing two experts from different walks of life and having them compare notes on how their respective languages express various hues and tints, Gellius avoids sounding like a dictionary, while giving the reader a chance to learn how the specialists explain things across disciplines.

Some authors even construct miscellanies that are dramatized throughout. For example, Athenaeus' *Sophists at Dinner*, Plutarch's *Table Talk*, and Macrobius' *Saturnalia* are dramatized miscellanies in which facts are conveyed through the conversation of guests at a banquet or symposium. Plato's dialogues, which by the time of the miscellanies had become standardized reading at school, will have made such a scenario a familiar one. By displaying members of the educated elite taking every

opportunity to learn new things, these authors provide examples of what education can do to better our lives. Athenaeus and Macrobius construct models of individuals who have filled nearly all the holes in their education: they are the *ὄλως πεπαιδευμένοι*, "thoroughly educated gentlemen." As these connoisseurs of knowledge expound and listen in turn, they display just how impressive a broad and comprehensive education can be. Athenaeus' figure of Larensis, for example, never stops reaching out to learn more. An expert in Greek and Latin literature, Roman religion and civil law,

he had studied all these things during his private hours.... His collection of ancient Greek texts was so great that it surpassed those of all who have ever been admired for their libraries. (*Sophists at Dinner* 1.4)

Macrobius' Praetextatus, as well-educated as Larensis in ancient legal forms and religious rites, is adept at tracking down facts hidden in texts. Yet both Larensis and Praetextatus are presented as extremely busy career-bureaucrats. Within the dramatic framework of the miscellany, each has invited a group of scholarly specialists to dine with him. In the relaxed setting of the banquet, Larensis and Praetextatus model the correct way to confront experts, solicit useful information, ask clarifying questions, put data into a real-life context, and all the while have great fun soaking up facts.

The Greek and Latin writers of miscellanies still provide us with a lot of entertainment. They tell many good (if not totally accurate) stories, and they provide insight into what it meant to be a person of learning in the ancient world. Although much of what ancient readers considered informative modern scholars now dismiss, we still mine the Greek and Latin miscellanies for priceless anecdotes and quotations from works now lost: precious lines of the comic playwrights, for example, are preserved in *Attic Nights* 2.23, where Gellius analyzes and compares the Latin Caecilius with the Greek Menander. These old collections, quaint and antiquated though they be, serve to remind us of the perennial sweetness of reaching out to share learning with others.

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Did You Know...

John Steinbeck had printed in every one of his books the phrase *ad astra per alia porci* (translated as "to the stars on the wings of a pig"; sometimes also written *ad astra per alas porci*, since *alia* does not mean "wings."). Steinbeck created a Pegasus (a winged pig) to represent man's struggle to soar despite being an earthbound creature. According to Elaine Steinbeck, the author's wife, Steinbeck had a Florentine artist, Count Fossi, create the Pegasus (see Fig. 7). To learn more, visit the Martha H. Heasley Cox Center for Steinbeck Studies, at <http://www.steinbeck.sjsu.edu/biography/pegasus.jsp>.



Fig. 7. Pigasus. Courtesy of the Martha H. Heasley Cox Center for Steinbeck Studies.

Latin tattoos are still quite popular, even with the rich and famous. The British soccer star, **David Beckham**, who is now playing for the Los Angeles Galaxy, recently added *de integro* ("again from the start") to his collection of Latin tattoos which includes *ut amem et foveam* ("so that I love and cherish") and *perfectio in spiritu* ("perfection in spirit").

The German band **Ista** raps in Latin? Their 1998 album, *Ista Omnia-Ista Optima* ("All the Best Things") includes "Odi et Amo" ("I Hate and I Love"), a tribute to Catullus. Their newest single "Age Partes Tuas" is also available from their website. Ista is currently on tour in Europe, appearing at the 4th International Festival of Latin and Greek in Nantes, France, and at the European Culture Day, April 19th, 2008, in Karlsruhe, Germany. No word yet on American tour dates. To keep track of Ista, check out their website at www.ista-latina.de.

Volkswagen has added the **Eos** (Dawn) to the list of automobiles with Greek or Latin names. While Greek names are rare (the Honda Odyssey and Volkswagen Phaeton are still in production; the Oldsmobile Omega and Vauxhall/Opel Omega are not), car lots are filled with Latin offerings, especially Toyotas (Corona, Corolla, Previa, Carina), Nissan (Maxima, Integra), and Ford (Focus, Orion).

CLASSICA JAPONICA: GREECE AND ROME IN THE JAPANESE ACADEMIA AND POPULAR LITERATURE

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and Sophocles' *Antigone* with great relish, but the Romans excited him less because they seemed to be mere imitators of the Greeks. Katayama went on to become a founding member of the Japanese Communist Party and spent the last years of his life in Stalinist Russia.

As for foreign educators invited to help Japan in its modernization, there is some evidence that a few taught Latin on the side in connection with more utilitarian subjects like law or medicine, but their efforts were sporadic and incidental. It was not until the 1890s, with the arrival of Raphael von Koeber (1848-1923), a philosopher of mixed Russian and German descent, that Western classical education with a solid linguistic foundation again took root in Japan. Koeber was in many ways a living embodiment of European humanism. Born of a privileged background in Russia with imperial connections, he received thorough training in Greek and Latin in childhood and as a youth studied piano under Tchaikovsky and Rubinstein. He went on to study philosophy in German universities and by the 1890s had some publications under his belt.

Koeber was a young scholar in his mid-thirties when he heard from his former mentors that the Imperial Universi-

ty of Tokyo was searching for a lecturer in philosophy. His decision to seek the post was to have major consequences for the inception of classical studies in Japan. He proved to be an extremely popular teacher at the University of Tokyo, and contemporary accounts report that he had a cult following that none of his colleagues, Japanese or foreign, could rival. A gregarious bachelor perpetually surrounded by students, he resembled a latter-day Socrates. His disciples, many of whom went on to obtain posts in the nascent university system of Japan, invariably mention him in their reminiscences with great affection.

Although Koeber was appointed to teach modern European philosophy, he believed that a foundation in the Western classics, an asset conspicuously lacking in his students, was essential to the understanding not only of his main subject but also of European civilization in general. Some of his students began to take the Greek and Latin classes which Koeber offered for free outside of his university contract. One of them was Hidenaka Tanaka (1886-1974), who went on to study classics at Oxford and in 1931, after submitting and defending a Latin dissertation on the use of the particle *quin*, became the first Japanese professor of classical languages and literature to be appointed at Kyoto University. (This Tanaka is to be distinguished from the younger but much more famous Michitarō Tanaka [1902-1985], a philosopher and classicist who also taught at Kyoto University. He was active in the media as a conservative political commentator, and was known for his pro-American, pro-capitalist views in spite of the terrible physical injuries he had received in the allied firebombing of WWII.)

Another classicist of note connected to Koeber is Shigeichi Kure (1897-1977; see Fig. 8). Kure did not meet Koeber in person until the latter was on his deathbed, but the humane demeanor of the aged European left a deep impression on him. Kure was a student at the University of Tokyo at the time and had originally intended to study medicine, but changed his mind and went on to pursue classics at the University of Vienna and Oxford. He eventually founded the Classical Society of Japan in 1950 and became its first president.



Fig. 8. Shigeichi Kure (1897-1977), the first president of the Classical Society of Japan. Picture source: *Seiyo Kotengaku Kenkyu = Journal of Classical Studies* 26 (1978): 176. ISSN: 0447-9114. © Classical Society of Japan (email: i54241@sakura.kudpc.kyoto-u.ac.jp, website: <http://www.bun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/classics/CSJ/csj.html>).

Kure is connected in turn to the popular and internationally renowned author Yukio Mishima (1925-1970), who studied Greek and read Plato's *Symposium* in the original under Kure at the University of Tokyo. Among his other classics-inspired works, Mishima produced an adaptation of Longus' novel *Daphnis and Chloe* based on Kure's Japanese translation of the Greek romance. Mishima's novel, entitled *The Sound of Waves*, is widely available in English translation. Aside from transferring the setting from Lesbos to the Japanese countryside, Mishima made

*The study and influence
of Greek and Roman
literature have a long
history in Japan.*

numerous other changes to modernize, secularize and democratize the story. The novel has been translated into a number of languages, including Arabic and modern Greek, and has spawned several movie adaptations in Japan.

A diverse range of other authors has continued to publish works inspired by Greece and Rome since Mishima. Such are the conservative Catholic Ayako Sono, whose historical novel *Arekisandoria (Alexandria)* show signs of papyrological as well as biblical research, the more business-oriented Shiono Nanami, whose multi-volume historical survey *Rōmajin no monogatari (The Story of the Romans)* has been a great commercial success, and the postmodern Yōko Tawada, the author of the omnibus *Opium für Ovid* (first published in German) – just to mention three.

More young Japanese people than ever seem to be interested in classical studies, possibly inspired by recent Hollywood films like *Troy* and *300* which have been distributed in Japan with great commercial success. Dr. Hermann Gottschewski, who teaches musicology and Latin at the University of Tokyo, says that at the beginning of elementary Latin each year he regularly has about 100 students sign up (although perhaps ten or fewer survive the first year). Translating this popular interest into a robust academic presence has been more of a challenge. The basic problem,

the perceived discrepancy between the mission of the contemporary university and traditional humanities, may be familiar to classicists here. But the difficulty is more acute in Japan, which is culturally and ethnically more remote from Europe. Moreover, the Japanese university system as a whole is under great strain due to the double blow of diminishing state subsidies and declining college-age population. The Classical Society of Japan (<http://www.bun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/classics/CSJ/csj.html>) is upholding its mission stoically and heroically, as it has over the last half-century, but most of its approximately 500 members have appointments outside the discipline of classics. Job openings in classics or related fields such as ancient Western history or philosophy have been rare in recent years. Yet, in spite of these difficulties, classical studies is well established in a few of the most prestigious universities (University of Kyoto, Tokyo, Nagoya and a few other public and private institutions) and the survival of the field itself seems not to be threatened for the foreseeable future. If, for a

region so remote from the Occident, Japan appears to have a surprisingly long and widespread history of classical reception, this is thanks to the enthusiasm and hard work of foreigners and Japanese alike who have devoted themselves to teaching and studying the Greco-Roman heritage, from Valignano to the current president of the Japan Academy.

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**“Love the limb-loosener
again sweeps me away—there
is no defense against that
bitter-sweet creature.”
– Sappho, Frag. 130.**

Capital Campaign News

The APA's Gatekeeper to Gateway Campaign will establish an Endowment for Classics Research and Teaching and obtain the gifts necessary to receive \$650,000 offered in an NEH Challenge Grant. The Association is undertaking this Campaign to ensure that its members will have the scholarly and pedagogical resources they need to do their work for decades to come. The Campaign also shares with a wider public the excitement and commitment that APA members have for their subjects. Below are highlights of recent Campaign news.

- To date the APA has received more than \$850,000 in pledges and gifts.
- Thanks to gifts and pledge payments already received, the Association has already claimed two installments of challenge grant matching funds (a total of \$210,000) from the NEH.
- The Classical Association of the UK has pledged \$200,000 to the Campaign in support of the American Office of *l'Année philologique*. Prof. David Scourfield, Chair of Council of the CA, announced this gift during the Plenary Session at the Annual Meeting in Chicago. In recognition of this gift, a permanent fund for bibliography will be named for the CA.
- An Honorary Advisory Committee for the Campaign has been formed, and the APA is honored to welcome the first three distinguished members of this Committee. They are
Erich Segal, Wolfson College, Oxford.
Leonard E. Slatkin, Washington, DC
Garry Wills, Evanston, IL

The APA encourages all members to be a part of this Campaign and to help spread the word about its importance to the field of Classics. Please call the APA office or visit the Campaign web site, <http://www.apaclassics.org/campaign/campaign.html>, for complete information.

IMPERIUM KONFLIKT MYTHOS: THE BIMILLENARY OF THE BATTLE IN THE TEUTOBURG FOREST

by Herbert W. Benario

In the year 9 A.D., the German chieftain Arminius inflicted an overwhelming defeat on a Roman army of three legions, with auxiliaries, cavalry, and hangers-on, commanded by Publius Quinctilius Varus. The two thousandth anniversary of the year in which this decisive battle occurred will be commemorated in 2009, from May to September, by a significant exhibition offered at three sites, the individual themes of which are represented by the title of the project. IMPERIUM will consider Rome's expansion as an empire, its undertakings in and against the free Germans, and the career and position of the governor, Varus. KONFLIKT will focus upon the battle itself, with the battlefield as the centerpiece. MYTHOS will trace the development of the Arminius myth, from historical person to symbolic figure, over a span of some three and a half centuries. The first part will occur in Haltern am See, the second in Kalkriese, the third in Detmold (see Fig. 9). This grand enterprise has been honored by the official patronage of Germany's chancellor, Dr. Angela Merkel.

IMPERIUM: Haltern is located on the Lippe River, approximately forty-five kilometers east of the Rhine. The Lippe was the main invasion route into northern Germany from the territory of *Germania Inferior*. The legionary camp that developed at the site was the largest permanent fortress east of the Rhine. When the Romans invaded, the camp was the last major indication of their "domination" in the territory of *Germania libera*, and on their return in late summer or early fall it was their first sight of "civilization." All traces of the ancient fortifications have largely disappeared. Yet this circumstance may well soon change.

The museum at Haltern am See, the LWL-Römermuseum (see Fig. 10), is the central location for the study and preservation of all traces of Rome's presence in northwestern Germany. Its building is situated within the confines of a camp. Excavations are planned in the southwestern area for the coming years, with reconstructions of the west gate, the fortifications, barracks, and



Fig. 9. Haltern, Kalkriese, and Detmold are in the northern part of Germany.

potteries. Whether this work will have been accomplished by the year 2009 is uncertain.

An additional significant "remnant" of ancient Rome will greet visitors next year, successively at all three sites. A replica of a Roman warship is under construction, which will be anchored in the lake on the shores of which Haltern is located. Plans call for this vessel to appear on many of the rivers important in the history of Roman and German relations, such as the Rhine, Lippe, Ems, Weser, Danube, and Elbe, as well as on the North Sea, sites important both in this period at the end of the pre-Christian era and during the much later barbarian movements. The exhibition's

main venue will be in the Stadthalle, a building quite near the lake.

The plan for the exhibition envisions seven successive themes, tracing Rome's growth and increasing power until its greatest height in the Augustan age. The subjects are: The Rise of Rome – From the Village on Seven Hills to a World Power; The Golden Age – Art and Culture at the Time of Augustus; War and Peace – the Foreign Policy of the Early Principate; Cemented Power –

Building Policy in Rome and in the Provinces; In the Shadow of the Emperor – Policy on Marriage and Succession; A Roman Governor – the Administration of the Imperium; Failure? – Augustus and Germania.

In addition, the family background and the advancing career of Publius Quinctilius Varus will receive appropriate attention. From his quaestorship ca. 22/21-19 through his consulship in 13 B.C., jointly with the future emperor Tiberius, he proceeded steadily through the accustomed senatorial career, holding high posts in Africa and Syria, before he was assigned to Germany in succes-

Fig. 10. Roman busts from the LWL-Römermuseum at Haltern am See. Photo courtesy Herbert W. Benario.





Fig. 11. A Roman cavalryman's mask from the collection at the Kalkriese Museum. © Marco Prins and Jona Lendering. From Livius.org with permission.

sion to Tiberius after the latter's successful campaigns. It is likely that he benefited substantially from his marriage into Augustus' family, but events proved that he was the wrong man in the wrong place at the wrong time, a civilian administrator where an experienced military figure should have been. His end was decisive, and terrible (see H.W. Benario, "Teutoburg," *Classical World* 96 [2002-2003] 397-406).

KONFLIKT: From Haltern we move to Kalkriese, both chronologically and physically. Here it was, surely beyond any reasonable doubt, that the crushing defeat which Arminius inflicted upon his enemies occurred in the year 9 A.D. (B. Dreyer, "Der Fundplatz von Kalkriese und die antiken Berichte zur Varuskatastrophe und zum Heerzug des Caecina," *Klio* 87 [2005] 369-420, after a detailed consideration of the archaeological material and the literary tradition concludes that Kalkriese was almost certainly the site.) This one victory, or disaster, depending upon one's point of view, secured for Germany east of the Rhine and north of the Danube freedom from Roman rule. For centuries, however, no one was able to locate the site of the battle. All that was known was that it was in the *saltus Teutoburgensis*, a vast area of northern Germany between the rivers Ems and Weser. Already by the middle of the sixteenth century the search for the site of the battle had begun. For the next four and a half centuries, this quest continued, with ultimately more than seven hundred suggestions, almost none of which could offer any evidence to support the claim (see H. von Petrikovits, "Arminius," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 166 [1966] 175-193, at 179). But in the minds of the general

public, since the late nineteenth century, there was no question, no doubt, no need for further consideration, because in 1875 a great statue to Arminius, first identified with Hermann by Martin Luther, was erected on the heights above Detmold. Yet the scholarly and antiquarian zeal in seeking what could claim to be "the site" continued. Almost sixty years ago, Walther John, in a brief essay entitled *Die Örtlichkeit der Varusschlacht bei Tacitus* (Göttingen 1950), concluded that Tacitus' geographical information is crucial in determining the location of the battle. His final sentence states (my translation):

One must seek a regular three legion camp, which was surrounded by swamps and woods; and if we can further follow the words of Tacitus, a person who comes from the middle Ems between the Ems and the Lippe as Germanicus did along the old army roads into the territory of the "furthest Bructeri" will find himself somewhere very near the Varus camp, and as long as this has not been covered by town or city settlement, the possibility still exists that it will one day be found.

The site is just north of highway B218, approximately eight kilometers east of the Bramsche exit from Autobahn E37, running north from Osnabrück. It will be easily recognizable by the tall tower which stands at one end of the Kalkriese museum, immediately to the left as one enters the area, which is well sign-posted. The unobstructed view from its top gives a very clear sense of the topography of the land, with the Kalkrieser Berg, part of the Wichengebirge, to the south, the narrow pass through which the Romans advanced to the west, to the north the alternating areas of dry and wet sand, the Mittelland Kanal, and, beyond the trees, the great swamp. Such a survey underscores Arminius' brilliant choice of terrain for his planned ambush of annihilation.

Just to the west of the museum is a fenced area containing a short stretch of reconstructed wall, that shows how the Germans were able to remain hidden until the crucial signal was given and proves that planning for the assault had been underway for some time. To imagine some twenty thousand men fighting (or attempting to fight) in that narrow space boggles one's mind.

The Kalkriese museum itself displays the significant finds from the excavations and offers informative narrative. A planned visitor center will present an

exhibition devoted to the Germanic warrior (see Fig. 11). Among the subjects will be the mode of fighting, the causes of war and conflict, and the failure to produce a lasting peace after the events of A.D. 9. (For full descriptions of the history of the site, its excavations, and finds, see M.B. Dick, "Of Battles and the Writing of History: The Battle of the Teutoburg Forest," *Amphora* 4.1 [Spring 2005] 1-2, 8-9, and F.M. Bordewich, "The Ambush That Changed History," *Smithsonian* 36 [September 2005] 74-81).

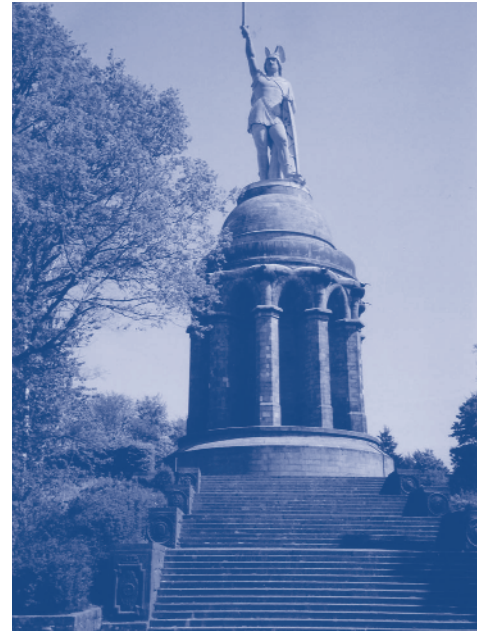


Fig. 12. The monument to Arminius at Detmold. Photo courtesy Herbert W. Benario.

MYTHOS: The prime attraction of Detmold in its presentation of Arminius' afterlife is not in the city itself but on the heights of a hill some five kilometers to the southwest. Here stands his enormous statue, the Hermannsdenkmal, the work of Joseph Ernst von Bandel, dedicated in 1875 in the presence of Kaiser Wilhelm I and Chancellor Bismarck, which, with its lofty base, rises some fifty-three meters in height (see Fig. 12). He stands with sword raised; on the two sides of the blade are statements of Germany's beliefs in the early days of the German empire, *Deutsche Einigkeit meine Stärke* (German unity is my strength) and *Meine Stärke Deutschlands Macht* (My strength is Germany's might). The statue marks the culmination of the transition of Arminius from historical figure to symbolic hero and representative of the modern German people, a process which saw numerous dramas, operas (no fewer than seventy-five are known, in which Arminius, his wife Thusnelda, and Varus appear, either singly or together), and

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Ask A Classicist

Q What do we know about that little owl that accompanies Athena?

A That little bird with immense, insistent eyes stares at us from a number of surfaces. A full-faced and stylized version, leggy, highlighted by prominent eyebrows, appears on Athenian tetradrachmas from the end of the sixth century BC, and continues to gaze as long as ancient Athens minted coins. It is still displayed on the Greek euro, providing a striking symbol of Hellas across the centuries. Flip the ancient coin over and you have the goddess Athena's profile, her eye depicted frontally: she and the bird form an attentive and inseparable pair.

Nowadays the bird has extended its range. From the Sather Classical Lectures and the Bolchazy-Carducci publishing house to the American Institute of Archaeology, scholars, classics aficionados, scholarly presses and impassioned philologists have responded to the symbol by adopting it for their own work.

The bird's proper name is Little Owl, *Athene noctua*, according to D'Arcy Thompson in the *Glossary of Greek Birds*, (available at <http://www.archive.org/details/glossaryofgreekb00thomrich>). The genus, of course, derives its name from Little Owl's patroness. The species name, *noctua*, represents the bird's Latin designation, derived from its nocturnal activities. Being feminine in gender, the Latin name allows us to refer to the bird as "she."

The old Greeks called her γλαῦξ, the modern Greeks κουκουβάγια. But she has other names in that language: "goat-head" (αἰγόκερως), "night-crow" (νυκτικόραξ), and "witch" (στρίξ, cf. Italian *striga*, "witch") suggesting an ancient and eerie presence in folklore. One ancient name, τυτώ, perhaps imitating an owl's cry, forms the designation of one of the two families into which all owls are divided: the Tytonidae.

Little Owl, however, belongs not to the Tytonidae but to the populous Strigidae, a family that includes the horned, elf, and screech owls. Her genus, *Athene*, contains a handful of species distributed throughout the temperate world, all of them small (six

to eight inches), speckled brown, with yellow eyes encircled in white (see Fig. 13).

The ancient Athenians, watching her as she hunted little rodents, bugs and toads, and the babies of other birds late in the evening, will have heard her cry "kikkabau." (For Romans the cry sounded like "cucuba.") Aristophanes has one of the ladies in the *Lysistrata* complain of being kept up all night by Little Owl's cries (ὕπὸ τῶν γλαυκῶν ... κικκαβαῦ, l. 761). A fragment of Menander suggests that some people felt uneasy when hearing her call (frag. 534 K).

Little Owl's status as a symbol of Athens came rather late. Homer found only one occasion to mention her cousin σκῶψ, the Little Horned Owl (*Odyssey* 5.66); Hesiod mentions no owls at all. The poets, perhaps associating her with bad luck, do not include her among the pretty and winsome birds whose songs touch the heart. However, the Peripatetic naturalists, paradoxographers (scholarly collectors of surprising facts), and Roman polymaths like Pliny, are full of information about her habits. From the quantity of data they convey, we can safely say that Little Owl enjoyed a very rich folklore in antiquity. We hear stories of her war with the crows; of her ability to predict weather and dry spells; of the bad luck that came to the house upon which she perched. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* she was once Nyctimene, the unfortunate princess of Lesbos transformed into an owl by Athena out of pity for the girl's fate.



Fig. 13. Little Owl in Zoo Amersfoort, Netherlands. Photo by E. van Herk. Wikipedia Commons, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Commons:GNU_Free_Documentation_License.

A Cornucopia of Artists: The APA Comics Contest 2008 Debuts in Chicago

By Chris Ann Matteo

In January 2008, the Outreach Committee displayed the winners and honorable mention finalists for the APA Comics Contest, a project complementing the academic panel, "Classics and Comics," in Chicago, IL.

The theme for the artwork, inspired by the statue of Ceres that crowns the Chicago Board of Trade Building, focused on the Ceres/Proserpina myth. The entries revealed an impressive display of artistry, wit, and scholarship. Submissions came from an array of age groups and professions: although the majority of entries came from artists between ten and seventeen years of age, there were many submissions from classics professors, undergraduate and post-graduate students, and working graphic artists. The three First Place winners in each of three categories (K-7th grade, 8th-12th grade, and Adult) appear in this issue of *Amphora*.

The co-organizers of the panel, C. W. Marshall and George Kovacs, commented on the engaging wit of the First Place Winner in the Adult category, Brian Delandro Hardison's *Breakfast*: "The plight of the modern urban dweller is the constant pressure for time. Hardison depicts the small victory of an everyman over urban life: the upper half of the page shows silhouettes, crowds, and a hurried glance at the watch with cartoonish exaggeration until Ceres comes to the rescue. Her hand extends an apple, presenting him with the fruit of the earth, the gift of the goddess. The four small panels in the upper register give way to two more expansive panels featuring Ceres, and a momentary connection between human and divinity. The assured lines and professional inking provide a satisfying emotional climax."

Among the school-age artists, Elizabeth Talamo's *The Composer's Melody* won First Place in the K-7th Grade category. Write Kovacs and Marshall of the thirteen-year-old's artwork, "This is a complex example of lateral storytelling. The narrative of Ceres and Proserpina is presented in a way to express a child's anxiety over her parents' divorce. The teddy bear and the music,

each inherited from a parent, become symbols of Jennifer's physical attachment to her mother and her father, while the music further becomes an expression of the child's own feelings of love toward the mother and resentment toward the father. The style is minimal and focused, typical of a child's artwork: only the relevant details are included (there is a toy store, but no street, for example) and only key moments in the story are shown, indicating a great deal of time between each panel. The passing of time is also shown through changing hair and clothing. Ceres remains identifiable through her placement in the panel, her shoes, and her belt."

He Stole your Daughter, by seventeen-year old Dorian Kofinas of Apopka, FL, was awarded First Place in the 8-12th Grade category.

"Employing a beautiful juxtaposition of movement and stillness, Kofinas presents a story too powerful to be contained in a traditional panel sequence," note Kovacs and Marshall. "We hear no words, because the precise words do not matter; the wordless scream of the figure in shadows at the top is all the more agonizing because we cannot hear it. Ceres literally runs across the top half of the page, but through slightly descending panels suggesting a *katabasis*, or a journey to the underworld, by the arrangement of the frames. The deep shadow conveys her sense of loss. Below, the kneeling Ceres is surrounded by the undulating empty space on the page, and the eyes (whose?) in the separate panel reinforce her isolation. Everything on the page directs the viewer to her momentary hesitation, as her hand approaches her daughter's dropped

"BREAKFAST"

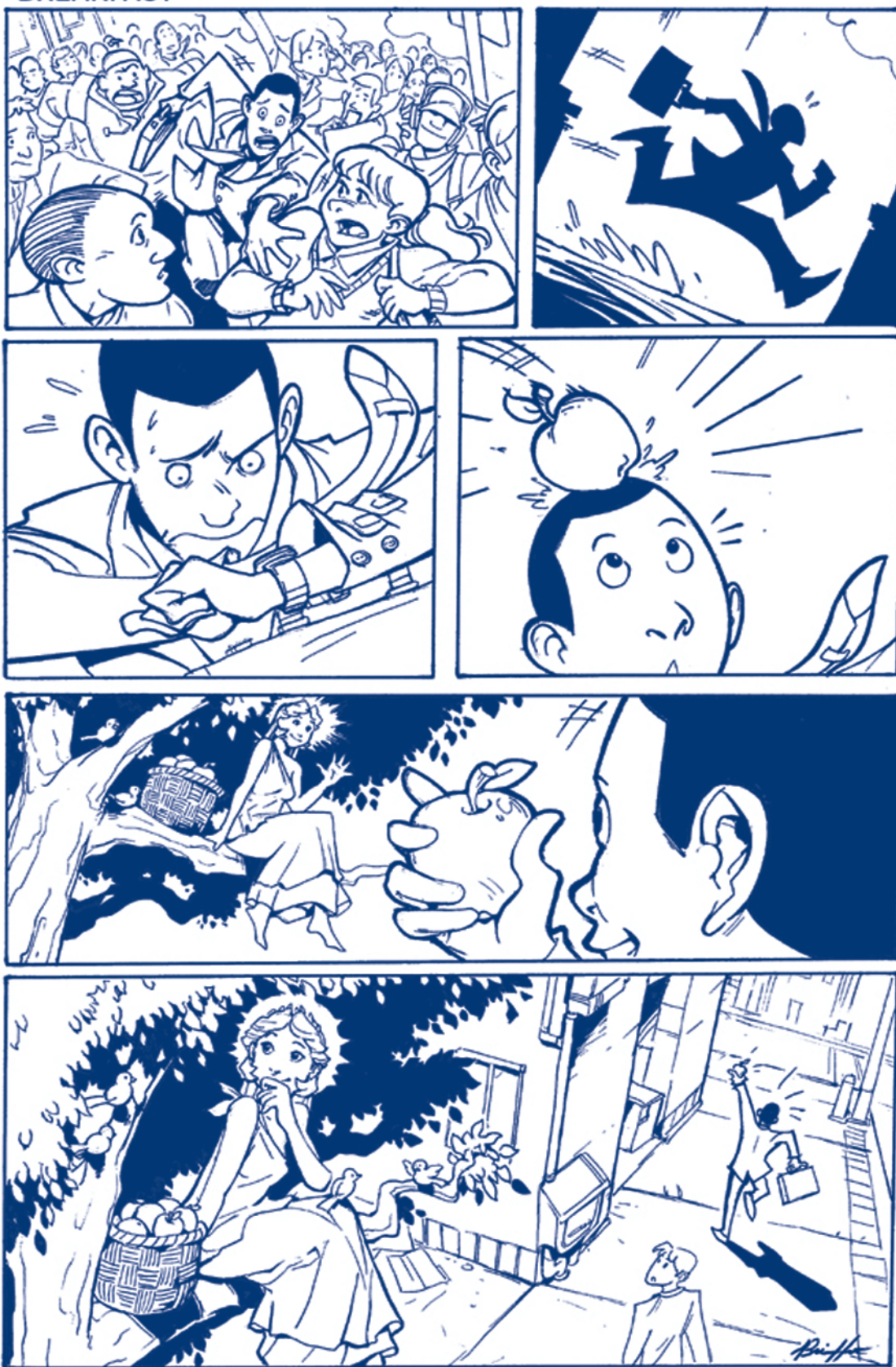


Fig. 14. Brian Delandro Hardison's *Breakfast*, First Place in the Adult category.

garment, for here the loss is most keenly felt."

By celebrating a mythological symbol of the agricultural fertility of the Midwest and

Chicago's central role in that region of the country, the Ceres comics contest raises the profile of the relevance of classical humanities nationwide.

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A Cornucopia of Artists: The APA Comics Contest 2008 Debuts in Chicago

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Fig. 15. Dorian Kofinas' *He Stole your Daughter*, First Place in the 8-12th Grade category.

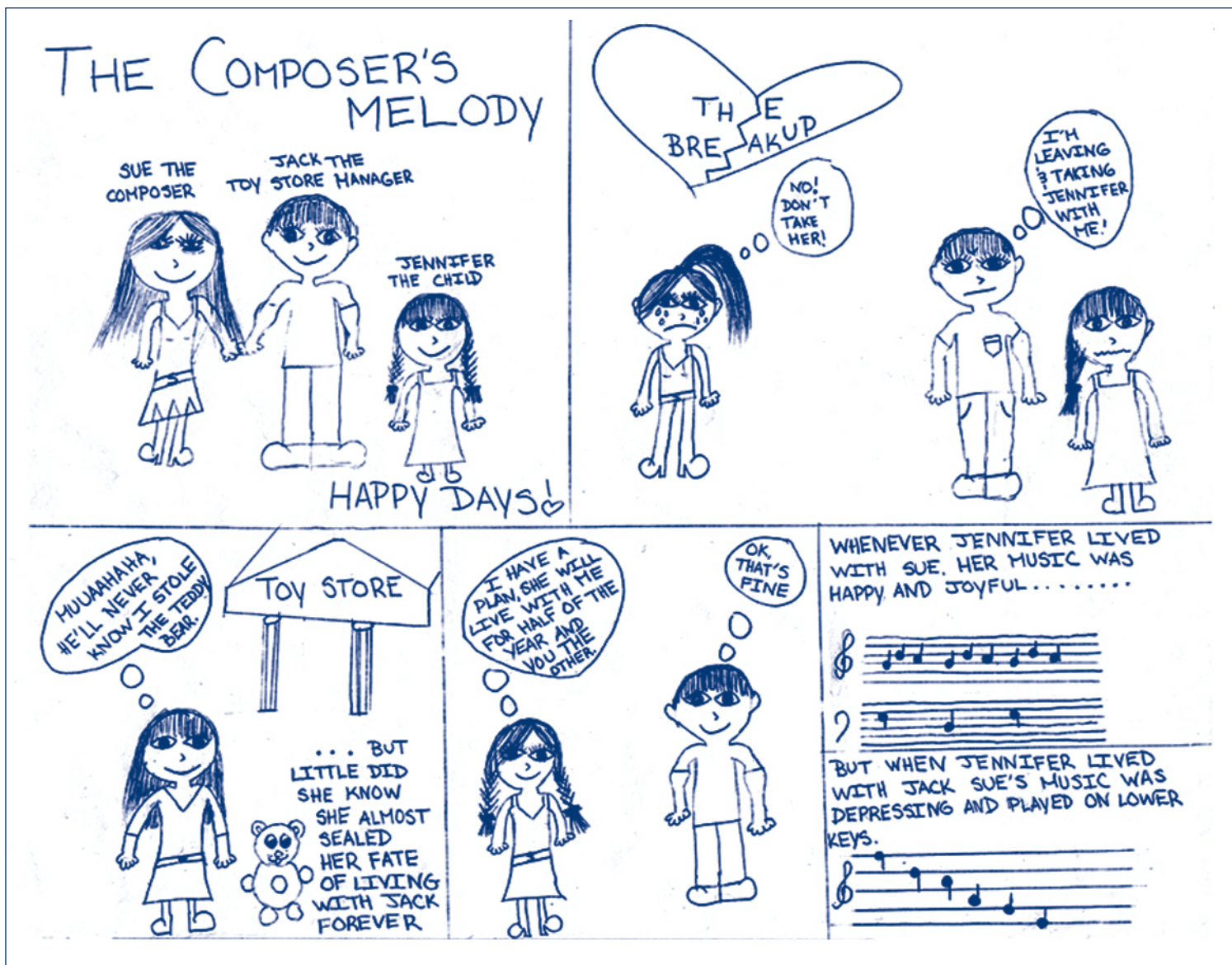


Fig. 16. Elizabeth Talamo's *The Composer's Melody*, First Place in the K-7th Grade category.

AMPHORA (ISSN 1542-2380) is published twice a year by the American Philological Association (APA). The APA, founded in 1869 by "professors, friends, and patrons of linguistic science," is now the principal learned society in North America for the study of ancient Greek and Roman languages, literatures, and civilizations. While the majority of its members are university and college classics teachers, members also include scholars in other disciplines, primary and secondary school teachers, and interested lay people. The APA produces several series of scholarly books and texts and the journal *Transactions of the American Philological Association*. It holds an annual meeting each January in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute of America.

All of the APA's programs are grounded in the rigor and high standards of traditional philology, with the study of ancient Greek and Latin at their core. However, the APA

also aims to present a broad view of classical culture and the ancient Mediterranean world to a wide audience. In short, the APA seeks to preserve and transmit the wisdom and values of classical culture and to find new meanings appropriate to the complex and uncertain world of the twenty-first century.

The APA's activities serve one or more of these overarching goals:

- To ensure an adequate number of well-trained, inspirational classics teachers at all levels, kindergarten through graduate school;
- To give classics scholars and teachers the tools they need to preserve and extend their knowledge of classical civilization and to communicate that knowledge as widely as possible;
- To develop the necessary infrastructure to achieve these goals and to make the APA a model for other societies confronting similar challenges.

The APA welcomes everyone who shares this vision to participate in and support its programs. All APA members receive *Amphora* automatically as a benefit of membership. Non-members who wish to subscribe to *Amphora* (for a very modest annual subscription fee of \$10 U. S. in the U. S. and Canada for two issues; \$15 elsewhere) may use the online non-member subscription form at http://www.apaclassics.org/outreach/amphora/Nonmember_Subs_Form.pdf. Nonmembers who wish further information about the APA may write to The American Philological Association, 292 Logan Hall, University of Pennsylvania, 249 S. 36th Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6304, apaclassics@sas.upenn.edu. The APA Web site is www.apaclassics.org.

Members attending meetings of or making presentations to interested nonmembers are urged to request sample copies of *Amphora* from the APA office for distribution to these audiences.

Book Review: *The Unknown Socrates*

by Hans-Friedrich Mueller

William M. Calder III, Bernhard Huss, Marc Mastrangelo, R. Scott Smith, and Stephen M. Trzaskoma. *The Unknown Socrates: Translations, with Introduction and Notes, of Four Important Documents in the Late Antique Reception of Socrates the Athenian*. Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Inc. (www.bolchazy.com), 2002. Pp. 304 + xvi. Paperback \$57.00. ISBN 978-0-86516-498-7.

Some find Socrates incredibly irritating. They dream of hemlock. The rest of us may claim to admire or even love him. Alcibiades, rich, connected, and famously good-looking, tried to seduce him. Socrates, at least according to Plato, cuddled chastely. But can we believe him? What might other sources tell us about this famous philosopher we think we know so well?

Socrates was, well, not always so Platonic. Although few have ever accepted Aristophanes' comic caricature (*Clouds*), the Socrates we find in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and *Apology* provided a solid paradigm for the nineteenth century. It was the work of the last century to replace Xenophon's Socrates with the Socrates we find described by Plato. Today, most scholars agree that Socrates, who left no writings of his own, is difficult, if not impossible, to recover, as an historical figure.

The five scholars who produced *The Unknown Socrates* acknowledge this difficulty, but are not daunted. They have assembled four essential but neglected sources that all readers may profitably navigate in search of their own Socrates: Diogenes Laertius' *Life of Socrates*, Libanius' *Apology of Socrates*, Maximus of Tyre's *Whether Socrates Did the Right Thing When He Did Not Defend Himself*, and Apuleius' *On the God of Socrates*. Each text is translated as well as supplied with an introduction, bibliography, and running commentary. The original texts (three in Greek and the last in Latin) are reprinted from good editions. A general introduction and foreword describe the genesis of the work, and explain why these sources matter.

Even before his execution in 399 B.C., Socrates, these scholars argue, was making

the transition from *human being* to *idea*. The man was, in other words, a rock star. This much Aristophanes' *Clouds* demonstrated as early as 423 B.C. For ancient inquirers, as for us, access was soon limited to the *image* of Socrates, not the *reality*, whoever the "real" but irrecoverable Socrates may have been. These texts matter because they reveal Socrates' early *image*.

Diogenes Laertius most likely lived in the third century A.D. and wrote *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*. Diogenes uses biography to portray Socrates' pragmatically ethical character without the burden of philosophical theory. Despite the faults of his biographical method, our authors argue that Diogenes' portrayal has made an enduring contribution to Socrates' image. And, whether or not they are true, the anecdotes are suggestive. Might Socrates really have wed or had children by two women, perhaps at the same time, in order to help increase the number of citizens at Athens? (Diogenes claims that he learned this from Aristotle.) Socrates' patriotism emerges from this story as clearly as it does from his celebrated military service at Potidaea.

Plato's *Apology of Socrates* remains famous; Xenophon's *Apology* less so. But Libanius? Libanius was a fourth-century A.D. pagan luminary who composed his *Apology* in a rapidly Christianizing world. Did Libanius have access to authentic historical documents now lost? Tantalizingly, Libanius constructs his defense to refute point by point the charges of Anytus, one of Socrates' original accusers. Not all these charges find counterparts in Plato or Xenophon, and, as our authors point out, these late antique rhetorical exercises have tremendous potential historical value. Libanius worked very carefully within the context of texts available to him, many of which are irrevocably lost to us. We may also read Libanius' defense of Socrates against charges of impiety in the early fourth century B.C. as a defense in the fourth century A.D. of classical Greek culture against attacks by a new Christian piety. The document thus fascinates in two ways: it adds to what we may know about Socrates, and it reveals to us that Socrates had become a rallying point in a late antique culture war.

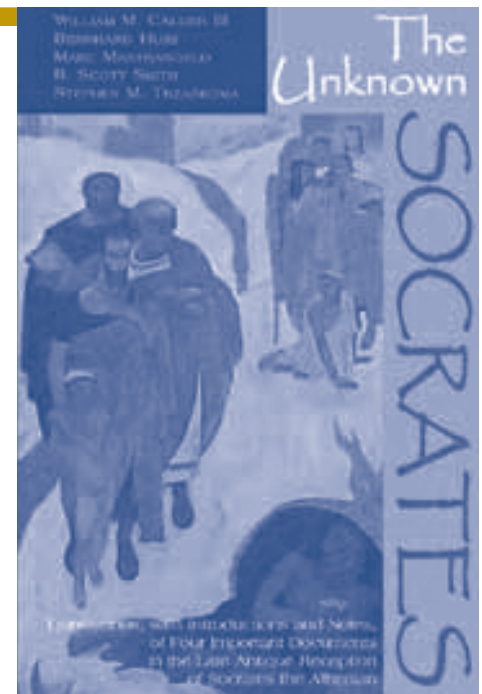


Fig. 17. A look at Socrates through authors other than Plato. Used with permission of Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Inc.

Although we have speeches that claim to represent Socrates' defense, did Socrates actually speak a word at his trial? In this book's third text, Maximus of Tyre, who was reportedly at work during the reign of Commodus (A.D. 180-192), asks whether Socrates, by refusing to respond to the charges against him, did the right thing. Does this then imply that Socrates' contemporaries, Xenophon and Plato (not to mention all those who followed), merely composed their own fantasies of what Socrates *should* have said, had he spoken? Notable scholars have sided with Maximus against Plato, and Maximus' essay offers a rousing defense of Socrates' choice *not* to defend himself. Socrates, he claims, by refusing to engage with those beneath his philosophical dignity, kept to a higher moral ground, and the Athenians eventually paid the penalty for *their* impiety. Maximus writes:

Because they [the Athenians] slighted Zeus, plague fell upon them, and so too war from the Peloponnese. Because they corrupted the youth, they suffered the misfortune at Deceleia, the catastrophe in Sicily, and the disaster at the Hellespont. This is how god passes judgment, this is how he condemns. (232)

Apuleius (mid-second century A.D.) provides our fourth document. *On the God of Socrates* begins with a general examina-

tion of personal gods before it moves to a discussion of Socrates' *daemon* in particular (the god Socrates claimed spoke to him throughout his life, mainly to warn him *not* to do things). Apuleius concludes that we may all, by living the philosophical life, emulate Socrates' exemplary care for his personal god. This demonology helps us, as modern readers, make sense of a crucial ancient tradition that lacks ready parallels in our own at once more secular and relentlessly monotheistic age.

No matter how we read these fascinating documents, we gain fresh insights. The Socrates who emerges interests us no less than Plato's or Xenophon's, and he may well shed light that helps bring other versions of Socrates into sharper relief. We observe too the irony that Socrates, who was condemned for impiety towards his ancestral religion, should become a rhetorical bulwark for traditional paganism as it struggled to stem the rising tides of a newer and increasingly aggressive faith. With this fine book in hand, one may truly say, "Socrates, we hardly knew you!"

Hans-Friedrich Mueller (muellerh@union.edu) is the William D. Williams Professor of Classics at Union College in Schenectady, New York. He is the author of *Roman Religion in Valerius Maximus* (London: Routledge, 2002) and the editor of an abridgment of Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York: Modern Library, 2003).

IMPERIUM KONFLIKT MYTHOS: THE BIMILLENARY OF THE BATTLE IN THE TEUTOBURG FOREST

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other literary pieces in which he featured. (See H.W. Benario, "Arminius into Hermann: History into Legend," *Greece & Rome* 51 [2005] 83-94.)

The museum itself is regional and comprehensive, and its Roman holdings form only a small part of the whole. In 2009 two main halls will be devoted to the exhibition, which will clearly detail the modern afterlife of Germany's first national hero.

The beginnings came in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, with the discovery of Tacitus' *Germania* and *Annales*. There then ensued much discussion and debate about the ancient sense of the German people and the world in which they lived. From these views, which are both supported and challenged by archaeological investigations, there gradually grew the myth of Arminius and its evolution into his picture as the model for German unification and increasing political power.

When news of the disaster in the Teutoburg Forest reached Augustus, he was so overwhelmed that, for several months, he did not shave or have his hair cut and occasionally banged his head against the doors of his home, crying out in anguish, *Quintili Vare, legiones redde!* (Suetonius, *Augustus* 23.2; "Quintilius Varus, give me back my legions!"). Each year thereafter, Augustus considered the day of the disaster a day of gloom and mourning; in other words, it was for him a *dies nefastus*, an accursed

day. Arminius would have been pleased had he learned of the effect on the Germans' greatest enemy. He would now be amused at the status that he and his triumph have attained among his descendants many generations removed.

The web address for the entire exhibit is www.2000jahrevarusschlacht.de.

Addresses of places mentioned and of some other Roman museums in the general neighborhood:

1. LWL-Römermuseum, Weseler Strasse 100, 45721 Haltern am See.
2. Varusschlacht im Osnabrücker Land gGmbH – Museum und Park Kalkriese, Venner Strasse, 49565 Bramsche.
3. Lippisches Landesmuseum Detmold, Ameide 4, 32756 Detmold.
4. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Colmantstrasse 14-16, Bonn.
5. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Roncalliplatz 4, Cologne.
6. Regionalmuseum Xanten, very near the baths of the Archäologischer Park Xanten (an extensive excavation site with many monuments rebuilt, in whole or in part, vividly showing what Trajan's *colonia*, established at the beginning of the second century, was like).

Herbert W. Benario is Professor Emeritus of Classics at Emory University. His particular interests are Tacitus, the early principate, and the classical tradition. He has been president of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South and the Vergilian Society of America, and was Fulbright Professor at the University of Passau, Germany, in the summer semester 1990. He first visited Detmold and saw the Hermannsdenkmal in 1952, when the statue was being repaired and the sword was on the ground.

Bring the APA Comics Contest 2008 Exhibit to Your Venue

The APA Committee on Outreach will make the APA Comics Contest exhibit available to schools, universities, libraries, and civic organizations interested in the classics. The submissions came from twelve U.S. states and Canada, and are represented across ten 28" x 38" poster-boards for viewing on easels. The price is only the cost of shipping from one destination to the next. The exhibit is produced such that it can be easily transported and installed.

For more details about arranging to have the exhibit visit your institution, please see the website, <http://apacomics2008.blogspot.com>, and please contact Outreach Committee member Chris Ann Matteo at camatteo@mac.com or 703.469.2191.

**"To err is human;
no one except a fool errs
over and over."
– Cicero, *Philippics* 12.2.5.**

A TALE OF TWO BROTHERS: CARACALLA AND GETA

continued from page 4

theme, Caracalla destroyed all of the sculptured images of his brother. The head of the figure that originally stood prominently between his father and brother (clasping each other's right hands) was neatly sawn off and buried. This portrait-relic was uncovered early in the last century by an archaeologist at the site. Today this entire *concordia*-scene from the frieze is on display at the Libyan museum at Tripoli; the restored head of Geta is a modern replica (see Fig. 18) – an Allied soldier reportedly snatched the original as a bit of latter-day booty during the North African campaign in the early 1940s.

Britain. Incomplete evidence for its shape and dedicatory purpose comes from fragments of a sculptured arch with probable connections to Caracalla and Geta that were reused, after the mid-third century, to build a defensive wall along the Thames River in the Roman city of Londinium. Scholars debate the cause for the demolition of this monument that once stood at the entrance to a temple area in the city. Was it initially raised in honor of Clodius Albinus, a rebel commander in Britain who declared himself emperor? Or was the arch constructed a decade later at the direction of Geta during the long campaign in northern Britain and Scotland? In either case, it would have been necessary to expunge any glorification of the disgraced “honoree.” Thus, the arch was dismantled and its image-stones consigned to the recycling heap; a few fragments have been recovered

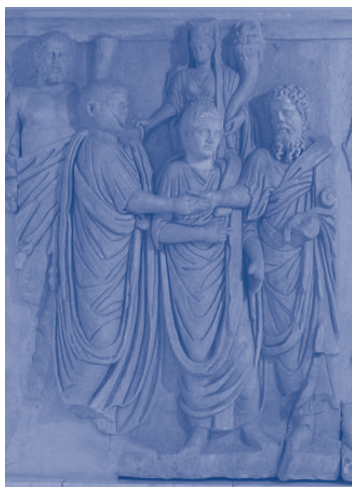


Fig. 18. Caracalla (left), Geta (center), and Severus from the Severan Arch at Leptis Magna. © Jona Lendering. From Livius.org with permission.

from the remains of London's river-wall.

Egypt. Another example of Caracalla's efforts can be found on the banks of the Nile at Esna (Greco-Roman Latopolis) in Upper Egypt. Although the shrine to

Khnum, the ram-headed god of the annual flood, was begun in the late second century B.C., additions and alterations were made to the temple throughout the period of Roman domination. The Emperor Claudius (A.D. 41-54), for example, probably supplied funds for the imposing forecourt with its giant palmette columns. In a typical scene of imperial commemoration, the painted sandstone reliefs depict Severus (with a tall pharaonic crown and carrying a royal-Osiris scepter, flail, and crook) standing before the beneficent Khnum, the god's wife, and their son. In a row behind the Emperor is his family: Empress Julia Domna (with a solar-crown and transparent Egyptian gown), Caracalla (with the double Red-and-White Crown of the Two Lands, scepter, flail, and crook), and Geta (with the single White Crown of Upper Egypt and scepter). Above each member of the royal party in this typical long-life-jubilee scene is a royal cartouche with appropriate hieroglyphic identification (see Fig. 19).

What is significant about this formulaic blessing-tableau is the fact that the entire figure of Geta has been carefully chiseled away, including the emblematic *ankh* (the traditional Egyptian symbol for “life”) that Severus' wife and his sons hold in their right hands. The upper portion of the first cartouche circling Geta's name has also been chipped away, but it is impossible to determine if this debasement of his titles was intentional or an accident of time, since that portion of the carving is in fragmentary condition. Alterations to another series of cartouches in the same temple reinforce the vendetta: adjacent



Fig. 19. Drawing of the south wall of the temple at Esna by Carl Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* 12. vols. (*Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia*), 1949-1959. Abteilung IV. Band IX. Bl. 89c.

figures of the two young pharaoh-princes are untouched, since the royal poses, regalia, and features are static; but in each case the identification-hieroglyphs for Geta have been plastered over and re-carved for Caracalla.

The officials at the riverside complex at Kom Ombo, farther south near Aswan, were not so diligent. Within the precinct of the great double temple to the falcon-god Horus and the crocodile-god Sobek a small Roman-era chapel once stood, most likely constructed under the joint patronage of the co-emperors. Only the entrance, two damaged pillars framing the gate, and the platform floor of this shrine now remain. But in the sunken decoration of the doorjambs neither the name nor the figure of Geta has been defaced – this exception emphasizes the rule.

These two temple-reliefs were carved sometime during or shortly after an extended official visit to Egypt by the Emperor Severus, his wife, and sons during A.D. 199-201. Another artifact of distinctly Egyptian origin survives, perhaps created on location to honor the actual arrival of the Severan family in the province. In Egypt, high Roman officials and especially the Emperor himself would have been formally received – as had been the pharaonic viziers or even the Pharaoh himself – by local administrators and priests. When the procession of honored visitors arrived at the city

gates (*adventus* in Latin), the municipal delegation customarily welcomed them with an image of the supreme ruler: majesty greeted majesty.

During the Roman occupation of Egypt, funerary portraits for wealthy citizens were often prepared by artists who applied wax-based (encaustic) or egg-yolk-based (tempera) paints to thin panels of wood, which were then inserted into wrappings of the deceased's mummy; sometime a full-length likeness was created directly on linen shrouds. Whatever the technique or medium, these burial artifacts, famous for their life-like quality, are traditionally called Fayyum portraits and were produced only in Egypt during the mid-first to mid-third centuries A.D. They are genuinely personal, true-to-life images. One similar example appears to have been prepared to commemorate not a death, but the historic visit of an imperial family. The exact provenance of this painting is unknown. It was discovered somewhere in Egypt during the early twentieth century and is now in the Museum of Antiquities in Berlin. The wood panel has been cut into a circle just under twelve inches in diameter, an easily portable size (see Fig. 20). The occasionally jagged and abraded diameter suggests that this *tondo* (an Italian art-historical term for a round painting) could easily have been mounted on a pole for more prominent display in an *adventus*-ceremony, and for subsequent fixture in a position of honor in a shrine to the Emperor and his family.

All three of the males in this painting are crowned with golden, gem-studded wreaths, with a bit more modest tiara for the Empress. The family's garments are white with purple and gold trim; the males hold scepters with small golden eagles at the top. To some scholars, the curls in Severus' beard appear to be an

imitation of the images of Serapis, a composite Greco-Egyptian divinity who shared characteristics of Osiris, Zeus/Jupiter, and other gods. In its present condition, however, by far the most emphatic feature of the imperial portraits on the tondo is the complete destruction of Geta's face – and the fact that the scraped surface of this part of the panel was smeared with a layer of animal dung. This is *damnatio memoriae* with a vengeance.

Syria. The next exhibit in the campaign to eliminate all traces of Geta is a straightforward piece of Roman engineering: the arched bridge over the Chabinas (now Cendere) River on the outer border of Syria. This stone structure on the important military and commercial road along the western edge of the Euphrates plain was built (probably in the late first century A.D.) by troops from the Fourth Scythian Legion. During Severan times, four columns, perhaps topped by statues, were added to honor the family, an imperial pair flanking each end of the span. After the assassination of Geta, his column and its image were removed, and to this day the asymmetrical decoration of the bridge stands as an off-kilter monument to Caracalla's fratricidal hatred.

The final exhibits in the catalogue of *damnatio memoriae* are modest in size, but immense in impact. In the ancient world coins, beyond their basic economic function, were widely distributed as a primary media of imperial propaganda, with the Emperor's "head" on one side and a symbolic message (of a battlefield success or a political ideal) on the other. A series of provincial mints met expanded military payrolls and allowed the production of flexible, custom-designed images.

Coins survive from the reign of Septimius Severus that display portraits of his sons and heirs, Caracalla or Geta or both together, on the obverse; another example has the Emperor joining right hands with the sons on the reverse. On a coin minted in Britain in A.D. 208, Severus appears, with a son at each side, standing on a parade-ground tribunal as troops in battle-dress pass in review with their legionary standards and an eagle. These monetary testaments of harmony in the imperial family stand in graphic contrast to a series of bronze coins originally minted in Stratonicea (now Eskihisar in southwest Turkey) during the ten months of fraternal co-rule before Geta's murder. Following Caracalla's order of condemnation, local mints rushed to comply with the edict and melted down most coins bearing the joint image of the



Fig. 20. The face of Geta (lower lefthand image) has been removed. Staatliche Museum zu Berlin. From Livius.org with permission.

two rulers. Some issues, however, remained in circulation, but were literally "de-faced." On the Stratonicean specimens the portraits of Geta were removed, with more or less care, perhaps by a heated chisel. Overstamps were often added during this process of alteration to emphasize the singular authority of the new regime: A small helmeted head and the Greek letters *θεου* ("[son] of the god") were most likely designed to publicize the fact that Caracalla was now the sole heir of his newly deified father.

The diverse examples described above highlight the remarkable extent of Roman rule over people of many languages, cultures, and religions. One relatively minor aspect of Roman history is its occasional deployment of *damnatio memoriae*, a formal decree – and often a personal obsession – to remove every trace of an opponent's life and deeds. In the case of Caracalla and Geta, the sons of Septimius Severus, fraternal rivalry escalated to fratricide and an all-out attempt to annihilate memory. Sculpture on arches was smashed, coins defaced or melted down, temple friezes meticulously chiseled away, formal inscriptions carefully altered, and provincial welcome-portraits smeared with filth. These enduringly memorable examples of Caracalla's vendetta and Geta's post-mortem humiliation were also scattered throughout the Empire, from the Tiber and Thames to the Nile and Euphrates.

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Book Review: *Roman Women*

by Julie Langford

Eve D'Ambra. *Roman Women*. Cambridge Introduction to Roman Civilization. Cambridge University Press, 2007. Paperback \$18.95. Pp. 238. 42 half-tone, 57 colour plates. ISBN 0-521-52158-0.


As the second book in the Cambridge Introduction to Roman Civilization series, *Roman Women* assumes, according to the publisher's website, "...no prior knowledge of ancient Rome on the part of the reader." It is a textbook that provides a broad overview of the daily aspects of the lives of women ranging from the highest levels of society to the lowest, in chapters exploring marriage and family, work and leisure, and the public life of women. As a textbook *Roman Women* lacks an overarching thesis; however, even a specialist will find D'Ambra's interpretations stimulating.

From the beginning, Professor D'Ambra strikes a balance between highlighting those common experiences that draw modern women to the study of ancient ones, while at the same time demonstrating the ways in which ancient lives were radically different from our own. Her success in making this connection comes from her careful distinctions between the experiences of Roman women from different social backgrounds. D'Ambra employs an impressive variety of sources in accessing the broad range of female experiences: poetry, letters, oratory, inscriptions, funeral stele and sarcophagi, tableware, coins and jewelry. Because these artifacts were not created by women, D'Ambra emphasizes that "it is important to determine who is representing them and for what purposes" (3).

For D'Ambra, these artifacts "take part in shaping realities and can elicit the texture of lives and social attitudes, if not traces of emotions" (3). The book is particularly interested in educating the reader about how material objects can reflect daily life, but a closer reading reveals D'Ambra's sophisticated claim that material culture *shapes* realities. D'Ambra illustrates for example how clothing portrayed in poetry and art helped shape social ideals for these women. Yet neither texts nor objects "...reflected reality in a truthful nor comprehensive way – rather, they provided models

of ideal behavior for elite women to follow and, in this function, served as part of the ideological cultural apparatus that sought to control wives and mothers" (6).

This sophisticated approach to texts and objects is matched by the careful distinctions D'Ambra draws between Roman women of various classes. The second chapter, "Marriage and the Family," follows the different stages in a woman's life, from youth and period of formal education to death, as well as the differing rules governing each. D'Ambra persuasively explains how both moralizing examples such as Lucretia and the condemnation of loose women such as Clodia were employed rhetorically in order to control women's sexual behavior. In Chapter 3,



*D'Ambra draws on
a wide variety of sources
in her exploration of
women's experiences in
the Roman world.*

"Women's Work," D'Ambra distinguishes between the daily concerns of women from the senatorial and equestrian classes who were focused upon domestic arts, childrearing, education and personal adornment and those of women who worked in public, participating in family businesses. Curiously, however, D'Ambra discusses childrearing only in the context of upper class women. Finally, in the last chapter, "Public Life," D'Ambra explores how a handful of prominent women in the Republic and Empire played a role in public life through the medium of their politically influential male relatives. She then turns to a discussion of the roles of women in Roman religion, from the most publicly visible positions of the Vestals, the Flaminica Dialis and the Regina Sacrorum, to the more typical religious experiences of the majority of Roman women. The book ends without a conclusion or synthesis of the material.

The strengths of *Roman Women* are the

careful delineations made between the experiences of the upper and lower orders of women, and D'Ambra's skill at incorporating different types of evidence into her discussions. D'Ambra is at her best explaining particular artifacts; for me, the highlight of the book is D'Ambra's analyses of funeral stele and sarcophagi: what they can tell us about how women were portrayed by themselves and by their relatives, and how they depict women's relationships with others (Chapter 3). Quite charmingly, D'Ambra's sense of marvel occasionally peeks through her learned discussion, and invites readers to wonder aloud with her over the meanings or interpretations of various artifacts. Such moments convey a sense of ongoing inquiry and emphasize that interpretations are only that, interpretations.

For all of these reasons, I have decided to make *Roman Women* a required text in my seminar, "Sex and the City." There are some concerns, however, that will likely provoke discussion. First, D'Ambra never defines "gender" as a social construction. She also fails to define precisely what she means by "Roman women": though D'Ambra employs evidence from such far flung outposts as Britain and Egypt, she does not acknowledge their radically different lifestyles and cultures; instead, she refers to all women, both those from the provinces (e.g., the women in the mummy paintings in Chapter 4; Boudicca in Chapter 2) and those in the capital, as "Roman." Another problem, perhaps inevitable in so general an introduction, is the failure to underline the radical social changes that accompanied the shift from the Republic to the Empire, and how these changes affected women. D'Ambra does include a brief history of Rome from 753 B.C. to the second century A.D. (28-39). But even when discussing the question of political succession, she fails to mention the role of women in the Imperial families.

Signs of hasty or poor editing abound. The maps are not numbered, and references to them seem to be an afterthought (9). The editor should have insisted upon descriptive section-headings to clarify when D'Ambra shifted from one class of women to another. "Gender and Status," for instance, the title of the first chapter, does not help the reader to organize the information that follows. Finally, the illustrations,

which should be the strength of a book written by an art historian, are often too small for the reader to appreciate the details on which D'Ambra's interpretations depend (e.g., Figure 52 on p. 105 and Figure 55 on p. 109). In fact, there are a number of illustrations that have little bearing on the discussion at hand and are only referred to briefly (e.g., Figure 17 on p. 40). Most of these shortcomings can be addressed and corrected in a classroom setting. A more general reader, especially one unfamiliar with the Roman world, will find the book readable even if the details of D'Ambra's analyses may go unnoticed. Cambridge owes it to itself and D'Ambra to produce a second edition because *Roman Women* has filled an important niche in Roman gender-studies.

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POETRY INSPIRED BY THE PAST

by Aislinn A. Melchior

UPON REREADING CATULLUS 63 ON THE SELF-CASTRATION OF ATTIS

We all strike at our pleasure,
As if that will make us stronger
And we can simply lay it aside in
discreet parcels.
As if we will not bleed long after we
tear it
From ourselves. As if we will not feel
The shadow of memory between our
thighs.

In the logic of Myth, this detached
desire
Can never just sit on a beach to be
Devoured by the maw of a gull
Or scavenged by the furtive grazing of
Dust colored crabs. Instead it grows
greater:
Into a foam draped Aphrodite,
a witching wave,
Or presses roots downward like reaching
worms
While the ovoid leaves of an
almond tree
Embrace the milky sky.

The pleasure we sought to master
Will master us. We learn the slow toil of
The ox, the steady sorrow of
domesticity,
Severed entirely from the heady lust
that makes
Garnet lights in the bowl of
pomegranate seeds
Which Hades places on our tongue:
One. Two. Three.

Aislinn Melchior (amelchior@ups.edu) is an Assistant Professor of Classics at the University of Puget Sound. She is currently at work on a book entitled *Blood and Rhetoric that examines how Julius Caesar represents violence in his commentarii*.

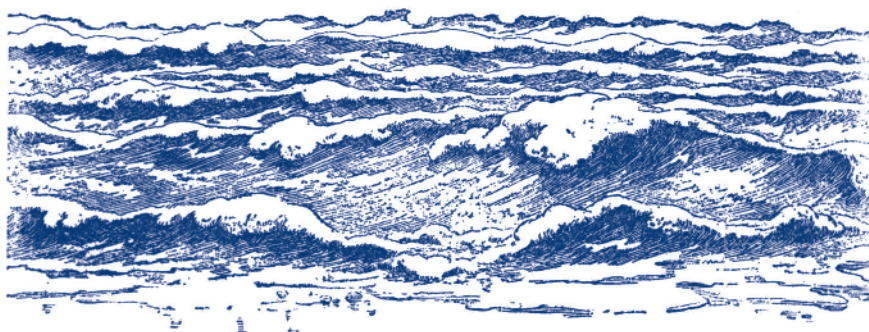
KALYPSO

I am the end of song,
The anti-Muse,
Cessation of thought,
The reef that is woman.

Narrative is a ship
That sails by these benching sands.
My name veils the slow dearth of
words,
The stuttering failure of Odysseus'
voice,
Who came here draped in poetry
Like the briny weed that wraps
A shipwrecked corpse
When washed ashore.

He remembers some things
perhaps,
Enough to cry, and taste that salt.
It stirs some fond recollection
Of reefing the sails, and making
fast
The linen, and the story he spun
out of
That storm, about the black pall of
the waves.

My name is Kalypso.
I conceal, and I cover,
More muffling than the glebes of
Troy,
For to fall on this island, one falls
alone.
There is no song here.
Just the empty foam of love
On the sanded shore, and
The stories steering far off
On the horizon.





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