



PEGASUS



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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P E G A S U S

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".....and the Bees"

Perhaps one's first encounter with the bees of antiquity is in Virgil's fourth Georgic, where his poetry tells of the wonders and marvellous scenes of that miniature world. And one only has to turn to the works of Strabo, Pliny or Columella to realise that the bee enjoyed a position in antiquity of high regard and importance.

In Ancient Greece,¹ sugar was not used, and was known only as an Asiatic rarity. Strabo¹, talking about the sugar cane (kalamion) from India, remarks that those who eat the raw fruit of a certain fruit-bearing tree, from which honey is compounded, become intoxicated! In Attica itself, beekeeping was so common that regulations² were necessary as to the distance between the hives on the hillsides. Strabo further remarks that the Attic honey from Hymettus was famous and the best of all.³ Pausanias also has a remark to the same effect⁴ that on Hymettus the bees range free, tamely following other creatures, not shut up in hives, but working in any part of the land they happen to visit. They produce a solid mass from which you cannot separate either the wax or the honey.

Directions as to management of bee keeping and other accomplishments necessary for successful bee-keepers can be found in Pliny XI IV - XXII and elsewhere.

Thus the bee and its product can be seen to have been extremely important to the economy of the ancient world, where it was the only method of sweetening available to them in large quantities.

An interesting by-line is the Greek equivalent of our "bull in a china shop" - ὄνος ἐν μελίτταις.

Yet the natural historians are not the only people whom we find mentioning the bee. We have only to dip into Greek and Roman Anthology to realise that significance of the bee is something more than economic.

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1. Strabo xv. 1. 20 (c. 694)
 2. Plut. 'Solon' 23 "...he that would set out hives of bees (cf. Plato: Laws viii 843E) must put them 300 feet away from those enstalled by another."
 3. Strabo ix. 1. 23. (c. 400)
 4. Paus. 1. 32. 1.

In Greek Anthology we read how a swarm of bees settled on the mouth of Pindar at his birth, foretelling the sweetness of his poetry. Cicero⁵ notes that the same thing happened to the infant Plato, as a sign that he would be marvellously eloquent. Menander is supposed to have had the same experience, while Lucian shrewdly suggests that a man intent on acquiring riches is like a bee whose honey in due course will be devoured by others. The name of 'Bee' denoting sweetness was attributed also to Sophocles;⁶ and the comparison of the poet to the bee in culling the beauties of nature is found in Horace's "...ego apes Matinae / more modoque".⁷

To the ancients, the bee was also a creature of special sanctity, and had special symbolism with birth, death and reincarnation. One example of this symbolism can be illustrated from Virgil Aeneid 6. 707-9.

"ac volut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena
floribus insidunt variis et candida circum
lilia funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus."

The souls gathered round Lethe's stream are not bees, of course, but are like bees. We may compare Homer, Odyssey XIII 106, where bees may be allegorically interpreted as souls, and in particular as souls returning to rebirth in this world.⁸

This idea of reincarnation is suggested in the Fourth Georgic, by the story of the miraculous birth of bee life from the dead body of a bull, after due propitiation by Lethaeian poppies has been made to Orpheus. Earlier in the poem (206-8) we are reminded that, though individual bees perish, the race remains immortal: "at genus immortale manet." Another point of significance is the suggested explanation of the special virtue of the bee in the view of 'certain persons' (219-227), that the bees partake of ethereal draughts - 'haustus aethereos' - this same ethereal element, 'aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem', being described in the great speech of Anchises as the only part left to the soul after its complete purgation.⁹ Thus we may see that in Virgil's mind, bees were closely associated with the idea of the reincarnation of the purified soul; and the comparison of the souls gathered round Lethe to hovering bees gains suggestiveness from this fact.

Yet the significance of bees did not start in Roman times, but may be traced back to the early stories in Greek mythology.

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- 5. Cicero Do. Div. 1. 78
 - 6. Schol. Ar. Vosp. 460
 - 7. Horace. Odes 4. 2. 27
 - 8. Porphyry's Cave of the Nymphs (18)
 - 9. Virgil. Aen. 6. 747

To gain an idea of the types of symbolism involved, it will be of use, first of all, to note the habits of bees pertinent to this question.

When left to its own devices, a bee chooses a crevice in a cliff, or a stone for its dwelling.¹⁰ In the absence of a suitable rock, a hollow tree trunk may be used.¹¹ If neither of these is available, a carcass of a large beast may be used.¹² From this three-fold classification of bees, they may be regarded as issuing from caverns, or trees or carcasses. And it is on this basis that the symbolism is founded.

For the relations of the bee with caverns we turn to Crete. According to Nicander, as quoted by Columella¹³, Crete was the original home of bees, which appear repeatedly in its tradition. There is a tale told which is relevant at this point:¹⁴ 'In Crete there is said to be a cavern sacred to bees, where the story goes that Thea gave birth to Zeus; it is unlawful for any man -- be he mortal or a god -- to enter therein. Moreover, at a certain season, year by year, a flood of light streams forth from the cave, and tradition says that this takes place when the birth blood of Zeus overflows. Antoninus relates how four men, attracted by the honey in the cave with which the bees fed Zeus, clad themselves in bronze armour, and ventured into the cave. There they saw the swaddling bands of Zeus, upon which their bronze armour split, and the god was minded to slay them with his thunderbolt. The Moirai and Themis intervened, on the ground that it was unlawful for any man to die in the cave. Zeus relented, and transformed the invaders into birds.¹⁵

The legend may be based to a certain extent on fact. Antoninor says that, in Crete, a swarm of bees¹⁶, by divine instigation, attacked the town of Raukioi, and caused acute pain with their stings. The townsfolk quitted their native territory, and founded a second town of Raukos in Crete itself. If, then, the whole village was dispossessed by bees, it may well be that a cavern tenanted by such fierce insects was regarded as 'abaton' throughout the countryside, and if *χαλκοειδεῖς* was the name of the local bees, the myth-maker would arm his human marauders in bronze to match the mail of his opponents.

As for the connection of bees with Rhea and Zeus, the first man to worship the gods was supposed to have been Melisseus, King of Crete. He had two daughters, Amalthea and Melissa, who nourished the infant Jove

10. cf. Homer *Il.* II. 87ff. and *Il.* XII. 167ff.

11. cf. Hesiod *W. & D.* 233

12. cf. Judges XIV. 8. also *Hdt.* V. 114.

13. *Col. de re rustica.* IX. 2.

14. Boios; ap. Anton. *Lib.* 19. Quoted in the original in 'Cumaeum Gates' by J.K. p. 129.

15. An illustration of the legend can be found on the black-figured amphora from Vulci which represents four male figures, stung by bees, all nude and bearded; they are Laios, Keleos; Korbores; Aigolios. The vase painting portrays the moments when their armour had split, just before their metamorphosis.

16. Known as *χαλκοειδεῖς*

on goats' milk and honey.¹⁷ Melissa was made by her father the first priestess of Magna Mater, and thus were the representatives of the goddess called Melissae.

So Antoninus narrates that Rhea gave birth to Zeus in a Cretan cave, and spoke of the 'ἔρπει μέλιτται' as the 'τρόφοι τοῦ Δίος'; and Antenor speaks of the original priestess of Magna Mater being a Cretan princess Melissa, who fed the infant Jove with honey, and her attendants were called 'Melissae'.

Thus the cave connection with Zeus Ketagenes seems to be that bees were the occupants of the cave where he was born. Hence arise these chthonian characteristics of bees:

(i) Ministering to chthonian deities; Demeter; Dionysus; Persephone; Rhea and Artemis. 18

(ii) Chthonian gift of prophecy as Delphic priestesses, or as Parnassian Moirai, or Muses who inspired Pindar. 19 The famous quote from Pindar 20 also gives the bees' connection with the Delphic Oracle.

The Delphians claim that their second temple (in prehistoric times) was built by bees, bees' wax, and wings; and it seems that the second temple was dedicated to the joint worship of bees and birds.

The birds enter in easily when we remember the legend of the Cretan cave, and the metamorphosis of men to birds; where both bees and birds were domiciled. And the creatures which haunted the cave became naturally the attendants of Zeus. 21 Thus, in the transition from the Cretan cave to the temple at Delphi, it was natural that both should go together.

So, to recapitulate we see that in this essentially chthonian aspect, bees and birds occupied the sacred Cretan cave and ministered to the child of Rhea; and that the Delphic 'omphalos', with its guardian birds, marked the centre of the earth, whilst the oracular functions were discharged by the Delphian 'Bees'. With this deep religious and mythological background and significance, it is no wonder that the bee was sacred among the ancients.

17. See Virgil, Georgic IV. 152

18. cf. Euripides Hippolytus 70 ff. re Artemis.

19. The same situation applies to Hesiod, whence it is an easy transition and development to Horace's 'apis Matinae marc modoque'.

20. Pindar Pyth. IV. 59/60.

21. cf. eagle of Zeus etc.

Secondly, from the bees that dwelt in and haunted hollow tree trunks, there originated the bee 'nymphs' -- νύμφαι.

From the discovery of bees swarming in the carcasses of beasts came the belief that they represented the life of a defunct animal. Thus it is from this aspect that the attempts originate to create bees with all the superstitious formulae. The prescribed method was fathered by Aristaeus,^{21a} the pastoral deity, and did much to foster the conception that the soul may take the form of a bee.

When we come to view the Mystic school we find all three elements of the symbolism combined. The bee was the emblem of a nymph or unborn soul -- the νύμφη in the mystic Neo-Platonist Philosophy was the name given to any pure, chaste being. There was also present the chthonian features of the 'rock bee'; and a little ingenuity transformed the tree bee from the tree nymph, to a water nymph; and the 'soul' concept as illustrated by the 'carcase bee.' It is not altogether out of place to remark that Pythagoras attributed long life to bees, and deemed it a means of warding off disease.

Thus we may imagine the general impression on the mind of an average Greek, with regard to the bee, as one of regarding it as if a chthonian native intimately connected with, if not actually embodying, the soul.

Honey itself had a sacrificial value, probably in accordance with the chthonian nature of the bee,²² According to Plutarch the μέλισσες were well pleasing to the gods. Milk also was mixed with honey for sacrificial purposes;²³ and also wine was added.²⁴

Honey was present everywhere in the rituals of the dead. Hence those initiated into the Mithraic 'λεοντικά' mysteries, symbolising metempsychosis, washed their hands in honey and cleaned their tongues with the same.

So we can see the bee as sacred, and closely associated with the birth and death of the soul. In fact this idea has not died out completely, for in Germany the people are unwilling to buy the bees of a dead man, it being believed that they will die or disappear immediately after him. Moreover

21a Vid. Classical Dictionary sub. Aristaeus.

22. Porphyry : πεπονήνται ἤδη τὸ μέλι καὶ θανάτου
 οὐβόλον οὐ καὶ μελιτος σκόνδας
 τοῖς χθονίοις ἔθουον

23. cf. Homer, Od. X 518ff.

24. cf. Euripides 'Orestes' 114-5.

THE COY SHEPHERDESS

Fair Amoret is gone astray,
Pursue and seek her, every lover;
I'll tell the signs by which you may
The wandering shepherdess discover.

Coquette and coy at once her air,
Both studied, though both seem neglected:
Careless she is with artful care,
Affecting to seem unaffected.

With skill her eyes dart every glance,
Yet change so soon, you'd ne'er suspect them;
For she'd persuade they woo'd by chance,
Though certain aid and art direct them.

She likes herself, yet others hates
For that which in herself she prizes;
And while she laughs at them, forgets
She is the thing that she despises.

Congreve

Pulchra Corinna foras iit errabunda; Corinnam,
quisquis amat, summa sedulitate petat:
hanc tibi custodem pecoris quis noscere possis
cloquar, errantem si tuare, notis.

Haec pudibunda simul cupit et lasciva videri:
curat utrumque; sed huic utraque cura latet:
huic imprudentis spociem prudentia fecit,
et simulat, ne quid se simulare putes.

Callida luminibus novit sua mittere tela;
tam cito demittit lumina, missa neges.
Quos dat, forte datos nutus vult illa putari;
nec tamen auxilio, nec tamen arte caret.

Grata sibi est: alios mente aversatur iniqua
si quid habent illi se quod habere iuvat;
Quod sibi sola placet, similes sibi despicit omnes,
inscia, dum ridet, displicet ipsa sibi.

I.R.D. MATHEWSON

the death of the master is announced to be the death of the hive.²⁵

A further example from Medieval Germany will serve to show that the bee was regarded as having some human qualities.²⁶ When the owner died, the oldest son knocked three times on the hive and said:

'Ime, din Har ost dot,
Vorlatt mi nit in meiner Not.'²⁷

A custom which continued into modern times.

So we are able to trace the significance of the one insect brought into obedience to man. Yet for the ancient it was more than an insect which produced sweetness; it was, rather, an object embodying religious and mythological symbolism which stretched back to antiquity, and which made the little bee an object of respect and reverence.

B. R. MOSS

25. Gubernatis ii 219. cf. Gub: Zoological Mythology ii. 218 2.

Bienchen, unser Herr ist todt
Verlass mich nicht in meiner Noth.

"Little bee, our master is dead,
Leave me not in my hour of need."

26. In fact the bee has some sort of hearing capabilities. cf. the process of banging a tin tray or pan to attract a swarm of bees (cf. Plato Laws viii 843E. also Columella 9. 8. 10).

27. "Bee, your Master is dead"
Leave me not in my hour of need."
Presumably in the hope that the bee would hear and comply.

GREEK UNSEEN COMPETITION - REGULATIONS

The following passage is offered for a Greek Unseen competition. Here are the regulations for participating in this competition:

- (a) The competition is open to anyone who, during the academic session 1963-64 has been an undergraduate member of the Classics Department of this University. This includes Classics and Latin Honours, Combined Honours in Latin, General and Additional or Subsidiary Greek, Latin and/or Ancient History. Research students and members of the staff of this or any other university are excluded from the competition and should not in any way be consulted.
- (b) The chief aim is to establish the author's identity, style, literary form and period in the history of Greek Literature. Answers should include as many of the following items as possible: 1. The author's identity: 2. The book in which this passage appears: 3. The period in the history of Greek Literature to which it belongs: 4. The sort of style or diction it is written in and who are the main writers who influenced its style: 5. Any other points of interest in its text. Participants will be expected to give reasons for their answers as far as this is possible, and in case of more than one correct answer the reasons used will be considered of great importance.
- (c) Any books, articles, dictionaries, encyclopedias and handbooks can be used, but they should normally be quoted in the answer. No more than one answer can be offered by any one participant, but two participants can work together on it and give one answer. As mentioned before, no member of the staff and no research student should be consulted.
- (d) Answers should reach me within one week of the publication of this text. They should be written or typed. No name should appear on the answers, but each participant should choose a pseudonym or a motto to be inscribed on it. In a sealed envelope accompanying each answer the participant's name and the pseudonym or motto will appear: this envelope will be opened only after the decision on the best answers has been taken.
- (e) The decision, which will be final, will be reached by a committee consisting of myself and two other persons, whose names will not be disclosed before the final decision.
- (f) The prizes for satisfactory answers (no more than three will be judged to be the best answers) will be free texts of the author in question. The committee will not award prizes if all the answers received are considered to be completely unsatisfactory, but we hope this will not happen. The results will be put on the notice-board as soon as the decision is reached, and a complete answer will be published in the next issue of this Magazine.

J. GLUCKER

τε καὶ τεχνῶν, φανερόν ἐκ τούτων. ὅτι δ' ἡ τοιαύτη ἐπιστήμη τῶν ἄλλων τιμιωτέρα καὶ ἀρχικωτέρα ἢ καλουμένη γραμματικὴ καὶ φιλολογικὴ, ῥαδίως ἂν τις λέγοι εἰς τὰδε ἀποβλέψας· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστημῶν τρεῖς λέγομεν μέγιστα εἶναι γένη, ὧν αἱ μὲν πρακτικαί, αἱ δὲ ποιητικαί, ἕτερόν τε καὶ τρίτον γένος τῶν θεωρητικῶν. τούτων δ' ὅτι αἱ θεωρητικαὶ τῶν ἄλλων τιμιωτέραι καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἀρχικωτέραι ὁμολογοῦσιν μὲν πάντες μάλισθ' ὥς εἰπεῖν, εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τεχνῶν. τῶν δὲ θεωρητικῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι γραφαί, οἷον ἡ ἱστορία τε καὶ ἡ γραμματικὴ, αἱ δ' ἄγραφοι, οἷον ἡ ῥητορικὴ καὶ ἡ πρώτη καλουμένη φιλοσοφία. ὁμολον οὖν ὅτι αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν ἄλλων σπουδαιοτέραι· αὗται γὰρ καὶ κάλλιον πεποίηται τῶν ἀγράφων καὶ πολλὸν χρόνον σφῆζεσθαι δύνανται, ὥς φησιν καὶ ὁ θουκυδίδης, λέγων ὅτι· καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπέστερον φανεῖται· ὅσοι δὲ βούλονται τῶν τε γενομένων τοσαφές σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων αἰεὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον τοιοῦτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμον κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως ἔξει. κτήμα τε ἐς αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρήμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται.

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν τιμιώταται αἱ θεωρητικαί, καὶ τούτων αἱ γραφαί, ὁμολον. ὅτι δὲ καὶ σοφός τε καὶ ὥς ἀληθῶς θεῖος ἀνὴρ ὁ ταύτας διδάσκων τὰς ἐπιστήμας, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν. πάντες γὰρ οἱ περὶ τῶν καλῶν καὶ τιμῶν ἐπιστήμονες καὶ αὐτοὶ καλοὶ καὶ τίμιοι εἰσιν, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ ταύτας διδάσκειν

BRADFIELD GREEK PLAY

In 1890 there appeared in the national press notices like this from the Guardian of 28th May, "At Bradfield College it is announced that on Tuesday, June 24th and Thursday, June 26th there will be open-air performances of the Antigone. The theatre will be a chalk pit, carved out to form a representation of a Greek theatre. The parts will be distributed between boys and masters, and the Head Master (Rev. H.B. Gray), who has been his own architect and stage decorator, will also act as stage manager." The chalk pit was next door to the College and with considerable labour had been dug out to form a small hollow modelled on the famous theatre of Epidaurus. It had only ten tiers and it was charmingly announced that those arriving after the play's beginning would be accommodated with 'fairly good seats under the walnuts'. The Head Master knew full well that his performance was an innovation and the programme carried the earnest assertion for parents and intending parents 'that the production of the Play has not necessitated any encroachment on the hours of School work.'

However, the first Antigone met general acclaim; the Standard remarked that the actors were refreshingly free from the mannerisms of Henry Irving and Ellen Terry. The Manchester Guardian not only reviewed the play but, in a laudatory leader wondered, possibly a little wistfully, whether Mr. Glazebrook, then High Master of Manchester Grammar School, would be tempted to rival Bradfield by a Greek production. 'The whole production testified to an infinity of pains', they commented. For example, the armour used was reproduced from British Museum examples and hired from Viscountess Midstone, who had herself played Antigone in April 1890 at Westminster Town Hall, although in English and with Mendelssohn's music.

By the time of the second Antigone in 1896, the fourth play to be produced, Gray's organisation was fully developed. The orchestra was widened to the present 25 foot diameter and an extra eight tiers added for the audience; but it was still necessary to extend the three performances originally planned to five owing to public demand. The play by 1898 was, in fact, famous. A complex system of weather forecasting had now been evolved. Daily the Meteorological Office telegraphed Gray as to the outlook; he then sent off telegrams to some twenty stationmasters, the postmasters at Oxford and Cambridge and the omnibus contractor at Reading. Meeting trains at Theale Station, where a thousand guests were arriving for each performance, had become a difficult problem. The following telegram to the Station Master at Theale is extant: 'Tell Sgt. Maj. Belton that we are sending brougham and waggonette to meet 1.47 for my guests. Ask him to conduct Lord Chancellor, President Board of Trade to brougham. Conduct to waggonette Sir Courtenay Boyle, Mr. Liddell, Lord and Lady Ling.' For this production the luxury of five different colours of ticket was introduced: Old Boys were pink, parents yellow, clergy and county buff, the Royal Academy and the Hellenic Society artistically Silurian grey, while white was reserved for Bishops, Deans, Lord and Commons, Headmasters of Public Schools and Heads of Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge.

δύναμενος· ἐνεργεῖα γὰρ οὗτος ἐπιστήμων, οὐ δ' ἄλλοι
δυνάμει μόνον. λέγωμεν οὖν κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν·

Ἀνδράσι μὲν φοβερός τε κασίγνητός[≠] τε γυναῖξιν
Ὅς τάδε πολλὰ ἰδὼν μὲν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ οἴκατο ᾗσιν,
Εὖ μάλα φρασσάμενος τὰ κ' ἔπειτ' ἄλλοισι νέμοιτο,
Γράψας βιβλία πολλὰ λιγυφθόγοις ἐπέεσσιν.

[≠] The word κασίγνητός is supplied by modern editors for a lacuna in the manuscript. There are other suggestions: none of them, including the one given here, make sense, but this one is at least metrically possible, and I put it in this text only for the sake of metre.

J. GLUCKER

Away with him! away with him! he speaks Latin.

Henry VI, Part 2.

Beside 'tis known he could speak Greek,
As naturally as pigs squeak:
That Latin was no more difficile,
Than to a blackbird 'tis to whistle.

Samuel Buttes (Hudibras)

Naturally I am biased in favour of boys learning
English; and then I would let the clever ones
learn Latin as an honour, and Greek as a treat.

Winston Churchill

A man is in general better pleased when he has a
good dinner upon his table than when his wife
talks Greek.

Samuel Johnson

The productions continued with a play about every three years broken by a gap of eight at the time of the Great War. In 1932 came the first Bradfield Shakespeare performance, Julius Caesar, between the Antigone of 1931 and Agamemnon in 1934. These two have both been given seven times, the last production being a distinguished version of Antigone with music by Robin Orr, Gardiner Professor of Music at Glasgow, three years ago. This summer will be the first occasion that the College has presented Hippolytus.

EPICRAMS OF CALLIMACHUS

Callimachus (310-c.240 B.C.), the historian and poet, lived in Cyrene in Libya and was the son of Battus and Mesatma.

On the death of Heraclitus of Halicarnassus in Caria

εἰπέ τις 'Ηράκλειτε τεὸν μόρον, ἐς δέ με δάκρυ
 ἤγαγεν, ἐμνήσθην δ' ὅσσάκις ἀμφοτέρου
 ἥλιον ἐν λείσῃ κατεδύσαμεν· ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν που
 ξεῖν' 'Αλικαρνησέῳ τετράπαλαι σποδισθή·
 αἱ δὲ τεαῖ ζώουσιν ἀηδόνες, ἥσιν ὁ πάντων
 ἀρπακτῆς 'Αἰδὼς οὐκ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ.

Oxford Book of Greek Verse 513

"My Heraclitus, you were dead; the news was plain for me to hear,
 And down my cheek there crept a hapless, mournful tear.
 Then came back thoughts of comfort to remind how oft had you and I
 In discourse sweet the setting sun talked down the sky.
 Though you, my friend from o'er the sea, have ashes been a length of time,
 Yet live you on, a bard of now immortal rhyme,
 The grasp of which by Death's dark hand need you in slumber never fear.
 Yes, Heraclitus, you were dead; sad news to hear."

An Epitaph for Battus, his father

Ὅστις ἐμὸν παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδα, Καλλιμάχου με
 ἴσθι Κυρηναίου παῖδά τε καὶ γενέτην.

εἰδεῖν δ' ἄμφω κεν· ὃ μὲν κονε πατρὶδος ὄπλων
ἦρχεν, ὃ δ' ἤειπεν κρέσσονα βασκανίης·
οὐ νέμεσις· Μοῦσαι γὰρ ὅσους ἴδον ὄμματι παῖδας
μὴ λοξῷ, πολιοῦς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους.

Oxford Book 517

"Whoe'er you be that wends your way around my tomb,
Know well, I am the son from out Cyrene's womb,
And father of Callimachus.
I would that you knew both of us :
For part of me in arms did lead my native land,
Whilst other part remained for jealousy too grand.
No righteous indignation, now!
Before the Muses you must bow;
For, whom when young, the Ladies Nine viewed not askance,
Such friends were cast not off, grey-haired as years advance."

The Poet's Own Epitaph

Βαυτιάδεω παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδας εὔ μὲν ἀοιδὴν
εἰδότος, εὔ δ' οἶνω κάρια συγγελάσαι.

Oxford Book 521.

"You wend your way around the tomb of Battus' son,
A man well-versed in song, and laughing timely over cups in fun."

The translation wishes to express his indebtedness to J.M. Foreman
for assistance in the interpretation of parts of the Greek originals.

R. A. E. LEIT.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SEVEN

The longer one looks for examples of significant uses of the number seven the greater the temptation merely to list the extraordinary variety of usage which, while not explaining the significance of the number, at least testifies to the great influence and attraction it has had over thousands of years and miles. I have resisted this temptation to the extent of relegating all quotation not directly relevant to my argument to the end of this note.

It is well known that the number seven has particular significance for the Christian religion. The seventh day was important long before the early church decided to make the day of the resurrection the first day of the week. The Book of Revelation is full of seven of this and seven of that and I need not enumerate further. Why did the Jewish week have seven days and why did the writers of Genesis feel so certain of the divine creation of the week that they thought of God fashioning the universe in six days? The answer lies in the ancient belief in seven planets - the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn.¹ The importance of these planets is seen for example in the construction of a ziggurat. At the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad (713-707 B.C) a ziggurat was included. It was a building for worship in seven rectangular storeys decreasing in size set according to the cardinal points of the compass. Each storey was painted a different colour and all was surmounted by a chapel which served as an observatory.² The phrase 'in seventh heaven' is taken from the form of this building.

We should not confuse the seven planets with those other 'seven stars in the sky',³ the Pleiades.⁴ We might also remember that the seven brightest stars of Ursa Major are one of the most characteristic figures in the Northern sky.⁵ They have received various names - wagon, plough, dipper and Charles' wain. From all this comes, of course, the derivation of the term for North septentriones (literally the seven plough-oxen).

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1. Perpetuated in the names for the French, Italian and Spanish days. For the Titans and Titanesses see Greek Myths: Robert Graves 1 d.3 and 77.1.
 2. Concise History of Art: E. Bazin p. 44 cf. the Tower of Babel.
 3. Song 'Green grow the rushes, O'.
 4. Hom. Od. xii. 62. Hesiod. W & D. 383 Apoll. iii. 10. Diod. Sic. iii.60 Theocr. xiii 25. Hyginus Astron. ii.21. Ovid Fasti iv 169 v.599. Job ix, 9 and xxxviii. 31. Graves op cit 41 e.b. and 67j 1.5.
 5. Ptolemy catalogued 8 stars; Tycho 7; Hevelius 12.

One of the most interesting aspects of this number is its connexion with sacred cities. Thebes of the seven gates, Rome on seven hills and Lisbon similarly might be compared with the medieval myth preserved in Russia quoted by W.F. Jackson Knight.⁶ "A foundling king rebuilt Babylon after a plague on seven hills and seven terraces like a ziggurat or ideal Thebes or Rome." As it happens Istanbul stands on seven hills too. The marching round Jericho,⁷ in which on the seventh day seven priests (with seven trumpets) went seven times round the city, was evidently an attempt to unwind the magic protection of the city.⁸ The purpose of the music is difficult to ascertain. It was possibly just to terrify the inhabitants of the city and caused the walls to come tumbling down by its sheer volume. It has been remarked that it is connected with a Hebrew 'jubilee'.⁹

Quite obviously there were seven horrors against Thebes, one for each gate, but we might consider the names of these gates. Pausanias¹⁰ mentions that "one got its name from Electra, sister of Cadmus, another, the Protidæan, from a native of Thebes (Proteus): the Neïstan gate (αὐτὴ Νηϊστὰς πύλη) got its name because the last of the harp's strings is called the νῆπτι ; Amphion invented it they say at this gate." (Amphion, who built Thebes to lyre accompaniment¹¹ also added four strings to the former three of the lyre.) "I have also heard that the son of Zethus, brother of Amphion, was named Neis and that the gate was called after him." Most critics have rightly disregarded the last suggestion and it seems agreed with Dr. Verrall¹² that Νηϊστὰς derives from νῆπτι - τος¹³ back contrasted with ἵπποτις¹⁴ from προ-τις - τος front.¹⁵ Is it too far-fetched to suggest that each gate might be related to a string on the lyre? None of the other names suggests it but is the similar derivation of Neïstan and νῆπτι just a coincidence when Amphion has such a lot to do with both? One difficulty is the question of when Amphion was supposed to have made his musical innovation. Was it before or after the building of Thebes? Graves¹⁴ says firmly that since Hermes was his employer the lyre with which Amphion raised the walls of Lower Thebes can have had only three strings. It was, according to him, "constructed to celebrate the Triple-goddess who reigned in the air, on earth and in the underworld and will have been played during the building to safeguard the city's foundations, gates and towers."¹⁵

6. Cumæan Gates p. 130f

7. Joshua 6

8. cf. Hector's running round Troy.

9. A Kabala of Numbers by 'Sepharial' 1914. p. 173f

10. ix. viii. 4

11. Pausanias ix. v. 8

12. Seven Against Thebes Introd. p. xxi note.

13. Liddell and Scott S.V. νῆπιος.

14. op. cit. 76.2 and 76 a, b, c; 77 passim.

15. Music did then (as now) encourage workmen to build faster and better.

Although the versions of the building story cited by Graves¹⁶ only mention the lyre as given Amphion by Hermes I do not think this necessarily excludes the number having been raised already to seven. "Some hold that the lyre invented by Hermes had seven strings; others that it had three only, to correspond with the seasons, or four to correspond with the quarters of the year, and that Apollo brought the number up to seven."¹⁷ Is it a coincidence that Hermes was credited with helping the Fates invent astronomy and the musical scale besides other arts?

Returning to the gates of Thebes it is interesting to note a commentator on the Pausanias passage¹⁸ who mentions that Dionysius Periegeta informs us that these seven gates were raised agreeably to the number and order of the seven planets. It does not appear that Dionysius was doing more than theorising according to mystical beliefs he held.

One of the most delightfully down-to-earth approaches is shown by Aristotle¹⁹ who comments "There are seven vowels, seven strings to the scale, seven pleiads; most animals (though not all) lose their teeth in the seventh year; and there were seven heroes who attacked Thebes. Is it because the number 7 is such as it is that there were seven heroes or the Pleiads consist of seven stars? Surely there were seven heroes because of the seven gates or for some other reason and the Pleiads are seven because we count them so; just as we count the Bear as 12, whereas others²⁰ count more stars in both." This does not prevent him in the Politics accepting the opinion 'of certain poets'²¹ who speak of seven periods of seven years that is about the fiftieth year of a man's life as being the peak of his mental development.²² A little later²³ he mentions that after the age of seven education "may be divided into two stages - from the seventh year to puberty and from puberty to the completion of twenty-one years. Thus those who divide life into periods of seven years are not far wrong and we ought to keep to the divisions that nature makes."

Referring the reader to the appended examples for further amusement - I shall try to give what I maintain is the thinking behind the holiness of seven. Apart from its cosmic importance much of its significance comes from being the sum of three and four (as much of twelve's importance derives from being the product of those numbers). This is clearly stated by Saint Augustine, for example, who is discussing why eight should signify the time of the saviour's second coming.²⁴ One reason is "because it will take place after two generations, one relating to the body, the other to the soul." These are the periods roughly of the Old and New Testaments.

16. Hom. Od. xi. 260; Hyginus Fab. 7; Pausanias vi. 20, 8, ix. 5, 3, and 17.4. Horace Epist. i. 18. 41; Apoll. Rhod. i. 735-41.

17. Graves op. cit. 171 and refs.

18. Pausanias: Description of Greece trans with notes London 1824, vol.

19. Metaphysics 1093 a 13ff trans. Tredennick.

III p.309

20. Book VII 1335 b 34

21. acc. to Newman Solon (Frg27) is referred to; he places mental prime

22. cf. the seven ages of man.

between 42 & 56.

23. 1386 b - 87a trans. Sinclair.

24. On the Psalms (A Library of the Fathers) London, 1847 p. 34.

"It is plain that the number 4 has relation to the body from the well-known elements of which it consists ... dry, humid, warm, cold. Hence too it is administered by four seasons, spring, summer, autumn and winter. But that the number three has relation to the mind may be understood from this, that we are commanded to love God after a three-fold manner with the whole heart, the whole soul and the whole mind." After those two generations "a septenary so to say, being passed the eighth will come the day of judgment."

I need hardly emphasise the widespread use of three - the three worlds, trinitics of Buddhism and Christianity etc; from three are derived 9 and 33 significant numbers in Teutonic and Hindu myth. With four come the cardinal points and Janus the four-headed year god for example. These two very basic 'magic numbers' added together give us the seven ancient spaces of the Zuni Indians, the seven caves of Aztec legend, and so many other occurrences. Here I feel sure we have one of the root causes for seven's influence.²⁵ It gained currency supported by the curious natural phenomena which seemed equally based on seven, the colours of the rainbow;²⁶ the seven layers of skin on a carbuncle;²⁷ and the heavens, we speak of seven-league boots without any awkwardness or thought having been so long accustomed to the number's use in a magical way. Is it any wonder that the Pythagoreans called it "the vehicle of human life" and the Kabbalists define it as a number of majesty?

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25. The theory of D.G. Brinton (Origin of Sacred Numbers see Amer. Anthropol. vol. VII 1894 pp. 168-73) is very interesting. He pointed out that three derives its sacredness from abstract, subjective operations of the intelligence and has its main applications in the imaginary and non-phenomenal world; while four takes its sacredness from concrete and material relations, from external perceptions and has application in the objective and phenomenal world. He thought that an ethnic character tends to develop potentially especially the one or the other and conversely that the preponderant development of one or other reveals the ethnic character of tribes and nations.
 26. The rainbow was aetiologicaly explained by the Hebrews as Yahweh's covenant with Noah. Genesis 9. 13.
 27. Whether the ancients knew this one, I doubt.

APPENDIX

Further examples as far as possible in chronological order.

An Assyrian magical text (from *Mysteries and secrets of Magic* C.J.S. Thompson)

'By the seven gates of the earth mayest thou be exorcized
By the seven bolts of the earth mayest thou be exorcized.'

and "Those seven evil gods, death-dealing without fear,
Those seven evil gods rushing on like a flood." p.39

cf Syriac magic's seven spirits (p.40) and Revelation 8.7 the seven plagues.

Gen. 7.2. 'Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens.'

Gen. 21.28 7 was called the number of an oath by the Hebrews and so Abraham
when making league with Abimelech appoints 7 ewe lambs.

Gen. 41 seven years' famine etc.

2 Sam. 21 seven sons of Saul.

Ezra 7.14 Artaxerxes and his seven counsellors.

Esther 14 Seven day feast. Seven Eunuchs, seven chosen maids.

Psalms 12.6. 'purified seven times' according to St. Augustine (op.cit.)
by the fear of God, by godliness, by knowledge, by night, by
counsel, by understanding, by wisdom. For seven steps of
beatitude also there are which the Lord goes over (Matth. 5.
3-9). "Blessed are the poor in spirit," the meek, they that
mourn, they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, the
merciful the pure in heart and the peacemakers. "For the
eighth where it is said 'Blessed are they which suffer per-
secution for righteousness' sake' denotes the fire itself
whereby the silver is proved seven times."

cf. An Aspiration to the Holy Ghost (quoted by G.A.C. Whatton in *The
Priest's Companion* 1946): a prayer for the seven gifts of the spirit and,
after a sentence devoted to each, the last invocation is

'Enkindle and burn up my reins with the fire of thy love.'
(*'sepharial'* op.cit. is I think quite wrong to attribute a theory of re-
incarnation to the Hebrews as he seems to.)

Proverbs ix. 1 7 pillars of Wisdom see J.C. Rylaarsdam ad.loc. in Peake's
commentary on the Bible 1962

Luke X. 70 disciples

For nearly 400 refs. to 7 in the Bible see Nelson's Complete Concordance
Feast of Weeks : a Jewish feast of 7 weeks after the Passover corresponding
to Pentecost. A prophetic week : a week of seven years.

70 members of Sanhedrin : Septuagint.

Seven Deadly Sins : seven virtues : seven names of God. Seven Sacraments.

Innumerable uses in the Epic of Gilgamesh.

For the occurrence of 7 in Vedic religion and mythology, in the accounts
of Buddha (there are even seven Buddhas) and Iranian literature - Hastings's
Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics S.V. Munbar.

Classical Literature and Mythology:

Call. Hy. 4. 61 f. ἑπταμύχον οὐρεὸς of Boreas

Homer Il. 7. 220 (cf. Aen. 12.925) ἑπταβοεὸς σάκος.

Il. 2. 720 Philoctetes had 7 ships when he left Greece

Od. 3. 304 Aegisthus reigned 7 years and in the eighth judgment.

Od. 7. 259 Odys. stayed 7 years with Calypso.

Seven sages: 7 boys and 7 girls sent to Minos from Athens.

"The sky was full of din and answering the seven-zoned heaven the seven throated cry of the Fliads raised the war-shout from as many throats; and the planets as many again banged out an equal noise." Nonnus Dionys.

1. 240-3. trans. Rouse see Jacobs F, on Anthol. Palatina, cf, Vettuis Volens 144 14 and Julius Alex. 1. 3'.

Iblis had 7 sons and Poseidon six sons and one daughter. Graves op.cit. 42.4.

7 laps in the Roman circus.

Septem Fluus Nilus Ov. M. 1.422 cf. Ister Stat. 5.5.2. 136 Cat. 11.7. Verg. Aon. 6. 800.

Seven Wonders.

Septem Maria. Lagunes at the mouth of the Po, where Venice was afterwards founded. Pliny 3. 15. 16. Tac. Hist. 3.9. cf. 7 seas.

General:

The Seven Wise Masters (of Oriental origin) : A Roman emperor sends his son to be educated away from the court in the seven liberal arts by seven wise masters. On his return his step-mother, the Empress, seeks to seduce him. He is bound over to a week's silence. During this time the Empress accuses him and seeks to bring about his death by seven stories she relates to the Emperor; but her narrative is confuted by tales of the crafts of women told by the sages. Finally the prince's lips are unsealed and, the truth exposed, the empress is executed.

An analogous collection of stories occurs in Sanskrit but the Indian original is unknown. Travelling from the East by way of Arabic, Persian, Syriac and Greek it was known as the Book of Sindibād and was translated from Greek into Latin in the 12th century. Encyc. Brit. S.V. Seven Wise Masters.

Dance of the Seven Veils.

"As I was going to St. Ives

I met a man with seven wives" etc.

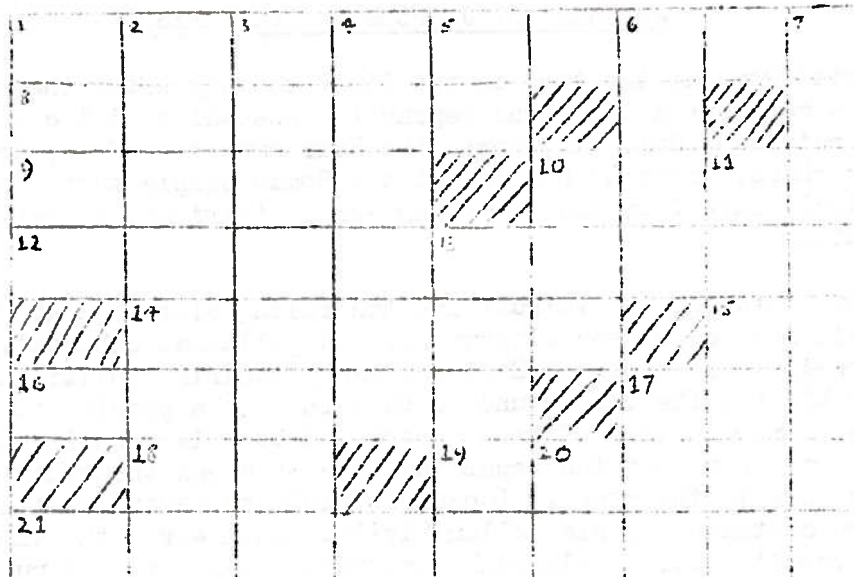
Hungarian Folk Song:

'Seven looks upon a red gate

Seven gatos upon a red town ...'

"The number seven works wonderful things; thus the seventh son can heal distempers and foresee into the future" writer of 16th century.

Note that among the numbers up to 10 seven alone neither produces nor is produced not being formed from any other number by multiplication.



ACROSS

1. Son of Atreus
8. He goes back
9. "Pallida - aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas" (Horace, Odes)
10. Strong connexions with 6 down
12. If you're interested in honey this is the man to see
14. Caligula
15. Rhea with those things missing
16. "Urit me glycerae -" (Horace)
17. See 17 down
18. Contum et unus
19. "Ipse - media nimborum in nocte corusca, fulmina molitur dextra" (Vergil)
21. "O navis referent in mare te novi" - Greater or Lesser.

DOWN

1. " - virumque cano."
2. Vergil is interested in honey too
3. Not a very hospitable stretch of water in ancient times
4. Without this a gladiator would fight on until he was killed
5. Often omitted in a Latin sentence
6. "In vada Pelusia fluens" (Lucan)
7. Drew hens but turned to breaking pots
10. Divine law
11. Mare nostrum
13. "- senex miles, - senilis amor." (Ovid Amores)
17. See 17 across
20. Ars Poetica

R. W. KEER

JUVENAL AND JOHNSON - A COMPARISON

Imperial Rome at the turn of the first century after the birth of Christ was a scene of utter moral depravity, unequal social classes, and Fear. The reigns of Caligula, Nero, the Four emperors of 69, Domitian, and also, perhaps, Tiberius had taught the Roman people that nowhere was it entirely safe from the embracing arm of intrigue, deceit, corruption and hatred.

The gap between the 'vulgus' and the ruling class had grown so great that it could not be bridged without serious political upheaval. So that the philosophic resignation of Stoicism among aspiring politicians and writers who had had the misfortune to be born of the people was a natural consequence. Every notion of free speech had been left behind in the dim and distant golden age of the republic. Now to speak the truth was to offer one's neck to the sword. Lucan certainly suffered for the hostility towards Nero contained in his *Bellum Civile*. Such were the times which inspired Juvenal's Satires although admittedly they were not published until the more secure rule of Trajan. However, the age in which Johnson wrote, the Augustan as it is called, was quite different. True, Hogarth by his paintings and writings portrays the lowest classes as downtrodden and degenerate and Johnson shows pity for them, but this was an age of calm and tranquillity which was fated not to erupt into the Industrial Revolution for another hundred years. This was the first time in the history of English literature when authors took any great interest in the common people - mainly as a result of the increase in importance of the novel. Perhaps it was this interest which apparently drew the classes of society nearer together than they had ever been before. Speech was incomparably freer than in Juvenal's day and writers were no longer dependent upon the support of patrons as a result of the Copyright Act of 1709. So writers began to flood the book-market with the result that the early decades of the eighteenth century are those of 'caves of poverty and poetry', according to Pope. Thus alone did they resemble ancient writers.

Juvenal, living, as he did, from about 60 A.D. until 130, was the extreme product of an age of pessimism which had already given birth to Lucan, Pliny, and Tacitus. His intense hatred of the freedman class of nouveaux riches would seem to refute the ancient biography which states that he was born 'the son or forsterson of a freedman'. That he was a true-born Roman is inferred by the detestation which he expresses of the 'Graeculus esuriens.' In his early satires Juvenal is more militant; - the First book, comprising Satires 1-5, is a vehement protest on the decay and moral degradation of the Roman higher class; Satire Six by sheer length impresses its vehemence on us as it deals with marriage, being a denunciation of wives as vicious, extravagant, quarrelsome, gossipy, affected, domineering, and treacherous creatures (only one woman in a million is perfect; -

Rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cyano.)

In the third book, Satires 7-9, are signs that the ideals of Juvenal's youth have at last been smashed on the rocks of society. He accepts the inevitability of the existence of rich nobles and becomes as constructive as to suggest in which way they might be employed and how the

provinces might be governed. The Fourth book, Satires 10-12, has been called 'a strange blend of sombre melancholy with tenderness and even gaiety,' and contains proof that its author had reached the seeming futility of old age; - formerly he had criticised certain aspects of life, but now he speaks generally. He is obviously now more comfortable financially and runs to the pursuit of opicurean pleasures, friendship, dinner parties and his own farm in the country. Instead of living out his life in bitterness and regret, he decided obviously to follow Horace's advice (*Odes* I. xi. 8). The Fifth book contains little topicality but is content to draw from stock mythological and historical characters so that the whole purpose of Satire is completely lost. In his retirement from the bustling city of Rome and his dedication to a small circle of friends he had lost touch with topical events and was forced to lean heavily upon the past. His thought and intellect remained as strong as ever but circumstances restricted his scope. To sum up, Juvenal in the latter half of his Satires becomes more reflective, less actively indignant. He rises above mere invective of existing people, the form in which satire was handed down from Lucilius whom Horace calls its 'inventor' (*Satires* I. x. 48), and attempts to hold up a mirror to Rome's vices. He hates the sin more than the sinner, and satire becomes more of a salutary medicine. So, eventually, Juvenal forgets the motivating force of satire which he has mentioned in Satire One; - *facit indignatio versum*.

Johnson's general outlook on life was very similar to that of Juvenal. He acts on behalf of the ordinary man, despising the rich ipso facto, with a genuine pity for the poor, a pity born of understanding and sympathy, and, perhaps, of personal experience at the hands of potential patrons. He is seeking a truth which all men know, yet few have committed to writing. He expresses this truth with a memorable wit, without cynicism or tarnished worldly wisdom. Masterly grandiloquence is achieved by simple devices such as assonance and alliteration, and clever choice of words. In England the negative criticism of satire which insists wholly on the frailty of mortal nature has never been characteristic of our temperament, prone, as we are, to humour and genial tolerance. Indeed, Johnson's definition of satire is; - 'A poem in which wickedness or folly is censured'. But with Juvenal the main quality was invective, achieved by means of point and epigram.

Johnson's 'London, a poem', published in 1738, is an imitation of Juvenal's Third Satire in which the author is bidding farewell to his friend Umbricius who cannot stand the cruelty and wickedness of Rome, and is going to Cumae. The sentiments of the original are faithfully reproduced by Johnson, but by means of skilful manipulation of words he actually improves on the lines,

Deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
Fiunt urceoli pelves sartago metellae.

And Johnson sums up with a line of anti-climax and bathos :-

They mount, they shine, evaporate, and fall.

He then ventures Wolsey as a possible comparison with Sejanus, but here he is surely guilty of seeking a modern counterpart where none exists. Juvenal picks cynically on the futility of Hannibal's attempts to gain glory and sway, and points out that all conquerors must be content with just a thin tract of earth. In fine declamatory style, Juvenal negatively shows that it was Hannibal's intention to avoid defeat and die in bed. His former victories become totally obscured - when we consider him, we do not picture a general, glorious and triumphant, marching on Rome, but one who has come through desert heat, and mountain cold, no defeat and death before the very walls of Rome, and not even a glorious death at that, but one by poison. The choice of Charles XII of Sweden as a parallel may at first seem strange. But Johnson was merely lifting an example from modern history into the category of the universal; his interest was not in the individual but in the type. Next Juvenal deals with the vanity of long life, with numerous references to mythology, such as Nestor who outlived his son, Priam who beheld the tragedy of his Troy, and Polus who mourned Achilles. The only comparison attempted by Johnson is that of Marlborough who in his old age was accused of embezzlement and deprived of his honours, including his place in Parliament, and Swift who ended his days in madness. Then the poets both deal with the vanity of beauty. Mothers wish beauty on their children, but thwere does it got them? Take Hippolytus for example - for him it ended in death wrought by his father - or Gaius Silius whose beauty was coveted by Messalina. If he did not comply with her wishes, he must die. If he did, the enraged emperor would learn of it and gain his revenge. Either way it meant death although he was innocent. In the last paragraph Juvenal condemns prayer. The only prayers which we should make are for wisdom and health, courage and endurance. With this advice he originates the famous epigram:-

Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.

He goes on to propose the Stoic practice of accepting whatever the gods throw in our way, and at the same time insisting virtue in defiance of the epicurean conception of fortuna.

Semita certe
Tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.
Nullum numen habes si sit prudentia,, nos te,
Nos facimus, Fortuna, doam caeloque locamus.

Johnson changes this passage to suit the monotheist :-

Enquirer, cease; petitions yet remain,
Which heav'n may hear, nor deem religion vain.
These goods for man the laws of Heav'n ordain,
These goods he grants, who grants the power to gain;
With these celestial wisdom calms the mind,
And makes the happiness she does not find.

Johnson evokes the same amount of pity for the poor by employing words totally unconnected with the original, and cleverly creates a climax by giving a specific case after a list of general examples :-

Has heav'n reserved in pity to the poor,
No pathless waste, or undiscovered shore?
No secret island in the boundless main,
No peaceful Desert yet unclaim'd by Spain?

(a pungent reflection on the claim of American provinces by that nation.) Juvenal shows himself more than a mere declamator with his description of the burning of the houses of a poor and a rich man. His use of irony invokes great pathos in the reader's mind. Juvenal suggests that the blaze at a rich man's house was no accident:-

tanquam ipse suas incendit aedes. -

an expression typical of the suspicious distrust and pessimism of the Roman mind of the times. But Johnson, although he states that the rich man hopes his house will be destroyed so that he will receive greater recompense than its worth, does not suggest that he will do the dreadful deed with his own hands:-

Orgilio sees the golden pile aspire,
And hopes from angry heaven another fire.

Both poems end with a reference to the golden age of their respective land when one goat sufficed the whole nation. But now there seem to be more men in prison than before:-

Maximus in vinclis ferri modus, ut hincas ne
Vomer deficiat, ne marrae et sarcula desint.
Scarce can our fields, such crowds at Tyburn die,
With hemp the gallows and the fleet supply.

Johnson's Vanity of Human Wishes, published in 1749, is based on Juvenal's Tenth Satire. It shows a greater breadth of vision and greater maturity of style over its predecessor in proportion to the advance of Juvenal's Tenth over his Third Satire. Similarly the Tenth Satire opens with a wide panorama of morality and the whole poem depends on broad sweeps and general categories with clever epigrammatic generalisations in the spirit of the times. Juvenal's.

Omnibus in terris quosunt a Gadibus usque
Auroram et Gangen.

is paralleled by Johnson's

Let observation, with extensive view,
Survey mankind from China to Peru.

which is probably included due to the great interest in travel and exploration in the eighteenth century aroused by Swift's Gulliver and such episodes as that of the South Sea Bubble in 1720. Juvenal introduces Sejanus as an example of the folly of seeking power :-

et podibus me
Porto meis nullo dextram subeunte bacillo
with the alliterative -

While yet my steady steps no staff sustains
And life still vig'rous revolts in my veins.

But any gain is immediately lost when Johnson fails with the obscure and meaningless -

Vivant Artorius istic
Et Catulus.
which he feebly translates -

Let - live here, For - has learnt to live.

If Johnson was here referring to a contemporary he might be pardoned for avoiding any libellous material, but if, as is likely, he was incapable of substituting any character for the two unknowns mentioned by Juvenal, then it would have been better to pass it all over. There is the possibility that Johnson was ridiculing the laws concerning libel by showing the pointlessness of simply omitting names and thereby making the reference meaningless. (Similarly with the omission of the 'ng' from 'king' later in the poem, as well as the 18th century practise of omitting the central letters of oaths.) Next we meet Juvenal's intense racial prejudice and nationalism which compares well with Johnson's own conservative outlook and sense of insular autarky :-

Nec pudor obstabit,
Non possum ferre, Quirites, Graeca Murbem.

Forgive my transports on a theme like this,
I cannot bear a French metropolis.

On the same topic Johnson shows his subtlety and ingenuity as well as his deep humour when he changes Juvenal's -

Augur, schoenobates, medicus, magus, omnia novit
Graeculus esurians, in coelum iusseris, ibit.
to :-

They sing, they dance, clean shoes, or cure a clap;
All sciences a fasting Monsieur knows.
And bid him go to hell, to hell he goes.

Juvenal, like his contemporary Tacitus, feels contempt for the 'vulgus,' especially in their tendency to favour a Sejanus and then hate him after his downfall, and yet at the same time he tempers this with a feeling for their poverty in the epigrammatic :-

Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se
Quam quod ridiculos homines facit.

In conclusion, one must firstly appreciate that Johnson is attempting an imitation and not a translation, to be criticised and appreciated in its own right without any necessary dependence upon the original work. He takes Juvenal's Satires as skeletons on which to put his own meat. He is quite free in his selection of examples to support his generalisations. The only danger is that he sometimes is guilty of seeking parallel figures where they simply do not exist in his own time. Also, despite their almost complete agreement of characters, the circumstances in which they lived were so different that it was inevitable that they should differ in some aspects. Juvenal was a hollow figure, perhaps a disillusioned idealist, without the comforts of a home life; an impoverished writer, a pessimist typical of his age. But Johnson had achieved fulfilment, and had his deep religious convictions on which to fall back. Finally, one must consider the difference between the Roman and the English genius; the Roman with his negative cynicism, epitomised by his generalising epigrams, and the Englishman who accepts everything with wit, humour and geniality. Only when we have taken such things into consideration can we set about comparing two writers of such undisputed eminence.

'APIS'

THE OLYMPIC GAMES

The Olympic Games consisted of two parts: (1) the presentation of offerings to the gods and heroes, and (2) the contests. At first, the contest consisted of a simple match in the Stadium (race-course) which had a length of a little more than 210 yards. The runners ran in heats of four, and then the winners of each heat competed together. About 724 B.C. the double course (διὰυλος) was introduced, in which the runners had to make a circuit of the goal and return to the starting-point; about 720 came the δολιχος or long race, where the distance of the stadium had to be covered either, 6, 7, 8, 12, 20 or 29 times; in 708, the pentathlon, or five-fold contest, consisting of long-jumping, running, throwing the discus and the javelin and wrestling (which was also practised by itself); in 688 boxing was introduced. In 680 chariot-racing on the Hippodrome was started and though this was twice as long as the Stadium, it had to be traversed from eight to twelve times in both directions (at first with four horses, after 500 with mules, and after 408 with two horses). From 648 there were races, in which the horsemen, towards the end of the race, had to leap from their horses and run beside them with the bridle in their hands. In the same year began the practice of the παγκρατιον (a combination of wrestling and boxing); in 520, the race in armour, with helmet, greaves and shield, though afterwards the shield alone was carried. Competitions between trumpeters also found a place here. Originally it was only men who took part in the contests; but after 632, boys also shared in them.

The contests were open only to freemen of pure Hellenic blood, provided that no personal disgrace was in any way attached to them; but after the Romans came into closer relationship with Greece, they were opened to them also, as the Romans were not considered barbarians. Even to barbarians, however, and to slaves, permission was given to view them while it was refused to all married women, or more probably all women, except the priestesses of Demeter, who received a place of honour among the spectators. Those who took part in the competitions had to take a solemn oath at the altar of Zeus to the effect that they had spent at least ten months in preparation for the games and that they would not resort to any unfair trick in the course of their contest. Special practice for thirty days at Elis was also usual, but perhaps only for those who were coming forward for the first time.

The duties of heralds and judges were discharged by Hellenodici, who were appointed by popular election from among the Eleans. Their numbers rose in course of time from 1 to 2, 9, 10 and 12, but after 348 it was always 10. Distinguished by purple robes, wreaths of bay-leaves, and a seat of honour opposite the Stadium, they kept guard over the strict observance of all the minute regulations for the contests, and in general maintained order. Transgressions of the laws of the games, and unfairness on the part of the competitors, were punished by forfeiture of the prize or by fines of money, which went to the revenue of the temple. Out of the money from penalties of this kind, a whole row of bronze images of Zeus was erected in front of the eleven treasure-houses along the eastern end of the northern wall of the Altis (which was the grove in which the games were held).

The games were opened with the sound of trumpets and the proclamation of heralds, the marshalling of the various competitors in the Stadium, accompanied by the announcement of their name and country by the herald. The contests were accompanied by the music of flutes. The name of the victor and his country were proclaimed aloud by the herald, and a palm branch presented to him by the Hellenodici. The actual prize he only received at the general and solemn distribution on the last day of the festival. This was originally some article of value, but, at the command of the Delphic oracle, this custom was dropped, and the victors were graced by a wreath of the leaves of the sacred wild olive, said to have been planted by Heracles, which had been cut with a golden knife by a boy of noble family with both parents living. After about 540 the victors also possessed the right to put up statues to themselves in the Altis.

The festival ended with a sacrifice made by the victors wearing their crowns at the six double altars of the hill of Cronus, and with a banquet in the Prytaneum of the Altis. Brilliant distinctions awaited the victor on his return home, for his victory was deemed to have reflected honour on his country. He made his entry, clad in purple, upon a chariot drawn by four white horses, amidst the joyous shouts of all the people, and then rode amid an exultant escort to the temple of the highest god, and there deposited his wreath as a votive offering.

During the ride, as also at the banquet which followed it, the song of victory was chanted by choral bands. There was no lack of other rewards. At Athens the Olympian victor received 500 drachmae, the right to a place of honour at all public games and board in the Prytaneum for the rest of his life.

PETER FURBER

PEDESTRIAN MUSE

Nero looked down with imperial might
Black envy nibbling, hatred at its height;
'How comes that poetry for me is hard,
Yet brings thee fame and fortune, Lucan bard?'
'While still a boy I passed my leisure time
Putting my thoughts and fancies into rhyme:
Practice it is that makes a poet's skill,
Endless practice and unrelenting will.
Set fifty lines at least in rhyme each day,
Then will you find Helicon's laurel way'.
Officious Lucan laughed and took his leave,
While Nero's jealous heart began to grieve.
But Lucan's advice he took, and also took his plume,
'Fifty lines in rhyme!' resounded through the room.
Muse, help me set these fifty lines in rhyme,
Make this a work beyond all prose or mime.
Great Caesar, I myself, I sing what time,
My glorious ancestor indulged in crime,
And his young son against one now past his prime,
Sunk deep in wine fumes and Egyptian slime.
Then one so mean he counted every dime,
Old age by people hated and besmirched with grime.
High, with Claudius, the State began to climb,
Then I myself, an Emperor sublime
In all ...
But now, his fount of inspiration dry,
He winced at famous Lucan's poetry.
And seeds of fouler crime than Caesar's might
Made slaughtering jealousy a Nero's right.

PAULINE GRUNDY

VERSION

I pass'd, methought, the melancholy flood,
With that sour ferryman which poets write of,
Unto the kingdom of perpetual night.
The first that there did greet my stranger soul,
Was my great father-in-law, renowned Warwick;
Who cried aloud, "What scourge for perjury
Can this dark monarchy afford false Clarence?"
And so he vanish'd: then came wandering by
A shadow like an angel, with bright hair
Dabbled in blood; and he shriek'd out aloud,
"Clarence is come; false, fleeting, perjur'd Clarence,
That stabb'd me in the field by Towkesbury;
Seize on him! Furies, take him unto torment."
With that, methought, a legion of foul fiends
Environ'd me, and howled in mine ears
Such hideous cries, that with the very noise
I trembling wak'd, and for a season after
Could not believe but that I was in hell.

Richard III.1.4.45/62

Namque mihi videtur fluvios transcendere tristes,
Saepeque narratus necum asper portitor illo,
Perpetuae ad regnum caliginis. inde salutat
Me socer egregius peregrinum, vocoque clara,
'Quam tibi periuro,' dicit, 'quam imponere poenam
Perfidiae regna, O Marcolle, haec horrida possunt?'
Effugit ex oculis. tunc errans umbra propinquet,
Numen ut o caelo, perfusum sanguine crines
Ambrosias; ululatum magnum spargit in auras:
'Ecco, fugax Marcellus adest et perfidus ipse
Qui me sanguineo fodit certamine Martis;
Corripite, O Furiae, cruciandum abducite turpem.'
Monstra videntur ibi me stare frequentia circum
Quae foodata meas ita vociferantur in aures
Horrendos strepitus, ut me sonus ipse trementem
Excutiat somno. iam nunc non credere possum
Tartareis me, me miserum erupisse barathris.

A. MANNING

SECTION II: LITERATURE

11. What is the significance of Petronius for the student of Latin literary form and style?

Omnibus quibus moris est talia scribere,
et praeferunt but never mind!

Auctor.

It may be appropriate to begin this question - or rather this answer - with a quotation from 'Silver Latin Mastery' by N.T. Pilkinton. On p. 225 Mr. N.T. Pilkinton says the following quotation: 'The Satyricon of Petronius, although not the most remarkable of Roman works of art, is still a very remarkable Roman work of art'. This is a very true quotation, but although I have not discovered anyone of the modern authorities on the subject of Petronius' Satyricon who is actually against it, very few writers say so indeed.

Petronius is to be distinguished from Tacitus and Suetonius on the one hand and from Plautus and Lucretius on the other hand. What makes him distinct from each of them is his very distinct personality, which makes him very different from each of the writers mentioned so that it is not very easy to identify him at least completely with each of them in particular.

Petronius also is very remarkable for his style, which is again not to be confused with the style of anyone else because it is so different. E.K. Papanicolaides says that the style of Petronius is colloquial Latin, and one must understand this statement of E.K. Papanicolaides to mean that Petronius uses the Latin which was actually spoken, while Cicero uses the Latin which was not spoken although some people wrote it and Tacitus uses the Latin that nobody wrote perhaps excluding Tacitus himself but even this is not certain.

Petronius, according to A.H. Kukulini, wrote a novel of adventure although he himself did not realize that he was the predecessor of Ian Fleming so to speak himself. But Petronius disputes this description of his book when he says at the beginning of the Satyricon (although this is not the real beginning really but only of the part in Fragment which we possess extant in our textual editions of the text of this Fragment): 'non alio genere furiarum declamatoros inquietantur' thus defining his literary genre as furious declamation. A.H. Kukulini also says that if Petronius had lived in the 18th century he would have made a better novelist than Balzac, but to this one can only answer that Petronius did not live in the 18th century and therefore Balzac is still a good 18th century novelist.

Petronius uses imagery to good effect, as for example when he says in Ch. 39: 'interpellavit tam dulces fabulas Trimalchio' when one easily realizes that one has to understand that although a story is not really usually described as being sweet, but on the other hand we are here in Trimalchio's Dinner! In the same manner he also shows a good knowledge of Greek literature by calling the teacher of rhetoric Agamemnon, although it can be disputed that this name might have been borrowed from the Agamemnon of Seneca although Aeschylus is not conclusively excluded.

He is also very good at drawing human characters very shortly without using too many words and thus making his descriptions too long, as for example Fortunata the wife of Trimalchio. As Petronius says, 'quem amat amat quem non amat non amat'. This is very forceful and heightens the effects of Fortunata.

So on the whole one can say that Petronius is a very remarkable artist and his Satyricon is really a very remarkable Roman work of art as it was noticed and described by Pilkinton. He has many particularities which strongly help to recommend him to the modern reader although he is not better than most modern writers who did not write Latin.

Candidate's name - John Glucker

SALONAE

There is one section of the ancient world which is perhaps less familiar than most to modern travellers, who have to some extent been excluded from it by present-day politics.

This is modern Yugoslavia - Illyria to the Greeks, Dalmatia and later the province of Illyricum to the Romans.

One town whose importance has decreased to insignificance over the centuries is the little hamlet of Solin, just outside the better-known Split, formerly Spalato. Solin is the ancient Salonae, birth-place of the emperor Diocletian. In early times it served the Romans as a base of operations in the Dalmatian hinterland - L. Metellus in 119 B.C., C. Cosconius in 78 B.C. and Octavian 35-34 B.C. It became the capital of the province of Illyricum. In 27 B.C. it was constituted as a colony. It rose to prosperity under the Illyrian emperors of the later third century.

Diocletian retired to Salonae in 305 A.D. and at Split built himself an immense palace on the pattern of a military camp. There remain considerable portions of this palace and of the town walls.

At Solin there are remains of a basilica, thermae, a little theatre and an amphitheatre. To the visitor the remains of the town are a little disappointing, as there is not much to see. The place has been neglected, little excavation or restoration work appearing to have been carried out. All that is visible to the casual eye is a

mass of overgrown foundations, with one or two low walls and columns left lying on the ground. The only item of a readily identifiable nature is a little theatre, which is tiny, semicircular and mainly covered in grass.

In Split itself the outer walls of Diocletian's palace are mostly still standing. However, the modern Yugoslav town seems to have little of the usual obsequious respect for all things ancient - many buildings, including what was until recent years the Cathedral of the city, and the local museum and art gallery, have been built on the site, in places incorporating these outer walls themselves as part of their own structure.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Roman remains in Yugoslavia is the fact that they have been entirely accepted as part of the landscape, and have been built round and over and often neglected entirely. This is in sharp contrast with the awed reverence paid to such remains in other parts of the Roman Empire.

C. R. McMILLAN

THE ART OF SWEARING IN LATIN

or

THE ART OF MAKING LATIN PROSES VIVID

"It is not my purpose to tell you of the innumerable benefits that accrue to you from your study of Latin. I do not intend to mention the countless pages of great literature forever closed to you (Infandum!) in the original, unless you read Latin. I will not remind you of the many learned and distinguished men with whom you deny yourself the privilege of association if you do not elect to study Latin. Of course, I shall not make reference to the manifold variety of vocabulary, the wonderfully increased appreciation of the form and content of poetry, which are assured you by your pursuit of Latin. This would be merely to state the obvious. Of all this you yourselves do know.

We shall restrict ourselves to the gracious art - the ars iurandi Latine. But first a word on background knowledge. Carelessly ignoring the excellent advice that Heraclitus was to give some eighty years later - ὁδὸς ἀνω καὶ ὁδὸς κάτω καὶ ὅτι - that "the way up and the way down are the same", Thallos, casting his eyes and contemplation upwards at the stars, fell down as well: and as he made the facilis deconsus Averni, he was heard to say, quite distinctly, "Crumbs!" - or the Greek equivalent.

Five centuries later, after Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit and all that, Caesar decided to cross the Rubicon: and while he was shouting *alea iacta est*, Pompey, hastening through the crowded streets at Rome to the senate house, his tunic streaming out behind him, was seen to mutter "Cursos!" - or the Roman equivalent - whereupon .. of course .. quite naturally .. omnes contiguere intentique ora tenebant!

I am sure that you get the point: all peoples, past, present and future, Greeks, Romans and Barbarians, all have at least one thing in common - they say, on occasions, "Curses!" or "Crumbs!" - or the equivalent thereof. What the Romans actually said will now be explored, only ever so discreetly - and with an eye to helping to make your Latin proses much more vivid - to make them closer, in other words, to real Latin, to the spirit of the Romans.

Whenever Man is seized by the desire to give oral expression to his visceral emotions, it is important only that the sounds he makes startle, shock, threaten, intimidate, stun, disgust, revolt, overpower and ultimately clear the area for some distance around. This I call the spatial-dominance theory. How is it done? The oath asseverative, the true oath - "I swear by all that's holy!" - is almost, it appears, fundamental to the existence of organized society. Primitive man probably swore by natural phenomena, the still unpredictable lightening, or a mutually agreed on possibility, the tribal deities.

How did the Romans formulate the oath asseverative? Routinely by the gods. The usual pattern is this: an invitation is given to the heavenly father to preside - Greek Zeus Pater, Latin Jupiter. Therefore we find Iuro per Iovem: "I swear by Jupiter!" Per Mavortem Iuro: "I swear by Mars!" Per Iovem deosque omnis adiuro: "I swear by Jupiter and all the gods!", and the list increased as the Roman borrowed more and more tribal gods and increased the range of polytheistic belief...

Two other patterns for the asseverative oath are found in Latin: Firstly, Do Iovem testem: "I offer Jupiter as my witness", and Cicero also offered Africa in the Pro Murena. Secondly Ita me Jupiter amet: "May Jupiter help me in this way!" These are found on any oratorical page in Cicero and are recommended to jip up the tone of any prose translation. Plautus himself really let rip in the Bacchides: Ita me Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Latona, Spes, Opis, Virtus, Castor, Pollucos, Mars, Mercurius, Hercules, Sumanus, Sol, dique omnes amet! The reply to this awesome oath is: Ut iurat! "What a swearer!"

Rhadamanthus of Crete anciently decreed that swearing by the gods should stop: he proposed the substitution of: "By the dog! By the ram! By the goose! By the plane tree!" somewhat equivalent to our "By George!" and, perhaps, "By hook or by crook!"

The second type of oath, the oath interjectional, was probably intended to clear and so occupy still more empty space. As the Per Iovem Iuro type became so popular, more explosion is concentrated on spare parts, and we get Per Iovem: "By Jove!" - all that remains of the original Iuro per Iovem. And thus we find Cicero convincing the jury in the law courts with such honest appeals as Pro di immortales! Per deos atque homines! Per divam fidem! Per deum atque hominum fidem! and, in particular, Modius Fidius! which may be translated as "Fidius is the one in the middle" but is actually short for Mo Dius Fidius Iuvot: "May Jupiter help me, the god of truth!"

Romans also used Heracle "By Hercules!" used, I believe, only by men; Ecastor "By Castor!", used only by women; and Edepol shortened to Poll if Edepol won't scan) "By Pollux!" used by both sexes.

The third type of oath, the oath denunciatory, is the true curse. Abite, agite, fugite hinc in malam crucem: "Go away, get you gone, flee hence to the pain-producing cross!" Another is the shorter I in Malam Rem: "Get yourself off into some pain-producing situation!" or Dia te perdant: "May the gods destroy you to pieces!" -- and then, of course, to be thus addressed, you should really tremble. To say this was to stick a pin into your very offigy.

Like present day policemen, the Pythagoreans also were sworn in before they were admitted to membership. They swore, very solemnly, by the holy oath of the number four. Whatever else they said and thought is extremely difficult to ascertain, and this is due largely to the fact that they were also sworn to secrecy!

Those of you who are less academically minded, less interested, in fact, in the art of translating into good Latin and more interested in discovering what incredibly nasty things the Romans called each other, you will no doubt be disappointed that I end here, but I do not know, by Jove, what incredibly nasty things the Romans called each other. Do you know? "No", said Alice blushing. "Well you know much" said the duchess scornfully, "and that's a fact!"

RAYMOND J. CLARK

AXIOCHUS

Among the short Dialogues which look like dialogues of Plato but are not actually by Plato is the Axiochus. Axiochus is soon to die, and is greatly distressed. Socrates consoles him, interestingly.

The Pseudo-Platonic Dialogues are lively pieces. They are inclined to take some notion of Plato from one of the authentic dialogues and develop it, perhaps going farther than Plato would have gone. One of them, the Epinomis, praises number and arithmetic, very highly indeed and argues that measurement requires arithmetic, and every conceivable activity requires measurement, so that without arithmetic we can hardly have any life. Or at least -- which must be the serious meaning -- we could not, without measurement and number, exercise the arts and crafts.

The Greeks like listing the achievements of civilization, and admiring them, as well they might, having in a short time developed a perfection in them which to us seems blindingly brilliant. Several writers, especially Aeschylus and Euripides, offer us these lists of technical achievements. Among them is the writer of the Axiochus. He uses his list interestingly. The inventions, such as architecture and adventurous enterprises, such as sea-faring prove not, for example, that Prometheus or another "culture hero" gave these gifts to man but that in man himself there is a divine element.

This poem is a part of the argument that death is not the end for human beings. What is giving much of interest to the poet with this poem follows other lines. We learn that no one living the life on earth is happy; in the Elysian happiness is allowed to some, but only very few. In the *Elysian* we are reminded that there is nothing pleasant which does not include some unpleasant element, a secret sorrowful element.

At the very temple of delight,

Veiled melancholy has her seven shrines...

Whereas in what is unpleasant there is too often no element of the pleasant at all. We are also given a version of the Ages of Man. Babies are born painfully. They soon give evidence of displeasure by crying, and when they cry they have no way of signifying what exactly they mean. From then on they live subject to various despotisms. Besides their parents they have tutors, schoolmasters, physical training instructors and teachers of tactics (G.O.P.) and people called "critics"; I do not quite sure who are meant, but if they criticized a lot or all the time, they, no doubt, helped life to be not worth living, which is the point of argument. There is worse to come. Many medical brings military training, and full manhood war, battle and wounds, all adding the miseries of childhood, some nothing by comparison. In peace it is little better, if at all. A Spartan man works from early in the morning till late at night, with some tricks there between, and loudly complaining that he is overworked. Greek and Jewish are all hardship. And politics is worst of all, with its efforts to lead some appalling rabble which will probably kill you by way of thanks at the end however much you be for money. It is only the achievements of civilization which indicate that unhappy man has a spark of the divine.

Certainly, this unknown writer goes to extremes. But it was possible for him to present Greek life, quite seriously, as an unredeemed misery -- a universal unhappiness, and yet there are all these unmatched achievements. The Classics always evoke a thought, this time a thought of thankfulness for the sometimes gradual, sometimes spasmodic, diffusion of a very fair degree of happiness over a great deal of the earth's surface, which has occurred since classical times, and also a thought of caution, or even fear, that perhaps suffering is necessary for great creation.

"Is it so that the mark of rank in nature is capacity for pain. And the anguish of the singer makes the sweetness of the strain?" If so, this is a problem for the present, how to progress without misery, even if this is a new possibility. The solution should be a happy and hopeful task.

But this was not what Aniochus had to do. He had to see the misery of life in order to like dying. Socrates' plan succeeded, and Aniochus is soon made positively to love the idea of death -- he can hardly wait to die -- and says so. Socrates does not only say how bad life is. He also says how good death is.

On the way there have been various comments some amusing. Prodicus might have told us more about death, but wanted cash for information according to a tariff of charges, carefully scaled, quoting in explanation. Epicharmus's version of tit for tat, "each hand washes the other." We also hear Prodicus' version of the much enjoyed saying, "When we are here, death isn't; when death is here, we aren't." But the main thing in the Dialogue is the positive presentation of the great joy of being dead.

The Pseudo-Platos seem to like going a little farther than Plato went. Plato himself in the Republic and the Phaedo and elsewhere contemplates much happiness, at least for some people, after death. He also contemplated happiness in this life, especially for those who have achieved righteousness and have trained and developed their souls; these would always be happy, no matter what suffering they might incur. Again, Plato treats death, survival and reparation for good and evil deeds through reincarnation, seriously and indeed severely - though humour, as usual, is ready at call, as when we hear that the Judges of the Dead, Minos, Rhadamanthus and Aeacus, were so often deceived by outward appearances that Zeus made a rule that both the newly dead who were on trial, and also the Judges of the Dead, must at all future trials wear no clothes at all. In the Axiochus there is a straight and simple assertion that the dead wake up to a new and blissful life of enjoyment with no unpleasant ingredient to mar pleasure: all is bright and beautiful and there is no more hard work, but only artistic and philosophical engagement, for interest and enjoyment, not for competition and applause. This is for those who have lived good lives, inspired by 'a good spirit', clearly a 'Guide' or Guardian Angel. The impression is that this is for nearly everyone. There is no thought of reincarnation, as more than once in Plato. There is also no element of doubt, such as Plato admits in the Apology - though not perhaps a very serious element of doubt. The lovely prospect is offered as completely certain - as it should be. Axiochus, rightly, is enthralled.

In describing his 'Earthly Heaven' or Etheric World - he has already written of the desire of the soul to rise to 'the aether' - the Pseudo-Plato writes of the natural beauties there and the easy life and perfectly pleasant conditions in terms not unlike Pindar's in the Second Olympian. He may have selected thoughts from Plato and Pindar and combined them or a few of them, to form his own much shorter, but nonetheless cogent, version. But we are not yet at the end. The writer adduces some supporting evidence. This he attributes to a Persian, Gobryas, who claimed that his grandfather, the Gobryas of the Persian Wars, had visited Delos on duty and there found a bronze plate on which was inscribed a doctrine purporting to have been brought by Upis and Hecaterus from the Hyperboreans. This is not an unfamiliar motif. The founder of the Mormon religion based it on a mysterious text inscribed on metal which he claimed to have found. In Antiquity there was the equally mysterious text of Dictys, and before that the text of Pythagoras supposed to have been found near the Janiculum but destroyed by order of the Roman Senate: an occurrence lately explained by Mr. Keith Frouse. Gobryas the Persian, of course, reminds us of Er the Armonian, to whom Plato attributes his long account of the World Beyond in the Republic. The Greeks

may well have gained esoteric knowledge from the East: much might be said about this. So they might from the general direction of "The Hyperboreans." Both the Getae of Herodotus and the Celts of Lucan are intensely other-worldly. They live in happy expectation of death, when their real life would begin. The Pseudo-Plato allows us to consider possible origins for esoteric knowledge, both in the East and in the North, very reasonably.

He concludes with one or two surprises. Gobryas' text is credited with a rather ordinary account of the Greek Hell, where the wicked are locked in, and Tantalus, Sisyphus and the other standard sinners, have their standard punishments for ever. It is slightly like Pindar's much shorter and much more poetically startling, account. And it does not fit in very well with the rest of the Dialogue. The main message has been delivered before the end-piece.

But the end-piece has more interest than this. We hear that knowledge gained at Eleusis prepares us to expect the happy After Life. We also hear that those who have been initiated into the Eleusinian Myteries have, in the other world, a certain precedence - the Greek word means "sitting in front seats". Established religion is still respected.

There is a notable passage in The Birds of Aristophanes (1553-64) which is almost funnier in the anonymous Everyman translation than in the Greek. The translation is very clever and witty, and, though it has much which is not in the original, and cannot be used for argument without reference to the original, the English version is too good to omit here. The immediate importance of the passage itself is that it is evidence for a seance. The chorus sings:

Beyond the navigable seas,
Among the fierce Antipodes,
There lies a lake, obscure and holy,
Lazy, deep, melancholy,
Solitary, secret, hidden,
Where baths and washing are forbidden.
Socrates, beside the brink,
Summons from the murky sink,
Many a disembodied ghost;
And Pisander reached the coast,
To raise the spirit that he lost,
With a victim, strange and new,
A gawky camel, which he slew
Like Ulysses - wheroupon,
The grizzly sprite of Chaerophon
Flitted round him; and appeared
With his eyebrows and his beard,
Like a strange infernal fowl,
Half a Vampire, half an Owl.

Thus according to this anonymous Everyman translator, so eloquent and resourceful, but very free and very expansive, sang the chorus of Aristophanes in The Birds. They are saying that Socrates "called up" or "raised" spirits, and so furnished contemporary evidence for the suggestion that Socrates had such direct contacts. This notion of spirit raising comes readily to Aristophanes as a basis for delightful jokes. The vain, over-dressed, cowardly military commander, Pisander, needed to have his "spirit raised", so low had it sunk in battle: the double meaning comes out equally well in both English and Greek. I am afraid the description of Chaerephon owes little to Aristophanes, who says that "Chaerephon the Bat came up from below for him;" but it is well worth having nevertheless.

There are many presentations in literature of golden ages, utopias, and "earthly heavens", such as Pindar and the writer of the Axiochus offer us. Whether Elysium is an "earthly heaven" or a still more holy and blissful land does not matter at present. These accounts of heaven are, of course, found in many parts of the world. The Maya conception, in South America, is among those not unlike our Greek version. Normally the presentations are attributed to fancy, imagination and literary tradition. But there is an alternative; among us now, though not against a world background, it is a minority-view. This minority view is no longer also a disreputable view: it is probably held by a majority of members of the Churches' Fellowship for Psychic and Spiritual Study, which has twenty-five Anglican Bishops among its patrons. The minority-majority view is this: that some of those who describe a heaven have either been there or learnt from those who have.

The whole large question has, of course, been treated and will be treated again. There is fortunately no danger of becoming entangled here, where only one small fragment of a hint is offered.

So many of us now have either seen the other world themselves in sleep or trance, and so many have had descriptions of it from communicating spirits who come from it - perhaps the most important book on this is Thirty Years among the Dead by A. Wickland (The Spiritualist press, undated) - that, when Socrates seems to know about it, and is said by one of his own friends to "raise spirits", it is more likely than not that he, like the Getae and the Celts, depended not on fancy or tradition, nor even on Er the Armenian or Gobryas the grandson of Gobryas, but on his own clairvoyant vision and on the statements to him of communicating spirits. What he heard, and is said to have passed on to Axiochus, is very like indeed to what we hear - or see - now. All this did not mean that he was unfaithful to the established religion - none less. He implicitly trusted the Greek gods, especially Apollo who spoke from Zeus through his priestesses at Delphi. Many or most of them, by the way, were clairvoyant.

W.F. JACKSON KNIGHT

Hon. President of the University Classical
Society

CROSSWORD SOLUTION

- Across: 1. Agamemnon; 8. Redit; 9. More; 10. Flow; 12. Aristaeus; 14. Gaius; 15. Rh; 16. Nitor; 17. Uae; 18. OE; 19. Pater; 21. Asclepiad.
- Down: 1. Anna; 2. Georgics; 3. Adriatic; 4. Missio; 5. Et; 6. Nice; 7. New shores; 10. Fas; 11. Our sea; 13. Turpe; 17. Uti; 20. AP.

