Foxfestschrift

A Collection of Writings

in Honor of Bernice L. Fox

on Her 80th Birthday

edited by
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Monmouth College
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TJS

Dr. Bernice L. Fox
Professor Emerita of Classics
Monmouth College

Bernice L. Fox

Born in Ashland, Kentucky, on February 19, 1911, Bernice L. Fox was graduated *magna cum laude* from Kentucky Wesleyan College in 1932 with a Bachelor of Arts degree. She received a Master of Arts degree from the University of Kentucky in 1934. At the outbreak of World War II, Dr. Fox cut short her work towards a Doctor of Philosophy in English at The Ohio State University to become the first female airport weather observer in the Midwest, at Port Columbus in Columbus, Ohio.

In 1947 she came to Monmouth College as an assistant professor in the Department of English. In 1952 she was promoted to the rank of associate professor and was given some teaching duties in the Department of Classical Languages. During her career at Monmouth Dr. Fox gradually moved from English to Latin and was promoted to the rank of full professor. Over the years she came to be the mainstay of the Monmouth College Classics program and fought vigorously to preserve and improve the program of classical instruction at the college. Between 1970 and 1981 she served as chair of the Department of Classical Languages.

She traveled frequently to classical sites and twice participated in the Vergilian School summer sessions. Often she took students with her on these trips to Italy, to Greece and to France and her students have become teachers of Latin and of English not only in Illinois but also throughout the United States.

In addition to her contributions to Monmouth College, Dr. Fox has been dedicated to two other classical organizations, the Illinois Classical Conference and Eta Sigma Phi, the National Classics Honorary Society. For many years her presence at meetings of ICC throughout the state of Illinois was a *sine qua non*. She often read papers at these meetings and was elected President of the organization for the academic year 1963-1964. Even in retirement, she continues to serve as test writer and grader for the State Latin Tournament sponsored annually by the Illinois Classical Conference. In 1956 she was instrumental in establishing at Monmouth the Gamma Omicron chapter of Eta Sigma Phi. She escorted many a carload of Monmouth students to national Eta Sigma Phi conventions all over the United States and has served this organization in many capacities, including editor of *Nuntius* from 1973 to 1974, a member of the national board of trustees from 1970 until 1979, and honorary member of the board from 1982 until the present.

In 1967, together with Dr. Garrett Thiessen, Professor of Chemistry at Monmouth, she published privately *Paraphrases from the Latin Poets*, a collection of translations from the ancient authors. In 1976 she translated Henry Van Dyke's *Story of the Other Wise Man* as *Fabula de Quarto Mago*.

Since her retirement from Monmouth College in 1981, Dr. Fox has remained active in the field. In 1991 HarperCollins Publishers published *Tela Charlottae*, her translation of E. B. White's *Charlotte's Web*. In the same year Monmouth College awarded her an honorary degree, Doctor of Humane Letters. She is currently working on an elementary Vergilian Latin grammar with Thomas J. Sienkewicz.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

by Bernice L. Fox

1933 "Foreign Languages in the High School Curriculum" with Adolph E. Bigge. *Kentucky School Journal.*

1940 "Robert Browning's Revisions of *Paracelsus*". *Modern Language Notes.*

1956 "Cicero's Essays in College". *Classical Journal.*

1956 "De Duobus Libellis". *Classical Journal.*

1960 "Catullus 3" (translation). *National Poetry Anthology.*

1961 "Martial I:109" (paraphrase). *National Poetry Anthology.*

1962 "The Light Touch in Vergil". *Classical Outlook.*

1964 "Dear Ovid, My Problem is. . . ". *Classical Journal.*

1967 *Paraphrases from the Latin Poets* with Garrett Theissen.

1970 "Latin and the Epigram". *Classical Outlook.*

1970 "Research at Its Best". *Classical Outlook.*

1972 "Josef Eberle, *Aetatis Nostrae Poeta Latinus*". *Classical Outlook.*

1976 *Fabula de Quarto Mago.* Private Printing.

1978 "Report on the SPQR Convention". *Classical Outlook.* Translated into German by Josef Eberle and reprinted in *Stuttgarter Zeitung.*

1979 *Word Elements in American English.* Private Printing.

1982 *Classical Myths.* Private Printing.

1984 *Rambling in the World of Words.* Private Printing.

1990 *Sex Fabulae Breves.* Private Printing.

1991 translation of poem by Laurentius Corvinus in William Urban's "Copernicus, Humanist Politician" in the *Journal of Baltic Studies*.

1991 *Tela Charlottae*. HarperCollins.

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INTRODUCTION

Labor omnia vicit.
improbus et duris urgens in rebus egestas.
Vergil, *Georgics* I.145-146

Toil mastered everything, relentless toil
And the pressure of pinching poverty.
(translated by Wilkinson 1982:61)

The bard of Mantua is the only appropriate introduction to this homage of Bernice L. Fox. Vergil's poetry captures the life and purpose of this remarkable woman who devoted the labor of a lifetime to her students, to Monmouth College and to the Classics. And she did so through some very hard times. When there was no money for classroom resources, Bernice overcame Vergil's *urgens egestas* and found the necessary funds, often from her own pocket. When there was danger of little Latin and less Greek being taught at Monmouth, Bernice persisted. When others tried to eliminate the Classics, Bernice "toiled relentlessly" and spoke stubbornly and eloquently of the important position the civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome must hold in the life of a liberal arts college like Monmouth. And, behold, her "toil" has indeed "mastered everything". A decade after her retirement from teaching, the Classics program at Monmouth does not merely survive; it thrives in large part because she fought long and hard for the endowed chair in Classics which ensures that Classical authors will be taught at Monmouth College in their original languages into the distant future.

Even Vergil the seer would have had a difficult job predicting that the name of a feisty woman who joined the Monmouth College English Department in 1947 would eventually become synonymous with Classics at Monmouth College. While Bernice studied both Latin and Greek in college, she pursued advanced degrees in English literature, not Classics. Many graduates of Monmouth in the 50's and 60's are likely to remember Bernice for her English composition or literature classes, not Latin. Only in the 60's and 70's did Bernice discover her true vocation in the Classics Department. She introduced extremely popular courses in Classical Mythology and Word Elements which attracted majors and non-majors alike. Latin students remember with affection and terror the seminar classes in the basement of her home at 1025 Cramer Court. Many others will remember strawberry shortcake and party games to celebrate Roman Saturnalia at Christmastime. Or trips to national Eta Sigma Phi conventions.

But all of this I know only by hearsay. When I came to Monmouth in 1984, Bernice had already been in retirement long enough for her to fear that she was losing touch with "her" department and the college. And I still vividly remember that first intimidating encounter with the formidable woman who had embodied the Classics for so many Monmouth students through several decades. This meeting took place in the living room of Bill and Jackie Urban who

graciously accepted the challenge of hosting the first meeting of old and new. From the moment Miss Fox entered the room, I knew that I was being scrutinized and evaluated meticulously. Only my Ph.D. oral examination was a more gruelling experience.

Somehow, however, I passed muster and over the years Bernice has become for me an invaluable mentor, colleague and friend. I simply do not know how I could have coped with the vagaries of life at Monmouth College without Bernice as a solid rock of advice and frank counsel. I now understand why so many colleagues and students think of her with the affection, loyalty and devotion reflected in the four panegyrical contributions at the beginning of this volume. President Freed provides the perspective of a colleague, while Betty Whittaker and Paul Carlson write of Bernice as teacher. The last panegyric is the citation read to Bernice Fox as she was awarded an honorary degree by President Bruce Haywood at Monmouth College Commencement in May, 1991.

Many of Bernice's former students are represented in these pages. Paul Carlson and Nelson Potter took English courses with Miss Fox. Andrew J. Adams, Betty Whittaker, LeaAnn Osburn, Sandra Epperson Wolf and Mary Ryder were all her Latin students. So was Robert Ketterer, who took Bernice's advanced Latin classes while still a Monmouth High School student.

Other contributors have been Bernice's closest colleagues at Monmouth College. Both Presidents Freed and Haywood came to respect Bernice's stubborn loyalty to the Classics and to Monmouth College. Jeremy McNamara and William Urban not only worked with Bernice but also studied the classical languages under her direction. While Thomas J. Sienkewicz and Albert Watanabe did not work with Bernice at the college, both have taught Classics in her department since her retirement and both have learned how impossible it is to fill her shoes. It is a credit to Bernice's continuing interest in affairs at Monmouth College that she has also developed lasting friendships not only with Sienkewicz and Watanabe but also with Mary Barnes Bruce, who also came to Monmouth College only after Bernice's retirement.

A final group of contributors consists of Bernice's professional colleagues. Bernice brought Peter Arnott to perform at Monmouth College from his youngest days as a Professor of Drama and Classics at the University of Iowa. Over the years Arnott and Bernice became close friends. It is a sad feature of this volume that it was not finished in time for Arnott to see it. Konrad Gries became acquainted with Bernice through his editorship of *Classical Outlook*, where many of Bernice's finest pedagogical pieces were published. Gries and Bernice continue to share a regular correspondence even in retirement. Another contributor, Richard Lederer, was originally an epistolary acquaintance whom Bernice first knew through his syndicated newspaper columns on words. This correspondence, too, blossomed into fast friendship as Lederer visited Monmouth twice, in 1990 and again in 1991, to speak at convocations and as the Bernice L. Fox Classics Lecturer. Bernice became acquainted with the last two contributors through her dedication to two other classical organizations, the Illinois Classical Conference

(ICC) and Eta Sigma Phi, the National Classics Honorary Society. She shares many fond memories of the ICC with Raymond Den Adel and has worked with Brent Froberg for many years through Eta Sigma Phi.

But the list of Bernice's professional acquaintances would not be complete without mentioning three scholars who could not contribute to this *Festschrift*. The first of these is the late Alexander Lenard, the Latin translator of *Winnie Ille Pooh* (1960). The publication of this book created such a sensation in the classical world that, as president of the Illinois Classical Conference in 1963-64, Bernice invited Lenard to speak at the annual ICC meeting. Lenard's visit to Illinois included a three-week sojourn at Monmouth College. In the process he and Bernice became life-long correspondents and friends. It was through Lenard that Bernice also became acquainted with the late Josef Eberle, a German scholar and editor of the *Suttgarter Zeitung*, in which Eberle published a German translation of one of Bernice's own pieces. Finally, there is Theodore Bedrick, late professor of classics at Wabash College. Bernice and Bedrick shared a common dedication to Eta Sigma Phi which they served together for many years. Like Lenard and Eberle, Bedrick was a long-time correspondent of Bernice. Unfortunately, his death occurred just as the idea for this volume was taking shape.

Not only do the contributors, in a sense, serve as a biographical vignette for Bernice Fox, but the topics of their essays also reflect the broad range of Bernice's own intellectual interests. Bernice's love of language, and especially of the Latin language, is reflected in Den Adel's study of onomatopoeia in "The Sounds of Latin." Adams' "Latin and Spanish: The Original Fabric, with Alterations and Substitutions" traces the transformation of Latin into one of the Romance languages. Students of Latin, Spanish, and general linguistics will find valuable many of Adams' observations. In "*De Versione Latina*" Gries traces the history of translation into Latin from its beginnings with Livius Andronicus' Latin translation of Homer in the third century B.C. down to *Tela Charlottae* (1991), Bernice Fox's own Latin translation of E. B. White's *Charlotte's Web* (1952). Finally Lederer offers an amusing essay on English neologisms of the 1980's which, in slightly different form, appears in *The Miracle of Language* (1991).

The third part of this volume recognizes Bernice's continuing interest in English literature. Ryder's "Willa Cather and the Classical Epic Tradition" traces the influence of Vergil on a major American novelist of the twentieth-century. This subject was also the focus of Ryder's Fox Classics Lecture at Monmouth College in 1988. The three other contributions in this section are pieces of original writing. McNamara's "Professors of English" is a short story about the trials and tribulations of teaching English at a small liberal arts institution. Carlson's "Escape" is a short childhood adventure and Bruce offers a selection of poems reflecting upon her experiences as a Fulbright Scholar in Cameroon.

The pedagogical subjects addressed in part four reflect Bernice's lifelong dedication to teaching, especially the teaching of the Latin language. In "Latin in Illinois: *Unde et Quo?*" Osburn addresses the trials and challenges facing Latin teachers in Illinois. While her diagnosis is disheartening, Osburn offers a guarded

prognosis, provided that Illinois educators can develop a plan to revitalize the teaching of Latin in Illinois in the twenty-first century. In "Courage and a Steadfast Heart: Joe Paterno, Aeneas and the Latin Student," Sienkewicz offers an inspiring comparison between Vergil's hero Aeneas and the modern Latin student. He also traces the experiences of Joe Paterno, the famous Penn State football coach, who studied Latin in high school. In "Language Studies: A Key to Solving Our Educational Problems" Wolf considers some of the broader challenges facing the American educational system.

The last part of this *Festschrift* illustrates the broad range of Classical culture with writings on ancient literature, drama, history, and philosophy. The scenes from Arnott's translation of Menander's *Dyskolos* are published here posthumously with the assistance of the author's son Christopher. Comedy is also the focus of Ketterer's "Bondage in Plautine Comedy." This study of themes and images of binding and loosing used in late Greek tragedy and in Roman comedy complements Ketterer's other work on comedy. "A Monkey on the Roof: Comedy, Rome and Plautus' *Boastful Soldier*" was the subject of his Fox Classics Lecture in 1986-87. In "The *Euthyphro*: A Socratic Dialogue" Potter walks his readers through Socrates' conversation with Euthyphro on the way to defend himself against the fatal charge of impiety. The reader will note in this essay a modern philosopher's gender-neutral references to deity. Urban's "The Early Roman Republic: Virtue as the Basis of Government" addresses the sources of American political values and shows how the Founders of the American Republic modeled their new government around Roman virtues, especially those developed in the *Histories* of Livy. In "Heracles in the Early Stoa" Watanabe illustrates how the ancient Greek hero was portrayed allegorically in the philosophy of the Stoic Cornutus. Finally, Froberg offers "A Short History of Eta Sigma Phi, the National Classics Honorary Fraternity" as a tribute to Bernice Fox's many years of dedicated service to this organization. This history was published separately earlier this year to commemorate the 64th national convention of Eta Sigma Phi at Monmouth College. Bernice's attendance at this gala occasion marked over thirty six years of active involvement in this organization. Not only did she attend the traditional Saturday night banquet in Roman costume, but she spellbound her audience of college students with a keynote address entitled "The Spider Who Learned Latin" on her translation of *Charlotte's Web*.

The contributors to this volume hope that these writings will reflect the dynamic career of Bernice Fox and will serve as a stubborn reminder that the study of Bernice's cherished Classics can be a labor of love which encompasses all areas of human experience and which can overcome any obstacle. *Labor omnia vicit.*

Thomas J. Sienkewicz
Capron Professor of Classics
Monmouth, Illinois
May 12, 1992

Part I

Panegyric

A TRIBUTE TO DR. BERNICE L. FOX

by DeBow Freed

A Tribute to Dr. Bernice L. Fox

My association with Bernice Fox began in the summer of 1974 when I joined the faculty and staff of Monmouth College. Previously I had noted, with delight, that Classics had been retained as a major at Monmouth, and that the teaching of classical languages was actually in progress and not just listed in the catalog. Indeed, that was an indicator to me of some of the underlying strengths and qualities of the program at the college, and of the type people who would be serving on the faculty of such an institution.

Bernice Fox is representative of that small, rare group of individuals who, by force of personality and strength of character, have been personally responsible for the retention, promotion, and health of a major academic program.

To the person who saw Classics as a convenient program to "cut" because it was not essential, Bernice was a feisty protector of her discipline. In such a circumstance, she had withering comments for all those who had lesser understanding of the essential nature and benefits of Classics. All who tangled with her over "cutting" Classics came away chastened and realizing they had overmet their match.

To those who saw Classics as an essential core component of educated people in the modern world, Bernice Fox not only was a savior of that concept but an active and effective proponent of it. She liked those folks enormously. They were pretty smart in her eyes.

To her students, she was a heroine. She inculcated in them a love for Classics as a component of learning which not only extended their knowledge, but also helped them reach beyond the immediate grasp and gain an understanding of classical languages and thinking that would serve them well throughout life.

To faculty and staff colleagues, Bernice was a dedicated teacher who met the highest expectations, worked hard, and reflected the best of the traditional unselfish and disciplined teacher who will not tolerate carelessness or low standards, and demands the best of herself and others.

To my wife and me, Bernice Fox is all of the above. Far more, she became a precious friend. Bernice is a gracious lady, a very appreciative individual, and an extremely thoughtful person. She is enormously generous in spirit and truly lives the credo "ask not what you can have for yourself, but what you can do for others."

We rejoice that a classics chair has been established. It has brought Bernice great pleasure, and provides a guarantee of continuity of Classics which is so important to her.

My wife and I were especially pleased to note the awarding of the honorary degree to Bernice. It is richly deserved. The highly favorable response of the audience was but one indicator of the genuine and deep esteem in which she is held.

The Bernice L. Fox Classics lectureship is another positive way of honoring Bernice. A named lectureship that will last in perpetuity is another richly deserved tribute.

Whatever the recognition of Bernice Fox, it cannot in any sense match her contribution to Monmouth College or to the large number of individuals whose lives she has affected so positively. Her like does not come our way so often; her superior never.

Kitty Freed and I have loved Bernice dearly for many years. We are most grateful for the opportunity and privilege of knowing this remarkable lady, and having our lives touched in a special way by her extraordinary abilities, spirit, and dedication.

UTINAM MAGISTRAM TUAM MEMINISSES

by Betty Whittaker

Utinam Magistram Tuam Meminisses

A great friend, wonderful teacher and professor emerita became an octogenarian on February 19, 1992. I would like to take this opportunity to reminisce about thirty of those eighty years. Perhaps some of these memories will rekindle days gone by not only for a special lady but also for many of her students.

I first met her when I was a freshman at Monmouth College in 1960. Somehow because of the amount of Latin that I had taken in high school, I was enrolled in a 300 level course. I had no idea what that meant. Much to my amazement, the classes met in the professor's basement. The class was always arranged in a small circle. There was absolutely no way to fake a translation assignment. It was no way like sitting in the back of the classroom hiding behind a book. I had to do Plautus and Terence, Livy, Horace, and Vergil right there in front of everyone. Those classes were very special; we became a family as the same few students appeared every year. Some weeks I looked forward to the walk to Cramer Court; some weeks I dreaded every moment fearing I would be called to translate. Even now as I look back, I still remember those classes vividly.

The years passed quickly—my plans to become a primary school teacher changed somewhere along the line. Perhaps it was the silent encouragement of the Classics professor, perhaps it was all the activities of the Classics Department, or perhaps it was my own decision. One day it was evident that I would teach Latin. Then there were more Latin classes, more activities, and more pressures.

Those years were filled with rewarding and challenging experiences. I remember the visit of Alexander Lenard, a very unique man. The visit allowed me to correspond with Dr. Lenard for several years, and there was an Eta Sigma Phi trip to a convention where we almost lost our lives. The tire blew as we were traveling very fast. State High School Latin contests were held on campus. The professor actually expected majors to stay on campus during vacations. Of course, every so often one of the Latin majors decided to change his course of study. That brought our professor into action. Some days we had to endure her anger as well as her jokes. Certainly, the professor was there to promote all these classical activities.

The class, the activity, and the pressure were all minor as I look back. What I find noteworthy is that Bernice Fox was always there to encourage me even on the days when Horace was impossible and Livy seemed irrelevant. She was also there to encourage me when I had no car to get to student teaching. She was there when I called her for help as a rookie teacher at Wheaton Central High School in Wheaton, Illinois, in 1964. She was there to give a speech to my Latin Students at York High School in Elmhurst, Illinois, in 1968. She sat in my classes that day and gave me such encouragement. One of my students at York

High School also went to Monmouth College to major in Latin. My professor was still there.

As the years passed and my family moved several times, Miss Fox and I continued to correspond. Those letters brightened many dark days. When I decided to be back to the classroom, my professor was still there to write a scathing letter to the Indiana Department of Education about my credentials. Once again, this wonderful lady helped me to obtain my Indiana teaching license in 1977.

Her textbooks have been a great source of extra class material for me. I have used her word elements book in putting together an exploratory latin class for seventh and eight graders. My classes have entered essay contests in her name. She has filled out questionnaires for my graduate classes. I will always wonder what would have happened to me without her longevity. Over the years she has been not only a wonderful teacher but also a great friend.

On January 2, 1991, I received the most amazing thank you note from one of the most amazing people I know. Hopefully, at eighty years I, too, will be able to say "everything has added up to a kind of fantasy land joy. This does not happen often, and I enjoy it!"

Bernice Fox has never retired from the pursuit of Latin education. Her latest book, *Tela Charlottae*, was published in the year she became an octogenarian. Bernice Fox has been and continues to be an inspiration.

Bernice, I salute you!

BEATISSIMA DIES TIBI!

I will forever be grateful to you.

A TRIBUTE TO DR. BERNICE L. FOX

by Paul Carlson

Tribute To Dr. Bernice L. Fox

The first half of Bernice's career must also be remembered in these pages—her years as a superb professor of English literature and creative writing. Many may be surprised to learn that Dr. Fox taught hundreds—perhaps thousands!—of Monmouth College students to love English poems, stories, and yes, the many eccentric and colorful writers who produce them.

Her classes in creative writing were just as stimulating and useful to the traditional liberal arts students. I vividly recall her reading a short story entitled *Night Club* by Katherine Brush to emphasize several points she had been making about creative writing techniques. At the close of the story she folded her hands over the open book and said, "If I could but write one story in my life, this would be the one that I would like to be remembered for." Twenty-five years later I wrote to her and asked for the title. I received a copy of the story and reread it. The points she had stressed in lecture were evident in this little piece.

Creative writing was taught at her cozy, little home some blocks from the campus. I can still see myself leaving the Sig Ep House at 714 East Broadway, trudging through the snow late in the afternoon, notebook nestled under my arm, looking forward to hearing my classmates read their poems and short stories while we sat on the carpet of her tidy living room. This took place twice a week. Bernice would sit in her favorite arm chair, her cigarette holder and note pad very much in evidence, listening to every sentence—passive in countenance, positive in her remarks, and "particular" in what she would accept. . . and always kind and supportive. We were expected to comment on every piece that was read before she would provide constructive suggestions that would strengthen our work.

I can hear the wind blowing tiny particles of ice against the windows in that living room of the Eisenhower years. I can smell the coffee and see the chocolate brownies that were ready for consumption half-way through the two-hour session in those days that used-to-be. No computers then; just Scripto pencils and fountain pens. . . .

She urged us to write from the heart, to be descriptive, to honor that 'something' called curiosity by not writing the obvious, and to use words sparingly- remembering always that the reader is less likely to drift away if the paragraphs reflect economy. . . economy. . . economy.

As an alumnus of this Wallace Hall Experience and as a high school teacher of history, I hope that I have followed the professional advice and reflected the "spirit" at least of one dedicated professor of English (and later of classics) who, though small in physical stature, had the Olympian view when it came to fulfilling the role of professor. . . mentor. . . friend."

A CITATION FOR AN HONORARY DEGREE

by Bruce Haywood

A Citation for an Honorary Degree

Monmouth College Commencement

May 18, 1991

BERNICE L. FOX

Bernice Fox, Professor Emerita of Classics, once and future colleague: Your presence today illuminates our commencement exercises, just as your inspiring teaching has illuminated the lives of so many Monmouth College students over several decades. For the greater part of your life you have been a member of this college and you remain a vital part of our corporate life, even after a decade in retirement. It is impossible to think of the Classics at Monmouth without your name at once coming to mind. Indeed, were it not for you, Monmouth might today have "little Latin and less Greek."

Teaching has been your passion, and your great joy has been your students, particularly those who followed you into your profession. Through them your enthusiasm for language and its origins has found its way into classrooms across the land. Similarly, your energies have long vitalized the Illinois State Latin Tournament and identified it with Monmouth College.

In your retirement you have not rested on your laurels. You have been characteristically busy, as you have returned to an interest that often occupied you in earlier years, the art of translation from one language into another. This past year has seen two of your projects come to fruition, with your completing first the rendering into Latin of six famous short stories. Now you have seen the publication by Harper and Row of your remarkable version of the children's classic, *Charlotte's Web*.

Monmouth College honors you today as the keeper of a sacred flame, one who has so splendidly represented the traditional center of the liberal arts, and as a never flagging bearer of the banner of classical scholarship. Long may we of the college continue to have you present among us.

Bernice L. Fox, you will now be presented for the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters, *honoris causa*, and your hood will be placed by your successor, the Capron Professor of Classics, Thomas J. Sienkewicz.

Part II

Language

THE SOUNDS OF LATIN

by Raymond Den Adel

The Sounds of Latin

The study of categories or classes of words within a foreign language, especially Latin, is not new. Two major works of semantic or linguistic interest appeared in 1949: André's *Étude sur les Termes de Couleur* and Buck's *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms*. André's study of vocabulary pertaining to terms of color served as an example of what could be done in examining other semantic categories. In his preface Buck notes that the study of words arranged in such semantic categories "is an old story." Therefore, a classification of terms pertaining to utterances of sounds—not much dealt with in modern times—may be of interest and may be instructive as well. When a group of contexts containing a particular word that refers to a sound is analyzed, a rather precise meaning can be given a word by examination of these known contexts. A collection of *non-articulated* sounds will include animal and creature sounds, as well as those utterances of humans that are not clear, expressive, words or syllables. This category will be the basis of the following discussion, which lays out the procedural method which can be employed in a study of this nature.

One way to begin this type of project is to note the noun objects of *audio*, as given in dictionaries, especially the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (1990). There are also words like *sonare* or *murmur* that immediately bring types of sounds to our minds. Many nouns indicating sounds are action words based on verbs, e.g., *crepitus*, *fermitus*, and *clamor*. Grammarians' lists of *voces animalium* ("voices of animals") regularly cite the cries of animals in the form of verbs, e.g., *merulus canit* ("a blackbird sings"). Classifications by the *source* of the sound—whether the human voice, the cry of an animal or a noise made by an inanimate object—will be necessary for discussion of nouns and verbs. Normal usages can be distinguished from the specialized or figurative ones when relatively great numbers of citations are studied in context. A context that has a verb with *in* or *ad aurem*, e.g., *gannire ad aurem* ("to growl to the ear"—Afranius *ap. Non.* 450M.) indicates an emission of sound. Some verbs are modified by adverbs as *clare* or *sonore*, e.g., *sonore oscitant* ("they yawn loudly"—Gellius 4.208). There are contexts in which two verbs are juxtaposed, when one already has been shown to indicate sound, e.g., *lamentari ac plangere* ("to wail and to strike"—Suet. *Nero* 49.3). With adjectives one can search for modifiers with *voce*, e.g., *acerbissima voce* ("with a very shrill voice") with a concern for the description of utterances and without implications of semantic meanings of *voce*. Adjectives and adverbs qualify the sound, and they grade it with respect to the impression made upon the hearer, i.e., the degree of loudness, the duration of time, the frequency of pitch, the absence of tone, or even the emotional effect, whether pleasing or unpleasant.

A distinction between articulated ("message for the mind") and non-articulated sounds can be observed in Seneca, *Epistula* 56, Sections 1-5. Specific

objects of *audio* early in the letter are *gemitus* ("groans") and *sibilos* ("whistling"), among others. Seneca in describing sounds reaching him from a bath house below his lodging indicates that the *clamores* type of sounds are not as distracting as the articulated *vox*. (Section 4: *magis mihi videtur vox avocare quam crepitus*: "a voice seems to me to be more distracting than a noise.")

A study of words indicating sounds can also include words noting *absence* of sound such as *silentium*, or *tacere*: "to refrain from articulate speech." A change of sound is confirmed by *sonum mutat* ("it changes sound"—section 1 in the Seneca passage). Some sounds can be of imitative origin, e.g., verbs used when various animals emit sounds comparable to terms like *bark* or *bleat* in English. While there is often agreement by scholars on most words that can be considered onomatopoeic, there are some which are less sure of inclusion in that category, and there is not complete accord as to what combination of letters may indicate sounds that may be thought of as being imitative. These "expressif" words often involve at least one of the following: reduplication (*baubari*, "to bark gently"), an initial syllable imitating the sound (*bilbire*, "to gurgle"), combinations of stops and liquids at the beginning of or within the words (*mugilare*, "to bellow"), and a variety of Latin words related to Greek words, when the latter have been considered to be onomatopoeic.

An interesting category of words that can be included is that of nursery words, and as Wackernagel (1869: 92) says, an infant is in many respects more like an animal than a human. He points out that the letters *m*, *b*, and *p* (all made by the lip action) are often involved in words expressing onomatopoeic sounds. Tongue noises like *t* or *l* (cf. *lallare*, "to say 'lala'") also occur. It is noteworthy that some things of greatest importance to a child. e.g., *mamma* ("breast"), *mater* ("mother"), *bibere* ("to drink") and *panis* ("bread") all bear the initial "lip letters." Jesperson (1921:396) speaks in a skeptic tone of scholars' interests in the onomatopoeic area:

> The idea that there is a mutual correspondence between sound and sense, and that words acquire their contexts and value through a certain sound symbolism, has at all times been a favourite one with linguistic dilettanti, the best-known examples being found in Plato's *Kratylos*. Greek and Latin grammarians indulge in the wildest hypotheses to explain the natural origin of such and such a word. . . . with those early writers, to make guesses at sound symbolism was the only way to etymologize; no wonder, therefore, that we with our historical methods and our wider range of knowledge find most of their explanations ridiculous and absurd. But this does not justify us in rejecting any idea of sound symbolism, *abusus non tollit usum*!

Onomatopoeia is a large study in itself, and further discussion of that aspect is beyond the limited scope of this general discussion. Let it be noted, however, that every language is richer for the number of onomatopoeic sounds that it includes,

even if the speculations of the past may have been capricious or fanciful as to the origins of expressif aspects of words thought to fit into this area of imitative sound.

Once a large number of contexts with the "sound" words has been established—with some indications of frequency of use in a particular meaning, a discussion of the words in question can be given, noting the primary meanings as well as figurative or transferred meanings. For example, *balare* ("to bleat") can be found associated many times with *ovis* ("sheep"), *agni* ("lambs"), *pecus* ("cattle"), *gregis* ("flock"), and *haedi* ("goats"). (It is natural that a word which indicates bleating would be used of animals known for making that sound.) *Balare*, attested since Plautus, is one of several Latin words with an initial(*bl-*), combination (stop + liquid). In addition to describing the bleating of animals, the figurative uses of *balare* refer to what sounds a man might make. Thus the word is also used with *vir* ("man, male") and *hostiae* ("enemy"). A similar word in Greek, beginning with the same consonants (*bl-*), refers also to the bleating of animals. Naturally, the evidence of the *oldest* contexts is of considerable use in determining original or archaic uses of words in question with consequent meanings identified.

Not only can one deal with individual verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs in trying to determine their precise meanings, but one can deal with specific sounds, such as shouting, singing, or weeping, to determine the variety of words used to note these situations. Some of the human sounds may be made quite purposefully, while others like coughing or sneezing may be involuntary. It may be of interest to discover what words relating to sounds from specific animals or creatures were used in the Latin language. A blackbird (*merulus*) may be cited with *fritinnire*, *zinziare*, *zinzitare*, *balbutire*, *fringultire*, *frendere*, *modulari*, *canere*, *cantus*, and *canticum*. In the case of adverbs or adjectives, some words pertain to duration and frequency of tones, to volume and intensity, as well as to range of tones. Some words may indicate an emotional effect on the hearer, such as sounds conducive to an indication of happiness or sadness. Some words, e.g., *aeratus*, may indicate the sound produced by brass or bronze items or may refer to the visual effect thereof.

A study of this kind can then be very revealing and interesting, but it is a painstaking enterprise in which many dozens of authors and many hundreds of citations with meaningful contexts must be scrutinized. An individual author may not always use the same word in the same way in all his writings, but generally the meanings which are arrived at from the procedures described are not as hard to ascertain, and the variety of meanings of some words is quite surprising. Similar studies could well be made with other categories of Latin words, but the student of semantics must be prepared for a prodigious task!

LATIN AND SPANISH: THE ORIGINAL FABRIC, WITH ALTERATIONS AND SUBSTITUTIONS

by Andrew J. Adams

Latin and Spanish: The Original Fabric, with Alterations and Substitutions

Classical Greek has one descendant today, namely Modern Greek. Classical Latin, however, has five major offspring, called not "Modern Latin" but given various national names. Thus Latin, with its well-documented subsequent development in five different environments, is of considerably greater interest to the linguist than is Greek. Of this quintet of progeny, Spanish most closely resembles its parent in several significant ways (French and Romanian are the most dissimilar).

The morphological similarities between Latin and Spanish can be quite striking, especially when a few predictable patterns are taken into account. An enormous number of Spanish words can be recognized by the classicist by applying the following principles.

GENERAL RULES

(A) Simplification and abbreviation are extremely common:

1.) Final letters, and occasionally even final syllables, may disappear.
Examples: *difficilis* > *difícil*
sine > *sin*
accommodatio > *acomodación*

2.) The final *e* of all infinitives is dropped, as is the final *t* of the third-person verb. (Spanish words cannot end in *t*.)
Examples: *amare* > *amar*
ponere > *poner*
ire > *ir*
amat > *ama*
sentit > *sienti*

3.) Double letters often become single letters (but assimilated prefixes tend to dissimilate).
Examples: *communis* > *común*
immensus > *inmenso*
commiseratio > *conmiseración*
effectus > *efecto*
carissimus > *carísimo*

4.) *ae* becomes *e*, as does *oe*.
Examples: *Caesar* > *César*
poena > *pena*

(B) The accent, which in Spanish almost invariably falls on the same syllable it did in Latin, produces these vowel changes:

5.) Accented *e* becomes *ie*.

Examples: *merda* > *mierda*
sexta [*hora*] > *siesta*
festa > *fiesta* (but *festivo*)

6.) Accented *o* often becomes *ue*.

Examples: *bonus* > *bueno*
noster > *nuestro*
fons > *fuente* (but *fontanoso*)

7.) Accented *au* becomes *o*.

Examples: *aurum* > *oro*
taurus > *toro*
causa > *cosa*

(N.B. Learned words and those of Greek origin, however, retain the *au*, as in *augur*, *auto*.)

(C) Miscellaneous:

8.) An unvoiced consonant between vowels, or at the end of a word, often becomes voiced.

Examples: *aqua* > *agua*
amicus > *amigo*
vita > *vida*
totus > *todo*
dico > *digo*

9.) Voiced consonants between vowels are sometimes retained but sometimes disappear.

Examples: *subire* > *subir*
credere > *creer*
legere > *leer*

10.) Initial *f* before a vowel usually becomes *h*.

Examples: *facere* > *hacer*
fatum > *hado*

11.) Initial and preconsonantal *s* becomes *es*.

Examples: *sperare* > *esperar*
stare > *estar*
scala > *escala*

12.) *li* becomes *j*.

Examples: *mulier* > *mujer*
alium > *ajo* ("garlic")

13.) Nouns enter Spanish via the accusative case, minus the *-m*. (No Spanish words end in *-m*, and this Latin *m* was lightly pronounced by the people and virtually ignored by the poets).

Examples: *pater (patrem)* > *padre*

nox (noctem) > noche
liber (librum) > libro.

SPECIFIC COMMENTS

The thirteen general rules above cover thousands of cases, and more rules can be formulated--this is by no means an all-inclusive list. The general rules of course have exceptions, many of which can be attributed to the influence of other languages (often French), or to technical, educated, or relatively recent borrowing from Latin; in some cases anomalous forms baffle the linguistic historian. Below are remarks on various topics that may aid the classicist in understanding Spanish.

•Re Rule 2: There are only four monosyllabic infinitives in Spanish: *dar* (<*dare*), *ir* (<*ire*), *ser* (<*esse*, very irregular), and *ver* (<*videre*).

•Re Rules 5 and 6: These rules explain the nuisance of Spanish verbs with vowel changes in the stem. For example, *constare > costar* and *constamus > costamos,* but *constat > cuesta.* Likewise, *sentire > sentir* and *sentimus > sentimos,* but *sentit > siente.*

•Re Rule 9: *Ego* is indeed the ancestor of *yo*. First the intervocalic *g* disappeared, producing *eo* (so spelled in the 12th century), and then a y-glide was added to avoid a diphthong not common in Spanish.

•Re Rule 11: This rule has virtually no exceptions; the only words in Spanish that begin with *s* plus a consonant are borrowings, such *ski, sputnik,* and *svástica*. Thus Latin's distaste for initial *s* plus *l, m, n,* a combination frequent in English, is expanded to include all consonants.

•Re Rule 13: That the words used as illustrations derive from the accusative and not the ablative is proven by such words as *tiempo (<tempus)* and *cuerpo (<corpus).*

•Spanish has only two genders for nouns; almost all neuters in Latin were converted to masculine, which they more closely resembled in declension than the feminine. With this process in mind, it may be stated that in virtually all cases Spanish retains the Latin gender faithfully. Thus classicists are not fazed by such apparently illogical gender assignments such as *la mano* and *el día*. Likewise another set of plausible exceptions to Spanish rules of gender can be explained away by remembering that words borrowed from Greek will become masculine in Spanish, despite the noun's ending in *-a* (for example, *el programa* and *el sistema*) (Butt and Benjamin 1988:7).

Lingua nostra articulum non desiderat, remarked a Roman grammarian, who tried to approximate the Greek definite article by translating it for his readers as *hic, haec, hoc*. Yet all of Latin's children have articles both definite and indefinite, with the definite article in each language having its source in *ille, illa,* etc. Ironically, *hic* disappeared entirely from Spanish, its role taken over by *este* and *esta* (<*iste*).

•With negligible exceptions, the Latin accent is preserved in Spanish. Several of the Spanish accent marks serve to distinguish meaning, such as *si* (<*si*) and *sí* (<*sic*) or *de* (<*de*) and *dé* subjunctive, <*dem* or *det*).

•Although Spanish (and all other Romance languages) abandoned the case system (except for pronouns), vestiges of the declensions remain. The most visible of these is the Spanish adverbial suffix of *-mente* (*-ment* in French). It derives from the Latin *mens*, and is in origin an ablative of matter: *certa mente* > *ciertamente*; thus the gender of this Latin noun is preserved in all Spanish adverbs of this type. A few genitives survive too, as in *martes* (<*martis dies*) and *jueves* (<*jovis dies*), but nearly all uses of the genitive case were appropriated by the preposition *de*.

•Finally, let us make a few syntactical points. In many ways Spanish is simpler in construction than its parent--the word order is much like English, and gone are the cumbersome *oratio obliqua*, the awkward negative imperative of *noli* + the infinite, most passive verb forms, and the popularity of the ablative absolute. There is a full array of subjunctive uses, which however have been under relentless attack and encroachment by the indicative; no new uses for the subjunctive have developed in Spanish.

Yet in some respects Latin presents less difficulty to the student; for example, the Spanish verb, despite its general discarding of the passive voice, is far more complex and elaborate than Latin, which contented itself with only six tenses. Further obstacles in Spanish are the scores of complex and subtle grammatical rules, many of which do not become apparent in the first or even the second year of study. Part of Spanish's reputation as an "easy language" is due to the fact that many of its frustrating intricacies are not encountered except by more advanced students.

FURTHER EXAMPLES

The general rules given above do not work in a vacuum or to the exclusion of others; some of the examples given above in fact involve several rules in operation simultaneously. Here are further illustrations of linguistic forces working together:

Two rules

schola > *escuela* (Rules 6, 11)
trahere > *traer* (2, 9)
ferrum > *hierro* (5, 10)
mors > *muerte* (6, 13)
date (imperative) > *dad* (1, 8)
rota > *rueda* (6, 8)

filius > *hijo* (10, 12)
aut > *o* (1, 7)

Three rules

aetas > *edad* (4, 8, 13)
audire > *oír* (2, 7, 9)
fugere > *huir* (2, 9, 10)

Four rules

pacavit > *pagó* (2, 7, 8, 9)

This final example is from the Latin perfect tense, third person singular. The intermediate forms were something like this: *pacaut, pacau, pacó, pagó.* The sense of this verb has shifted in the transition from "pacify" to "pay": receiving money has a calming effect; the English word "pay" also comes ultimately from the Latin *pax*.

* * * * *

So much for similarities. While the form of words in Spanish is fairly predictable, based on the Latin original, lexical changes may transpire, too. Some words, even those of the highest frequency in Latin, seem to leave no descendants in Spanish (such as puer, ("boy") which was replaced by *muchacho*, a word of obscure origin, and *sinister* ("left"), dropped because of superstition and supplanted by the Basque word *izquierdo*). This phenomenon can be demonstrated in many languages, of course; the interesting thing in this regard is that in so many cases the Latin word which fell into disuse had its function assumed by another word which was itself of Latin origin (or even Greek). We now turn to this subject.

Cases in point include *ignis*, ("fire") which was replaced by *fuego* (<*focus,* "fireplace," "hearth"). *Viá*, ("road") so common in Latin, yielded in many cases to *calle*, which comes from the humble *callis* ("trail," "cowpath"). A common class noun, *avis* ("bird") was relegated to mostly technical and poetic niches as the species as *passer* ("sparrow") took flight, becoming *pássaro* by the twelfth century, and evolving finally into the present-day generic *pájaro*.

Illustrations of other nouns suffering the same fate include the following: *frater* ("brother") and *soror* ("sister") disappeared, replaced in Spanish by *hermano* and *hermana*, both from *germanus*, which means "real," "true," but also "having the same father." The legal-minded Romans, with their stress on exact relationships and ancestry, used these two words together, as in Terence's *frater*

germanus. A more devious route is that taken by the surrogate of *labor,* the Spanish *trabajo:* through a complicated process, the new word for "work" comes from *tri-* (<*tres*) and *palus,* the *tripalium* (Alonso 1958:3.4000, a three-pronged stake used by the military for torturing (**tripaliare*). This same combination gives us the English "travail" and "travel" as well--a reminder of earlier times when traveling was often a harrowing and challenging enterprise.

Even a person's name may make its way into the dictionary. An acquaintance of both Cicero and Julius Caesar was a certain horticulturalist, Gaius Matius. He perfected a famous type of apple (*malum,* a word etymologically unrelated to the adjective "bad") which came to be called the *malum matianum.* As time went by, the adjective took precedence over the noun, giving ultimately *manzana* (Corominas 1961:372). This Latin word for apple was originally borrowed from the Doric Greek *malon*, so mention of a pair of other Greek words traveling to Spanish via Latin will be made here. *Avunculus* ("uncle") was ousted by a Greek word, *theios*, meaning both "divine" and "uncle," which gives the Spanish *tío* and *tía*. And the odd-looking Spanish noun *reloj* ("clock") is nothing more than a contraction of the Greek *horologion* (Latin *horologium*).

Some fairly common Latin verbs were likewise displaced by other verbs of Latin origin. *Portare* ("to carry") is still used in Spanish, but *portar* appears relatively infrequently in comparison with *llevar* (<*levare*, "to lift"). The role of *advenire* and *pervenire*("to arrive") was taken over by *llegar* (<*plicare*, "to fold," perhaps a reference to rolling up the sails of a ship on arrival in port.

Nor is this phenomenon limited to nouns and verbs; here are some examples of other parts of speech that followed this trend: *sed* ("but") died out, its place taken by *pero* (<*per hoc*, "through this") The common word for "perhaps," *fortasse*, vanished, its sense appropriated by *quizá* (<*quis sapit*?, "who knows?"). *Nunc* ("now") has a three-syllable replacement, *ahora,* which is actually from an ablative of time, *hac hora* ("in this hour"). *Procul* and *longe* crossed the lexical Styx, while the new words for "far," "at distance," *lejos*, was supplied by *laxius*, the comparative of *laxus* ("spacious," "wide"). The handy *mecum* ("with me") survives, but with an addition, as *conmigo*. Typical alterations first made this Latin word into *migo*, where it stayed for a while. Then people lost sight of the disguised "with," and so began adding it again, this time at the beginning of the word (cf. *contigo*). Thus by derivation the Spanish expression *conmigo* means, literally, "with-me-with."

One of the first words learned by Latin students, and a very common word at that, namely *magnus*, ("great, large") lost its popularity. There is a Spanish word *magno*, but it is rare and learned; the everyday word is *grande* (<*grandis,* a perfectly classical Latin word, used occasionally by Cicero). *Magnus* lives on, however, as part of the Spanish word for "size" (as in "size ten"), *tamaño* (< tam magnus, "so large").

Finally let us mention the Spanish word for "money," *dinero*, which provides, like *pájaro*, an illustration of the specific replacing the generic. The Spanish word is simply the modern form of *denarius*, a common Roman silver

coin (but it is only fair to mention that even in Classical Latin *denarius* was often used as a general term in place of *pecunia*). That the substitution in common parlance of *denarius* for *pecunia* must have taken place early in the history of the Romance languages is shown by the fact that today there are nine countries, including Tunisia and Iraq, which have currency called the *dinar* or some very similar term.

All of these illustrations show how words of once common frequency may be discarded by a daughter language for less familiar terms, just as young people often turn away from the ideas of their parents. However, let us note in closing that many of these "rejected" words live on in specialized or learned senses, such as *ignición, percuniario, portador* and *fraternidad.* Thus a new generation can disguise but not entirely eliminate what it has inherited from its ancestors.

DE VERSIONE LATINA

by

Konrad Gries

De Versione Latina

It would seem that there have always been people willing and eager to try their hand at a *versio Latina*, at turning something written in Greek or English or some other language into the best Latin of which they were capable. At least almost always.

At any rate, perhaps the first such *versio* of which we know and have specimens is Livius Andronicus' translation into Saturnines of Homer's *Odyssey* (*Virum mihi, Camena, insece versutum*). That was back in the third century B.C. From then on, one might say, the Romans were "hooked" on Greek literature, which they admired, imitated, and adapted (as did Plautus and Terence), and occasionally translated. We all know Catullus' *Ille mi par esse deo videtur*, that lovely rendition of Sappho's *phainetai moi kenos isos theoisin*. Even the great Cicero, at least in his younger days, found time to translate Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, Plato's *Protagoras*, and, in verse, Aratus' astronomical *Phaenomena*. In his own writings Cicero not infrequently inserted translated snippets from Homer and Greek tragedy.

By now, most Romans seem to have become practically bilingual, so that there was no further need for translations from the Greek, although we do have fragments of another version of Aratus, by one Claudius Caesar, usually identified with Germanicus, son of Tiberius' brother Drusus; we may assume this to have been a hobby of the prince. More mysterious is the reason that in the fourth century impelled one Avienus or (Avienius) to produce another Latin translation of the *Phaenomena*.

The most famous, and certainly the most influential, Latin translator of all times is undoubtedly St. Jerome (331-420), who was a late contemporary of Avienus. There had been, of course, Latin versions of the Gospels before him, but it was his revision of these texts, together with his translation from the Hebrew of the Old Testament, which became the standard Latin text of the Bible—the Vulgate.

As the knowledge of Greek gradually faded in the western half of the Roman Empire, and as interest in literature as such became even more restricted, the few translations made from the Greek were of philosophical authors: Plato, Aristotle, Porphyry. The outstanding name here is that of Boethius (480-524), whose efforts in this direction centered on Aristotle.

Thus far translations had been made into the native language of the translator. When the history of these Latin translations resumes—after the barbarian invasions, the dissolution of the Roman Empire, and the so-called Dark Ages—the vehicle of translation, though a "living" language still freely used in ordinary discourse, is still a language acquired not in the home but at the monastery and church schools where alone Latin continued to hold sway.

The Carolingian Renaissance was fortunate in having at least one scholar who seems to have known Greek well enough to have undertaken a translation into Latin from that language: John the Scot "Erigena," head of the palace school of Charles the Bald during the ninth century, who was commissioned by the king to translate—of all things—the mystical works of a sixth-century Christian Neo-Platonist known as Dionysius the Areopagite.

The intellectual life of the Middle Ages centered on scholasticism, the attempt to reconcile Scripture with the philosophies of such pagan thinkers as Plato and Aristotle. Relying at first on such fragments of these as could be found, for example, in Cicero, Boethius, and St. Augustine, they obtained more extensive information from an unexpected source: translations into Latin from Arabic. Aside from very occasional translations from the original Greek (some of Aristotle in 1128, Plato's *Phaedo* and *Meno* about 1160), the bulk of this information came through the commentaries and translations of such Muslim and Jewish scholars as Averroes and Maimonides. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries these were in turn put into Latin, serving as a stopgap until the capture in 1204 of Constantinople by the soldiers of the fourth crusade gave the Schoolmen access to original Greek manuscripts. Thus eminent scholars of the time like Robert Grosseteste, chancellor of Oxford, and St. Thomas Aquinas were able to make use of Latin translations made directly from the Greek of Plato and Aristotle, many of which they themselves commissioned. Among the many known and unknown authors of these translations mention must be made of "William the Fleming," as Roger Bacon called William of Moerbeke, whose many translations included works of Aristotle, Galen, Hippocrates, Proclus, and Simplicius.

With the advent of the Renaissance proper, dated by Sandys (1903:II.1) to the death of Dante in 1321, and the general fading of Scholasticism came a great expansion of the material available for translation from Greek to Latin, which was still the universal language of the intellectual community. Under the stress of the Turkish menace, which threatened to overwhelm what was left of the Byzantine Empire, the last Palaeologue emperors pleaded unavailingly for help from the western powers. Many of their envoys, including Manuel Chrysoloras (1350-1415), not merely brought with them Greek manuscripts but often settled in Italy, where they inspired a love of Greek in such men of letters as Leonardo Bruni and Poggio Bracciolini. The influx of emigrants from the east was not halted by the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and Greek manuscripts continued to become more available. Translation into Latin inevitably followed, produced both by such Greeks as Theodorus Gaza (c.1400-1475) as well as by the leading men of the Italian Renaissance: Francesco Filelfo, Poggio, Pier Candido Decembrio, Laurentino Valla, and many others. Not to be left unmentioned is the influence of Pope Nicholas V (1397-1455), who sponsored the translation into Latin of many Greek texts. By the time that printed editions of Greek originals began to be produced in the sixteenth century, most of them had already become known through Latin translations.

Though still widely prevalent, the use of Latin as a vehicle for literary and scholarly works gradually gave way to the more convenient employment of the European vernaculars; when translations seemed appropriate, they were made into English, or French, or German. As the centuries passed, Latin—outside of the Roman Catholic Church—became a language to be learned by largely unwilling boys in the schoolroom. Translation into Latin was a chore imposed upon the hapless pupil as part of his supposedly intellectual education. Although Latin continued to be used for scholarly works such as Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), the astronomical writings of Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler, Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia* (1687), and learned introductions and commentaries to editions of the Greek and Latin classics, the art of translating into Latin seemed destined to join the dinosaurs.

But the love of Latin did not disappear. The twentieth century has, in fact, witnessed a revival, not merely of the use of Latin for original composition in both prose and verse (as in such Latin journals as *Vox Latina* and *Hermes Americanus*, and in the annual *Certamen Hoeufftianum*, to mention just a few), but also in a veritable spate of translations. Produced not for the sake of monetary gain, or because of popular demand, but—it would appear—for sheer joy, these translations demonstrate once again that the venerable language of Cicero and Catullus is still capable of expressing the best of modern and contemporary thought. And so this brief survey of the vicissitudes undergone by the *versio Latina* may close with a sampling of the riches at the disposal of those who still love and appreciate the ancient tongue. Many of these came to my attention during my long tenure as editor of *The Classical Outlook*, a few actually first appeared in this publication.

I begin with two slender volumes of verse translations edited by Herbert H. Huxley: *Carmina: MCMLXIII* (1963) and *Corolla Camenae* (1969). The authors translated range from Sappho and Euripides to Hillaire Belloc and Walter de la Mare; the poets include such noted classicists as A. S. F. Gow and Maurice Platnauer. Outstanding are the contributions of Harry C. Schnur (C. Arrius Nurus), winner of the *Certamen Hoeufftianum* for his *In Stultitiam Satura* (1963). Two other volumes include renditions from the entire corpus of European literature, including Schiller and Goethe, Ronsard and Malherbe, Emma Lazarus and A. E. Housman, even "Mother Goose Rhymes" (*Carmina Anserina*): *Pegasus Tolutarius* (1961) and *Pegasus Claudus* (1976). A former president of the American Classical League, Van L. Johnson, has included some of his own translations in *Tenuis Musa* (1960). Concentration on translation from French poetry marks the *Cycnea Carmina* of Paul L. Callens, S. J. (1966), who has put into Latin meters *500 proverbs* (1968; e.g., *Non umquam tegitur musco revolubile saxum*). Of unusual interest are the translations contained in L. W. de Silva's *Latin Elegiac Versions* (1966): A judge in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), this gifted amateur demonstrates once again the versatility and charm of the Latin Muse.

Probably the most ambitious of the prose translations of which I know is that of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883; *Insula Thesauraria*,

1921) by Arcadius Avellanus, a Hungarian who taught at St. John's University in New York City during the first decades of the twentieth century. (This translation is currently being reissued in *Hermes Americanus*.) I suppose *Treasure Island* is essentially a book for the young. This is certainly true of the other modern translations I have seen. Whether they are accomplishing one of their aims, to provide more attractive reading matter for those beginning the study of Latin, is a question for others to investigate. It is enough here to say that they are all delightful and worth the attention and admiration of every Latinist. Those in my possession are: *Pinoculus*, Enrico Maffacini's (1953) translation of C. Collodi's *Pinocchio* (1883); *Winnie Ille Pu*, Alexander Lenard's (1960) version of A. A. Milne's *Winne The Pooh* (1926); *Ferdinandus Taurus*, Elizabeth Chamberlayne Hadas' (1962) rendering of Munro Leaf's *The Story of Ferdinand* (1936); G. M. Lyne's (1962) *Maria Poppina ab A ad Z*, the Latin version of Pamela L. Traver's (1962) *Mary Poppins from A to Z*; *Alicia in Terra Mirabili*, Olive Harcourt Carruthers' (1964) translation of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* (1865); *Magus Mirabilis in Oz*, C. J. Hinke and George van Buren's (1987) version of L. Frank Baum's *The Wizard of Oz* (1900) ; and, last but not least, *Tela Charlottae*, the Latin translation of E. B. White's *Charlotte's Web* (1952) by our esteemed honorand, Bernice Fox (1991).

I cannot bring this brief survey to a close without giving honorable mention to not one but two different versions of a universal favorite, Busch's *Max und Moritz* (1920), the models for the notorious Katzenjammer Kids that adorned the Sunday "funny papers" of my youth. One, by G. Merten (1933) is entitled *Max et Moritz: facinora puerilia septem dolis fraudibusque peracta*: the other, by Hugo Henricus Paoli (1959), bears the title *Maximi et Mauritii Malefacta*. The Italian poet has not only translated Colladi's *Pinocchio* as *Pinoculus Latinus* (1962), but he has also put Busch's *Fabellae Pueriles* into Latin (1960). The last couplet of the latter may serve as an *envoi* to this brief survey of the *versio Latina*, to illustrate once more the multifarious virtues of this ancient tongue:

extremos propere sic tangunt omnia fines:
desinit hic cantus musicus atque liber.

BRAVE NEW WORDS OF THE 1980S

by Richard Lederer

Brave New Words of the 1980s

A *baby boomer* (we'll call her Boomer for short), tired of the life in the *fast track* spent *networking* with *yuppies*, *yumpies*, and *dinks*, disconnected her *cellular phone* and paid some *megabucks* to go to a *fat farm*. Feeling like a *couch potato*, she stopped her *feeding frenzies* with *calzone* and *chimichanga* and gave the *high five* to *grazing* on *nouvelle cuisine*.

As newly-minted words added to the currency of the language of the *wicked awesome* 1980s, Boomer had become confused with a world in which the parts of speech and meanings of words had transmogrified under her very eyes and ears. *FAX*, *Fedex*, and *microwave* had turned into verbs, and Bill Murray got *slimed* in the 1984 blockbuster *Ghostbusters*. A *hunk* no longer meant simply a large lump of something, and *channeling* became a new medium. *Crack* meant more than just a small opening, and a *pocket* wasn't just for pants. A *bar code* was no longer just ethics for lawyers or the etiquette of behavior in a café, and *rap* wasn't just '60s talk. *Zapping* was not something that futuristic ray guns did but something that people did with a microwave or a television remote control. A *set point* was no longer just a tennis score, and *spin* was not just what a tennis ball did, especially in the hands of the *spin doctors*. *CDs* were no longer just certificates, and the computer had thoroughly befuddled her sense of *back up*, *bit*, *boot*, *crash*, *disk*, *hacker*, *memory*, *menu*, *mouse*, *park*, *scroll*, *virus*, and *window*. Boomer began feeling like a *no-brainer gomer*, a totally *loose cannon*, and a *ditzy airhead*.

As the 1980s had unfolded, our disoriented Boomer found that the business of America appeared to be business, and the business of business was to devise a whole new lexicon of terms to describe new fiscal realities. Courtesy of President Reagan (who gave us a new use of *teflon*), we entered an era of *Reaganomics*, *supply-side* and *trickle-down* economics, and *Laffer curves*. The 1980s were a "golden" age of commerce—*golden handshakes*, *golden hellos*, and *golden parachutes*. The increasingly *proactive* world of business also gave us *automatic tellers*, *baby Bells*, *debit cards*, *entry level*, *intrapreneurs*, *pink collar*, *power breakfasts*, *lunches*, and *ties*, *programmed trading*, *quality circles*, *queen bees*, *telemarketing*, and *white knights*.

But Boomer found that life among the *movers and shakers* was fraught with the perils of *greenmail*, *hostile takeovers*, *junk bonds*, *leveraged buyouts*, and *poison pills*. It was also a decade of considerable business monkey business—*sleazebags* and *sleazeballs* engaging in *white-collar crime* and *insider trading*, often leaving *paper trails* that led to *smoking guns* and *white-collar prisons*.

As the decade rolled along, Boomer was bombarded with hundreds of brave new words for a brave new world of science and technology. She found herself playing *telephone tag* with such *cutting edge* dictionary entries as *blusher*,

bullet train, *call forwarding* and *waiting*, *cold fusion*, *faux pearls* (and *faux* anything else), *fuzz-buster*, *greenhouse effect* (coined in 1937, but really an '80s word, like *ozone depletion*), *makeover*, *microwavable*, *nuclear winter*, *SDI* and *Star Wars* (not just a movie anymore), *super collider*, *tanning booth* and *bed*, *voice activated*, and *voice mail* (a new oxymoron). As the wonders of the computer *impacted* on her mind, she learned new *user-friendly* ways to *access information*: *desktop publishing*, *kludge*, *laptop*, *microcomputer*, *numbers crunching*, *Pcs*, and *spreadsheets*.

Boomer discovered a boom in the world of medicine: *arthroscopy*, *attention deficiency*, *bikini cut*, *genetic counseling*, *geriatrician*, *Ibuprofen*, *in vitro fertilization*, *liposuction*, *liquid diet*, *live liver donor transplant*, *Lyme disease*, *Minoxidil*, *passive smoking*, *PMS*, *seasonal affective disorder* (which yields the bacronym *SAD*), and *toxic shock syndrome*. For a while, she joined the fitness craze and became a *triathlete* who built up her *glutes* with *low-impact aerobics*, *aquacise*, *dancercise*, and *jazzercise*.

At the same time, Boomer was troubled by the spread of *AIDS* (perhaps *the* word of the 80s) and drugs through the decade and the population—*ARC*, *AZT*, *HIV positive*, *homophobia*, and *safe sex* (had it ever been safe?); *crackhead*, *crackhouse*, *freebase*, *gateway drug*, *ice*, *narcoterrorism*, and *strip search*.

Our Boomer became swept up in a decade marked by considerable political and social change, and this change in turn left its mark on the American language—*action clothing*, *bag lady*, *build-down*, *condo conversion*, *Contra*, *co-parent*, *designated driver*, *designer jeans* (*genes* or anything else), *disinformation*, *exit poll*, *extended care*, *gentrification*, *gerontocracy*, *glasnost*, *gridlock*, *high top*, *Intifada*, *mall rat*, *no-growth*, *quality time*, *perestroika*, *POSSLQ*, *rust belt* (or *bowl*), *seatbelt laws*, *significant other*, *single bar*, *stepfamily*, *superfund*, *surrogate mother*, and *wilding*.

During the '80s Boomer learned to come to terms with new entertainment terms, such as *boom box*, *breakdancing*, *cable-ready*, *camcorder*, *clear channel*, *colorization*, *closed* and *open captioned*, *docudrama* and *documusical*, *ghetto blasters*, *hacksack*, *high top*, *infotainment*, *MTV*, *new-wave music*, *new-age* anything, *slam dunk*, *snowboarding*, *sound bite*, *televagelist*, *veejay*, and *video*, *laser*, and *compact disks*.

Lucky Boomer. Throughout the '80s a growing interest by *foodies* in ethnic and regional cuisine added a menu of new words to the American palate and vocabulary—*bagel chips* and *dogs*, *blush wine*, *brew decaf*, *callaloo*, *corn dogs*, *dim sum*, *enoki*, *fajita*, *frozen yogurt*, *green goddess dressing*, *ground turkey*, *oat bran*, *sea legs*, *shiitaki*, and *wine coolers*.

Boomer wasn't really distraught. She knew that, just as one never steps in the same river twice, one cannot step in the same language twice—that, even as one enters, the words are swept downstream into the future, forever making a different river. Or, to switch the metaphor, she knew that language is like a tree that sheds its leaves and grows new ones so that it may live on. Changes in our vocabulary occur not from decay or degeneration. Rather, new words, like

new leaves, are essential to a living, healthy organism. A language draws its nutrients from the environment in which its speakers live. Throughout history, as people have met with new objects, experiences, and ideas, they have needed new words to describe them. During the 1980s, the tree of American English experienced a riot of new growth—a sign that our multifoliate language is deeply rooted in the nourishing soil of change.

Part III

English Literature

and

the Classical Tradition

PROFESSORS OF ENGLISH

by Jeremy McNamara

Professors of English

The argument started shortly after they left Cincinnati. Harold had turned on the Reds, delighted that there was an afternoon game from Chicago, relishing the winning season which coincided with his long-delayed return to his hometown. Even during all those years in New Jersey and California he had, during the summer months, tuned straightaway to the sports page every day, hoping for a Reds victory. One of his fellow vice-presidents, a rare native Californian, had been amused at this ritual: "You can take the boy out of southern Ohio, but you can't take. . ." But this particular boy hadn't wanted to be taken out of southern Ohio. And now he had it all. The years of wandering were over; the company was finally his. He could stay where he wanted to be and enjoy the perquisites of a lifetime of effort, perquisites which now included listening to the Reds whenever he wanted. And what was Katie demanding? That classical music station from Ohio State?

"Pa, just forty-five minutes, just enough to hear the Dvorak cello concerto. Mr. Fineburg thinks I should start work on that. He thinks I should be more ambitious." It was almost true, Katie thought. Her new cello teacher had suggested she push herself more, get more serious about the instrument. His advice seemed to fit in with one view of herself.

"But, Katie, honey, you must have a record of this Foreshuck fellow—and if you don't I'll buy you one right away. The game is unique; each pitch is unique; you never know when the big moment will happen."

Katie turned away to the padded interior of the door wishing her grandmother was holding her. At least the warm leather smell overcame the cigar and after shave mixture so characteristic of her father. Harold, glancing uneasily at his daughter, surreptitiously checked the automatic door lock, but didn't speak again or comment on the game.

Every time Harold checked the rear-view mirror he saw the cello looming up on the back seat. Why did she have to bring that along on a two-day trip to Camden College? Nobody had asked her to play up there; she was just going to look around his alma mater, to see what she thought. And what must they look like—a new maroon Lincoln Continental, license plate HM 1 (Harold Middleton 1 or His Majesty 1 as the girls put it) cruising along Interstate 71 with a cello perched on the back seat?

Nearing Columbus, though, a rain delay was announced; Katie, sitting up energetically, hoped to salvage the final movement, but Harold wouldn't relent. "Look, Katie, it's late August; the stretch drive is about to begin. Rose will be on in a minute, talking about the team's chances for the pennant. You wouldn't want me to miss that, would you, for just a few minutes of Coalshack or whatever."

"Don't miss a unique interview." Katie bit her lip. "Stop the car; I want to get in back."

"Settle down, Katie; I'm not stopping on the interstate unless there's a genuine emergency." He turned to smile at her, to charm her into submission as he always did but all he saw was a long tanned leg and a white sneaker as Katie turned and rolled over the back of the front seat. When it was safe to take his eyes off the road, he looked into the back and saw her clutching her cello, legs pulled up, hunched into the corner.

Harold never worried long about Katie. He concentrated on the increasing traffic and Rose's analysis of the Reds pitching staff. As they got closer to Greenwich, play resumed. It wasn't until they approached the final ascent to the village that Harold realized nothing had been said for over an hour. "This is called the Bishop's Backbone, honey," said Harold as he guided the car around the steep turns. "Named for the founder of the college."

From deep in the back came a muffled voice. "Precious bishop—weakling—if this is his backbone." Good, thought Harold, she's more like herself.

Katie held on to her cello as the car swayed around the sharp curves. At the top of the hill she saw some grass and trees, a few old buildings. Surely her father didn't expect her to attend college in this dismal hole. She had been all set to study cello at Southern Cal, but since returning to Ohio in January her pa had been pushing Camden College to her. Only the home state had virtue; only his past had value. "Never mind they don't have any cello instruction. We'll get the best cello teacher in the state; fly him up for lessons if need be. You just go look at the place with me; you'll know then. Let it work on you." But the proposed trip had been put off until August; Harold couldn't leave the company until his authority had been clearly established, or, as he put it "until the corruption of the former president was wiped away." Katie had sent in an application to Southern Cal; stubbornly she wouldn't apply to Camden. Harold wouldn't let her accept admission to Southern Cal or agree to pay any of her bills there. Her grandmother sympathized, but had no money of her own to help. That morning as they packed to leave Katie had thought of bringing the cello.

Having slowed at the top of the hill to give Katie a view of the college Harold turned left and parked. "Here's the Alumni Inn. Let's get the luggage in, then I'll show you around. I guess all your interviews are tomorrow."

All, thought Katie, he always did exaggerate; both would be more like it; the assistant director of admissions and some English professor—probably because her father had made her write English in the academic interest box, mainly because he had been an English major thirty years earlier. It wasn't, thought Katie, that she was to relive his college days for him; it was just that he couldn't conceive of her doing anything else. Well, at least Tobin Kingsley was dead; she wouldn't have to face her father's mentor, that saint whose praises had been sung all summer.

The attendant or hostess or whatever she was at the Alumni Inn was a long time in coming to the desk. When she did arrive, she looked askance at the cello Katie was clutching and, though the inn was empty of other guests, gave them rooms at the back of the top floor. Katie never relaxed her grip on the cello, so Harold had to make two trips to the car to get the luggage. But, as usual he turned the situation to advantage; he managed to get the last of the game on the car radio. After he delivered Katie's bags he heard her lock the door and soon something low and monotonous, a fingering exercise, came through the walls to him. When he knocked to get her to accompany him on a tour, the music did not stop, so he turned away. Better not push her now; by dinner she would be all right again. At least the Reds had won and he was back on Camden's campus; a moody daughter couldn't corrupt those joys.

He lit a cigar and strolled along middle path, noticing the many ruts in the surface and the unkempt grass and overgrown shrubs. Maybe he should send the college more money; for awhile his pleasure in the school had diminished with Tobin gone. But now that he himself was close to the school again, maybe he should get more involved, get on the board, really shape the place up. He was glad he hadn't resisted the change to coeducation, even though Tobin had written his "old boys" to fight to the end; even in retirement he had tried to work the old magic. The defeat had probably hastened his death, but then what was a retired bachelor professor going to do anyway? So now, with a clear conscience, Harold could support the idea of Katie attending Camden—and her two sisters as well when their time came. Harold stopped for a moment; there would be no son to follow him. Harold Jr. dead at fourteen in that surfing accident. Well he had always given them everything and everything in southern California included surfing. Even the most expensive instructors couldn't guarantee survival.

Harold contemplated the growing ash of his cigar tip, then impatiently flicked it off and continued his walk. Straight ahead was the ivy covered Old Camden, destroyed in a fire the year before Harold matriculated, rebuilt in his freshman year with as many of the original stones as possible, built to conform in appearance to the original building as closely as possible. Though many students had laughed at the retrograde movement, Harold had been rather pleased with this achievement. And there on the left, its stone steps hollowed by generations of students, stood Trinity Hall, where Tobin had his office and where Harold had taken most of his classes. Coming out the west door, squinting into a shaft of late afternoon sunlight was Angus McNeill, tall, spare, priestly looking. My God, thought Harold, he hasn't changed in thirty years.

II

On hot summer afternoons Angus McNeill liked being in his office in Trinity Hall where it was comfortable, even cool. The foot-thick stone walls with narrow arched windows like a medieval castle provided him more refuge from the sultry Ohio climate than his apartment in the tower of Drayton Hall. He enjoyed looking out from his office to the heart of the college; Gothic buildings surrounding a rectangular park, bisected by a tree-lined gravel path. The park. Because of heavy rains the college grounds were lush even now, in late summer, much more a park than a campus, a bare field. Somebody had known some Latin when the college was founded. On the gateposts marking the entrance to Douglas Park, the official name of the college grounds, more Latin proclaimed that one was entering the groves of academe. Groves there were; the thick foliage of the numerous trees

> "Annihilating all that's made
> To a green thought in a green shade"

in the words of Marvell.

Camden College had given Angus joy for over thirty years, yet he knew there were other lovely spots in the world. A cousin had once sent him a large book picturing the wild grandeur of New Zealand. Just the other day he had searched it out and was idly examining it that afternoon as he read over some notes on the writing career of Katherine Mansfield. What could have possessed her to leave such beauty. She hadn't left easily. Her anxiety had come out in two poems she had written, one on a snail which, fearful of life, stays shut in and another on a butterfly, eager for life, which ventures forth and is killed by a dog. The nineteen year old who turned her back on home and family for a literary career in London had truly been such a butterfly: two abortions, a one-day marriage, near-starvation, years of tuberculosis, death at thirty-four. Yet she had been driven to create, driven in her own way by the same artistic demon that had controlled James Joyce, making him give up family and nation in search of artistic expression, or D.H. Lawrence, compelled around the world by his artistic vision and the hope for a cure for the tuberculosis that claimed him at forty-five, or the gentler, more humane Anton Chekhov, Mansfield's particular model, also consumptive and dead in his forties. But it was not her corrupting sickness and death that Angus wanted to study and present to his class that fall, rather her living heritage of fiction, a handful of truly great stories, and that indomitable artistic will: the artist's attempt to create her own world in this world. Surely his students, budding artists or not, could learn from Mansfield's commitment. And more: her sense of discipline, the notion that an artist is not free to express a self but must submit to the reality that is outside and to the demands for artistic form.

Perhaps Mansfield was submitting in a sense when she left her comfortable home, though her family could only see her asserting freedom. Her recognition of the struggles of an artist was embodied in a grotesque image: "every artist cuts off his ear and nails it on the outside of the door for the others to shout into." Despite violence and vulgarity in all aspects of life around them Angus knew his students would be squeamish if he brought that line into class. He needed another tack.

Mansfield had quite an identity problem. She felt herself as many people and could, on occasion, be an entertaining mimic of others. One of the more bizarre episodes in her life occurred when she was struggling to establish herself as a writer in London in the early days. She was in the chorus of a touring musical for awhile, but turned her histrionic talents to greater gain when she would go to parties as an apparent guest and be a normal participant for part of the evening, but was in reality a paid performer who, for the entertainment of the guests would begin to mimic well-known personalities. This superficial assumption of another's identity became a deeper empathy and realization in her writing. "What a QUEER business writing is! I've been this man, been this woman." Yet if her art could give her an outlet for her many identities she could also go to the other extreme. Achieving an identity she found the self, the ego, getting in the way: "there is nothing worse for the soul than egoism; the word which haunts me is egocentric." She set as a goal the defeat of the personal, yet her life can not be separated from her art. She aimed finally to be least personal when most herself, to write from her own experience without intrusion of the authorial ego—a major contribution to the modern short story. Eventually her search for her true self brought her reconciliation to her New Zealand childhood. Many of her best and most characteristic stories are set in New Zealand and recapture that rich, intimate family life she found so stifling when growing up and which she fled from. As illness forced her into lonely hotel rooms and sanitoria she gradually retreated into the total privacy of her own vision of her childhood world.

Tobin's smile was cold. "My dress is appropriate for my station—Professor of English. One must keep up appearances. I trust your lapse in attire is simply self-indulgence while driving."

Tobin poured himself some more sherry. For the third time, thought Angus, assuming he started only when I came in, but didn't he have a half-empty glass when I saw him on the stairs?

"Speaking of appearances," Tobin was saying, "you certainly are aware that Camden is an Episcopal school. Tomorrow is Sunday and even during vacation you are expected to appear at divine services."

"I'd planned on sleeping in. Surely with no one around I won't be missed."

"All the more reason to attend. That's when discipline and keeping up standards really mean something."

"Well, I'll see." Angus held out his glass, hoping to get the key in return. Tobin didn't seem to want to leave the subject. "Your name implies Irish ancestry?"

"Blue-ribbon potato famine victim, or should that be green ribbon?"

"Ah, then you are Catholic?"

"Well, I started out that way."

"And now?"

"I was an altar boy, the whole bit. Some even thought I was in for the priesthood. One old parish priest in particular used to try to conjure up a vocation for me. He kept me after confession one day and confided that in his experience sex and money, not personality conflicts, were at the root of all the marital troubles he had dealt with. I didn't exactly know what to make of that. My poor old grandfather was living with us in those days. He was always on me to read, read whatever I could get my hands on. About that time I remember reading somewhere that fortune and romance were the basis of comic action, had been since classical times. I had rather thought humor was at the basis of comedy. That comment opened my eyes and seemed much more interesting to me than what the priest was telling. I guess with my grandfather's help I began drifting away from the church like he had, though my parents were still pretty regular about it. More and more, literature filled the gap. I mean, it sort of saved my soul. I guess I hope that in teaching I can do the same for others."

Tobin looked stern, even angry. "Don't succumb to that fallacy. Leave the soul-saving to religion. That's a Sunday task. You have them Monday to Friday so many weeks a year. Don't confuse your functions; it's hard enough as it is. And now, here's your key. Perhaps you will want to get settled in."

And all those years later Katherine Mansfield had nailed Tobin with a phrase—isolation like portraits on a wall. Once launched, Tobin's young men became portraits and very little else. They seemed not to touch Tobin emotionally. His teaching was entirely separate from his experience in Richmond. Somewhere in a neighboring town Tobin had a lady friend; she never came to the college. Angus learned later that Tobin planned to marry her when he retired.

Tobin attended "divine services" every Sunday but never read a religious book, or to Angus' knowledge, never uttered a religious remark at any other time. He faithfully taught Old English, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton as monuments to a dead culture, as intellectual exercises to toughen his protégés' minds. As he said once, "The study of English literature not only elevates the student above the common herd but leads not infrequently to positions of considerable emolument." Angus always thought the remark had been cribbed from some Victorian defender of classics at Oxford, a program Tobin often praised.

Seeing a middle-aged man standing outside Trinity Hall Angus decided to go out to test his hypothesis. It was indeed, the same Middleton. The well-fed, self-satisfied look he expected. What he hadn't expected was the nostalgia that seemed to grip Mr. Middleton and the invitation to dinner at Mount Rydal.

IV

Harold had learned from the lady at the Alumni Inn that there was now a first-class restaurant in Mount Rydal. As she put it, they were only an hour away from the northern suburbs of Columbus. The interstate made Greenwich and Mount Rydal less isolated than they had been in Harold's school days. Angus, waiting outside Drayton Hall, had managed to find a crumpled seersucker suit for the occasion. As he glanced at Harold enthroned behind the wheel of the Lincoln, resplendent in a blue blazer, Angus at first thought the maroon tie had a snail-shell pattern but later saw that it was a yacht club emblem. Katie wore a sheath dress of white silk with a leaf pattern, dangling gold earrings and many gold bracelets on her tanned arms. Her hair was piled on top of her head. On the drive to Mount Rydal she carried the conversation, turning slightly in the front seat to include Angus. She talked about the country club her family had joined in Cincinnati and compared its dignity and sense of tradition with the laid-back style she had known in California. She spoke of her tennis lessons and swimming feats as if she did nothing else throughout the summer. As they were entering Mount Rydal Harold prompted, "Why don't you tell him about your horse, honey." But they were soon at the restaurant; getting settled, ordering drinks, then dinner, occupied them for awhile. Angus toyed with a glass of wine, Katie sipped a coke, Harold quickly downed a martini and was well into the second one when he returned abruptly to talk of the horse. "A great thing, Angus, about this new club; they have stables and Katie's taken to horses like a—well, like a jockey."

"I'm really just a beginner, Professor McNeill."

"Nonsense, honey. You and El Dorado are inseparable. You'll certainly want to bring that horse to Camden."

"To the college? The stables are gone, now. You probably remember some from your day, but that sort of thing went out—maybe twenty years ago."

"It doesn't have to be in college. There must be stables around. I want Katie to have what she wants, her horse if need be. I can fly her instructor up once in awhile so she doesn't lose any of her edge."

"That won't be necessary, pa. I can ride when I'm home.

Harold's voice took on several degrees of tightness. "No, I want to be fair. I know I'm the one pushing Camden. I won't have you feeling I deprived you of anything." He reached over to touch her arm, but his voice didn't soften. To cover the awkwardness of Katie's silence he summoned the waitress for more drinks, but only Harold got one. Just before dinner arrived Harold held up what remained of his third martini. "Angus, it's good to see one familiar face. But here's to the face I can not see, the greatest teacher I ever had—to Tobin."

All through dinner Harold kept up a stream of reminiscence, stories of the faculty table where he had been Tobin's handpicked waiter for three years, stories that Angus wasn't too sure he himself remembered; stories of the fabled gatherings of Tobin's coterie, gatherings which did not take place in Tobin's rooms; queries to Angus if he knew anything certain of these students. Tobin always steered his coterie away from courses taught by Angus. "That man's just teaching journalism," he would say. "He thinks literature and life are the same. If they are, there's no literature." When word of this advice had first gotten back to Angus, struggling to gain a foothold in the department, struggling to introduce twentieth century courses into the hidebound curriculum, he had angrily confronted Tobin.

"I have no influence, my dear Angus. If my words are heeded by a handful of young men, how can such a state of affairs harm you. Especially when, as you shout from the rooftops, these wonderful writers you profess present life experiences similar to those of our undergraduates. I would think, Angus if there is any truth in what you assert, students in your classes would be as thick as leaves in Vallombrosa." Later, when Angus had managed to interest some students in what he was teaching, he had told Tobin that like John Henry Newman in 19th century Oxford, he was trying to be a moral as well as intellectual guide to the young men under his care. Tobin had merely scoffed, "I should have thought your apostasy would have cleansed Newmania from your soul." If Tobin hadn't been good for the occasional laugh they wouldn't have made it through twenty-five years, though Tobin rarely knew what Angus had been laughing at.

Even the meal and coffee didn't deter Harold from his mood of reminiscence. "You know, Angus, all those years at the faculty table, it's Tobin I remember. I don't have a clear picture of you at all. Let's see, I brought the plates to Tobin, I then brought him the serving dishes—"

Angus broke in. "That's right. Tobin parceled our food to each of us. We ate what we were given and only what we were given. Decorum and basically silence prevailed at faculty table. Tobin wanted us to set an example for the

unruly students who were much given to throwing bread and napkins about, particularly if they could land their missiles in someone's water or milk glass. We were to be above it all which meant, according to Tobin, following his lead. As he was the senior man, we didn't seem to have much choice."

"That's very strange. The table never seemed grim to me."

"You were dealing only with Tobin. As you say, you didn't pay much attention to the rest of us, sitting in strained anxiety, wondering if we would get enough to eat."

"Well I guess I didn't really know you very well. I don't believe I ever took a course from you. What was that stuff you were teaching—those modern novels—Joyce and Lawrence—and that woman writer—Woolf?"

"I plead guilty to all those, but I also taught the pillars of twentieth century literature—Yeats and Eliot. Weren't you ever curious about them?"

"Curiosity was vulgar, Tobin said. Stick to the tried and true. Develop our minds on something intellectually stimulating. Anything too close to our times was. . ."

Again Angus broke in. "Was journalism. I know. What was strange was that I shared Tobin's low opinion of journalism, but we couldn't agree on a definition. I kept trying to urge the importance of twentieth century writers to him, but when I couldn't produce a contemporary Shakespeare he considered his case proved."

Katie had been silent all through the reminiscences of the men, eating and glancing around at her fellow diners. But now her voice was animated. "I read *The Waste Land* in high school in California."

Angus laughed. "Eliot's safely a classic now. Maybe even Tobin would have caught up to him by now. I hope your father won't object to some Eliot in your courses here, if you should attend Camden. But we can go over all that in the morning."

Having spoken, Katie seemed to recede even more into herself. She was no longer the poised debutante of the evening's beginning. Closed in, she stared down at her plate. Finally Harold spoke. "Oh, we'll be there at ten. I want you to give Katie a good look at what Camden has to offer."

At that Katie looked up, her face sullen. "It's music that I want, Professor McNeill. I want to play the cello. That's all I really want."

Harold still wore his jovial host's smile on his face, but the intensity of Katie's remark stunned Angus. He searched his mind for a decent response while his voice went on mechanically. "We'll talk about it tomorrow. In my office. That will be better." Then within his mind a connection was made. "Let me tell you about something I was reading this afternoon." He glanced at Harold. "In my simple minded way I'm still pursuing twentieth-century writers and I've gotten up to—or back to—Katherine Mansfield. She wrote fewer than 100 short stories—some of them the best in the language. But she also left behind a writer's journal and many letters about what she was trying to do. In one of them she mentions her two responses to writing: a cry against corruption, an extremely

deep sense of hopelessness, of everything doomed to disaster, and real joy, a blissful state of peace. Perhaps we can move you, Katie, from a cry against corruption to real joy."

Harold stood up. "You're right, Angus. This isn't really dinner table conversation. Let's find real joy in driving back to Greenwich in my new Lincoln."

V

Angus went to his office at eight o'clock the next morning. He wanted to review all the academic programs at the college. Before Harold he did not want to show the slightest doubt or hesitation. He knew there was no cello instructor at Camden but he carefully read the Music Department's offering to see what Katie might expect. A phone call which got the Music Department's chairman out of bed elicited the information that no really decent cello instructor could be found in the area. Probably have to fly one up from Cincinnati, thought Angus as he cradled the phone.

At ten after ten Harold and Katie arrived. Harold was furious. "That admissions fellow kept us. After he learned I would be paying the whole bill, he wanted to know all about my business. He wouldn't believe I had been an English major here, figured I must have done econ, as he put it. If I were on the board, I'd fire that one; he seemed really incompetent to me."

Angus nervously showed them into chairs. "Mere professors don't know much about that side of things. We just gladly learn and gladly teach the students who are here."

Katie looked like the younger sister of the woman who had eaten dinner the evening before. She was wearing a simple beige skirt and a very plain white blouse. Her only jewelry was a white enameled butterfly on a gold chain around her neck; her hair hung straight. She sat silently, demurely, on a wooden chair; Harold had taken a stuffed chair; Angus was behind his desk. However Katie's eyes wandered about the room as if she were taking it in for future use. What there was to take in was books. Bookshelves everywhere except for the door and window openings, books lying on top of the upright shelved books, books spilling out onto the floor in places. Her glance finally settled on the desk with its covering of papers and documents. "I hope you're not going to quote grade points and ACT's at me, Professor McNeill. Those numbers aren't me; they're not my real self." She was actually trembling, like a leaf.

While Angus debated replying that he hoped to find her real self, Harold spoke. "It must be hard to find what you want in this clutter, Angus. Tobin never had more than a handful of books in his office, everything always neatly

arranged. Apparently studying the twentieth century means you are overwhelmed with books."

Angus snorted. "There are plenty of books on Shakespeare; more than would fill this office. Tobin just didn't have very many and never suggested to his students that they existed. I think he did go to the library occasionally and read something. He wasn't exactly non-intellectual, just somehow kept everything in compartments. His office, I recall him saying, was for appointments, phone calls, mail."

Harold scoffed. "I really didn't come all this way to hear about your differences with Tobin Kingsley and I do have to get back to my own office for an important appointment this afternoon." Katie glanced at him queerly. "What I do want is for you to tell my daughter about the great English program at Camden, assuming it still exists, make her want to come here and give up this nonsense of going back out to California and sawing away at that cello."

Angus couldn't resist. "You mean you want me to do your job of persuasion for you—to succeed where perhaps you couldn't?"

Harold exploded. "Success is not the issue. She'll go where I say. I want you to convince her to go here with some of that joy you mentioned last night."

Katie looked slyly at Angus. "You see the sort of corruption I'm crying out against; my artistic wishes are being corrupted."

Angus regarded Katie closely. "But doesn't the pursuit of art get in the way of tennis and horseback riding? I'm sorry to keep mentioning Katherine Mansfield but she talks about the artist being driven, being possessed; when it works well the artist is inspired and" he turned to his notes, thankful he had done so much homework that morning "as a sort of divine flower to all his terrific hard gardening there comes this unconscious wisdom."

Harold spoke confidently. "Katie doesn't want to be inspired. A woman's only need for wisdom is to raise a family. Music or art or whatever is just a sideline. That's just not a life for a woman."

Angus chose to ignore the sexist implications. "Katherine Mansfield felt that at times—felt that this driven quality was not what she wanted: 'I don't want to write; I want to LIVE!' she said at one point."

"I feel that, too, sometimes," said Katie. "I know it's disloyal to my music, but at times I just want to throw it all over and go off and do something else."

"Horseback riding at the club?"

"Oh, that's not important—that's just something the family wants me to do, to keep up appearances. That's only a small part of me. It's just that I'm so many things, I can't be sure I can be happy being only one."

Angus smiled. "Tobin would probably have been your man. I've never known anyone who could be so many different separate people." He turned to Harold. "I called his rooms Richmond—the capital of the confederacy, the great separatist among us—also his predilection for things English and medieval. But I was always fascinated by E.M. Forester's slogan in *Howards End*—'Only

connect—' Only connect the prose and the passion. So I borrowed the title from one of his other novels for my rooms—the rooms with a view. View is also Newman's word for an educational philosophy."

Harold wrinkled his brow. "You have too many explanations. Besides, the same tower can't be both separate and connected, can it? To me a fact's a fact."

"A tolerance for ambiguity comes with the territory for an English major, I should have thought. But to me the view means insight, knowledge about ourselves and the life around us. I tried to convince Tobin of that often."

"Tobin wouldn't have bought that and I expect he was right. Maybe with him gone I don't want Katie studying English here after all. Your version sounds soft to me, not rigorous like I remember."

"I'm not sure we're talking about rigor, but relationship. One good thing about literature is that you can usually find someone has put into words what you are thinking and haven't articulated yet or well. Mansfield talks about relating fictional characters to a broader spectrum, a continuity, the universe, history, to whatever appropriate universal applies. That's a goal I can endorse."

Katie looked intently at Angus. "That sounds a bit grand—but I sometimes feel that way when playing. I really feel caught up in a life beyond myself. But those good moments are rare; the next thing I know something else has broken in—some pimply guy calls me for a date, mother sends me shopping, pa man" she looked, not without affection at her father, "wants me to be an elegant young lady, to uphold the Middleton image. It's like for every moment of real joy there's hours of corruption to cry against."

"Very well put, Katie; I'd enjoy having you as a student; you'd certainly do well with Katherine Mansfield. Our society desperately needs those who will cry out against the corruption that's all around us. I rather think that's what Tobin was doing, in his own way. In each area of his life he tried to keep order and structure and standards. He just never saw any way to put them all together; there was no grace beyond the reach of art, no sense of joy. I won't say that I have it, but I think it exists and I am looking for it. Tobin would never grant me that much."

Katie smiled broadly. "Camden seems like a place where a person could find that sense of joy, Professor McNeill. Pa, you stay here and talk over old times with Professor McNeill. I'm going back to the inn. I want to try to play some Dvorak on my cello."

Angus watched her walk steadily from the room. "A final note from Katherine Mansfield, Katie. You turn over the leaf and you find a snail. Life will bring you snails along with the leaves."

"It doesn't have to," said Harold as he, too, walked out.

ESCAPE

by Paul Carlson

Escape

The rain was beating down unmercifully throughout the city that night. For the police it was a set back in their attempts to find a six-foot six-inch giant who had escaped from the State Asylum only a few hours before—a half witted brute with the delight in childish games. Though policemen had set up barriers around the institution, they were still unable to locate him.

For little Jerry Lewis the rain was an unlucky mishap. It was bad enough to have to walk past the asylum in good weather; in bad weather it was dreadful. He had stayed at the movie longer than he was supposed to, and to make up for lost time, he pushed aside his fear of the asylum and started in its direction. To cross the grounds was the only shortcut home.

The city seemed quiet and dark to Jerry as he walked along. The buildings were murky shadows jutting upward into the grey, fog-filled sky. These buildings were pushed together like the bellows of an accordion. Lights polka-dotted the sidewalk from an occasional window, high above the streets. The cheerless weather lashed out at everyone who was not sheltered from it.

The piercing tones of the asylum clock doled out eight forlorn chimes. An iron gate which had been left unlatched banged in the wind. The metallic clang sent cold shivers down Jerry's back. Off in the distance the siren of a police car whined.

As he reached a group of trees on the outskirts of the asylum grounds, Jerry noticed a strange, black form straighten up from behind them. It began moving quickly toward him. Jerry quickened his steps. So did the strange figure. He quickened his pace even more. The plodding behind him also quickened. Though Jerry's legs trembled with fear, he forced himself to run. He saw the police barrier looming only a block ahead of him. Though his throat was dry, he called out. The sound seemed to echo back through his ears, mocking him. Hadn't anyone heard? Jerry lost his footing on the slippery pavement and fell into a small puddle which was beginning to form from the rain. As he struggled to get up, the giant's hideous face leered down at his prey. His nose and piercing eyes twitched with delight. It was unmistakably the escaped monster from the asylum. A trembling hand reached tormentingly down. One cold, clammy finger lightly touched Jerry's tense body. A look of fiendish glee spread over the monster's face as he gloated, "You're it!"

WILLA CATHER AND THE CLASSICAL EPIC TRADITION

by Mary Ruth Ryder

Preface

In my first year at Monmouth College I began studying Latin with Bernice Fox and was soon captivated by the ideas and ideals of the ancient world. Professor Fox's enthusiasm for ancient literature and her exceptional teaching made the works of Vergil and Cicero, Horace, Catullus, Ovid and Martial speak to me as clearly as the works I was reading in my English classes. In my subsequent years of study, Professor Fox provided me with innumerable skills and tools needed to succeed in what has become my career in teaching and literary criticism.

Foremost among these tools was a close acquaintance with the works of Vergil, and this paper is both a product of that acquaintance and a tribute to the one who introduced me to the Mantuan poet. The dignity and beauty of Vergil's poetry has been with me since my courses with Professor Fox, and I have since discovered the far-reaching influence of his epic on American writers. I was delighted to discover in Willa Cather a writer who shared my interest in the Classics, and I continue to be amazed to what degree classical training shaped her thought and art. This paper addresses Cather's assimilation of the classical epic tradition in her novels and is dedicated to Bernice Fox, who enabled me to write it.

Willa Cather and the Classical Epic Tradition

Willa Cather's classical background is well-documented elsewhere (Ryder 1990:7-25; Sutherland 1974), and her understanding of classical epic motifs and themes can be assumed from her education, training, and wide reading. But, her adaptation of the classical took on a personal as well as cultural dimension as she wrote. From the time of her first novel (*Alexander's Bridge* 1912), Cather embarked on a creative journey to define those values which provided stability and order in a fast-changing world, and she equated the expansionist mood of epic with the American pioneering experience. In her first major novels, the protagonists re-enact an epic adventure on the Nebraskan plains or in the canyons of the Southwest where, confronted with obstacles inimical to their artistic or maternal impulses, they triumph as did heroes of old, bringing order to their own lives and fulfilling their appointed destinies. In describing these individual journeys—spiritual and/or physical—Cather translates the male, epic adventure into female forms. While undergirded by classical allusions to the Old World, each character's story becomes distinctively a New World epic. What her female hero must undergo, however, is drawn directly from the epic tradition. In order to discover her destiny, she makes a descent; like Aeneas, she visits the realm of the dead, only to emerge enlightened and committed to forging a new age which will incorporate the values of the old.

Alexandra Bergson, the hero of *O Pioneers!* (Cather 1913), is the first of Cather's protagonists to demonstrate the vision of an Aeneas or an Odysseus. Her name resonates with power and conquering spirit, and even from girlhood she resents any interference as she strives to establish a successful farm on the sometimes hostile Divide. The role she plays is allotted by her father, John Bergson, who leaves to his daughter, rather than to his sons, the land itself and the task of wresting productivity from it. Unwilling to be diverted from her goals, Alexandra resists the pleas of her brothers to sell this high land. Instead, she submerges her personal desires and meets the challenge of the land, devoting all her energies to civilizing a land which "wanted to be let alone, to preserve its own fierce strength. . . ." Whereas her male counterparts in the epic adventures strove with men and gods, Alexandra strives not to defeat but to ally herself with the "Genius of the Divide," a term Cather undoubtedly adopted form classical texts. In her response to the land, Alexandra "[feels] the future stirring" (Cather 1913:71) and the land responds to her:

> For the first time, perhaps, since that land emerged from the waters of geologic ages, a human face was set toward it with love and yearning. It seemed beautiful to her, rich and strong and glorious. Her eyes drank in the breadth of it, until her tears blinded her. Then the Genius of the Divide, the great, free spirit which breathes across it, must have been lower than it ever bent to a human will before.
>
> Cather 1913:65

Alexandra succeeds in establishing an ordered existence here, as her farm indicates:

> When you go out of the house . . . you feel again the order and fine arrangement manifest all over the great farm; in the fencing and hedging, in the windbreaks and sheds, in the symmetrical pasture ponds. . . . There is even a white row of beehives in the orchard, under the walnut trees.
>
> Cather 1913:84

The image of the hive, a result of the bees' systematic work, has its roots in classical literature, and Cather surely recalled *Aeneid* I where Carthage arose on a vast desert under another woman's direction:

> *Miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,*
> *miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum.*
> *Instant ardentes Tyrii . . .*
> *Qualis apes aestate nova per florea rura*
> *exercet sub sole labor . . .*
>
> *Aeneid* I. 421-431[1]

> Aeneas marvels at the massive structures, once only huts,
> he marvels at the gates and clatter and the paved highways.
> The energetic Tyrians work on . . .
> Just as bees in early summer keep busy above the flowery
> fields in the sunshine . . .

In her New World epic, Cather equates such orderliness with gynecocracy, rather than patriarchy, and she borrows the prototype of human society directly from classical sources.

Although much of the imagery of this novel is closely tied to fertility myths and Alexandrian conquest, Alexandra's eventual coming to terms with herself as woman involves an epic descent, the most recurrent epic motif in

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[1]All references to Vergil's *Aeneid* are from the text of Clyde Pharr (1964). English translations of Vergil are my own.

Cather's fiction. Alexandra's "blind side" (Cather 1913:203) is her failure to understand the power of passion, something she has long denied in redirecting her energies into the land. When, therefore, her youngest brother Emil and his lover Marie Shabata are killed by Marie's husband Frank, Alexandra must confront "her own realization of herself" (Cather 1913:203). Unable to discover why it is she is living, since the brother in whom she had placed all her hopes is dead, Alexandra goes to the graveyard during a dark and violent storm. The prophet-like Ivar finds her at her father's grave, looking "like a drowned woman" (Cather 1913:280). Alexandra is numbed but enlightened:

> "Ivar, I think it has done me good to get cold clear through like this, once. . . . When you get so near the dead, they seem more real than the living. Worldly thoughts leave one. . . . After you once get cold clear through, the feeling of the rain on you is sweet. . . . It carries you back into the dark, before you were born; you can't see things, but they come to you, somehow, and you know them and aren't afraid of them. Maybe it's like that with the dead."
>
> Cather 1913:280-281

The experience provides Alexandra with a new knowledge of self, a new perception of her role in the greater scheme of human activities, and, like Aeneas, she only learns these things after an encounter with death. Anchises' answer to Aeneas' question about the desire of the dead to live again well summarizes what Alexandra learns:

> *Ergo exercentur poenis veterumque melorum*
> *supplicia expendunt: aliae panduntur inanes*
> *suspensae ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto*
> *infectum eliutur scelus aut exuritur igni—*
> *quisque suos patimur manis. . . .*
>
> *Aeneid* VI. 739-743

> Therefore they are harassed with penalties
> and suffer punishments for former wrongs:
> Some are hung out and spread before empty winds; for others beneath
> vast floodwaters
> their infection is washed away or their crime is burned away by fire—
> Each endures his own ghost. . . .

Interestingly, the ghost that haunts Alexandra, her attendant spirit or *genius*, has manifest itself repeatedly in the guise of the Genius of the Divide. In her moments of greatest weariness, she has dreamed of a bronzed figure which takes her in his arms and carries her away, and after each episode she had always penitentially gone out "angry with herself" to "prosecute her bath with vigor" by

pouring "buckets of cold well-water over her gleaming white body. . ." (Cather 1913:206). After her descent, however, the dream figure appears to her once more, and this time she sees him clearly, "though the room was dark, and his face was covered" (Cather 1913:282). She does not flee from the dream but simply goes to sleep, knowing at last "for whom it was she had waited, and where he would carry her" (Cather 1913:283). Like Aeneas, Alexandra accepts her destiny and extends clemency to both Frank Shabata and to herself. She establishes the way of peace, and like the shades in Vergil's Hades, has "come out into the sunlight" (Cather 1913:298), by fate made ready once more for life ("*animae, quibus altera fato corpora debentur. . .*" *Aeneid* VI. 713-714). The exhortation with which Cather ends the novel completes the epic tone: "Fortunate country, that is one day to receive hearts like Alexandra's into its bosom, to give them out again in yellow wheat, in the rustling corn, in the shining eyes of youth!" (Cather 1913:309).

Alexandra's story is, as Cather writes, one of "only two or three human stories, and they go on repeating themselves as fiercely as if they had never happened before . . ." (Cather 1913:119). Just as Alexandra's story mirrored on the Nebraskan tablelands the epic hero's tale of striving, death, and rebirth, so did that of Thea Kronborg in Cather's next novel *The Song of the Lark* (Cather 1915). As was the case with *O Pioneers!*, epic conventions undergird the novel while the myth of Orpheus provides the primary structuring device. But Thea's story, like Alexandra's, is expansionist. Her dream is not to establish order in an hostile environment but to bring to the world the arts of civilization. Her desire to sing operatic roles is at first thwarted by the small-mindedness of her little town and later by the indifference of the sprawling city where she studies music. Depressed by over-work and limited opportunities, Thea wages an inner battle between commitment to her art and her attraction to Fred Ottenburg, a wealthy young man whose attentions she accepts. Troubled by what her destiny is or should be, Thea accepts Fred's suggestion to take a rejuvenating trip to the Southwest, but this experience brings her to an epic-like descent when she visits Panther Canyon. Ostensibly this is a journey of physical recovery, but it becomes Thea's spiritual baptism as she discovers that Desire is all. Since Cather used myth "organically," as Slote writes (1966:97), never mirroring detail-for-detail the ancient accounts, attempts to compare each aspect of Thea's adventure to the Vergilian epic would be inappropriate. Henry Biltmer is hardly the Cumean Sibyl, as Orme-Johnson (1980) has suggested, although he does give Thea directions for entering the canyon and drives her down a trail which "continually dipped lower, falling away from the high plateau on the slope of which Flagstaff sits" (Cather 1915:295). Nor is Fred Ottenburg the shade of Anchises, for unlike Anchises, Fred cannot know what will happen to Thea in Panther Canyon.

But, Cather does know. Finding herself in an Elysium of sun, stone, and sand, Thea is reinvigorated to pursue her art and uncovers her destiny through a link with her unrecorded past. While the male epic protagonist discovers from an interview with his father a future of war and triumph, Thea plays out the New

World, female epic and discovers through her foremothers a future of self-assertion and accomplishment. In this canyon, which holds the sun like a cup, Thea finds her Lethe, a stream by the Indian water trail where she bathes each morning. After relishing in her bath, she often falls asleep "wonder[ing] at her own inactivity" as if "she were waiting for something to catch up with her" (Cather 1915:299). Her deep and death-like sleep prepares her to discover "a few simple things" that a voice out of the past echoes eternally through the canyon's solitude (Cather 1915:302). Hers, too, becomes one of the few repetitive human stories, a story of desire, death of desire, and rebirth. In discovering the broken pottery of this extinct Indian culture, Thea finds the inspiration for her art:

> The stream and the broken pottery: what was any art but an effort to make a sheath, a mould in which to imprison for a moment the shining, elusive element which is life itself,—life hurrying past us and running away, too strong to stop, too sweet to lose. The Indian women had held it in their jars.
>
> Cather 1915:304

While Aeneas is provided with a glimpse into the future (a long line of male descendants), Thea is given a look back in time to a long line of female ancestors. Yet, in keeping with the intent of Vergil, she, like Aeneas, finds the inspiration to go on with a life that would make great demands upon her: "In their own way, those people had felt the beginnings of what was to come. These potsherds were like fetters that bound one to a long chain of human endeavor" (Cather 1915:306). In Panther Canyon lay the "things which seemed destined for her" (Cather 1915:301). She emerges as the transformed epic hero; she wins her battle against self, choosing to remain single and devoted to her art. In Thea's descent, Cather reworks the Vergilian and male epic pattern, creating a female hero of equal vision and commitment who, like Aeneas, re-enters the world through a figurative gate of Horn, to live out a dream that is true.

In her translation of the male epic into female forms, though, Cather's 1918 novel *My Antonia* stands as the definitive example. In this piece, Cather explores the most significant aspects of the classical epic: displacement from one's homeland, confrontation with destructive forces—natural, human or superhuman, preservation of one's religious heritage, and the founding of a new culture. Although Cather modeled her hero Antonia Shimerda on Annie Sadilek, an immigrant girl whom she had known in Red Cloud, Antonia takes on a mythic dimension as her episodic narrative unfolds. Early in the novel Cather sets the stage for classical parallels when her narrator, the young Jim Burden, describes the Nebraskan landscape:

> As I looked about me I felt that the grass was the country, as the water is the sea. The red of the grass made all the great prairie the colour of wine-stains. . . . And there was so much motion it; the whole country seemed, somehow, to be running.
>
> Cather 1918:15

Jim's and Antonia's adventures together take place far from the Aegean, but an epic mood prevails throughout their telling. Cather's borrowings from Vergil are not limited to *Aeneid*, however. She inscribes her novel with a quote from the *Georgics* (*Optima dies . . . prima fugit*) but conveniently omits the intervening phrase *miseris mortalibus aevi*, which sombers the tone and introduces death. Cather's condensed inscription avoids the inevitability of loss by focusing solely on a nostalgic look at a glorious youth, a thing Jim Burden would prefer to do. But, Jim Burden's story is not Antonia's, and she must enter the realm of death to emerge as an epic hero.

Cather also begins her tale *in medias res* when the mature Jim Burden returns from Black Hawk, having drafted a manuscript of his growing up on the prairies with the immigrant girl Antonia. His journey is across "the great midland plain of North America" (Cather 1918:3), clearly an epic setting, and he records with bard-like poetics his first impression of Antonia:

> The little girl was pretty, but An-tonia . . . was still prettier. . . [Her eyes] were big and warm and full of light, like the sun shining on brown pools in the wood. Her skin was brown, too, and in her cheeks she had a glow of rich, dark colour. Her brown hair was curly and wild-looking.
>
> Cather 1918:23

Jim becomes the hymner of Cather's epic; *he* raises Antonia to heroic status and covets her as his own, making her the *my* Antonia of the novel's title. Jim's account of Antonia accords with the embellishment of an epic adventurer who, like Odysseus, surely added to his description of the Cyclops' cave or, like Aeneas, undoubtedly added to his story of shipwreck. What Cather constructs, then, is a melding of Antonia's real story and the poet's interpretation of that story, i.e., an epic.

What the youthful Jim failed to realize in his rendering of the story, though, was that he could not be a mentor to Antonia whose heroic traits he could not hope to equal. Although Antonia's family had fallen victim to a Sinon of their own—Krajiek, who cheats them upon their arrival—and although Antonia is at a disadvantage because she does not speak English, her quick assimilation to a foreign culture foreshadows her heroic stature. As children Antonia and Jim find adventures together, including killing a huge rattlesnake, an event which resonates with both Biblical and epic overtones. Their battleground is not the windy plains

of Troy but the blustery Nebraskan prairie; they are, however, equally drunk in the delight of their battle.

This triumphant tone shifts as the novel progresses and Antonia encounters a series of obstacles, including the loss of her father. Anton Shimerda is not as resilient as his daughter, and the sensitive and artistic man takes his own life. Antonia, like Aeneas, feels the loss of her father keenly but is determined that she will carry his cultural values into her new-found *patria*. She symbolically does so by later passing her father's violin on to her son and by bringing her Penates, Roman Catholicism, into the dominantly Protestant culture of the Great Plains. This faith Antonia transmits to succeeding generations.

But, the young Antonia's confrontation with her father's death does not constitute her descent. Cather arranges for a more personal descent before Antonia can serve as hero of this "epic displaced," as Olson (Cather 1981:283) calls it. Her descent, like Aeneas', is a humbling experience but her character is strengthened by it. After her father's death Antonia must work in the fields, and she becomes hardened and coarse, at least in Jim Burden's eyes. When she later moves to town as a hired girl and puts Jim off as a little boy and certainly not a lover, he is offended and resents that *his* Antonia has become others'. Unable to accept that Antonia is a sexual being exclusive of him, Jim retreats to the university where he reads the *Georgics* rather than *Aeneid*. He basks in the memory of a golden and rural past, thrusting aside what could and does happen to the epic hero, in this case Antonia. He forgets the natural hieroglyph that he had witnessed with Antonia on their last outing together:

> On some upland farm, a plough had been left standing in the field. The sun was sinking just behind it. Magnified across the distance by the horizontal light, it stood out against the sun, was exactly contained within the circle of the disk; the handles, the tongue, the share—black against the molten red. There it was, heroic in size, a picture writing on the sun.
>
> Cather 1918:245

While a parallel may be noted in Aeneas' vision of weapons glowing red in the sun in *Aeneid* VIII, Cather provides an instrument of peace in her epic. While the classical epic celebrated "the myth of military might, iron law, and male dominance" (Olson 1981:283-84), Cather explores female ascendancy through ties to the soil and to the Earth Mothers. In reversing the expected epic tradition, Cather displaces the epic and her masculine narrator as well. He must come to recognize Antonia as the heroic figure she is, fully human but nonetheless heroic.

During Jim's absence, Antonia had been deceived by her lover Larry Donovan and had left the farm, only to return later, pregnant and unmarried. In her death of innocence, Antonia makes the symbolic descent into hell but re-emerges to become "a Venus genetrix . . . reincarnate" as Whicher (1951:908) writes. She bears not a son but a daughter to carry on the values and customs of her culture. Her Martha replaces Aeneas' son Ascanius as Cather converts the

Old World epic into the New. Jim Burden is finally forced to reformulate his myth of Antonia as she accepts her fate, eventually marries Anton Cuzak, and become the archetypal mother, the Lavinia, of her race. Hers is a new Troy, stabilized by a female presence but clinging tenaciously to the best ways of the old—to religious commitment, hard work, compassion, and the arts of home-making. As the mother of twelve children, she appears to Jim "battered but not diminished" (Cather 1918:332) as she carefully tends both her children and her land. She becomes the Great, Good Mother, "a rich mine of life, like the founders of early races" (Cather 1918:353). Antonia's triumphs as "the most heroic figure of them all, both the Madonna of the Wheat Fields and the embodiment of the American westering myth" (Woodress 1982:179-80).

After writing *My Antonia* and affected by the spiritual malaise that characterized the aftermath of World War I, Cather temporarily ceased to celebrate this female myth of ascendancy and stability. Claiming in a prefatory note to *Not Under Forty* (Cather 1936) that "the world broke in two in 1922 or thereabouts," Cather began producing fiction that reflected a growing discontent with her milieu. Perhaps seeing the "war to end all war" as emblematic of the male myth of power and dominance, she felt that a return to traditional pioneer and female values was increasingly impossible to achieve. Two novels which emerged during this time of personal disillusionment incorporated the epic strand but in its more usual form—the protagonist is male.

In *One of Ours* (Cather 1922) and *The Professor's House* (Cather 1925) Cather introduced idealistic young men, whose stories are riddled with epic allusions but who never experience the fulfillment of either classical epic heroes or their Catheran, female counterparts. In both novels the protagonists make the prototypical descent to Hades and are enlightened about their destinies, but they re-emerge only to die in combat. The war must have recalled to Cather the misspent heroism of the countless heroes of Homer's *Iliad* or Vergil's *Aeneid*, and a tragic rather than triumphant tone permeates these works.

Claude Wheeler's story in *One of Ours* more closely parallels that of Hippolytus than Aeneas, but Cather shifts her mythic emphasis late in the novel to the Roman epic. When Claude's story becomes a war story, the *Aeneid* seems the appropriate vehicle for explaining his destiny. Early in the work, Cather prepares the reader for this transition. Although Claude is a sensitive young man who cares little about proving himself in tests of physical strength, he is described as a young Odysseus—red-haired, angry, possessed of a "violent temper and physical restlessness" (Cather 1922:28), and desirous of being "crafty and secret" (Cather 1922:50). He has "catapult shoulders" (Cather 1922:169) and, after a hard day's work, sleeps "like the heroes of old" (Cather 1922:158). Even in the train as he return from training camp in Omaha, Claude confronts the epic hero's need to identify himself: "Like the hero of the Odyssey upon his homeward journey, Claude had often to tell what his country was and who were the parents that begot him" (Cather 1922:244).

But it is in his journey across the Atlantic Ocean that Cather most evidently incorporates Homeric and Vergilian references. Book Four—"The Voyage of the *Anchises*"—puts Claude squarely in the middle of a New World epic. The troops at the docks in New York number in the thousands, and much like the Greeks departing from Aulis, they bravely shout from the deck of the *Anchises* as it sets sail. They are "all young, all bronzed and grinning . . ." and filled with "indomitable resolution" (Cather 1922:273-274). As celebratory as were Aeneas' sailors who hung garlands from their ships when leaving Africa, these sailors pass before the Statue of Liberty, the deity who is to guard their fates. The old clergyman who blesses their departure is like a modern Calchas who sanctions the vows they make "to a bronze image in the sea" (Cather 1922:274).

Though variant explanations have been offered as to Cather's name for this troopship, that Anchises was maimed (either lamed or blinded) by Zeus's wrath appropriately parallels the psychically crippled Americans aboard. Stouck (1975:92) suggests that Cather chose the name to recall "another epic journey in which youth came to the rescue of old age," while Bennett (1962:33) thinks Cather "hints at the fates that await Claude and his companions." In any case, Cather's intention is ironic. For her, the pioneer values had been lost, and this sailing will bring into a new land (France) not the valued Penates, which Anchises carried from Troy, but only a veneration of materialism and a cultural naivete. Claude, though, is unlike his compatriots who revere only money and pleasure. If the other young Americans are founders of a new Troy, they have no aesthetic appreciation or taste. The French see American values as "fictitious" and the dough-boys merely as embodiments of "waste and prodigality" (Cather 1922:326-327).

Cather, therefore, reverses epic intent and, in her disaffection with the present (the 1920s), does not confer upon her characters epic heroic status. Claude in his artistic sensibility stands apart from his companions, but he does not have the strength of men who would strive with gods, as Tennyson wrote in "Ulysses." Still, Cather allows him, in some degree, to re-enact the epic quest. Aboard the *Anchises* he encounters the Chief Steward who has "only one eye and an inflamed socket," is "unwashed, half-naked," and offers a soft and "cheesy" looking hand (Cather 1922:317). His Cyclopean appearance sets the stage for the Americans' arrival in France, where they roam ravenously through villages looking for cheeses. But, like her brief paralleling of Krajiek to Sinon in *My Antonia*, Cather quickly abandons this train of thought. Apparently, the epic comparison simply could not sustain itself in recording behaviors unbecoming to ancient heroes.

Claude does, however, make a descent into Hell from which he emerges eager to fulfill his destiny. He survives the raging flu epidemic on the *Anchises* and is renewed in his appreciation of life's importance. Rededicating himself to "making the world safe for democracy," he accepts his troops' flagrant pleasure-making and sensuality; he is stimulated by those "wonderful men" (Cather 1922:453) and believes they are unconquerable in spite of their mortality.

Cather knew, as does the reader, that Claude could only be disillusioned, so rather than end her novel with the founding of a new age, Cather lets Claude die—not in the manner of the epic hero, having fulfilled his destiny, but merely "believing his own country better than it is, and France better than any country can ever be" (Cather 1922:458).

Just as no complete epic adventure awaited the young Americans in *One of Ours*, no new, stabilizing force or better culture emerges in *The Professor's House* (Cather 1925). The novel's insert narrative, "Tom Outland's Story," afforded Cather the opportunity to retell the classical epic in a New World setting, but again she was reluctant to equate the modern male adventurer with his ancient predecessors. Like Claude Wheeler, Tom Outland finds his idealism impractical in a modern age when he expects both his country's leaders and his friends to appreciate the Indian artifacts he has discovered on the great Blue Mesa. For Tom, this civilization, like Crete's, was an organized and artistic culture where a human family lived harmoniously. The beehive appearance of the Cliff Dwellers' houses present the orderliness of civilization that Alexandra Bergson's farm portrayed, and Tom approaches the Mesa with filial piety. To reach the Mesa he first crosses a valley whose air is so pure that it produces "a kind of exultation" in him (Cather 1925:200), and he leaves behind all his memories of a struggling and materialist world. The Blue Mesa is his Elysium and the river his Lethe. Like heroes of old, he is in search of his *patria* and, as an orphan, the quest is both personal and cultural. Unlike an Aeneas, though, he is displaced chronologically, not geographically, from a homeland. Accompanied by his faithful Achates—Roddy Blake—he reaches back to an ancient culture that would succor him and soothe his fears:

> The excitement of my first discovery was a very pale feeling compared to this one. For me the mesa was no longer an adventure, but a religious emotion. I had read of filial piety in the Latin poets, and I knew that was what I felt from this place.
>
> Cather 1925:251

In an inversion of descent, Tom ascends the Mesa to uncover his destiny, but he finds no shade of a father to counsel him. Only a "beautifully proportioned" tower (Cather 1925:201) rises above the jumble of cliff houses, a symbol of the paternity he seeks. His quest is not consoling, and the passage he memorizes from Vergil's epic is ripe with foreboding:

> *Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem,*
> *Troianos ut opes et lamentabile regnum*
> *eruerint Danai, quaeque ipse miserrima vidi*
> *et quorum pars magna fui.*
>
> *Aeneid* II. 3-6

> An unutterable grief, O Queen, you command me to relive,
> How the Greeks destroyed Troy's wealth, her pitiable kingdom,
> Terribly sorrowful things which I saw
> and of which I played a large part.

Tom is deceived in thinking that his country's fathers will appreciate and guard the ancient Penates that he has found. Roddy Blake sells the artifacts to the highest bidder, failing in his fidelity to Tom. Tom Outland finds no new world order and, destined to disillusionment like Claude Wheeler, he dies in the War. In Cather's view, no room exists in the modern age for a man like Tom whose hand "never handled things that were not the symbols of ideas" (Cather 1925:260).

Unable to complete the male-centered myth of cultural redefinition in these novels of her middle years, Cather apparently found that neither could she return to the epic tradition as woman-centered and celebratory of pioneer values because the world had changed. The values of the mythic matriarchy were gone, and the values of the reigning patriarchy offered little consolation to one whose classical consciousness had long equated the New World epic with the Old. In her late novels, though, Cather redeveloped an epic pattern, this time coupled with Christian myth, a pattern that satisfied her personally and reinstilled a confidence in her culture's destiny.

Foremost among her final four novels is *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (Cather 1927), a novel which illustrates Cather's return to epic motifs in defining the heroic challenges of the New World. The Prologue is set in Rome where old Father Ferrand, "an Odysseus of the Church" (Cather 1927:3), relinquishes his position to a younger priest who can better confront the challenges of the heretical, if not pagan, American Southwest. The young Father Latour accepts his assignment as both epic quest and redemptive mission. With the piety of Tom Outland, Claude Wheeler, and their ancient counterparts, he fulfills his destiny, bringing order out of chaos in nineteenth-century New Mexico. Like the Roman epic hero, he is haunted by memories of his homeland (France) but is sustained by his Holy Mother, much as was Aeneas by Venus. He is likewise ship-wrecked on the coast of "a dark continent" (Cather 1927:18) and wanders about with his *fortis Achates*, Father Joseph Vaillant. In Cather's telling of Latour's first glimpse of Agua Secreta, one immediately recalls Aeneas' surprise at seeing Carthage spread before him. Whereas Aeneas marvelled at the majestic buildings, bustling streets, and toiling workers, Father Latour is amazed by natural wonders—"Running water, clover fields, cottonwoods, acacias, little adobe houses with brilliant gardens. . . ." (Cather 1927:22). Again, Cather restructures the classical motif to suit the time and place, retaining the mood but altering the detail.

Yet, Cather incorporates into this novel, as well, the descent she must have considered essential for heroic status. Although Murphy (1987) makes a strong case for Cather's debt to Dante in describing Latour's experiences, Dante,

of course, owes much to ancient sources. And, Cather knew the ancients—Vergil particularly—*in origine*, a fact which would account for heavier reliance on those sources than on one she knew only in translation.

Latour's entrance to Hades comes through a cave when he and his Indian guide Jacinto seek shelter from a raging rainstorm. In the huge stone cavern, Latour learns the legend of the great serpent god, whose power is "one of the oldest voices of the earth" (Cather 1927:132) and resounds beneath the floor of the cave. Latour learns about himself and his mission to these "heathen" peoples from listening to this "voice" from the primordial past. Latour's efforts to correct the sinful behavior of native priests, to dispel superstition among the common people, and to erase ignorance, had been generally unsuccessful up to this point. But, when he descends into the very mind of that people, into the great cave, he reassesses his function as their spiritual guide:

> There was no way in which he could transfer his own memories of European civilization into the Indian mind, and he was quite willing to believe that behind Jacinto there was a long tradition, a story of experience, which no language could translate to him.
>
> Cather 1927:92-93

His mission is not a military one, as was Aeneas', but is a redemptive one. The weapons he must bear are compassion, guidance, and understanding—not a sword. Cather thus again alters the expected epic descent to match the demands of her text and of her culture. Hero as warrior is no longer appropriate for the New World epic; rather, as Yongue (1977:61) suggests, "Hero as Priest" is what society seeks and needs.

Cather's assimilation of the classical epic tradition comes full circle in the writing of her late novel *Shadows on the Rock* (Cather 1931), a work in which the epic hero is again female. In this account of life in seventeenth-century Quebec, Cather continued to rely heavily on Christian myth as she described "the Apotheosis of an French girl into a Canadian Holy Mother" (Rosowski 1986:185). Coupled with such imagery, however, are classical echoes, and specifically Vergilian ones, as the displaced Euclid Auclair seeks tranquillity above all else in his newly adopted homeland (Cather 1931:157). Auclair brings with him to the rock of Quebec memories of a highly developed and sophisticated culture, such as Aeneas must have left behind in Ilium. Along with these refinements he brings commitment to his "gods" in a confirmed Roman Catholicism. Cather draws upon the *Aeneid* to underscore her respect for Auclair's personal mission:

> *Inferretque deos Latio*. When an adventurer carries his gods with him into a remote and savage country, the colony he founds will, from the beginning, have graces, traditions, riches of the mind and spirit.
>
> Cather 1931:98

Auclair passes along his heritage to his motherless daughter Cecile, teaching her the language of his faith—Latin—and instilling in her loyalty to old Count Frontenac, the symbol of a world left behind.

Auclair's classical learning provides him with a greater understanding of the events that shape the lives of his fellow pioneers, and when the Count dies, Auclair expresses the same sense of loss as did Aeneas when his faithful men drowned: "Not without reason, he told himself bitterly as he looked up at those stars, had the Latin poets insisted that thrice and four times blessed were those to whom it befell to die in the land of their fathers" (Cather 1931:263). In paraphrasing Vergil (*O terque quaterque beati,/ quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis contigit oppetere*, *Aeneid* I. 94-96), Auclair recognizes that he is now cut off from the roots of his culture and must make a place in a new world order. Unlike Aeneas, though, his Troy was not destroyed; it is merely beyond easy reach, and the new representatives of France will not share the same past experiences as did he and the Count.

Nor is Auclair a military leader who will subdue enemies in battle to establish a secure inheritance for his sons. The order he brings to the Canadian wilderness comes as a healing art (he is an apothecary) and is passed down through a daughter, not a son. Euclid Auclair demonstrates compassion, loyalty, and piety, the values Cather would promote for her world. In explaining to his daughter that they are obligated to help the beggared wood carrier Blinker, he alludes to Vergil's account of Dido's sympathetic response to Aeneas:

> "You remember, when Queen Dido offers Aeneas hospitality, she says: *Having known misery, I have learned to pity the miserable*. Our poor wood-carrier is like Queen Dido."
>
> Cather 1931:163

In her "epic displaced" Cather substitutes right for might, setting human virtues above military prowess.

Even in characterizing those who consider themselves fully Canadian rather than French, Cather subsumes strength to breeding. Father Hector, like the Trojan hero of the same name, is "strong and fearless and handsome" (Cather 1931:47), has "good breeding and fine presence" (Cather 1931:146), and is "susceptible to the comforts of the fireside and to the charm of children" (Cather 1931:149). From him, in part, Cecile learns what is expected of her as the transmitter of customs and values. She had learned well from her mother that "As long as she lived, she [should try] to make the new life as much as possible like the old" (Cather 1931:23), and in the domestic sphere Cecile had accomplished her tasks. Dinner was still "the important event of the day in the apothecary's household" (Cather 1931:16), and Cecile attends to the ordered pattern of daily life which her mother had cited as the basis of one's happiness, pride, and acculturation:

> The sense of "our way,"—that was what [Madame Auclair] longed to leave with her daughter. She wanted to believe that . . . the proprieties would be observed, all the little shades of feeling which make the common fine.
>
> Cather 1931:25

Cecile then fulfills her epic mission, to translate into a new land the best of the old—refinement, faith, compassion for others. She becomes the Iulus of *Shadows on the Rock*; in her lies the hope for the future.

Cather prepares her readers for Cecile's transfiguration into the Lavinia of her race, but Cecile, too, undergoes a descent before accepting that allotted role. The dark forests beyond the rock of Quebec harbor threats to the secure world that the Auclairs have made for themselves. Father Hector recounts terrifying adventures from this infernal world:

> . . . the black pine forest came down to the water's edge; and on the west, behind the town, the forest stretched no living man knew how far. That was the dead, sealed world of the vegetable kingdom. . . . The forest was suffocation, annihilation; there European man was quickly swallowed up in silence, distance, mould, black mud, and the stinging swarms of insect life that bred in it. The only avenue of escape was along the river.
>
> Cather 1931:6-7

Pierre Charron boats along this river and his name signals Cecile's initiation into the world beyond the Rock. Charron escorts her in a visit to the Harnois household, and there she finds an environment devoid of beauty and taste:

> She began to cry quietly. She thought a great deal about her mother, too, that night; how her mother had always made everything at home beautiful, just as here everything about cooking, eating, sleeping, living, seemed repulsive.
>
> Cather 1931:192

Her acute sense of loss is for the fine things that make living an art, and she is repulsed by the idea that any life should be so barren. She finds release from all the sordidness when she wanders into an elysian-like, green hayfield, filled with daisies and waving grasses. Here she lapses into sleep for "a long while" and awakens "rested and happy,—though unreal, indeed, as if she were someone else" (Cather 1931:193).

Cecile's rebirth ushers her into womanhood, and when she returns to her own home, "it all seemed a little different,—as if she had grown at least two years older in the two nights she had been away" (Cather 1931:197). The routine household chores she formerly thought she had done to please her mother or father she now realizes please her, too, and "made life" (Cather 1931:198). The

life she perpetuates translates the valued French heritage to a new land, as Cecile becomes the epic hero of Cather's novel. In her later marriage to Pierre Charron, Cecile assures that "the future [will] take care of itself" (*Death Comes for the Archbishop* 1927:292). Her four sons are the Canadians of the new age, as were Antonia's children the Americans of tomorrow. Cecile becomes the mother of her race, an heroic figure beyond the stylized myth of the ancient epic. Hers is not a victory of war but a victory of the spirit.

What the classical epic tradition offered Cather was, therefore, more than a delightful collection of mythic allusions. The Vergilian and Homeric poems provided a paradigm for describing the individual's journey to self-understanding in a world where the future was uncertain. Cather believed that journey was particularly crucial for women, the principal conveyers of values, religious traditions, and aesthetic sensibility. In rewriting the male mythic adventure into female forms, Cather retained the essential elements of the epic of western culture: displacement from one's place of origin, struggle against inimical forces, a descent into hell and discovery of one's destiny, and the founding of a new culture which would embrace the old. Cather envisioned these steps as integral to the establishment of an ordered and lasting civilization, and, for her, the male warrior-hero no longer sustained the "myth." Instead, women like Alexandra Bergson, Thea Kronborg, Antonia Shimerda, and finally Cecile Auclair rewrite the myth and become the epic heroes of a new world order.

ANTHOLOGIA AFRICANA

by Mary Barnes Bruce

Anthologia Africana

by Mary Barnes Bruce

Change

It's swelling now
like that stir before a storm
only birds mark.

Furtive as pigmies in shadows
who cast nets over deer,
it will gather

until that moment when— like a child bursting
into a room, flung doors,
scattered dust and all

is wind shot through with light.

Flight

If I look for you in the marshes
of a bird reserve, will I find you
in the wooden blind looking at a grey wren,
or the North Sea staring at gulls?

You are not in the hide, on the sea,
nor in my arms. In the room
we shared I look for the hollow of your shoulder,
find only air and the scent

of a blue jacket flapping through airplane doors,
Sounds of electronic closings sicken me.
That eel we watched gulped by a cormorant,
stalked by a hopeful heron, was a violence
no more true than the way Africa has swallowed you.

Restoration

Cameroonian on his years
in Canada: "It gave me
my authentic self."

Her who shinnies up
coconut trees
and shells his works as easily
as sea sweeps black sand at Limbe,*

tells her how to hear spirit guides,
waves away drunks
who'd nick her passport. Babila shows her Cameroon

but most of all herself.
When they hunt rat mole,
argue with sailors
over contraband from Nigeria
or dance over palm leaves,
she feels Africa breathe.

Then a bent wick lights,
that which was frozen thaws,
revives like mango trees after rain.

*Costal town in Southwest Cameroon

Discovery

Vulnerable in a strange country,
she believed they would shelter a lonely scholar
but finds only lunch followed by tours,
officials who profit from need for clothesline,
the charity of a French driver and the craft
of a Vietnamese who's Mother-Christ to girls
in a land where a beer accepted means legs
spread on the bar. Here where survivals dear
and lives unmade on mosquitos' wings,
she dreamed countrymen would cleave,
but learns evil pours through familiar spouts,
leaves a taste she can neither swallow nor spit out.

A Legend for Us

There's a bird twittering under a junk heap,
covered by crumpled dixie cups and cigarette butts.
Its cry seems feeble, but lovely. It's a black bird,
I think, but can't tell. Maybe it's in a cage of white

wire under debris and folded wings. When I bend down
I can hear him flutter as well as sing. Hardly anyone
listens; the garbage is so deep. The funny thing
about this bird is that it nests there. Other birds

flew to parks or fields to find leaves, buttons, twigs,
but this bird wends its way through soaked rice and used-up
tissues trying to form a circle. It's said a lonely
butcher housed it in a cage where surrounded by hog's

blood and sprawled meat, it got used to the smells
and smoke and when abandoned lived in garbage like a
duty. It pecks endlessly, lacing the phantom nest
with rotten bones and strands of sinew. This dark bird
curls on the corners of wind-swept tabloids.

A Chance of Kindness

November noon I laze in a wicker chair,
some yellowed magazines upon the floor
where a child's boots lean against the door.
Then blue-grey flashes, falls like a dare
on arid land, by roses scorched bare
a pigeon quivers, wings unhinged with gore.
I chase him 'til he can't run anymore.
He flops to the slatted porch door where
he surrenders angrily, exhausted by pain.
so I give him shade, like Jonah's gourd
to rescue him from the wind's harsh refrain.
That night I gather rare seeds, pour
old wine for prisoners, then prop him up,
crumbling his feathers into a paper cup.

Kinship

Cono Chief: "When you leave,
you will understand
Africa much better."

Hearing joggers chant at 5:00 a.m.,
to wake to the nursery rhyme
of the radio's "President's Song"

prepares me for morality plays
against Aids, edited news
and the naked man who scrubs himself
in the Hilton's tiled fountain.

These jarring mornings
ready me for those thick arms
that carry water from pail to pail
instead of turning
broken taps with pliers.

Celeste, who uses
my perfume, then tells me
it's spilled, is Cameroon,

and I dread to see it
lose its awkward age, become smooth
and polished as trains in Toyko,
or pinched like staid babies in Cambridge
already civilized in their prams.

Part IV

Pedagogy

LATIN IN ILLINOIS: *UNDE ET QUO*?

by Lea Ann Osburn

Latin in Illinois: *Unde et Quo*?

As we enter the last decade of the millennium, classicists in Illinois have individually and collectively breathed a sigh of relief.[1] The crisis of the "Decade of the Relevant (1965-75)" is over and Latin enrollment figures in our nation's high schools are on the increase (LaFleur 1985:341-348). Latin programs in the elementary schools are flourishing in various geographical areas in the United States (Mavrogenes 1989). The number of students taking the Latin Achievement Test, the Latin Advanced Placement Examinations, and the National Latin Exam is on the rise (LaFleur 1981; 1985; Bowker 1975). The practical value of studying Latin—increasing one's vocabulary, improving one's score on standardized examinations such as the SAT and ACT, and doing well in college academic courses has been well-documented in educational publications as well as in the popular media (Wiley 1984; Mydans 1990; Rowe 1986; LaFleur 1981). Indeed, so many articles have appeared in the public media that the *ACL Newsletter* features an annotated bibliography of such articles in a standing column entitled "In the News".

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The status of Latin in Illinois, however, merits a closer scrutiny. This investigation will begin with the public schools. Between 1977 and 1988 there was a 25% decrease in the number of public high schools which offered a first year Latin course. All statistics, raw numbers, and percentages in this paper on the public junior high schools and high schools in Illinois have been extrapolated from the following three sources. The 1977 figures have come from "The Special Report on Foreign Languages" compiled by the Department of Research and Statistics of the Illinois State Board of Education (ISBE) and published by the same in June, 1979. The 1982 figures have come from the corresponding report, compiled and published by the same in June 1984. The 1987 figures were also compiled by the same department of the ISBE but have not yet been published. These figures were most kindly supplied to me by Dr. William Humm, the ISBE director of the 1977, 1982, and 1987 reports.

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[1]This paper could not have been possible without the assistance of a number of Illinois educators, including Edwin Menes of the Loyola University of Chicago, Richard Scanlan of the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, Raymond Den Adel of Rockford College, Daniel Garrison of Northwestern University, Thomas Sienkewicz and Frank Sorensen of Monmouth College, Pat Glenn of ISBE, and Elisa Denja and Don Sprague of the Illinois Classical Conference (ICC).

In 1977 Latin I was available in 126 public high schools but by 1982 this number had decreased to 118 and by 1987 had fallen even further to 96. Thus thirty less schools were able to offer Latin I in 1987 than in 1977. It is also instructive to note that while a 6% decrease was seen between 1977 and 1982, a much larger decrease of a further 19% was realized between 1982 and 1987—those very years when a resurgence of Latin was reported on the national level (LaFleur 1985; 1991).

The loss of thirty first year Latin programs in the public high schools must also be examined with due regard to the widely varying geographical areas in Illinois. The availability of Latin I courses dropped by 11% between 1977 and 1982 in the suburban schools, traditionally the bastion of Latin in Illinois, and dropped another 1% between 1982 and 1987. In rural Illinois, however, the number of schools which offered first year Latin remained virtually the same between 1977 and 1987. In the small cities of Illinois, 2% more schools offered Latin in 1982 than in 1977, but between 1977 and 1987 9% less schools had a Latin I course available. Yet in the central city schools the presence of First Year Latin courses increased by 6 % between 1977 and 1982 and by another 1.5% by 1987. Table I illustrates these percentages.

TABLE I

Availability of First Year Latin Courses in Illinois, 1977-1987

	Central Cities	Suburban	Small Cities	Rural
1977	20.00%	36.94%	27.72%	5.98%
1982	26.31%	25.68%	29.29%	4.97%
1987	27.80%	24.90%	18.50%	4.97%
Totals	7.8% INCREASE	12.04% DECREASE	9.22% DECREASE	1.01% DECREASE

The nearly 8% rise in Latin I courses in the central city schools may be explained by a cursory glance at Latin in the Chicago public schools. By 1980 "Reading Through Latin" programs were beginning to be taught in the city's elementary schools. The elementary instructors were trained at an Institute given by the Department of Classical Studies of Loyola University of Chicago for the Chicago Public School System.

Mr. David Oliver of the Department of Language and Cultural Education of the Chicago Board of Education reported to me in 1991 that there are eight elementary teachers of Latin and eighteen high school Latin teachers in the Chicago public schools. Elementary school enrollments increased from 675 students in 1980 to 872 in 1991, a 33% increase. High school enrollments increased from 758 in 1980 to 927 in 1991, a 19% increase.

It may be conjectured that the elementary Latin programs have engendered a greater interest in studying Latin at the secondary level. However, without any research done on the effect of elementary Latin programs on high school availability of Latin I courses, this must remain only a hypothesis.

These eight elementary Latin teachers are the only cluster of Latin elementary teachers in the state of Illinois. In fact, excluding junior high Latin teachers, there are exceedingly few elementary Latin teachers anywhere else in Illinois. Preliminary data collected from the 1991 ICC survey on the Status of Latin in Illinois, however, indicated that elementary school principals are most receptive, in fact eager, to introduce Latin or classics components into the curricula of the schools.

In addition, although we do know that there are very few Latin language programs in the elementary schools outside of the Chicago Public Schools, we do not know what types of classical components are part of the elementary school child's curriculum in Illinois. At this juncture, it is necessary to declare that Illinois classicists at all levels of education must join together to determine the status of classics in the grade school curriculum and to promote the installation of Latin and, at the very least, classical components into Illinois elementary schools in all geographical areas of the state.

The efficacy of Latin in improving children's reading scores has been in the professional literature since the early 70's (Mavrogenes 1989). Articles on classical components in the elementary school curriculum are the main thrust of the papers in *Prima*, the journal for Elementary School Teachers of the Classics (ETC) first published in 1988. In addition, a goodly number of articles have justly touted the value of a classical component in the elementary curriculum—namely, cultural literacy, an ability to think in abstract terms, and interdisciplinary studies. Indeed, in one report Hakim (1990) concludes, as her title illustrates, that "Classics are for Kids." As classicists we must not only be the impetus for the inauguration of such innovative courses but we must also be a resource for these teachers.

Although the 7.8% increase in availability of Latin I courses in the central city schools is the good news, the 12% decrease in access in the suburban schools is more problematic. Again, no information which might indicate the cause for the decline has been collected. The major hypothesis advanced by suburban Latin teachers is that the greater availability of Spanish and French courses in suburban junior high schools leads to a decreased interest in enrolling in Latin I at the high school level. According to the data collected by the ISBE, a much greater percent of schools offer junior high school Spanish and French. In 1982, 35.5% and 20.9% of the state's junior high schools offered Spanish and French respectively whereas only 2.13% and 1.8% made Latin available to its students in 1982 and 1987 respectively. The substantially greater availability of Spanish and French courses, however, does not necessarily lead to a decrease in high school Latin I courses. Junior high students who are enrolled in a school which does not offer Latin but who wish to study Latin may, in fact, take Spanish or French only until

Latin becomes available to them at the high school level. Conversely, junior high Spanish or French students who never initially considered studying Latin may become disenchanted with their modern language study and then decide to undertake the study of Latin in high school. Or, in some cases, junior high Spanish and French students may enjoy their modern language study so much that they decide to study Latin in high school in addition to the other language. Clearly more research and study must be done before a conclusive explanation can be advanced for the 12% decrease in Latin I courses in the suburban schools. It must be recommended, however, that such research be undertaken with all due haste. Although the decrease was considerably less by 1987, an increase was not realized during the years 1982-87, those years when there was an increase nationally.

Likewise, study must be done to determine the cause of the decrease in Latin I courses offered in the small city schools. In fact the situation appears to be more crucial in the small city schools than in the suburban schools. The small city schools gained in the availability of Latin I between 1977 and 1982 but lost this gain and more by 1987 when an 11% decrease appears. Indeed this 11% decrease occurred during those very years when the national enrollment figures had begun to rise. It is not likely that the availability of junior high modern language programs is connected with the decrease in the small cities. Less junior high schools in the small cities teach any variety of foreign language than in the suburban schools. It is more likely that the cause may be the depressed economic conditions in these areas. Again, research must be done to support these hypotheses or to find out the true cause. Only by knowing the cause can Classicists in Illinois attempt to find a remedy.

In rural Illinois only 4.97% of the schools offer first year Latin. This percentage is so small that a way must be found to offer more Latin courses in these areas. Some of these schools have such a small student population that even a part-time Latin teacher is not a possibility. One solution to this problem is the sharing of a Latin teacher by adjacent districts. The potential adoption of such a system is most problematic, however, since each district has its own salary schedule, benefits package, and tenure regulations. As a result of these factors, some rural schools have begun to teach Latin via satellite telecommunication. Although this type of Latin course is better than none, this entire situation must be examined by Illinois classicists. Advantages and disadvantages must be carefully noted and explained to rural administrators. Potential solutions to the paucity of both Latin courses and Latin teachers in rural Illinois must be investigated and publicized.

The decreasing availability of Latin I courses in Illinois is mirrored by declining public school Latin enrollment figures in Latin I, II, III, and IV. Whereas 5,627 students were studying Latin in 1977, 4775 were enrolled in 1982, and by 1987 the number of students was 4,236. These statistics indicate that by 1987 there was a 25% decrease from the number of Latin students in 1977. This

disheartening decline is made less palatable by the nationwide data which indicates that there were 26,371 more Latin students in 1985 than in 1976.

The 25% loss in the Illinois Latin enrollment figures is 6% greater than the 19% overall student population decline. At the same time, the number of public high schools in Illinois rose from 704 to 719 by 1982 but had dropped to 661 by 1987 - a 7% decrease. Yet the percentage of the overall high school population which studied Latin remained virtually constant at all levels of study with only a .02% difference or less. In 1977, 1982, and 1987, Latin students at all levels of study in the Illinois public high schools represented less that 1% of the total student enrollment figures of 669,570; 593,839; and 543,960 respectively. It is also curious to note that while the school population has declined, the total population in Illinois rose by 11% from 1980-90 according to the census bureau (NEA 1991).

The overall picture in the public high schools in Illinois is that there are less Latin students by 25% and 14% less Latin I courses offered but there are 7% less high schools in existence and 19% fewer overall students. It appears, then, that in Illinois the crisis of 1965-75 is not over. We are in a holding pattern in which we consistently attract the same percent of students out of a decreasing total enrollment.

Illinois needs to join the large number of states which have experienced an increasing spiral of enrollment figures and course offerings. The available literature states that the "Back-to-Basics" movements of the 1970's and 1980's coupled with educational reforms and the availability of newer textbooks and teaching methods caused the nationwide revival of Latin (LaFleur 1985). These factors, however, have also been present in Illinois schools and, as the data indicates, no such revival is here. Perhaps other factors are involved in Illinois such as school funding formulae or tax bases or perhaps preconceived notions about Latin on the part of the Illinois public or school administrators. Indeed, a whole spectrum of other issues may be present. Perhaps Illinois classicists have not utilized the resources in the same way as our more successful colleagues in other states have. It is imperative that Illinois classicists find out what must be done to precipitate a change in our state. This research must be done and the change must be implemented.

Yet still another examination of the enrollment data must be made. Only beginning level course enrollments have been inspected so far. At the third and fourth year of Latin instruction in the Illinois public schools, the enrollment numbers decrease immensely. In 1977, 46.4% of all Latin students were in first year courses and 36.9% were in the second level whereas only 10.7% were in Latin III and furthermore only 4.8% were in a fourth year course. By 1982, those percentages had increased in levels I and II but had dropped even further in levels III and IV. By 1987 the percentage had dropped in Level II but had increased by a small amount in Levels III and IV. Table II illustrates these percentages for 1977, 1982, and 1987.

TABLE II

Illinois Latin Enrollments, Percentages by Year of Study, 1977-1987

	Latin I	Latin II	Latin III	Latin IV
1977	46.4%	36.9%	10.7%	4.8%
1982	49.8%	37.8%	8.7%	3.7%
1987	49.0%	34.0%	12.0%	5.0%

By comparison, approximately the same percentage, 34-38%, of all French and Spanish students were enrolled in Level II courses whereas a greater percentage of German students were in the second level. However, in comparison to French, Spanish, and German, Latin by far had the lowest percentage of students who continued into the third and fourth levels in 1977 and 1982. By 1987, however, the picture was better. In the third level, Latin retained 12% of its students, French 13%, German 15%, and Spanish 11%. In level IV both Latin and Spanish kept 5% while French kept 7% and German 8%. It is encouraging to note that by 1987 Classicists were retaining approximately the same percent of students in the upper levels as were the modern language teachers.

This follows the national trend delineated by Strasheim (1990). The national figures for Latin in 1985 were 55.2% in Level One, 31.3% in Level Two, 9.6% in Level Three, and 3.9% in Level Four. As is evident, Illinois has fared better in the retention of students; yet, given the overall smaller number of students who study Latin, we must continue to seek ways to increase retention rates in Latin programs throughout the state.

Strasheim (1990) indicates that students who are recruited into Latin for the tangible benefits of higher SAT or ACT scores are not frequently willing to continue their study of Latin beyond the second year. Strasheim also declares that Latin reading proficiency must be taught in order for students to understand through their reading of the ancient literature the universal messages which the Latin authors convey. Only in this way will Latin students continue into the third and fourth levels. Finally, Strasheim urges that listening and speaking, not just reading and writing, be employed in the Latin classroom, not as an end in themselves but to enhance the students' internalization of the structure of Latin.

Whereas Strasheim's arguments are basically sound, a few caveats must be inserted. First, a number of schools offer only two years of Latin. Data collected for these two year programs may be causing a false reading of the low third and fourth year enrollments. On the other hand, if the data is accurate, then high school Latin teachers must begin to teach their first year students, mere fourteen year-olds, the real values of Latin—those which go beyond simply increasing one's English vocabulary or standardized test scores. High school teachers are sometimes uncertain how to communicate the greater values of Latin to such young students. Although eight different publications, of varying usefulness, are available from the Teaching and Materials Resource Center of the

American Classical League (1991), few teachers know how to use these publications in the classroom. It is imperative that national and regional associations address this need via workshops, seminars, or institutes. In Illinois, the need is no less important. Either the Illinois Classical Conference or a consortium of experienced Latin teachers must undertake to remedy this deficiency. Brochures and pamphlets must be written which outline the more holistic values of learning Latin in terms understandable to young high school students. Similar materials must also be prepared for guidance counselors, administrators, and parents. At the 1991 meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in Hamilton, Ontario, it was most encouraging to hear that the National Committee for Latin and Greek promises to have a new promotional packet ready by June, 1991. It is to be hoped that this new packet will be written in terms targeted to an adolescent audience.

Secondly, it is not just to boost standardized test scores that students take only two years of Latin. Some students take a two year sequence as a base language before beginning a modern language, especially the Romance languages. Other students take two years of Latin in conjunction with a modern language and do not have time in their high school schedule to continue their study of Latin.

Thirdly, many teachers will need in-service training in order to increase the use of listening and speaking Latin as a means to reading Latin. More work needs to be done on how to most effectively bolster a student's reading proficiency and teachers need to be trained in these methods. In fact, reading proficiency guidelines developed in a manner like ACTFL's oral proficiency scale is necessary.

Finally, the end goal of increasing Latin enrollment in the upper level classes needs to be combined with maintaining a high level of participation in the Advanced Placement Latin Examinations. Participation in the A.P. Exams has increased nationally from 841 students in 1977 to 1704 in 1984 to 2712 in 1990. If future upper level classes contain more students and a larger range of student reading abilities, high school teachers will need in-service on this topic. Otherwise, Advanced Placement participation might decrease.

Despite these caveats, both in Illinois and nationwide, Classicists must unite in pursuit of the goal of more enrollment at the upper levels of Latin instruction in the high schools. Two years of a language was never enough to develop any usable proficiency—not in Latin nor in any language. As professional educators, we must convince students, parents, administrators, guidance counselors, and the general public that only through an extended sequence of study will the students be prepared for our ever-changing world. The study of Latin, like the modern languages, plays an important role in preparing students to respect all the peoples of the world—no matter the place, the language, the appearance or customs of the people, or the time-frame.

Public Junior High Latin Enrollments

An examination of enrollment patterns in the Illinois public junior high schools must be made. The number of junior high schools increased 9% (from 459 in 1977 to 489) in 1982, and an additional 7% (to 524) in 1987. The overall student population decreased from 207,231 in 1977 to 164,854 in 1982, a 20% loss. Eighth grade Latin was offered in a mere seven schools in both 1977 and 1982 and by 1987 only four schools were teaching eighth grade Latin. The number of junior high schools that had seventh grade Latin available decreased from five to two schools between 1977 and 1987.

The overall student population in the public junior high schools decreased from 207,231 in 1977 to 164,854 in 1982, a 20% loss. There was also a 38% decrease in the number of junior high students who were studying Latin. In 1977, 503 students were studying Latin in the junior highs and in 1982, 312 were. The raw figures for total junior high enrollment and for Latin enrollment is not yet available for 1987. However the available 1987 data indicates that only .09% of all junior high students in Illinois were studying Latin in 1987.

The substantial decrease in Latin enrollment between 1977 and 1982 is made more palatable by the similarly great losses of junior high enrollments suffered by the modern foreign languages. Overall foreign language enrollments in the state's junior highs declined by 27.7%. Attention must be given to the greater loss by Latin combined with the very limited availability of junior high Latin courses. In fact, the entire status of Latin in the junior high schools must be evaluated. While elementary Latin programs have been detailed at length in professional journals, as have the benefits of high school study, even at the national level little has been written about Latin in the junior high schools. Like the middle child, the junior highs have been left out.

Considering the crisis we still face in Illinois, research must be done about our junior high schools. How can we institute more junior high Latin programs? What is the best way to teach Latin to this age group? Who will teach these students? Can a high school Latin teacher effectively teach these students? What in-service training or institutes do these teachers need? There is a small core of junior high school Latin teachers in the North Shore suburban schools as well as a few others scattered throughout Illinois. It is imperative that the advice and experience of these teachers be sought and that methods to remedy such a dismal situation be outlined and implemented.

Latin Enrollments by Gender

Still one more look must be made at enrollment patterns in the public junior high and high schools in Illinois. Although the national literature gives no indication of the ratio of males and females enrolled in Latin courses, the Illinois data from 1977, 1982, and 1987 indicates a curious pattern. Latin I courses in the high schools are more heavily enrolled by females than males—by 8%, 12%, and

6% in 1977, 1982, and 1987 respectively. By contrast, Spanish and French Level I courses are even more heavily enrolled by females by 18% and 24% in 1977 and by 16% and 28% in 1982. German, however, contained 6% and 4% more males than females in 1977 and 1982. These percentages for French, Spanish, and German stayed approximately the same in 1987. In the junior high schools there were 2% more males enrolled in Latin than females in 1977 and in 1982 there were 8% more females. Junior high enrollments in French, Spanish, and German contained more females than males in all the years studied. In level two courses in the high schools, however, the male/female ratio is approximately equal in Latin whereas in French and Spanish females outnumber the males by 2 to 13%. In the upper levels, Latin is the only language other than Russian of the thirteen languages taught in Illinois public schools which has more males enrolled than females. In 1977 and 1982 there were 2 to 3% more males in the upper level Latin courses and in 1988 there were 6% more males. This is true of both level three and four courses. In the Spanish and French upper level classes the females outnumbered the males by 26 to 38%.

The Illinois data, unfortunately, advances no reason for this curiosity. One supposition might be that upper level Latin is considered a more serious study than that of the modern languages. Given the increasing numbers of females who are entering the professions once considered the domain of males, this theory would not seem likely. Another speculation might be that females prefer to take the languages which are more heavily enrolled by their peers. Still another conjecture might be that females prefer the languages which rely more heavily on oral instruction and practice. Other hypotheses might be advanced ranging from the still increased pressure on males to be admitted to high prestige universities to course conflicts at the upper level which deplete the number of females studying Latin. While there are many opinions to explain this curiosity, in fact no research is available to prove or disprove any type of theory. What is evident is that Latin is losing enrollment at the upper level, at least in a small part due to a loss of female enrollment. This is not in the best interest of the classics and research must be done to determine its cause and the best way in which to remedy the situation.

Private Schools

After this extensive look at Latin in the state's public schools, the status of Latin in the private schools must be examined. Unfortunately, enrollment figures, patterns, and ratios have not been collected on any consistent or conclusive basis. A committee formed by the Illinois Classical Conference and chaired by Mrs. Mary Joan Masello yields the only information available to date. In 1982, out of 136 private, Catholic, and independent high schools, 62 schools offered Latin. No data was collected for junior high schools. What is immediately manifest, however, even with this scanty data is that Latin has fared better in the private schools. 45% of the private schools offered Latin at the high school level

in 1982 while only 16% of the public schools did. Neither student enrollment figures nor what levels of Latin are taught in these schools is part of the committee's report.

More recently, another ICC committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Rebecca Crown and Mrs. Mary Ann Beatty is gathering data concerning the Latin programs in both public and private schools. It is hoped that this the survey will enable the committee and the ICC to develop a coherent strategy to improve the status of Latin teaching in Illinois schools.

Colleges and Universities

Information by which to ascertain the status of Latin at the post-secondary level is even more scarce. On the national level, enrollments in college level Latin courses have remained virtually the same for twenty-six years. 25,700 students studied college Latin in 1960 and 25,038 in 1986. Between 1965 and 1968 these figures rose to 39,600 but by 1974 the figure was 25,167 and stayed within a thousand of this figure for the next decade.

In Illinois, enrollment in college Latin also appears to be steady. Dr. Edwin Menes reports to me that at Loyola University of Chicago enrollment in Latin 100-, 200-, and 300-level courses from 1984 to 1991 showed only a five student deviation from the mean enrollment in Latin of 51.4 students. The situation seems to be the same at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana. Although the Latin enrollment in levels 100-400 is approximately four times larger than at Loyola (not surprising due to the differing sizes of the two universities), Professor Richard Scanlan informs me that there was only a 13 student change from 1989 to 1990. The situation, of course, may be very different at the smaller colleges in Illinois. It is evident that more data must be collected from all the colleges and universities which offer Latin in Illinois in order to determine more concretely the status of Latin in post-secondary education.

At the college level in Illinois, as in the public high schools, substantially more enrollment is in the lower level classes. Using as a sample the enrollment data reported from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Loyola University of Chicago, and from Professor Daniel Garrison at Northwestern University, it can be seen that 65-83% of the total Latin undergraduate enrollment is in the 100 level courses.

Another factor to be considered when examining college enrollment patterns is the percentage of students who, because of high school Latin study, have been placed in 200 level college Latin courses. Nationally, no data is available on this topic. In Illinois, reports from the same three universities and Professor Tom Sienkewicz at Monmouth College and from Professor Raymond Den Adel at Rockford College show a widely varying pattern of 10% to 90% of the enrolled 200 level Latin students who received that placement due to high school study. The responses of these institutions of higher learning are quite

different. Some report that high school Latin students are unable to pass the college Latin placement exam. Others indicate that students with four years on their high school transcript are thereby placed in level 200 courses. These responses and those between the two extremes indicate the differing criteria which universities and colleges employ for placement purposes. The differing responses and criteria most likely indicate the varying goals of each institution and the diverse types of students which each attract.

Teacher Certification

A more pressing issue in Illinois colleges and universities is the teacher certification requirements. Due to the impetus of educational reform movements in the mid-1980's, the institution of an Illinois certification testing program passed the Illinois legislature in 1985. The test was designed and piloted in 1986 and 1987. The testing program became mandatory on July 1, 1988.

The certification testing program is composed of two parts—one test on basic skills and the other on the student's major field. Anyone wishing to obtain an Illinois certificate, including teachers certified in other states, must pass both parts of the test. Ms. Pat Glenn of the ISBE Certification Testing Department reports to me that since the inception of the test in 1988, nine individuals have actually taken the Illinois certification test in Latin. In 1988-89, three took the exam and all three passed the exam at the first sitting. In 1989-90, when six individuals took the examination, five passed the exam on the first attempt and one on the second attempt.

The content of the Latin portion of the exam was scrutinized, debated, and twice revised by a panel of practicing Illinois Latin teachers and teacher-educators. This panel met in 1986, 1987, and early 1988. As chair of the Latin sub-committee of ISBE, I can report that by the conclusion of the process, this panel was confident that the Latin certification test items covered what a newly-certified high school Latin teacher needed to know. The content of the Latin portion of the exam includes Latin syntax and usage, vocabulary and derivatives, reading skills in both prose and poetry, teaching methodologies and resources, and culture (Roman history, geography, topography, literature, architecture, classical mythology, and features of Roman social, political, military, and private life). While the content of this test placed a certain pressure on Illinois colleges and universities to include these topics within the university courses required of prospective Latin teachers, there was no great outcry from the post-secondary institutions at this juncture. Most of the Illinois universities and colleges had long since been including these topics somewhere in the courses in which their Latin majors were enrolled.

Of more import to Illinois institutions of higher learning has been the new general education requirements for certification in Illinois which have been mandatory for all teacher candidates since July 1, 1992. Table III, based upon a

booklet entitled "Minimum Requirements for State Certificates" published by ISBE (1990), illustrates these changes by semester hours.

TABLE III

Illinois Teacher Certification Requirements by Semester Hours

	Before July 1, 1992	After July 1,1992
Language Arts & Communication	8	9
Science/Math	6 (in Science or Math)	12 (9 in Science AND 3 in Math)
Social Science	6 (including American History or Government)	9 (including American Government)
Humanities	6	15 (including American History & non-Western Culture)
Health	3	2
Other Courses in above fields	13	
Total	42	47

Although the new requirements only constitute a five semester hour increase (translating into a two course increase), the ramifications of the new requirements are much greater. The 1992 requirements are also more specific than the previous ones. Under the old system, there were thirteen hours of general education which could be taken in any of the other five disciplines. Undergraduate students frequently completed these thirteen hours in fulfilling their own university's graduation requirements. These thirteen hours are divided between math, science, and the humanities in the 1992 listing. This specificity does not allow the students to fulfill the university's requirements with as much ease or in as many universities as previously. In fact, depending on the university's own requirements, the student may not be able to fulfill certain college requirements at all while completing the certification necessities. In this scenario, which is not all that rare in Illinois, the undergraduate student, then, has two additional courses to take for certification requirements and one to three more to meet the university requirements.

Fortunately, the other certification requirements will not change in 1992. Sixteen hours of professional education courses are still required and the 32 semester hours in the major is still the standard. The 32 hour major is parallel to the 30 hour major recommended and outlined by Davis (1991) and others in an article entitled "The Preparation and Training for Teachers of Latin." This

recommended outline of Latin teacher training advocates 18 hours of Latin beyond the elementary level in college, 3 hours of a Latin methods course, and 9 hours in the related fields of culture, history, and myth.

What is not considered by this report is the number of future Latin teachers who will not begin their study of Latin in high school but at the university level. In such cases not only will 18 hours of Latin courses be insufficient to meet the linguistic demands of a future Latin teacher but also 9 hours of related course work will not meet the need for an understanding of the culture of the ancients.

A greater understanding of the situation faced by undergraduate Latin majors who did not begin their study of Latin in high school is provided by Ancona (1987) who deplores the state of doctoral training in the Classics. As she so eloquently stated, doctoral students are admitted into the program with considerable deficiencies in prior classical language training. As a result, the bulk of the doctoral course work of these students is devoted to building a respectable linguistic competency. The secondary result is the lack of a holistic view of the classics on the part of new graduates from a doctoral program. And, of course, these are the very professors who most frequently are asked to teach mythology courses, the bread and butter course of most university classics departments and the course which most demands a competent holistic view of the field. Likewise, I fear, undergraduate Latin students who have had no Latin in high school also are deprived of their holistic view of Latin, its culture, and its heritage—one of the most important aspects of high school Latin teaching and the one way by which Latin teachers can enlist the support of their home-school colleagues in history, art, and English. Needless to say, a lowered linguistic competency in Latin is not the answer either. Thus a substantial problem is present.

Indeed, even many practicing Latin teachers in Illinois call frequently for in-service in the area of ancient culture. Monmouth College ran a very successful institute on "Teaching Roman Civilization in the High Schools" in 1987. Of the 25 participants, however, less than half were Latin teachers; the rest were mostly high school social studies teachers. Yet no other Illinois institute or workshop has been formulated to fill this need. This is unfortunate, to say the least, and needs to be remedied with all due haste, both for employed Latin teachers and new graduates.

An overview of the prospective Illinois Latin teacher's undergraduate studies is necessary at this point. The new general education requirements (coupled with the university's own requirements) will fill one-half or more of the student's total instructional time in the four years of college, the professional education courses will fill another fourth and the major field course-work will fill the remaining quarter. Unfortunately, this division of the student's time, which in some cases already demands more than four years of college, does not in most cases allow the student to pursue the study of a minor, which is so very important to the marketability of Latin teachers. Neither does this system allow a student who does not decide to become a teacher until his sophomore or junior year to

fulfill the requirements within the four years of college nor does it allow a student without any high school Latin study to complete a respectable major. Given the high and ever-increasing cost of college education and still relatively low teacher salaries, especially in rural Illinois, it is unrealistic to expect prospective Latin teachers to spend a fifth year in college.

In 1988 at the annual conference of the ICC, a panel discussion on Latin teacher preparation was held. There was a major outcry against the new requirements and the strictures they place on undergraduate students. Particularly vociferous were comments from representatives of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Loyola University of Chicago, two of the major Latin teacher-training institutions in the state of Illinois. On the other hand, a report from the certification division of ISBE has indicated that no great outcry has reached them via letters, comments, phone calls, or any other means.

Reports from smaller colleges in Illinois indicate that some of these schools have reluctantly found ways to cope with the 1992 regulations. Dr. Frank Sorensen of the Education Department of Monmouth College, for example, informs me that his department has a counseling form which shows students how to use their Monmouth College graduation requirements to fulfill their teacher certification requirements. The increased number of students and faculty members at large universities make it more difficult to counsel potential teachers so carefully and to change university BA requirements so that they line up more easily with certification requirements. It is also to be noted that state certification requirements should not be the driving force behind the creation of university requirements. The autonomy of the university is what determines the unique character of each university. It is this unique character which creates the very diversity in education which students want and need.

It should also be observed, however, that if universities want to produce teachers as well as graduate students, then careful consideration of how the state's requirements can potentially fit in to the university's own unique characteristics must be made. If a change in the university's own requirements must be made, then it is incumbent on university professors to take a truly Odyssean voyage across all departmental lines and over all bureaucratic hurdles in search of university-wide consensus on an appropriate set of graduation requirements which fit the needs of all students, not just potential teachers but not excluding future teachers either, and which fit the needs of all the university's departments, goals, and characteristics. This, it must be noted, is no easy voyage, even for a great hero. Although there are many perils on this voyage, allies will also be met. It is not just the classicists who are or should be interested in producing future teachers but professors from all disciplines.

Another issue connected with the teacher certification process is the lack of certificate reciprocity in Illinois. When a Latin teacher certified in another state comes to Illinois, this individual will not receive an Illinois certificate unless the above-mentioned requirements are met, including certification testing and the specific general education, professional education, and major requirements. Since

July 1, 1989 out-of-state certified teachers, upon application to ISBE can receive provisional certificates which allow individuals to teach in the Illinois public schools provided that they take and pass the certification testing within nine months of the issue of the provisional certificate and complete all other lacking requirements within two years.

The lack of certificate reciprocity makes it difficult for out-of-state Latin teachers to enter the Latin teaching profession in Illinois and the two year limit on the provisional certificate makes it difficult for the lacking requirements to be remedied if the teacher has secured a full-time job. These teachers are an important resource to Illinois education and yet there is no university program in Illinois designed to meet the needs of out-of-state teachers. Classicists in Illinois must either work with ISBE in an attempt to obtain such reciprocity or we must work on instituting programs which will insure the entry of non-Illinois teachers into our state's schools as economically and quickly as possible.

One type of program which would be beneficial both to non-Illinois teachers and to those with a BA who either did not complete the certification requirements or who did not get sufficient Latin language or cultural training during the undergraduate years is an MAT program in Latin. There is no Latin MAT program in any Illinois university, although such a program is in an early planning stage at Loyola University of Chicago. However, a Latin MAT program in Illinois must be very carefully designed so that students have the flexibility to complete whatever types of courses they need, whether in professional education, general education, Latin, or Roman civilization. At the same time, the Latin MAT must insure a certain advanced level of competency in the Classics lest the program loose its value and effectiveness due to a diluted classical component. Needless to say, the length of a Latin MAT program must conform to the length of MAT programs in the other disciplines or students will not enter the program. One last recommendation is that the MAT Latin program include experienced, currently practicing Illinois Latin teachers either as MAT candidate mentors, guest lecturers, or part-time instructors. Without the inclusion of practicing teachers, a Latin MAT program, like too many university methods courses, will neither address the every-day concerns of Latin teachers nor will provide viable ways of dealing with the teachers' concerns. A valuable by-product of such an arrangement would be the promotion of networking between prospective teachers, practicing teachers, and university faculty.

Latin Teacher Shortage?

Finally, the most vexing question of all has been reached. Is there a Latin teacher shortage in Illinois? The nationwide shortage of Latin teachers has been well-documented by Wilhelm (1985) The educational reform movements of the 1980's have led many of our nation's schools towards expanding existing Latin programs or revitalizing defunct ones. The shortage of qualified teachers has thus led to two results. Some schools, when unable to hire a qualified Latin teacher,

abandon their worthwhile plans for a Latin program. Other schools, however, appoint underqualified or unqualified teachers to teach Latin. Neither solution, of course, is an advantageous one. School administrators who consume valuable time in a frustrating search for a qualified Latin teacher (frequently already perceived as an educational rarity) will hesitate in the future to replace retiring Latin teachers or to expand Latin programs by increasing staff.

On the other hand, when under-qualified or unqualified Latin teachers are hired, problems arise in a quick crescendo. The students of these teachers are not well-prepared in the field and thus find considerable frustration if they choose to continue their study of Latin in college. The Latin curriculum at such schools stagnates due to the teachers' lack of a substantial knowledge base. The teachers themselves are frustrated by the same lack and must search out ways to remedy their own deficiencies. Fortunately, institutes like the 1984/85 Westminster Latin Institutes in Pennsylvania and Tufts' Classical Institute in 1980 have been designed to aid these teachers on the East Coast of the United States.

When teachers are not certified or have only a provisional certificate, similar problems arise. In Illinois, there has been no institute formulated to deal specifically with the problems of the underqualified high school Latin teacher. Yet it is clear that some teachers in Illinois are being asked to teach Latin with only the credentials that a Latin minor provides—namely twenty hours in Latin and related fields including 100 level courses.

The nationwide figures on the shortage of Latin teachers, however, do not necessarily reflect the situation in Illinois. In fact, until the results of the ICC survey conducted by Dr. Crown and Mrs. Beatty are tabulated, there is no data available for this state. Illinois has no statewide Latin teacher placement service nor is there any other Illinois clearing house for such information. Generalized reports from several of the state's major universities indicate one or two phone call requests per year for a Latin teacher. Whether these requests come from private schools or from public schools, which require a certified teacher, is information that is not kept on file. Furthermore, whether the position is filled or not is also not on file. Likewise the ISBE reports a similar number of phone calls and likewise does not keep record of this information. The ACL Placement Office Liaison for Illinois, an appointment which was neither solicited nor accepted but rather thrust upon an unsuspecting individual, and I report that I am this person, indicates that two to four letters from out-of-state individuals seeking a Latin position are received annually. Of these four, only one is usually certified anywhere in the United States. Only by word of mouth do I hear of Latin openings in the state's schools. Evidently the administrators of the schools do not know of the existence of the ACL liaison in Illinois. This may in fact be quite fitting since the Illinois liaison has neither an office, a staff, a budget, or any other resource by which to function in such a capacity. I also regret to say that like the state's universities and the ISBE, I, too, have not kept any records for the six years I have held this unsolicited appointment.

A tabulation of this inconclusive information yields the following picture. In Illinois, approximately five schools contact in-state universities or the ISBE in search of a Latin teacher. Perhaps a few other schools conduct their searches through nationwide agencies, advertising, or other means, although no data at all is available to support such a hypothesis. Usually only one of the annual out-of-state applicants is able to immediately receive a provisional certificate. At the same time approximately four individuals pass the Illinois Certification Test per year. This adds up to five known applicants for five known jobs in a given year.

Whereas there is no reliable information by which to judge how many Latin openings exist other than those schools which contact universities, the ICC honors at least one newly-retired Latin teacher per year. At the same time, individuals in the respective geographical areas of Illinois report a loss of at least five Latin programs in the St.Louis East Metro area since 1975, at least three in Central Illinois, and at least four in the Chicago suburban area. These figures, although admittedly incredibly imprecise, do NOT portray a teacher shortage in Illinois. This conjecture is supported by the earlier cited hard data from the public schools which shows a 25% loss in the number of Latin students and a 14.5% loss in the availability of Latin I courses. These are figures which must translate into a loss of at least a few Latin teaching positions in Illinois.

Another factor to consider is the widely disparate conditions of the Latin teaching profession in the various areas of Illinois. Salaries, benefits, and administrative or parental support vary considerably from one place to another in Illinois. It is not uncommon to encounter high school Latin teachers actively seeking employment in one area of the state while administrators are searching in vain for a Latin teacher in another area. This may, in fact, account for the elimination of programs in some areas.

Professional Organizations

It would not be fitting to leave out of this picture of the status of Latin in Illinois a discussion of the state's professional organizations. There are two organizations for classicists in Illinois: The Chicago Classical Club (CCC) and the Illinois Classical Conference (ICC). The CCC is locally based in the Chicago metropolitan area and meets three times a year on a Saturday in a luncheon and lecture format. The members of the CCC are university professors and school teachers. There is also a small contingent of CCC members who are not educators but rather friends of the Classics.

The ICC is a state-wide organization which includes educators at all levels in the schools and universities. The ICC provides one 3-day conference per year and additionally sponsors a session at both the fall and winter conferences of the Illinois Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ICTFL). The ICC also provides a wide array of services to its members, including the Illinois Latin

Tournament, Classics Day in Chicago, Art Institute Day, and the Societas Honoris Classica.

Although most Chicagoland educators belong to both organizations, there is a core of individuals who refuse either membership or participation in both the local and statewide organizations. This creates a lack of unity of Classicists in Illinois.

Examination of statistics from ICC membership files and from LaFleur (1985; 1991) indicates that membership in the ICC has followed the same general membership trends as those reported by the American Classical League (ACL) and the Classical Association of the Middle West and South (CAMWS). The ICC loss in membership is parallel to the loss in availability of Latin I courses in the public high schools in Illinois and the loss of student population in public school Latin courses. This loss in the number of courses offered and the loss of students, as detailed earlier in the paper, most likely accounts for the loss in ICC membership. As there are less Latin teachers in Illinois, there are less members in the ICC. Yet the ICC loss in membership is nearly 20% greater than the losses suffered by the regional and national associations. This greater decline in membership is explained by the losses in the Illinois Latin student population while national enrollments were on the rise in the mid-eighties.

TABLE IV

State, Regional and National Memberships in Classical Organizations, 1966-1991

National (ACL)	Regional (CAMWS)	State (ICC)
6064 members (1966)	2736 members (1966)	401 members (1966)
3061 members (1984)	1651 members (1984)	166 members (1986)
3844 members (1990)	1657 members (1990)	181 members (1991)
37% decrease	40% decrease	55% decrease

Recommendations for the Future

This lengthy description of the state of Latin in Illinois yields three incontrovertible, albeit dismal, facts. First, there are substantial difficulties at every level of Latin instruction in Illinois. Secondly, sufficient research is not available to determine the causes of these problems. Thirdly, Latin teachers in Illinois have great need for a variety of supportive services which are not being provided by any agency, organization, or institution in Illinois. A summary of these problems, of the necessary research, and of the needs of Illinois Latin teachers follows.

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

1 **PROBLEM** The overwhelming majority of Latin elementary programs are in the Chicago public schools only.

RESEARCH A thorough geographical assessment of the existence of these programs and how to promote the introduction of Latin elementary programs into the public schools.

2 **PROBLEM** The content of elementary courses varies widely and some teachers feel unqualified to teach either the language or the ancient culture.

RESEARCH Data by which to determine the content of existing courses or of the classical component in the whole school curriculum; furthermore statistics which will indicate whether the presence of an elementary Latin course helps to increase Latin enrollment at the junior high or high school level.

NEEDS in-service opportunities, especially on Roman culture.

PUBLIC JUNIOR HIGH/MIDDLE SCHOOLS

3 **PROBLEM** Junior High enrollment has decreased by 62%

RESEARCH Collection of data which will delineate the factors which caused the decrease.

4 **PROBLEM** The majority of programs are clustered in the suburban schools.

RESEARCH Investigation of methods by which to introduce Latin into the junior high schools.

NEEDS In-service on how to use these methods successfully.

5 **PROBLEM** Most of the existing junior high programs are in the 8th grade only and most of these teachers are transplanted high school teachers.

RESEARCH Investigation and publication of the most effective Latin teaching methods to use at this level.

NEEDS Opportunities to network with other junior high Latin teachers.

PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS

6 **PROBLEM** Decrease in Latin I courses in the suburban and small city schools.

7 **RESEARCH** Thorough evaluation of the causes including the effect of junior high Latin programs on the availability of Latin I at the high school level.

8 **PROBLEM** The same percent of students study Latin out of a decreasing overall student population.
RESEARCH Complete inquiry into what methods spurred the nationwide revival.
NEEDS Promotional pamphlets on the greater values of Latin in terms appropriate to adolescents, parents, guidance counselors, and administrators.

9 **PROBLEM** Enrollment in Latin levels III and IV are too small.
RESEARCH An examination of the causes; data on how many schools offer a two year program only; statistics on how many students terminate the study of Latin for modern language study.
NEEDS Reading proficiency and curriculum guidelines for all levels of Latin study in the high schools; inservice on teaching A.P. Latin to combined classes and to those that contain students with a wide range of reading proficiency in Latin.

10 **PROBLEM** The loss of female enrollment at the upper levels.
RESEARCH Study on the causes and effects of lowered female enrollment.

PRIVATE ELEMENTARY, MIDDLE, AND JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

11 **PROBLEM** Virtually no data is available on the subject.
RESEARCH Thorough examination of the situation in these private schools and of the teachers' needs.

PRIVATE HIGH SCHOOLS

12 **PROBLEM** No data has been collected since 1982 although the ICC survey may remedy this.
RESEARCH Formulate what information still needs to be collected after the ICC survey results are examined and what needs the survey indicates.

13 **PROBLEM** No data is available on enrollment in the upper level classes or on male/female ratios.
RESEARCH Collect and evaluate this information and how it corresponds or impacts on public school trends.

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

14 **PROBLEM** 65-83% of the undergraduate enrollments are in the 100 level according to the sample used.

RESEARCH A thorough gathering of enrollment figures by which to ascertain trends and needs.

15 **PROBLEM** An extremely wide variance of 10-90% exists among university Latin students who received placement in a 200 level course due to high school study of Latin.

RESEARCH A complete explication is necessary including its ramifications for students.

TEACHER TRAINING AND CERTIFICATION

16 **PROBLEM** The specificity of the 1992 requirements for certification will hinder prospective Latin teachers and may hinder the development of Latin linguistic or cultural competency of Latin minors, of those who have had no high school Latin study, and of those who do not decide to become teachers until their sophomore or junior year.

RESEARCH A study of the ramifications for each institution in Illinois.

NEEDS Guidelines for counseling prospective Latin teachers; help in changing the college BA requirements (if deemed necessary); institutes, workshops, or in-service necessary to remedy Latin linguistic or cultural deficiencies.

17 **PROBLEM** The lack of certificate reciprocity.

RESEARCH A determination of ways to change Illinois' reciprocity status.

NEEDS Programs to remedy out-of-state teachers' needs.

A Call for Action

Although the existence of this long list of problematic areas in Illinois and the lack of research necessary to begin a process of solution is certainly not cheery news, still the horizon is bright. Not only do the nationwide figures and trends prove that a solution is possible but also we have the personnel in Illinois to accomplish this task. We have a large body of very hard-working, talented, and dedicated Illinois teachers who together can solve any problem—even if there

are SEVENTEEN of them. There are also five major universities and a number of smaller colleges with Classics departments who have the capacity to do the research and provide guidance. Furthermore, we have two professional organizations for Classicists in Illinois.

Therefore, I call upon the Illinois Classical Conference and the Chicago Classical Club to work together on the establishment of an Illinois Latin Task Force. This task force should contain one representative from every Classics Department in an institution of higher learning in Illinois and one practicing Latin teacher from every geographical area of Illinois—Chicago, the North and Northwest Suburbs, the South and Southwest suburbs, the Western Suburbs, the St.Louis Metro East area, Central Illinois, Southern Illinois, Western Illinois, Eastern Illinois, and the Rockford Area—as well as representatives from the elementary and middle levels of education and from private education.

This task force must be prepared for a Herculean undertaking. It must set its priorities for solving the aforementioned problems or others not delineated in this paper and it must secure grant funding for the gathering of the data, the preparation of the research, the meetings of the Task Force itself, and the implementation of its recommendations. Only in this way can Classicists in Illinois insure for Illinois Latin students in the next millennium a dawn as rosy-fingered as Homer has described it.

COURAGE AND A STEADFAST HEART:

JOE PATERNO, AENEAS AND THE LATIN STUDENT

by Thomas J. Sienkewicz

Courage and a Steadfast Heart: Joe Paterno, Aeneas and the Latin Student

The title of this paper, "Courage and a Steadfast Heart," is based on Vergil's *Aeneid*, an epic poem written in Latin a few decades before the birth of Christ.[1] In this poem the phrase *nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo* (*Aeneid* VI, 261), translated by Copley (1965:123) as "Now you need courage and now a steadfast heart", is spoken to Aeneas, the epic's hero, by a prophetess called the Sibyl as she is about to lead Aeneas down to the Underworld. Aeneas went there to visit the ghost of his dead father—a journey which certainly requires "courage and a steadfast heart" if any journey does!

So, too, does the study of Latin. Learning Latin is not really any easier for most of us than it was for Aeneas to visit his dead father. Memorizing the Latin sequence of tenses or understanding the future periphrastic construction may sometimes be as frustrating and as painful as Aeneas' travels often appeared to be.

At times, in fact, Aeneas' journey seemed hopeless. One such time occurs at the beginning of the epic, which starts *in medias res*, "in the middle of things," with a terrible storm at sea sent by the goddess Juno against Aeneas and his men. Shipwrecked off the coast of Africa and barely escaping death, Aeneas consoled his men with these words:

> *O socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum)*
> *o passi grauiora, dabit deus his quoque finem.*
> *uos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis*
> *accestis scopulos, vos et Cyclopia saxa*
> *experti: reuocate animos maestumque timorem*
> *mittite; forsan et haec olim meminisse iuuabit.*
>
> *Aeneid*, I, 198-203.

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[1]Earlier versions of this paper were read to honor students at Barrington High School in Barrington, Illinois, and at Marquette High in Ottawa, Illinois.

> O comrades, we have been through evil
> Together before this; we have been through worse.
> Scylla, Charybdis, the Cyclops' dwelling,
> And the sounding rocks. This, too, the god will end.
> Call the nerve back; dismiss the fear, the sadness.
> Someday, perhaps, remembering even these things
> Will be a pleasure.
>
> translated by Humphries (1951:10)

Aeneas' words speak as much to Latin students as to his depressed Trojan sailors. Like Aeneas and his men, Latin students know many hard hours, hours studying declension and conjugation endings rather than pleasure sailing on Lake Michigan. While Aeneas and his men had to pass between the monster Scylla and the dangerous whirlpool Charybdis, Latin students have ablative absolutes and indirect statements around which to manoeuver. At the same time they face drugs, peer pressure and all the other temptations of modern society.

Often it seems to the struggling student that the study of Latin is meaningless and futile. Sometimes it seems that shipwreck is inevitable and that the complexities of dactylic hexameter or of the Ciceronian sentence will never be mastered. Indeed, on the night before a big test, students may even be tempted to yield to hardship and dismay, to throw their Latin grammar books against the wall and to go out and cruise around town with the gang.

Yet, again and again, like Aeneas and his men, they have "called their nerve back" and have "dismissed fear and sadness." Like Aeneas and his men, they have succeeded; that is, they have learned Latin. Like Aeneas' men, many also remember with pleasure the hardships encountered in learning Latin. They actually look back on their days studying Latin as a pleasure, as some of the most enjoyable days in their lives. And I'm not just talking here about the joyous occasions, like toga parties and Saturnalia and Roman chariot races. I also mean the more unpleasant occasions, like the hard days spent working through a difficult Vergil passage or the term paper on the *Aeneid* which takes weeks to complete. It is these experiences which students recall as highpoints of their school days, just as Aeneas knows his men will someday enjoy the memory of their toilsome voyages.

Why? Because studying Latin is not only a hardship. It is also a privilege, a task of honor like the golden bough which Aeneas needed in order to gain entry to the underworld. The Sibyl tells Aeneas that he had to find this magical tree limb and bring it to the Underworld as a gift to Proserpina, the goddess of the Underworld. Yet not just anyone could accomplish this task. The Sibyl warns that

namque ipse uolens facilisque sequeter, si te fata
vocant; aliter non viribus ullis uincere nec duro poteris
conuellere ferro.

Aeneid VI, 146-148

The branch will come away with ease
if you are elect of Fate. If not, no force
of yours will break it, no cold steel hack it free.

translated by Copley (1965:20)

Aeneas was indeed elected by Fate. It was not his idea to leave Troy to found a new city in Italy. It was not his idea to visit the underworld. In both cases, he was directed to do so by fate, by the gods.

The same is true, in a sense, for Latin students. Like Aeneas with the golden bough, successful Latin students are chosen by fate. Not everyone will find the golden bough. Not everyone studies Latin and even fewer elect to read the words of Vergil in their original form. The word "election" comes from two Latin words: *lego*, *lectum*, which means "to choose" and *ex* which means "out". So election is literally a "choosing out," a selection of persons from a group, just as Latin students have been chosen out from among the ranks of their classmates.

Like Aeneas, Latin students have found their golden bough. Equipped with the knowledge they have gained in their grammar books, they have been chosen for membership in a select group, in what the Romans called a *societas*, a collection of *socii* or allies. And this is a group of the chosen stringing all the way back to the ancient world. This group includes many illustrious members like Milton, Petrarch, and St. Augustine.

But what are Latin students to do once they have joined this society of scholars? What are they to do once they have learned Latin and have found the golden bough, this key to success? Well, the answer to this question lies in another English word derived from Latin. This is the word "induction" which comes from the Latin verb *induco* meaning "lead in." The point is that learning Latin is an "induction", an "introduction", a "leading in". It is just the beginning, not the end. The journey does not end with the last chapter of the elementary Latin book. It is just started. Latin students are all Aeneases on a quest with golden boughs in their hands. Latin is the passport for this journey, just as the golden bough was Aeneas' ticket of admission to the Underworld.

Where are these Latin students going? With his golden bough Aeneas entered the Underworld and visited the ghost of his father Anchises. On this journey Aeneas, the ancestor of the Romans, was granted a vision of Rome's future greatness, a vision of all his coming descendants lined up and waiting to be born. People like Scipio Africanus, who defeated the Carthaginian general Hannibal and kept us all from studying Punic instead of Latin. People like Julius Caesar, who taught us how to cross the Rubicon and to beware of the Ides of March. So Aeneas' experiences in the Underworld fortified the hero for the later

hardships he faced in Italy, where he had to fight a bitter war for the hand of an Italian princess and the right to a new home in Italy.

Like Aeneas in the Underworld, Latin students are on a long journey. Learning Latin is only the first stage of this journey, just as the golden bough was only the beginning of a journey for Aeneas. Once they have their golden boughs, once they know the way across the border, to the world of Rome, they must make use of this passport to another world. While Aeneas had a vision of the future, with Latin one gains a vision of the grandeur of the Roman spirit and Roman accomplishments. Like Aeneas in the Underworld, one can, through Latin, make acquaintance with the great figures of the Roman past, like the Carthaginian slave Terence, who learned Latin so well that he became one of the earliest and perhaps the best writer of comedies in Latin. Or Sulpicia, the niece of Mesalla, a Roman soldier and statesman of the 1st century B.C. Sulpicia is one of the few female voices to speak forth in ancient Rome. Her tender love poems rival those of the Greek Sappho, her Roman compatriots Catullus and Tibullus, and even Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Or people like Vergil himself, whose poetry was so powerful that the medieval world transformed him into a magician (Fargo 1934) and the 13th-century Italian poet Dante Alighieri made Vergil his guide through hell in the *Inferno*.

The plays of Terence, the poems of Sulpicia, and, especially, Vergil's great epic deal with great Romans, like Aeneas, and with love stories as good as any told on the afternoon soaps today. They also offer us a whole new way of looking at the world, the Roman way. The value of this experience is voiced in the modern world by Joe Paterno, the Penn State football coach. In his autobiography, *By the Book*, Paterno (1989) describes how he discovered Vergil in his senior year of high school, when a Jesuit priest named Father Bermingham suggested that they read the *Aeneid* together. At first Paterno misunderstood and thought they would read it in English. When the priest explained that he meant for them to read the original Latin, Paterno (1989:40) responded with disbelief: "In Latin? A poem as long as a book?"

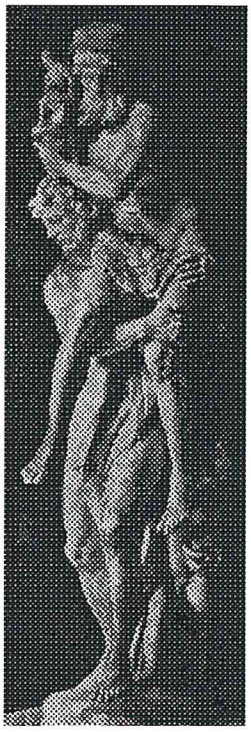
Paterno vividly remembers seeing the book on Father Bermingham's desk, more than four hundred pages long, and, reacting to the priest's challenge with the same sort of determination he showed on the football field, Paterno replied, "Hey, if it's difficult, let's do it", and his enthusiasm raises an important point. Learning Latin is not easy. Reading Vergil is even harder. But that, as Paterno suggests, is what makes it "more fun."

But even as he accepted Fr. Bermingham's challenge Paterno was not unaware of the difficulties he faced and asked the priest if they actually would be able to read the whole book in Latin. To this wise Father Bermingham replied with a lesson many teachers today would do well to remember. He said: "What's important is not how much we cover. I don't like that word, 'cover.' It's not how much we do, but the excellence of what we do." "Excellence," Paterno (1989:41) recollects, "the way he pronounced that word made it shine with a golden light."

Father Bermingham's sense of excellence is perhaps no clearer than in the character of Aeneas himself, who is frequently called *pius* or "pious" by Vergil. Now to us the word "piety" suggests devotion to religious duties and practices. For us someone is pious who attends church every Sunday, reads the Bible, and prays regularly. Perhaps even some of us can remember a time when piety was also applied to loyalty and devotion to parents and family and when pious people were those who showed respect for and dedication to their parents.

For Aeneas and for the Romans, however, *pietas* was more than that. Certainly it included devotion to one's parents and to one's gods, but it also meant devotion to one's country, that is, what we call patriotism. Family and country are, in fact, tightly bound in Latin, where the word *pater* means "father" and the word *patria*, means "country" or "fatherland." So patriots are more than members of a New England football team; they are those who treat their country as devotedly as they treat their own fathers.

Aeneas is such a patriot. As he prepares to flee from burning Troy, Aeneas' first thought is for his old father to whom he says



Aeneas and Anchises
by Pietro Bernini
(1563-1629)
Galleria Bourghese, Rome

> *ergo, age, care pater, cervici imponere nostrae;*
> *ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste gravabit;*
> *quo res cumque cadent, unum et commune periclum,*
> *una salus ambobus erit.*
>
> *Aeneid* II, 707-710

> Then come, dear father. Arms around my neck:
> I'll take you on my shoulders, no great weight.
> Whatever happens, both will face one danger,
> Find one safety.
>
> translated by Fitzgerald (1984:58, lines 921-94)

This gesture, in itself, is an act of devotion to one's natural father, but it is more than that. Aeneas asks his father to carry in his hands the family's household gods, the *lares* and the *penates*. So Aeneas' act is also an act of devotion to the gods. And it is these household gods which become the national gods of the Roman state. So in this act, Aeneas epitomizes the Roman concept of *pietas*; he is simultaneously pious on all three levels important to the Romans: family, gods and country. The intense piety of Vergil's hero is captured in Bernini's famous sculpture, which is reproduced here.

It is only from this perspective that we can later understand why Aeneas can cruelly leave Dido, the queen of Carthage, and sail for Italy. Aeneas did not wish to leave Dido, whom he loved passionately. In fact, he would not have left her if it were not for a miracle, if the god Mercury had not flown down from Mount Olympus to tell Aeneas that Jupiter wanted him to go. Vergil describes how his hero is completely overwhelmed by the god's appearance:

> *At uero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens,*
> *arrectaeque horrore comae et uox faucibus haesit.*
> *ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere teras,*
> *attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.*
>
> *Aeneid* IV, 279-282

> Cowed by this apparition, terrified Aeneas
> Was dumb; his hair stood on end; his tongue clove;
> He burned to escape, to quit these lotus-lands;
> Thunderstruck with this stark ultimatum
> From the god of gods.
>
> translated by Dickinson (1961:82)

Thus, Aeneas HAD to leave Dido. After all, one can't "just say no" to a god. Aeneas' pious devotion to his father, his country and his gods demanded that Aeneas abandon Dido in order to found a new country in Italy.

It may seem difficult for members of a "me" society to understand, but Aeneas placed duty over self. He did not do what he wanted to do. He did what any pious Roman should have done. Vergil thus confronts us with a different way of thinking and of looking at the world. We may feel sorry for poor Dido, but we can also understand the difficult choice of Aeneas.

Joe Paterno learned a similar lesson from Vergil's hero. For Paterno the most important challenges faced by Aeneas were not the storms and shipwrecks on his way to Italy, but the Trojan's internal anguish as he reluctantly left burning Troy and then abandoned poor Dido at the command of the gods. "The worst storm," Paterno (1989:45) says, "is the one that rages within himself. He yearns to be free of his fomenting duty, but he knows that his duty is to others, to his men. Through years of hardship and peril, Aeneas reluctantly but relentlessly heeds his *fata* [his fate] until he founds Rome."

Not surprisingly Paterno makes this self-sacrificing hero into a model for the modern football player. Just as Aeneas placed his own interest behind that of his men, so, too, the athlete must sacrifice himself for his team. Paterno (1989:45-46) explains how "Aeneas is not a grandstanding superstar. He is, above all, a Trojan and a Roman. His first commitment is not to himself, but to others. He is bugged constantly by the reminder, that . . . 'You must be a man for others.' He lives his life not for 'me' and 'I,' but for 'us' and 'we.'"

Thus, for Paterno, the *Aeneid* illustrates the importance of teamwork. Aeneas is not a self-centered loner but a dedicated team player. Just as a football player cannot succeed without the help of his teammates, Aeneas could not have gotten to Italy without the help of his men. According to Joe Paterno (1989:46), then, Aeneas is the kind of hero who "does not wear his name on the back of his uniform. He doesn't wear Nittany Lions on his helmet to claim star credit for touchdowns and tackles that were enabled by everybody doing his job. For Virgil's kind of hero, the score belongs to the team."

This is the kind of dedication and effort learning Latin demands. It is never an easy journey, no easier than that of Aeneas, whom the Sibyl warned

> *Tros Anchisiade, facilis descensus Auerno:*
> *noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis;*
> *sed revocare gradum superasque euadere ad auras,*
> *hoc opus, hic labor est.*
>
> *Aeneid* VI, 126-129

> Trojan son of Anchises, the way to Avernus is easy;
> Night and day lie open the gates of death's dark kingdom:
> But to retrace your steps, to find the way back to daylight—
> That is the task, the hard thing.
>
> translated by Day Lewis
> (1952:131-34)

The Sibyl was not only reminding Aeneas that few people, if any, ever visit the land of the dead and live to tell about it. She was also suggesting that, unlike Dorothy who could just click the heels of her ruby slippers and find herself back in Kansas, Aeneas could never return to Troy, he had to continue his journey to Italy.

For us, the Sibyl has a similar warning. Once we read the *Aeneid*, our lives can never be the same again. We cannot retrace our steps. After we experience the deaths of Laocoön, Dido and Turnus in the *Aeneid*, we can never really go back the way we were before. After we learn Latin, our lives become permanently marked by the Roman way of seeing things.

So we must grasp hold of our golden boughs, accept the guidance of all those who serve as Sibyls in our lives, and enter the world Latin has to offer. With courage and a steadfast heart.

LANGUAGE STUDIES: A KEY TO SOLVING OUR EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

by Sandra Epperson Wolf

Language Studies: A Key to Solving Our Educational Problems

Night-time sharpens
heightens each sensation. . . .
Darkness stirs and
wakes imagination. . . .
Silently the senses
abandon their defenses. . . .

Slowly, gently
night unfurls its splendor
Grasp it, sense it—
tremulous and tender. . . .
Turn your face away
from the garish light of day,
turn your thoughts away
from cold, unfeeling light—
and listen to
the music of the night. . . . .
Andrew Lloyd Webber

The quality of mercy is not strained,
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath. . . .
Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*

Pater noster qui est in caelis
Sanctificatur tuum nomen.

How bright and worthwhile our world is when beautiful language is part of our lives! Isn't it encouraging that Andrew Lloyd Webber saw the timeless quality of the haunting classic, *The Phantom of the Opera*? And audiences agree it is worth re-visiting. Isn't it praiseworthy that Dustin Hoffman's recent portrayal of Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* received rave reviews from sellout audiences and the same enthusiasm from my son's junior high who spent three weeks reading it aloud and playing the parts? What fun for those same junior

highers to study Latin with an exchange teacher from Senegal who knows five languages,in addition to English and Latin! Isn't it wonderful that playing concurrently on the New York and London stages are Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* (four hours long) and the Pulitzer Prize winning *The Heidi Chronicles, Lost in Yonkers* (Neil Simon), and *Driving Miss Daisy* (to name just four of the literate productions)? Quality spawns quality.

In a world that is beset by increasing violence, the public is recognizing substances and standards and demanding more of both. Therefore, on the occasion of Bernice Fox's 80th birthday and the conferring of her honorary degree, it seems appropriate to add some comments to the national dialogue that has finally erupted about much needed reforms for our system of public education. It is no longer a question if our schools are failing. They are. The task is to construct a system that will meet the needs of our diverse culture.

Part of the problem is standards. It can be argued that we lost our standards during the 1960's and we have not gained them back: rampant crime, children killing children, widespread drug use (in the schools no less), child abuse, the breakup of the family, recessions, depressions, alcohol. Schools, like language, are a reflection of the culture. Ancient Rome at a high-tech and high-speed level!

Bernice Fox did not lose her sense of direction. She knew the standards and she maintained them, regardless of the changing culture. My training with Miss Fox and her colleagues at Monmouth demands that I ask: can the study of language, in all of its forms, help us revive our standards as well as uplift our spirits? Isn't it appropriate that all of our schools, not just the private, offer Shakespeare, as well as Latin? What would happen to the level of achievement if we offered as standard fare vocabulary building, grammar, creative writing, not to mention the rest of the humanities?

How will we ever obtain a sense of history unless language and literature are an integral part of what we know? George Bush said early in his administration that he wants to be the "education President". In April 1991 he was bold enough to assert that he hopes to "re-invent" education through a system of choice and setting national standards. Let's accept his leadership! And let us as educators and parents lead the discussion in each of our states,as never before, in an honest evaluation about what is working in American education, what is not, and what the models should be. At the heart of the dialogue, we need to recapture the standards and develop dynamic curricula.

One out of five children in America lives in poverty. They go to school hungry, if indeed they go at all. There are approximately 83,000 public schools in America; most are in trouble. Nine percent of a child's time is spent in school; 91% is spent elsewhere.

Arbor Vitae, a street in Los Angeles

So much of what we see seems out of place, including this sign which is part of the maze of streets on Century Boulevard. Building upon building, in the midst of the desert, one out of nine people live in California. Like so many of our major cities now, it is a study of tremendous contrasts. The giant high-rises of downtown L.A. speak to new jobs in our information processing age (at least 65%of the work force); yet thousands are living on the streets—10,000 in San Francisco alone.

Shirley Hufstedler, U.S. Secretary of Education in the Carter administration, chaired a comprehensive study of the health of California schools. The Committee's grade was a D+; almost half of the eligible high school students do not graduate, and those who do have difficulty meeting the basic reading and writing requirements of business.

Boston, April 26, "Save Our Schools" Buttons

While one of the original British "tea ships" sits in Boston's Harbor as a reminder of early revolts, the citizenry has begun its dialogue about the future of its schools. In this capital as elsewhere, money is crucial. Yet it is by no means the only issue. In the 1980's, we spent 30% more on education per capita than any previous decade, yet test scores remained about the same.

Even our most prestigious schools, including Harvard University, are investing less time in the process; Harvard's school year was 42 weeks, or roughly the 180 days of a child's school year; now the time at Harvard is 23 weeks. No wonder American business is spending $25 billion annually to correct the problems.

Alumni/alumnae, Groton School, Groton, Connecticut

The preparatory schools, together with our best high schools, are our models for excellence. Groton's sign on their admissions building speaks to their quality throughout; Latin is required of every student, and so is just about everything else. So let's begin by adopting the Bush plan and give every school age child in America a voucher good for an education. It has already been on the ballot in Oregon. But let the choices be far-reaching; require that students apply to the school(s) of their choice and be accepted or rejected by the admissions department based on their prior record.

Let the curriculum of each school and the methods (team teaching, for example) be determined by the teachers who must execute the program and be accountable for the results. This acceptance to schools by teachers applies only to grades 7-12. All kindergartens and grade schools in America are to be in "high gear" and available to any child. The classrooms should be state of the art:

a computer for every room, music, art, folk dancing, athletics—everything and anything to make learning productive and fun.

Additionally, these practical solutions deserve consideration: (1.) Each school would be required to publish its yearly agenda. Include a history of the school's successes (scores on achievement tests, acceptances to colleges and trade schools, employment of students) as well as plans to improve. Include a reading list and a sample of homework. (2.) To satisfy teacher demands, class size would not exceed 20. Salaries would become commensurate with the scale of business, with raises as successes increase. (3.) In return, teachers would give up the tenure system and contract to teach at least 20 hours of academics a week. Field trips, athletics, all non-academic work would take place only after this requirement had been met, even if it meant devoting an occasional weekend to field trips, athletics, school fundraisers. (4.) States would determine their programs. Citizens' committees, comprised of interested parents and community leaders, would apply to schools to be part of their boards. Together with representatives from administration and teachers, these citizen committees would develop the programs, set the goals, and modify the curricula as the need arises. Each year the results of the school year would be published and be part of the catalogue for next year's offering. Accountability through national testing is an integral part of the Bush program and well it should be. If we find we need to test beyond the SAT's, then our testing services must develop fair and appropriate materials. (5.) A fee, determined by each state, could be added for private schools. Public schools are a guarantee; private schools are not. Busing is available for public schools and not necessarily for the private enterprise. Obviously, all of these areas need discussion by the communities who must offer the programs. What is new, and therefore significant, are choice, standards, and accountability.

My business takes me to all regions of the country where I teach business and technical writing to companies whose staff must write as part of their jobs. In most cases, what I am doing is filling in the gaps that are felt by business graduates whose college curriculum consisted of one writing course at best, no literature, little else in the humanities, and no foreign language. These people are lost. They realize that though they have completed scores of marketing and accounting courses, the skills they need on-the-job are the communication ones.

These skills are fostered early—in the lower grades when children are the most curious and eager to learn. In the month of February 1991 alone, over two pages of entries are listed in the *Reader's Guide* about this country's educational system. These, along with the Fall/Winter 1990-91 issue of *Newsweek* "How to Teach Our Kids" should be required reading for every citizen in America.

Required also is that we each invest considerably more time in the schools of our community, regardless of whether our children attend. The *Newsweek* article tells us that there is virtually no illiteracy in Japan; the West German school year is two months longer than ours; Saturday is a school day in Korea; while only 5% of our elementary children are learning a foreign language, not to mention a "vague" sense of history, and problems with math and science.

How could we go wrong if we adopted Bernice Fox's commitment as a model for education? Wouldn't she agree that our goals are literacy, high standards, accountability, and lifelong learning?

Part V

Classical Literature and Culture

THE MAN WHO HATED PEOPLE:

SCENES FROM MENANDER'S *DYSKOLOS*

translated by Peter Arnott

and

edited by Christopher Arnott

Preface

When Peter Arnott, my father, died on November 3, 1991, after a year-long bout with cancer, he was still actively writing and lecturing. Among his unfinished business was his contribution to this Festschrift. He admired Bernice Fox a great deal, and was pleased to be asked to honor her in this volume. I have prepared the following so that he might still be represented.

The works of Menander figured in several of my father's projects during the last year of his life. He was writing a book on the playwright, first of a projected series on major theatrical figures for Greenwood Press. He also found time to do a full translation of the *Dyskolos* (*The Man Who Hated People*), and it is excerpts from that work that I've chosen to offer here.

As was the case with most of his translations, my father approached the *Dyskolos* with a stage production already in mind. He was scheduled to direct the play for the Arena Theater at Tufts University (where he was on the Drama Department faculty) in February of 1991. After he had already cast the production and was one week into rehearsals, he suddenly took ill. The rest of that year was spent in and out of hospitals. The staging of *The Man Who Hated People* was completed by his colleagues in the Drama Department, making it the last Peter Arnott Greek dramatic project to be fulfilled during his lifetime.

This excerpt is taken from the script as prepared for the actors who first performed it. It has not otherwise been published, in any form.

Readers of this volume probably need no plot synopsis, but since one exists in my father's words, it seems only natural to include bits of it, interspersed with segments of the script. It is taken from his theater history text *The Theater In Its Time* (1981).

Christopher Arnott

The Man Who Hated People: Scenes from Menander's *Dyskolos*

DYSKOLOS IS A PASTORAL COMEDY SET IN THE ROCKY, INHOSPITABLE FIELDS OF ATTICA. . . .

PAN:

Imagine this is Phyle, in the countryside
Near Athens; and the grotto that I came from
Sacred to the local nymphs—a famous
Shrine for these who farm the rocky soil here.
This house, on the right, belongs to Cnemon,
A surly and cantankerous old man
Who's never had much love for company.
Did I say company? His whole life long
He's never had a pleasant word for anyone.
He's never had a word for anyone at all,
Except me, Pan. And that's because he has to.
He lives next door and can't avoid me. But
I bet he hates it. That's the way he is.
He did get married, though. A lady who
Had recently been widowed, with a son
To bring up. He was still an infant then.
And did they fight! Not only in the daytime
But half the night as well. Oh, what a wretched
Life he led. They had a daughter. Things
Just went from bad to worse. When life became
Impossible, and the misery seemed endless,
His wife abandoned him, and went to live
With her son by a former marriage
—who has nothing
But a meager plot of land to call his own
Nearby, on which he barely manages to keep
Himself, his mother and an old retainer
Left over from his father.
He's a grown lad now
And wise beyond his years, a graduate
Of the stern University of Life.
The old man lives like a hermit, with his daughter
And one old maid of all work, digging, drudging,
Chopping wood and hating everybody
From wife and neighbors; through the countryside
As far as town. But her upbringing
Has done his daughter this much good, at least:

She's a pure child of nature, so devoted
To me and my companion Nymphs, she almost
Thinks of us as her own.

A young man's coming
To hunt game here. His father's very rich
And owns most of the district. He's well off,
Sophisticated. And, as luck would have it,
He came this way, and falls in love with her.
I made it happen.

That's the story so far.
You'll see what follows if you care to stay.
I hope you do. But I see our young lovebird
Coming this way. He has somebody with him.
He's telling him exactly how it happened.

PURE CHANCE PRECIPITATES THE PLOT. A WELL-BROUGHT-UP YOUNG ATHENIAN, WHILE HUNTING IN THE COUNTRY, SEES CNEMON'S DAUGHTER AND FALLS IN LOVE WITH HER. (LOVE AT FIRST SIGHT IS AXIOMATIC TO THESE COMEDIES.)

GORGIAS: Some people are well off, and others aren't.
But everyone has one thing in common.
Nothing is for ever. Luck can change.
When a man's successful, things continue
To go his way, as long as he remembers
The obligations that good fortune brings.
But when prosperity goes to his head,
That's the moment when things take a dive.
But the worse off. . .
if, despite their handicaps,
They keep themselves honest, and bear with fortitude
What heaven sends them. . .
then, in time, they'll earn
A reputation, and a better slice of luck.
I mean: don't think, because you're fortunate,
That this will last. And don't look down on us
Because we're poor folks.
Show the world that you
Deserve the fortune that's bestowed upon you.

SOSTRATUS: You mean I'm doing something out of place?
If not, it's not from any want of trying.

GORGIAS: Attempting to seduce an honest girl!
Waiting your opportunity! Why, death would be
Too good for you!

SOSTRATUS: Help!

GORGIAS: Just because you don't
Hold down an honest job, you shouldn't bother
Those who do. Remember. Wrong a beggar,
You'll find you've made an enemy for life.
When he has a claim upon your pity
Any slight becomes a mortal insult.

SOSTRATUS: I wish you all the joy you wish yourself.
But listen for a moment.

DAVUS: We don't want
To hurt you either.

SOSTRATUS: Want? You talk too much.
I saw a girl here, fell in love with her.
If you tell me that's a fault,
I must be guilty.
What else could anybody say? I've come here
Not to do her any harm, but only
To see her father. I'm a gentleman
Of independent means, but I'm prepared
To take her as she is, without a dowry
To prove I love her. If I seek her ruin
Or some skullduggery behind your back
May Pan and all the nymphs who live herein
Strike me dead upon this very spot.
If that's the kind of boy you think I am,
Believe me, sir, I'm mightily disturbed.

HER FATHER, HOWEVER, HAS TURNED HIS BACK ON THE HUMAN RACE—PARTICULARLY ON THOSE HE CONSIDERS EFFEMINATE CITY DWELLERS—AND WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH HIM.

CNEMON: You think this is a park? A public hall?
If you want to meet somebody here
On my doorstep, why not do it properly,
And bring a chair, if you have the mind,
Or build yourself an annex? Oh, good grief.
The nerve of people! What I must put up with!

THE YOUNG MAN TRIES TO WORK IN THE FIELDS, BUT HE ENDS UP WITH ONLY BLISTERS AND AN ACHING BACK FOR HIS PAINS.

SOSTRATUS: If anyone wants trouble, tell him come
And hunt in Phyle. I'm in agony!
My back! My spine! My neck!
To put it briefly,
My whole damn body! I'm a stout young fellow
And threw my whole weight into it, lifting up
The spade like a professional. Nice work.
But not for long. Then I kept turning round
To spot the old man coming, with the girl.
Then, by god, I had to rub my back,
Though I pretended not to. As the work
Dragged on and on, I started to bend double,
Stiff as a board. And still nobody came.
The sun was blazing hot. The Gorgias
Watched me as I tried to straighten up
And bend again, till my whole body ached,
And said, "You know, it doesn't look to me
As if he's coming." I shot back at him
"What shall we do then?" "Let it go for now,"
He said. "We'll have another look tomorrow."
Then it was Davus' turn to dig. That's how
The first round went.
And I came straight back here.
So help Heaven, I can't tell you why.
This place just seems to draw me like a magnet.

THEN—CHANCE AGAIN—CNEMON FALLS DOWN A WELL. HIS SON AND HIS DAUGHTER'S SUITOR RUN TO HIS AID, AND HE BEGINS TO REALIZE THAT NO MAN CAN LIVE ENTIRELY ALONE.

SIMIKE: Help! Help! There's been an accident!
Please, somebody
Come here and help me! Oh!

SIKON: Good god almighty,
Leave us alone! By all the powers above
Give us some peace! You hit us, scream at us,
Insult us; what a crazy family!

SIMIKE: My master's fallen down the well.

SIKON: How?

SIMIKE: This way:
He climbed in for the bucket and the spade
And then he slipped and fell in. Right down
To the bottom.

SIKON: Did he, then? The old grouch? Really?
It couldn't have happened to a better person.
Well, old woman, there's a job for you.

SIMIKE: What?

SIKON: Find a stone, or a slab of rock, or something,
And drop it in on top of him.

SIMIKE: No, please!
Go down and get him!

SIKON: What, be like the man
In Aesop's fables—fight like a mad dog in a well?
Not likely!

SIMIKE: Gorgias, where are you?

GORGIAS: Here!
What is it, Simike?

SIMIKE: How many times do I have to tell you?
Master's in the well!

GORGIAS: Sostratus, come!

SOSTRATUS: I'm with you.

GORGIAS: In we go.

SIKON: There is a god in heaven after all.
You wouldn't lend your pot, you heretic
For us to sacrifice. Then you fell down the well!
So drink it dry! Then you won't have to give
A drink to anyone! Thanks to the Nymphs
I've got revenge. And you've got your desserts.
No one ever harmed a cook and got
Away with it. A waiter, yes. You can do what
You like with waiters.
Cooks are god's elected.
What's that? He's not dead, is he?
Someone's crying
And moaning "Darling Papa." Not to worry.
O lord in heaven, what a spectacle!
The old man soaked and shivering—I'd give
A lot to see that, by Apollo. Here
All you women, light a candle, pray
The old man's rescued—so long as it leaves him
Lame for life. That way the god his neighbor
Can live in peace. And anyone who comes
To sacrifice hereafter. It'll mean a lot to me
If I get hired to do this job again.

SOSTRATUS: I swear by mother earth, by all that's wise
And wonderful, I never in my life
Saw anyone come closer by a hairsbreadth
To being drowned.
It couldn't have gone better.
The moment we got in there, Gorgias
Jumped down the well. The girl and I just stood there
And waited. There was nothing else we could do
Except for her to tear her hair, and weep,
And beat her breast. And I, the fair-haired boy,
Had to play nursemaid. I kept pleading with her
Not to carry on so. All the time
I couldn't take my eyes off her. They broke
The mold when they made her. I quite forgot
The old man moaning down the well, except
I had to keep hold of the rope.

Oh, what a bore
That was! Between ourselves,
I nearly killed him.
I was so busy looking at the girl
I let the rope slip once or twice. But he's
A superman, that Gorgias.
He clung on like death
And got him out. As soon as he was landed
I came out here. I couldn't hold myself
Back any longer, but came within an inch
Of running to the girl and hugging her.
That's what she does to me. I'm getting set. . .
Somebody's coming. My god, what a vision!

GORGIAS: Speak to me, Cnemon. Is there anything you want?

CNEMON: No use. I'm sick.

GORGIAS: Cheer up.

CNEMON: Too late for that.
I'm never going to bother you again.

GORGIAS: That's what happens when you live alone.
See? You nearly lost your life just now.
At your age, you need somebody to keep an eye on you.

CNEMON: I won't need him much longer,
I know it. Gorgias, go call your mother. . .

GORGIAS: Of course. It seems the only way we learn
Is by our own mistakes.

CNEMON: Here, daughter. Put your arm around me.

SOSTRATUS: Some men have all the luck.

CNEMON: What the devil are you standing there for?
The one mistake I made was in believing
That I could stand alone, and needed no one.
But now I've seen the light. Death can arrive
By strange and sudden ways. I've been short-sighted.
I know that now. A man needs someone by him
To keep and care for him. But when I saw

How all the world's gone money mad, and reckons
Life in terms of profit, something withered up and died,
In me. There was no love, I thought, no kindness
And that was where I balked. But now one man
At least has proved himself. My hero, Gorgias.
I wouldn't let him put his foot inside
My door, I wouldn't toss a crumb his way
Or give him a good morning; and he saved my life,
When he could have said, and with good reason,
"You never did a thing for me—I won't
For you," he did this. Boy, if I should pass
Away—I think I will, I feel so poorly—
Or if I live, I own you as my son
And all I have is yours. Even if I recover
I couldn't. No one would be good enough.
If I live, let me be the way I want to.
The rest I leave to you.
You've got good sense.
Thank god. Your sister's in good hands. Take half
Of my estate to be her dowry. All the rest
Is yours. Just give me and her mother enough
To live on. Daughter, now I want to go to bed.
A smart man never says more than he has to.
There's just one thing, boy.
About human nature.
If there were more like me,
there'd be no law courts.
No one would go to prison, there would be
No war, we'd be content with what we have.
But there you like things as they are,
I daresay,
So act accordingly. And you won't have
This old grouch to bother you much longer.

HIS REINTEGRATION INTO SOCIETY IS NOT COMPLETE, HOWEVER, UNTIL THE SERVANTS DRAG HIM FORCIBLY, ON HIS MATTRESS, TO JOIN IN THE FEAST.

SIKON: You've had enough grief. Now get up and dance!

CNEMON: You want to have your heads knocked in?

SIKON: You peasant.
Come join us!

CNEMON: No, by god!

SIKON: All right! We'll carry you.

CNEMON: What am I to do?

SIKON: Why, dance!

CNEMON: Take me, then. If this is what I must
Endure, it might be better there.

BONDAGE IN PLAUTINE COMEDY

by Robert C. Ketterer

Bondage in Plautine Comedy

The slave in Roman comedy, clever or otherwise, is continuously threatened with all manner of gruesome fates, from beatings, to time at the mill, to crucifixion, and all of this apparently in a spirit of good fun.[1] So ubiquitous is this comedy of cruelty, that Frye (1957:178) was driven to remark, "One sometimes gets the impression that the audience of Plautus and Terence would have guffawed uproariously all through the Passion." Normally, of course, the slave is not punished, because he manages to obtain forgiveness through a series of outrageous machinations. From time to time, however, the slaves do get tied up on stage, usually when their masters have been pushed to extremes. It is these scenes, as Plautus presents them, that I would like to consider here, with special reference to his employment of the props used in such scenes—chains, manacles, straps, and the like. To get to that point, I would like first to make some more general observations about how stage properties function in drama in order to provide a theoretical basis for the discussion of what Plautus is doing with specific props. I will then discuss two scenes in Greek drama which may serve as background for discussion of the Plautine scenes. Finally, I will consider the bondage scenes in *Bacchides*, *Epidicus* and *Captivi*, with special focus on the *Captivi*, because in that play the bondage is involved with a difficulty of interpretation (Ketterer 1986c).

A scene from a modern play will serve as an initial example to illustrate how props can function in a play. Bishop (1957:183) quotes the following observation by Noel Coward concerning Marie Tempest's performance in a play called *At the Barn*:

> Marie Tempest sat alone at a table with a handkerchief in her right hand and a sandwich in her left, deciding in her troubled mind whether to eat or weep. Finally, the tears won and the sandwich went back onto the plate, and the handkerchief to her eyes.That was all there was, yet into those brief two minutes was distilled the very essence of acting.

Of course, the actress and her dramatic situation would have been the most important things in the scene described—in another type of theatre one could imagine the same action performed in mime with no table, handkerchief, or sandwich. Yet it is clearly the actress' manipulation of these props that impressed

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[1]I have read versions of this paper at the October 1988 meeting of the Illinois Classical Conference and at Wellesley College in March 1990. I am grateful for comments from the audiences of those occasions. Except where noted, translations are my own.

Coward so much as to see in it "the very essence of acting." What exactly were the props doing up there?

First, of course, they are representing themselves; they are "acting" the role of handkerchief and sandwich, just as Marie Tempest is acting her role. They probably really are a handkerchief and sandwich, but put them on the stage, and for the audience they become theatrical signifiers of the objects, endowed with a representative quality they do not have sitting on the props table backstage. (Elam 1980:5ff.; Veltrusky 1964:84; Ketterer 1986a and 1986c). As the Prologue-Actor of Plautus' *Captivi* puts it, *Haec res agetur nobis, vobis fabula*: "This action will be reality for us, a play for you." Given then that their basic function is already metaphorical, it is not surprising that they come to represent conditions and issues beyond themselves, such as

—Time: the sandwich tells us it is a meal or tea time.
—Circumstance: the hanky says that something needs to be mopped up, either tears or a runny nose.
—Mood or mental state: the actress is trying to decide between refreshment and grief.

The signification of mood or mental state, of course, is what makes the props dramatically interesting and not just mechanically useful for representing "reality". In these brief moments in *At the Barn* the two objects have become visual symbols of the struggle going on in the actress' mind, whether to eat, and so indicate that she has gained control of her emotions, or to break down and weep. But note that in the order of things the props must first function on a mundane level (signifying nourishment and the drying of tears) before they can become symbols of the actress' divided mind and struggle for self-control. Giving her the hanky only, or a knife instead of a sandwich, would considerably change the impact of the scene by changing the basic signification of the objects she contemplates.

In taking on the more complicated meanings, the handkerchief and sandwich have taken on a dramatic force independent of and nearly equal to the actress—they are the other characters in this brief scene, drawing focus, demanding the character's attention, and finally creating a contest on the stage in which the actress must choose the outcome. Her choice of the handkerchief is also a visual label of her emotional choice.

Props thus can accumulate an elaborate hierarchy of meanings, from simple signification of an object to symbolic representation of mental state, and even performance as character. This development of the role of a prop is taken to its logical extreme in plays in which statues of people become animate. One may think of the final scene of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, or of the scene titled "The Hairpiece" in George C. Wolfe's *The Colored Museum*, where most of the dialogue is spoken by two wigs on wig stands.

Let us now look specifically at props of bondage, and examine some of the theatrical background to their use in Plautus' plays. Euripidean tragedy, especially in its romantic and melodramatic manifestations (Knox 1979), seems to have exerted considerable influence on the development of the Greek New Comedies of Menander and others, from whose plays Roman comedy was adapted. I would like to note two scenes from Euripidean tragedy which in some ways anticipate the Plautine scenes I will be discussing presently. One is from the melodramatic, anti-Spartan play *Andromache*, produced in the 420s B.C.; the other is from *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, a romance of rescue and escape dating from perhaps ten years later.

In *Andromache* the widowed wife of Hector has become the concubine of Achilles' son Neoptolemus, by whom she has had a son. Hermione, only child of Menelaus and Helen, is Neoptolemus' legitimate wife. Having produced no children herself, she is bitterly jealous of Andromache, and claims that the Trojan woman has put a spell on her to keep her infertile. The action of the play takes place while Neoptolemus is absent at Delphi. Hermione and her father, Menelaus, conspire to get rid of Andromache, who accordingly hides her son and clings to the shrine of the sea nymph Thetis. Menelaus finds the boy and threatens to kill him unless his mother gives herself up. When she does so in order to save her son, Menelaus turns the boy over to daughter Hermione, saying he himself will not kill the child, but will leave judgment to his daughter. After a chorus, Andromache and the child return to the stage; Andromache is tightly bound and both are being sent to their deaths. The bonds immediately become symbols of her impending doom and of the cruelty of Menelaus and Hermione. Andromache begins her lament: "Here I am, my hands bound, bloodied from the knots, I'm being sent below the earth" (501-03). But soon help arrives, in the person of old Peleus, father of Achilles, (and so great-grandfather of Andromache's child). "Loosen these ropes," Peleus demands. "I forbid it." replies Menelaus (577-79). And so the bonds, like Marie Tempest's handkerchief and sandwich, become the starting point for a debate, here a long and vicious one between Menelaus and Peleus, during which the cruelty which the bonds symbolize is generalized to characterize the cruelty and stupidity of all Spartans. Peleus makes the stronger case (or at least the more belligerent one), and victory in the dramatic contest coincides with the loosing of Andromache's bonds. At the climax and conclusion of his denunciation of Menelaus, Peleus announces

> Get back from that woman, slaves. I'd like to see
> If anyone interferes while I untie her.
> Come, straighten up. Although I'm all atremble
> I'll unloose these tightly tangled cords.

> You blackguard, look at her mutilated hands!
> What did you think you were roping? Bulls? Or lions?
> You were frightened she'd draw some weapon out and rout you?
> *Andromache*, 715-21
> translated by Nims (1958)

The rescue is made dramatically visible through the use of the prop. Menelaus exits rather comically, his tail between his legs. Andromache's ropes have been made to embody simultaneously the cruelty and cowardice of the Spartans as well as Peleus' courage and his victory over the villains. Similar melodramatic scenes with bonds that signify capture and release appear to have been part of two of Euripides plays, *Melanippe Bound* and *Hypsipyle*, known only from fragments. We have no exact knowledge of their bondage scenes (Webster 1967:152-53; 213).

The symbolic use of binding and loosening in *Andromache* is quite straightforward. In *Iphigenia among the Taurians* the signification of the bonds is more complex as the simple pattern of capture and bondage, rescue and release, is inverted in order to trick the heavy. In this play Iphigenia was not killed by her father at the sacrifice at Aulis, but whisked far north to the country of the Taurians, where she serves as a priestess of Artemis in charge of sacrificing foreigners who land on the shore. Onto the scene arrives Orestes, still bedeviled by Furies of his mother, and in the company of his friend Pylades. The two men are duly captured, bound, and brought to Iphigenia at the temple to be ritually sacrificed. She does not know them, nor they her. She has the bonds removed because, she says, they are now sacred to the goddess and ought not to be bound. There follows a long scene that ends in the recognition of sister and brother. The bondage then, as in *Andromache*, signified capture and danger of death; their removal is a bit more complicated, characterizing Iphigenia not only as pious, but also as compassionate. She is an unwilling servant to the death cult, and her willingness to free the prisoners (an act that anticipates the real rescue she performs later) is a first step toward the recognition scene between sister and brother.

Following the recognition, the two men and Iphigenia then take council how to escape. Iphigenia takes charge and proposes to trick the Taurian king Thoas into letting her take the men to the seaside, where they can all escape back to the Greek ship. She accordingly points out to the king that Orestes is guilty of matricide and so he, and the statue of Artemis in the temple, need special purification at the sea. She demands that the men be bound again. Thoas wonders, "Where could they go?" But Iphigenia is insistent, and a procession leaves for the seashore with Orestes and Pylades bound and their heads covered, providing Thoas with false assurance that his captives are secure. These bonds have thus taken on a new level of significance: on the one hand they simply indicate bondage, and for Thoas and the Taurians they bear their secondary meaning of control. But for Iphigenia and Orestes, and for us, the audience, they

ironically signify Iphigenia's control, and not Thoas'. This additional level of meaning is played on in the messenger speech delivered by a Taurian to Thoas, in which we learn of the escape to the ship—the messenger reports that when they reached the shore, Iphigenia ordered the guards to drop the rope being used to lead the captives, and she herself, now fully in control of the trick, took up the rope and led the two men out of sight (1327-33). And so, symbols of captivity and defeat actually become physical representations of escape and success.

Let us now turn to Rome and comedy, where there is a change from the analogous scenes in Euripidean tragedy. The victims in the tragedies, Andromache and Orestes, are Aristotle's "good people," people who should not be tied up at all, but who have come upon hard times. In Roman comedy it is generally the rascals who are bound: these are people who, because they are only slaves, are socially eligible for abuse, and, because of their character, probably should be tied up just for the safety of society. Hence, to the Roman mind at least, these binding scenes can not be tragic/pathetic because of the nature of the victims in them.

It appears that bondage scenes were established comic bits in Plautus' day. A fragment of his contemporary Naevius says: *nimio arte colligor. Cur re inquaesita colligor?* "I'm bound too tight. Why am I bound when my case hasn't been examined?" (Ribbeck 1897: frag. 13 = Warmington 1936:76-77, frag. 8) It is probably from a scene in which a slave has been tied up for some malefaction. There are several things to observe here: First, the slave complains at the injustice of what has been perpetrated and apparently is attempting to make the perpetrator feel guilty. Second, the situation may be cast in legal terms: *re inquaesita*, "my case hasn't been examined". The legal tone is appropriate partly because in court cases, evidence from slaves was exacted through torture; it is also dramatically appropriate because, as Frye (1957:166) has told us, the plot of a comedy is often very like the progress of a court case, in which proofs of identity are brought, character tested through trial, and a resolution brought about when all the evidence is at hand.

Turning now to bondage scenes in Plautus, let us begin with an examination of the *Bacchides* (see also Ketterer 1986b). The binding scene is in the middle of this play and it is part of the slave Chrysalus' scheme to obtain considerable funds from the *paterfamilias* Nicobulus; this money is then used to buy Chrysalus' young master, Nicobulus' son, a year's contract with a professional companion (or *meretrix*) named Bacchis. Because of certain complications at the beginning of the play, the old man Nicobulus has reason to distrust his slave completely, while believing (mistakenly) that his son Mnesilochus is a morally and fiscally responsible young man. The slave Chrysalus takes advantage of this state of affairs by having Mnesilochus write a letter to his father advising him to have Chrysalus tied up and shut inside the house. Chrysalus then sends Mnesilochus inside with instructions to enjoy himself openly with Bacchis and their friends.

After Nicobulus reads the letter, the ropes are brought out and Chrysalus is bound. Nicobulus believes himself in control of the slave, a false impression Chrysalus reinforces with false contrition: *scio me esse servom,* he sighs, "I know I'm a slave" (791). But, as was the case in *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, the bonds are visual signs to the audience that the apparently weaker party is having his way, and ironically, helplessness represents control of the situation. Once Chrysalus is bound, he has Nicobulus look indoors and see his son in the midst of a developing orgy; the shock of this revelation puts the old man at the mercy of the slave. Having now seen (correctly) that he has misjudged his son, he also believes (erroneously) that he has made a mistake about Chrysalus' character and intentions. He is therefore contrite and ready to believe the slave's culminating lie, that the woman Bacchis has a jealous husband who will avenge himself violently on Mnesilochus unless he is bought off with an appropriate amount of money. Hence, like Iphigenia, Chrysalus has used the bonds to assure the authority figure that he is in power, while all the time using the physical symbols of that power as a means to manipulate him.

The ropes are then removed from Chrysalus simultaneously with the success of his scheme; he has controlled their use from beginning to end; they symbolize for us his success, a victory which will lead to further comic confusion as the play goes on.

The bondage scene furthermore becomes part of a larger metaphor that describes the role of Chrysalus in the play. This trick on Nicobulus is so successful that Chrysalus decides subsequently to pull another one of equal magnitude in order to get spending money for the young man. He celebrates his efforts in a long song in which he compares his efforts to those of the Greeks at Troy. Old Nicobulus is Troy, and he, Chrysalus, is Ulysses.

> At Troy I've heard that Ulysses was a bold bad, man, just like me.
> I was caught in my tricks; he was found disguised as a beggar and almost got killed,
> while he was trying to learn the Trojans' fate. Same thing happened to me today.
> I was tied up, but I got myself out by my tricks; he saved himself, too, by *his* tricks.
>
> *Bacchides* 949-52

As part of this epic, military imagery, the bondage scene becomes part of the whole constellation of Chrysalus' plots, by which he dominates the central part of the play.

In the *Epidicus*, on the other hand, the bondage scene comes at the very end of the play. The slave Epidicus has tricked the father Periphanes into buying for his son not one, but two, slave women. The old man of course finds out what has happened, and the Epidicus fears for his skin. He comes onstage groaning

> If Jupiter were here and brought the other 11 gods too,
> all together they couldn't save Epidicus from excruciation.
> I saw old Periphanes buying straps. . .
>
> *Epidicus* 610-12

But immediately after he discovers that one of the women he has bought with Periphanes' money is an illegitimate daughter for whom Periphanes has been searching for years, he knows he is saved. Echoing his previous speech, he announces in triumph:

> Now two times as many gods as there are
> in heaven are my helpers and fight with me.
>
> *Epidicus* 675-76

At this point, a mere announcement to the old man that his daughter has been found might do to end the play happily. (Such a thing happens in the last scene of Plautus' *Cistellaria*, where a summary message is delivered to the father.) But since this whole play is really about the confrontation of master and slave in which slave outmaneuvers master, the final scene will be more satisfactory if Epidicus can dominate. The straps that Periphanes bought are the means to Epidicus' end.

As in *Bacchides* and *Iphigenia*, the binding straps which the old man uses have an initial signification of impending punishment and of the fact that Periphanes is still master and Epidicus the slave. But Epidicus immediately violates the expectations set up by such signification even more brazenly than Chrysalus did in *Bacchides*: in the spirit of Iphigenia, he marches up to Periphanes and demands openly to be bound with the straps and questioned under torture. "You've got straps, I saw you buy them. What are you waiting for? Tie me up!" (684). When Periphanes balks, Epidicus insists that he will not say a word unless Periphanes ties him up painfully. Once he is bound, he sends Periphanes inside the house to see that the second girl Epidicus bought is in fact the long-lost daughter. The old man comes back in a state of extreme contrition and embarrassment, but Epidicus refuses to let him remove the straps until Periphanes has agreed to free the slave and provide him with clothes and allowance.

The scene therefore depends heavily on irony, deriving much of its comedy from the contradiction of social roles and behavior on stage. Epidicus is never so much in control in the play as during the time he is bound up. First the slave demands to be tied up while the master refuses to do it. Then, the master begs to unbind the slave, but the slave refuses to let it happen. He only accedes, apparently unwillingly, when he has been bribed with his freedom. Furthermore, it is the victim of all the schemes, Periphanes, and not the perpetrator, Epidicus, who must finally beg for forgiveness. Just as in the

Naevius fragment, the slave not only gets his way but makes the master feel guilty for tying him up at all.

This time the very end of the play is marked by the removal of the straps. Thus, visual release corresponds with dramatic resolution. Epidicus is released to reward and freedom, Periphanes defeated but reunited with his lost family, and everyone lives happily ever after. The scene also shares in the legal imagery which we observed in the fragment of Naevius. In the first scene of the play, a fellow slave suggests that Epidicus is some sort of judge (*praetor*) who "talks justice". "It suits me," agrees Epidicus, and so it does, for his name is related to *Dike*, the Greek word for justice, and the pun on the name comes in this last scene to have both a passive and active sense. As in the Naevius fragment he is the bound and tortured slave at the trial, but he, and not Periphanes, is also finally the trial's judge. He saw that justice was done to others, for through him the daughter of Periphanes has been restored to her family. And by his own devices, justice is also done to him, for he is rewarded with his freedom.

I now turn to Plautus' *Captivi* and examine a problem of interpretation in that play in light of what we have seen in the others. The whole play, as the title indicates, is about bondage. A young master, Philocrates, from the city of Elis, and his slave, Tyndarus, are prisoners of war in an enemy city. They have been bought by an old man, Hegio, who is hoping to find an aristocratic prisoner to exchange for his son, who is a prisoner in Elis. We learn from the prologue of the play that the slave Tyndarus, unknown to anyone, is also the son of Hegio, kidnapped and sold abroad by an escaped slave when he was four years old.

Philocrates and Tyndarus exchange names and identities so that Hegio thinks Tyndarus is the master, and Philocrates the slave. They convince Hegio to send the "slave" (i.e. Philocrates, alias Tyndarus) back to Elis to negotiate for the exchange of Hegio's son. By this ruse the real slave (Tyndarus) stays behind in order to free his master, who escapes home to Elis. When Hegio discovers the trick too late, he flies into a rage, and sends his own son Tyndareus to hard labor in the mines. But Philocrates does return to save Tyndarus, bringing with him not only Hegio's son, but also the slave Stalagmus who had stolen the child Tyndarus years ago. Tyndarus, rescued from the mines, is identified as Hegio's son. The family is reunited, Philocrates freed, and Stalagmus is to be punished with the same chains and hard labor which Tyndarus had suffered.

Plautus himself suggests in the prologue that this play is more serious than his usual fare:

> It will surely be to your advantage to pay attention to this play.
> It is not composed in the hackneyed style, and is quite unlike other plays;
> nor does it contain filthy lines that you shouldn't repeat.
> In this comedy you will meet no perjured pimp, or unprincipled courtesan,
> or braggart captain.
>
> *Captivi* 54-58

The epilogue makes the point again:

> Spectators, this play was written with regard to chaste morals.
> There's no screwing around in it; nor any love affairs,
> no substituting babies, nor passing around of money,
> nor a situation where a young man in love frees a whore without his father's knowing it.
> Playwrights devise few plays of this kind,
> where the good become better.
>
> *Captivi* 1029-34

Apparently responding to this aspect of the play, the German playwright and critic Gotthold Lessing remarked in 1750 that this was *das schönste Stück das jemals auf die Bühne gekommen ist* ("The finest play ever to come on the stage"). Few have agreed with this rather alarming idea, but the lack of overt sex-interest in *Captivi*, replaced by the supposedly ennobling, self-sacrificing friendship between master and slave, endeared the play to generations of schoolmasters as suitable material for young minds, and scholarship has tended to take Plautus' claims for his play seriously.

What has impressed people is not merely the selfless friendship between Tyndarus and Philocrates, but also what happens toward the end of the play. There is, on the one hand, a funny scene at lines 533ff. in which Hegio discovers Tyndarus' trick. Hegio finds another prisoner from Elis who knew Philocrates—Aristophantes by name—and brings him to see the man he believes to be Philocrates. Aristophantes, who is not too quick, does not see what has happened, but can only insist that this is Tyndarus, not Philocrates. Tyndarus attempts to avoid discovery by declaring that, at home in Elis, Aristophantes is a well known madman. Aristophantes' mounting frustration at what is incomprehensible to him combines with Tyndarus' rather futile efforts at playing a clever slave and Hegio's incredible gullibility, to create a highly farcical scene.

So far, so good: fathers fooled, and then enlightened and furious, are the stuff of new comedy. But what follows seems grimmer than usual. Hegio, who was generous and trusting up to this point, is now betrayed and enraged; he describes the torments to which, in his ignorance, he will consign his own son:

> Take him where he can get thick, heavy chains.
> Then you'll go straight to the stone quarries.
> There, when other men dig up eight rocks at a time, unless
> you do a day-and-a-half's work at a time,
> you'll be called Sescentoplagus [600 whippings]. . . .
> [to Aristophantes] At night he'll be tied up and guarded,
> in the daytime he'll take rocks out of the earth:
> I'll torture him for quite a while, won't let him go in one day.
>
> *Captivi* 721-26; 729-31

When, in the last scene, the mistakes are discovered, Tyndarus retrieved from the mines, and the family reunited, the scene hardly seems joyous. Tyndarus comes on in his heavy chains, greets his newly restored father only reservedly and with sarcasm (1006 ff.), greets his former master Philocrates as "you, for whom I undergo this hardship," (1009), and for his final act insists that Stalagmus (a thoroughly cynical and unrepentant villain) take his place in what he has already described as hell. Leach (1969:293) observes that "Punishment of the erring slave assumes equal status with the reinstatement of his victim, and the play concludes with the transfer of Tyndarus' chains to Stalagmus: a final image of captivity unrelieved by any note of reconciliation or happiness."

But how do we know that an audience that might have "guffawed uproariously all through the Passion" would not have thought this all terribly funny? Segal (1988) has studied in detail the persistently comic elements in the play and taken the view that despite Plautus' claims, this is comedy as usual. For example, slave and master change roles and here the change is quite explicit and agreed upon; comedy is heightened by the fact that the real slave (Tyndarus) remarks appreciatively on the talents of his master Philocrates at playing the clever slave for Hegio. The plot is continually interrupted by the maneuverings of the parasite Ergasilus, whose nickname, despite the claims of the epilogue to decency, is "The Whore."

We might point out in addition the similarity, at least in the beginning, to the pattern in *Iphigenia among the Taurians*. The two men, captured on a foreign shore are bound up, but their captor takes pity on them, first giving them lighter bonds and then releasing them altogether. A trick is then perpetrated which leads ultimately to the release of both men. It appears that in this respect, the pattern here is a light one, and not dark at all.

Furthermore, the play ends with the usual reunification of family members and the freeing of a former slave, and what seem like more serious lines are punctuated by quips and puns. Segal even suggests one should imagine a farcical embrace between father and new-found son, made comically difficult by the chains Tyndarus is still wearing. Any further hastiness or ambiguity (for example, Tyndarus' sudden memory that he once had a father named Hegio, or the fact that Tyndarus and Hegio do not speak to one another after their initial greetings) Segal ascribes to a lack of deftness on Plautus' part. So is the mood at the end of the play comic or not? A comparison with the analogous scenes in *Epidicus* and *Bacchides* will help make a judgement. As we saw, when Tyndarus enters in the last scene of *Captivi*, he wears the heavy shackles that had been put on him when he was sent to the mines. If the treatment of the chains in this scene is like that in the other two plays, and so contradicts the mood of the words by reinforcing the themes of release and success, then we may agree with Segal that Plautus was not being serious and that perhaps the craftsmanship has been sloppy. If the manipulation of these props reinforces the mood of the lines, on the other hand, then we must accept that mood as one which has been deliberately created by the playwright.

Hegio introduces Tyndarus' entrance with a remark ironically more suitable to an Epidicus who thinks he's in trouble than to a father who has just found a son: *quod male feci crucior; modo si infectum fieri possiet!* "I'm in torment because of the evil I've done; if only it could be undone!" (996). Tyndarus, who really had been in torment, enters. Unlike Epidicus and Chrysalus, Tyndarus had not deliberately sought to wear his bonds; on the contrary, he had done everything in his power to avoid them. They are not signifiers of a scheme successfully carried out, as they were for the other two slaves, but rather of a plot that has failed. At no time does he control their use.

Nor can they be removed from him as a visual symbol of his new freedom, the way Epidicus' bonds were removed from him; Tyndarus' have been welded on, and it will take a blacksmith to remove them. Consequently, as Tyndarus clanks into the house at the end of the play, his shackles remain on him as physical symbols of what he has suffered at the hands of his father on behalf of his former master. In such a context, Segal's putative embrace between father and son seems like farce of an unpleasant rather than funny sort.

Furthermore, Tyndarus wears his heavy chains while standing onstage with Stalagmus, the slave who stole Tyndarus as a child. As thief and stolen son confront one another, the contrast of Tyndarus' heavy chains to the lighter ones which Stalagmus is wearing must underscore visually the indignity which Tyndarus has suffered as a result of Stalagmus' theft. Though we may feel there is justice in the fact that Stalagmus will be getting the heavier ones instead, such a feeling does little to maintain a comic mood.

A final comparison with the Greek plays is also in order here. We saw that in the other plays the social position of the slave made his abuse comic rather than pathetic. Hence it is even funnier when they turn the tables and use their bonds as a weapon against authority—even that cannot hold them down. But in *Captivi*, Tyndarus is a person who should not even be a slave, let alone be chained up, and so is more akin to Orestes or Andromache than to Epidicus or Chrysalus. And in the end he even parts company with Orestes, who, with Iphigenia, uses the bondage—as Epidicus and Chrysalus will later—as a trick to effect his escape. Tyndarus is much more like the helpless and pathetic Andromache who is merely a victim of her bonds and must rely on someone else's help to be freed.

The formal comic ending, then, is not accompanied by the usual visual signifiers of happiness or success. The bonds of Tyndarus do not finally bear the ironic signification of victory over authority which the bonds in *Iphigenia*, *Bacchides* and *Epidicus* had, but have only the more simple meaning of danger and escape like those in *Andromache*. But Tyndarus does not even enjoy the same release that Andromache had. The physical reminders of what has happened cannot even be removed and "Captives" remains an appropriate title for the play even after the freeing of the slave. Nor is there any triumphant, outrageous imagery of Troy destroyed, or of helping gods and justice done. Instead, the dominant metaphor is of the Underworld, used by Tyndarus to

describe what he has been through: "Often I have seen pictured the torments of Acheron. But truly, Acheron is nothing to where I've been, in the mines" (998-1000).

And so it seems probable that the apparent sketchiness of the resolution is in fact deliberate. After all that has happened to the characters, can they, or we, really believe completely in a conventional "happily-ever-after"? Hegio himself expresses this doubt when he says in the course of the scene: *et miser sum et fortunatus, si vos vera dicitis.* "I'm both wretched and fortunate, if what you say is true." (993) What has been done cannot be undone, despite Hegio's wish. I do not know if good people have become better, as Plautus suggests in the epilogue, but perhaps they are wiser. Leach (1969) has pointed out that Hegio, Tyndarus and Philocrates all tried to play stock comic roles: the pimp, the clever slave, and the adulescens, respectively. But these roles did not really suit them, and the simple comic world in which they all tried to live in the beginning of the play does not exist. Instead they are in a world where, despite all good intentions, sons can be tortured by fathers. Tyndarus' chains remain to the end a symbolic reminder of this.

THE *EUTHYPHRO*: A SOCRATIC DIALOGUE

by Nelson Thomas Potter, Jr.

The *Euthyphro*: A Socratic Dialogue

I acquired a certain intense interest in things classical at Monmouth College, especially from Bernice Fox, but also from others there. I continue to teach some classical philosophy, though my own scholarly work is mostly in other areas. Plato of the Socratic (early) and middle period dialogues is a particular love. One of the most interesting of these small, modest-seeming early dialogues is the *Euthyphro*, a dialogue that gives up its major ideas in ways that are indirect and subtle. I therefore choose it as a topic for this essay to be presented to Bernice Fox in her honor.

Plato's so-called Socratic dialogues are the first ones he wrote. His intentions in writing them were no doubt complex, but among those intentions was preserving the memory of his beloved teacher Socrates, by preserving specimens of Socrates' characteristic philosophical dialogue. As Plato got older, he kept on writing dialogues with Socrates as the chief interlocutor, but more and more his own ideas got into the dialogues—things he learned from the Pythagoreans, from Parmenides, from Cratylus the Heraclitean, plus his own creative development of all these ideas. In his longer works from the middle of his life and later, the characteristic Platonic theory of the forms or ideas were put into the mouth of Socrates. (In some of the late works, to be sure, Socrates no longer appears as a character at all.) But most scholars agree that such views and learning and Plato's characteristic metaphysical and epistemological rationalistic optimism of his middle period were never any part of the views of the historical Socrates.

The theory of forms is Plato's view that there are perfect, unchanging essences or ideal entities that exist without the mind, and beyond the reach of the bodily senses, and that these entities of superior reality are models for the changing imperfect world we know of through our bodily senses. The Platonic theory of forms has always had a particular attraction for mathematicians, down to the present day, for it gives them something for their mathematical propositions to be about. But the theory also has a certain other-worldly, religious character about it. The affinities of Platonism for mathematics and a religious way of life are affinities it shares with, and probably largely derives from, the Pythagoreans.

The Socratic dialogues seem quite modest—but appearances are deceiving. They are typically quite short, they typically seek after a definition, and the efforts of the discussants to achieve a successful definition are usually unsuccessful. So why should anyone read these dialogues today? Are they so modest as to be mere entertainments? The answer is No. The fact is that they are significant works of real philosophical substance. Their negative endings are deceptive; each of these dialogues shows quite a bit, by suggestion at least, in the way of positive conclusions.

Let's turn to the *Euthyphro*. Many of Plato's dialogues are inhabited by real living men, people we know something about apart from Plato. In addition to the infamous Socrates, other very well known figures appear, people like Aristophanes, Protagoras, Parmenides, Gorgias, Agathon, Alcibiades. Did the conversations or speeches presented in these works ever really occur? With the obvious exception of the *Apology*, which seems to be a generally accurate reporting of Socrates' speech in his own defense at his trial, the answer is usually: Probably not.

Of Euthyphro we know nothing, apart from this dialogue. He was probably an actual person, since almost all the other characters in the dialogues of Plato's early and middle period are. He meets Socrates as both are on their way into the law courts—Socrates for his trial for impiety and corrupting the youth, and Euthyphro to indict his father for the "murder" of a servant. The servant had killed a slave in drunken anger; the father had tied up the guilty servant, tossed him in a ditch, and sent someone to the city with word of the crime. The servant, lying in the ditch, died of exposure. The case is described in 4b-d.

There is controversy about the legal meaning of Euthyphro's effort to charge his father with murder. Some say such a prosecution would be at once dismissed. Others disagree. The average Greek would be appalled at such behavior, however, because it conflicts with the reverence one should show for one's father, something that was taken much more seriously by the Greeks than by us. In addition, the "murder" was a dubious case. The father did not intend to kill the servant and the servant was himself guilty of a killing, so some such action of holding and punishing the servant by the father was appropriate.

But Euthyphro was convinced that he must prosecute the father to free himself and his house of the blood guilt resulting from the death of the servant. His apparently intense and completely private conviction about the appropriate religious strategy to free himself and his house of bloodguilt angering to the gods seems a little crazy, and Socrates expresses some surprise at Euthyphro's mission. But Euthyphro is a "true believer," knowing what he has to do, and having a quite unreasonable certainty about it. His conduct is either likely to do some serious injury to his father, or, if we assume the indictment would be thrown out automatically, it is a mere ritual act of appeasing the gods.

Socrates says to him: Euthyphro, how fortunate I've met you. Doing what you are doing you obviously know what piety *is*. I'm just about to go on trial for *impiety*, and I don't know what it is. You could be most helpful to me if you would tell me what it is. There follows the usual Socratic primer on what constitutes a proper definition, of the sort Socrates is looking for. Euthyphro says, "Piety is what I'm doing now." Socrates replies, "I don't want you just to mention two or three pious actions. I want you to tell me in virtue of what it is

that such acts are all pious."[1] For it is agreed by Socrates and Euthyphro that there is one single characteristic of all such cases in virtue of which they are pious (5d).[2]

Socrates seems to anticipate Plato's theory of forms when he asks Euthyphro to give him "that form itself that makes all pious acts pious" (6d).

Let us pause a moment and say a few words about the "pious." Piety (*hosion*) is a traditional Greek virtue, sometimes included on a standard short list of cardinal virtues that is likely to include justice, temperance, wisdom, and courage (the four virtues Plato presents in the *Republic*). Plato actually has individual dialogues devoted to courage (*Laches*), temperance (*Charimides*), justice (*Republic*), and the unity of all the other virtues in the master virtue of wisdom (*Protagoras*). Some translators use "holiness," and "the holy" in place of "piety" and "the pious." Intuitively, and before we attempt to define it, *hosion*, it can be said, is the religious virtue, a virtue having to do with our proper conduct in relation to the gods.

Once Euthyphro understands that Socrates wants a general definition, one that tells us what piety *is*, if you will, what its "essence" is, he readily produces such a definition. His proposed definition seems obvious and plausible: ". . . what is dear to the gods is pious, what is not, impious" (7a).

But at once there are problems: Socrates reminds Euthyphro that, according to many of the stories about the Greek gods, they often disagree and quarrel with one another. Such disagreements, conflicts, and fights are prominent themes in the works the Greeks honored almost as if they were holy scripture, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. For the Greeks, it seems, the gods were all too human. The gods like humans, disagree about what things are just and unjust, beautiful and ugly, good and bad (7d).

Finally Socrates proposes a stipulation to get around the fact that the gods disagree, different gods loving and despising the same thing, and thereby making that thing, by Euthyphro's definition, both pious and impious. The stipulation is: We'll *say* that something is pious only if *all* the gods love it, impious only if all hate it (10d-e). Now the preliminary problems are out of the way, and our definition is ready to be considered on its merits.

Is there any positive point to the discussion of the problem about disagreements among the gods? I think there is. Socrates disapproved of many of the traditional myths, saying that they described the gods as worse than humans—petty, lustful, violent, deceptive, unjust, greedy, angry, vindictive. The proper view, Socrates thinks, is that the gods are far superior to us humans in

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[1]All translations are from Grube (1981).

[2]Throughout this paper I provide in parentheses the standard sectional references used in the Greek text.

wisdom; with greatly superior wisdom, the gods should not disagree about the good, the just, and the beautiful. To say that they would disagree would be a sort of heresy, attributing to the gods only ignorance and envy. So Socrates has presented us in this discussion with a major point in his critique of much traditional Greek myth: it denies the gods their superior excellence and wisdom.

But immediately after the stipulation about the agreement of the gods, Socrates asks the most famous question of the dialogue: "Is the pious loved by the gods because it is pious, or is it pious because it is loved by the gods?" (10a) Since we are now supposing the gods to agree about the pious and impious matters we are talking about, it makes no difference whether we are speaking of a single god, as according to traditional modern monotheistic religions such as Christianity, Islam, or Judaism, or whether we are speaking of a plurality of such gods as the Greeks did. Socrates' question becomes, and remains to this day an important theological question in the Christian tradition. But when Socrates/Plato asked the question it was being asked for the very first time. It is not surprising that Euthyphro did not understand what he was being asked: "I don't know what you mean, Socrates" (10a). Socrates goes on trying to explain his question for a page. In Greek the explanations may be helpful; in English they are not. Our best hope is to stay with the original question and try to understand it.

As we seek to understand this question, let us look at how Euthyphro answers, seemingly with no hesitation, once he understands the question: He urges that the gods love the pious because it is pious. I suspect that is the answer any believer in traditional Greek religion would have given. The Greek gods, though very powerful and wise, and in both respects far superior to humans, are finite beings, limited in power (by one another, by pre-existing chaos, and, in Plato's view, by the eternally existing, unchanging ideas or forms). Not even god or a god can bring it about that $5+7=11$, or that ingratitude is good. The pious is thought of as something that exists outside of god, whose qualities (s)he understands, and in virtue of that understanding (s)he comes to love those qualities. So the gods love the pious because it is pious, or, to generalize the point a bit, the good or the morally right because they are good or morally right. This means that god first understands the objects (s)he is contemplating—the good, the right, the pious—and then love follows understanding. (S)he loves these things *because* they are good, right, or pious.

The other answer that Euthyphro *might* have given is never considered further in the dialogue. But let us think about that other answer, for it is an answer that has been strong in the Christian theological tradition: the pious (or the good) is pious (or good) because god loves it. The idea here is that god, by loving what (s)he does, *makes* those things pious or good. Prior to god's loving anything, nothing is either good or bad, pious or impious in itself. Here god first wills or loves an object, thereby making it good or pious, and the understanding that that thing is good or pious follows rather than preceding god's act of will. This view is called theological voluntarism, from the Latin word *voluntas*, "will." Within this view the will of god, in choosing or loving as it does, is prior to his

intellect, and prior to his willing or loving, nothing is inherently good or pious in itself. Goodness or piety are not characteristics which have an existence independently of the will of god, or prior to his acts of will.

Why would someone favor this view? Because any other view puts limits, it might be said, on the power of god. On the Greek view, where the gods love the good because it is good, the good exists outside of god, independently of him. God first knows this independently existing entity, and then his will follows his intellect. So this view may be called theological intellectualism. Here the intellect is prior to the will of god, a view which has seemed to many to contradict the traditional doctrine of god as omnipotent.

There is at least one major objection to theological voluntarism: that it entails that god can have no reason for willing as (s)he does. Divine will must be perfectly arbitrary. It seems at least odd and surprising that god could as well have willed that human rape, torture, and murder be good things, but since god could have equally well willed anything else to be good or bad, that seems a correct conclusion. Since nothing is good or bad, right or wrong, prior to god's act of will, (s)he can have no reason for willing as (s)he does. Descartes was such an extreme theological voluntarist that he believed that the truths of mathematics were the consequences of god's acts of *will.*

The issue of whether the intellect or the will of god are prior, could not have been asked until Socrates/Plato asked this question, or someone else asked the very same question. This illustrates the popular remark that great philosophy consists not of having the right answers, but of asking the right questions.

Once Socrates has asked his question, and gotten himself understood by Euthyphro, and Euthyphro has given the intellectualist answer to the question, Socrates shows him that his answer is incompatible with the definition of piety that he has just proposed. If the gods love the pious because it is pious, then you can't *define* the pious as what is loved by the gods. Admittedly those things that are pious would be loved by the gods, but this would be a mere consequence of the fact that the pious caused the gods to love it because of its own inherent characteristics. So Euthyphro, complains Socrates, has "told me an affect or quality of [the pious], that the pious has the quality of being loved by all the gods, but you have not yet told me what the pious is" (11a-b).

To use an analogy, if someone asked what the Mona Lisa is, and in an attempt to answer the question, the respondent said, "It has been beloved by generations of critics," such a reply would not be an incorrect statement, but it would be quite uninformative as an answer to the question. Intuitively, what Socrates wants when he asks for a definition of anything is the essence of that thing, what it is to be that thing. When he asks his "What is. . ." questions Socrates is not wanting (1) a list of examples or illustrations. He wants a single characterizing formula, which tells us what all objects possessing the quality to be defined have in common. (2) He is also not asking for a report on the usage of a term, whether from a dictionary or an authority such as another philosopher. He wants to know what it *is*. (3) Finally, he is not looking for consequential

qualities or marks, which indeed might be useful in their place. He is not asking for symptoms of the illness, but what the illness is. Most of his examples of search for definitions are not scientific (though see *Meno*, 74b-76d, for some mathematical/scientific examples of definition), but he is asking the same kind of question as a scientist looking into a phenomenon, and seeking to understand it. What is lightning? What is scarlet fever?

Euthyphro's favored definition has been shot down. Socrates starts Euthyphro off on a new and different direction in seeking a definition by first establishing that Euthyphro thinks that if anything is pious it is also, of necessity, just. (The Greek word for "just," *dike*, is a term often used with a broad meaning, as broad as "right or not wrong" in English.) He then asks: "And is then all that is just pious? Or is all that is pious just, but not all that is just pious, but some of it is and some is not?" (11d-12a). Socrates' suggestion, which Euthyphro agrees to, would be well represented by two circles, the larger circle (the just) containing the smaller one (the pious).

We now have, provisionally, a partial definition of the pious: to be pious is to be just. Socrates' next question asks for a completion of the definition: "Try. . . to tell me what part of the just the pious is. . . ." (12e). The procedure of definition here is one that Aristotle formalizes a few years later as definition by genus and differentia. It is a natural procedure: you begin your definition by first explaining what general sort of thing what is being defined is; this is its *genus*. Then you complete the definition by explaining what marks off what is being defined from other items in its genus; this is the differentia. One of the best known examples of such a definition is that of human beings as rational animals; the genus is "animal" and the differentia "rational."

Euthyphro has a proposal immediately for the differentia: "I think, Socrates, that the godly and pious is the part of the just that is concerned with the care of the gods" (12e). Socrates says: Consider care for horses. Care aims at some good and benefit for the object cared for (13b). When we act piously are we then making the gods better? Euthyphro rejects this suggestion with some vehemence (13c), and revises his proposal: I'm thinking of the kind of care slaves take of their masters, a kind of service of the gods, he says.

Socrates comes back again, saying that all service involves seeking to achieve a benefit, using as examples the services of doctors, shipbuilders and housebuilders. "Tell me, then, my good sir, to the achievement of what aim does service to the gods tend? You obviously know since you say that you, of all men, have the best knowledge of the divine" (13e). Euthyphro seeks to evade answering the question.

Socrates comes back with a third proposal: Are piety and the pious "a knowledge of how to sacrifice and pray?" (14c). This is soon refined to "a knowledge of how to give to, and beg from the gods," (14d) or "a sort of trading skill between gods and men" (14e). By now the reader can see the difficulty coming: We humans get great benefits from the gods, and we need much from them. "But tell me, what benefit do the gods derive from the gifts they receive

from us?" Euthyphro rejects, yet once again, the suggestion that the gods benefit from our attentions; such a suggestion implies the imperfection and neediness of the gods, it places us as equals or superiors to the gods, who are in need of our assistance, and for all these reasons such suggestions are sacrilegious manifestations of *hubris*, and must be vehemently rejected. Socrates is done with the conversation at this point. He has toyed with Euthyphro long enough. So he leads him into a trap:

S: The pious is then, Euthyphro, pleasing to the gods, but not beneficial or dear to them?
E: I think it is of all things most dear to them.
S. So the pious is once again what is dear to the gods.
E. Most certainly. (15b)

Socrates then reminds Euthyphro that this is the same definition they have rejected earlier. Euthyphro understandably at this point makes his excuses and departs, and the dialogue ends with Socrates reproaching the retreating Euthyphro for failing to help him out.

Socrates, on the court house steps, ready to go in for a trial that will sentence him to death, shows himself to be quite incorrigible. He plays with Euthyphro, frustrates him, and, we may guess, leaves him rooting for the prosecution at Socrates' trial! He thus provides evidence in advance for his words from the *Apology*:

> Perhaps someone might say: But Socrates, if you leave us will you not be able to live quietly, without talking? Now this is the more difficult point on which to convince some of you. If I say that it is impossible for me to keep quiet because that means disobeying the god, you will not believe me, and will think I am being ironical. On the other hand, if I say that it is the greatest good for a man to discuss virtue every day and those other things about which you hear me conversing and testing myself and others, for the unexamined life is not worth living for man, you will believe me even less.

The dialogue has been devoted to an attempt to define piety, and it has ended in failure. But we have learned a great deal. What have we learned from this latter part of the dialogue, the attempt to define piety by a definition *per genus et differentia*? There are at least two suggestions that emerge from this part of the discussion.

(1) The first can be made clear by considering a doctrine that is presented in Plato's last work, the *Laws*. In this work Plato tells us that in an ideal state there would be three heresies, three false religious beliefs that are bad for people to believe in and that should be resisted and stamped out: The first is that there are no gods. The second is that there are gods but they have no concern for

human affairs. The third is that there are gods, they are concerned with human affairs, but they are subject to flattery, influence, and currying favor. To this third heresy we might give the name "superstition." It is the view that if you know the right saints to seek intercession through, the right words to say on the right occasion, the proper rituals, the right kind of magic—you can influence the gods and win their favor. Euthyphro is obviously a man guilty of the third heresy. He shows it in his ritualistic effort to indict his father for murder, and in his claim to have superior knowledge of the gods. And he shows it in his responses, when given the opportunity, in this last part of the dialogue, which show that the aim of the virtue of piety is to curry favor of the Gods. We have learned from Euthyphro's failures of definition that he is guilty of a heresy, one that, like any serious false belief, cannot be consistently maintained. The truth is that the gods cannot benefit or be swayed by our efforts to curry favor, Socrates and Plato believed, and Euthyphro rejects this implication of his views when he is presented with it.

(2) The second suggestion that emerges from this part of the discussion, and perhaps also from the rest of the dialogue is that any attempt to define piety will inevitably fail. For the truth is, at least in the view of Socrates and Plato, that there *is* no separate virtue of piety. Socrates' view is that the virtues are *one*; he defends in the *Protagoras* the unity of the virtues. All the separate virtues have meaning only as they may be understood as forms of the single virtue, *sophia* "wisdom", or as Socrates succinctly states his famous doctrine, "Virtue is knowledge." (See the discussion of this in the *Meno*). What might seem to be the separate virtue of courage, to use another example, is simply knowing what to fear (see the *Laches*).

The truth about the gods is that what they demand and are concerned about in us humans is true excellence or virtue. Love of superstitious observances is no part of their wishes or interests; for us to think differently is for us to lower the gods to our level or below, and to think in this way is heresy. Perhaps there are appropriate and desirable religious observances and rituals, but their aim is not one of currying favor by showing rare insight into their private desires. Such a "rare insight" would be the virtue of the pimp, albeit a pimp to the gods. (Admittedly, taking the Greek myths all together one might surmise that Zeus in particular would have appreciated the services of a discreet pimp who understood his tastes and desires concerning such matters.)

The traditional and standard way of proceeding in philosophical writing, in Plato's day as in our own, is through writing the *treatise*: a work that claims to tell us the truth, a philosophical doctrine, directly and straightforwardly, and to argue in defense of the truth. Plato in his dialogues was never so direct. He aims to present reasons, to get us thinking for ourselves. In the same incitive way as his teacher Socrates, he aims to show the unsatisfactoriness of certain views and arguments. But much of what he wants to persuade us of is presented rather indirectly, and in a sense remains unproven, indeed sometimes unstated. This is how Plato's dialogues lie on the border between philosophy and literature.

In this brief dialogue, Plato, speaking through Socrates has (1) given us a brief primer on what a proper definition is like, something that is also done in several of the other Socratic dialogues, especially in the *Meno* (70a-77a). He has (2) given us reason to reject the traditional Greek myths about the gods, some of them at least, as inaccurate and demeaning portrayals of divine beings who are actually greatly superior to us in power, excellence or virtue, and immortality. (3) The voluntaristic and intellectualistic views of the nature of the gods are distinguished for the first time, and at the same time for the first time a tolerably clear example of the distinction between essence and accident is presented. An accident is a contingent characteristic that an object may possess or not; e.g., "Socrates is sitting" or "The room is illuminated." (4) The idea that worship and religious observance is a sort of currying favor with the gods, or bribing them is presented and critiqued; we see that Euthyphro is unable consistently to defend this aspect of his views of the gods. This is a view of religion that never goes away entirely; would anyone wish to deny that it is with us today? (5) Finally, a sort of case study in favor of the unity of the virtues is presented; the evidence here is all against the possibility of any definition of piety as an independent virtue.

All of this is quite a lot of ground to cover in a mere fifteen pages (in the standard pagination of the Greek text). Plato has raised here in germ at least a number of the basic issues of the philosophy of religion, issues that still are disputed and discussed today, all lying just below a modest, inviting, often humorous, and, after all these years, still quite accessible surface.

THE EARLY REPUBLIC: VIRTUE AS THE BASIS OF GOVERNMENT

by William L. Urban

The Early Republic: Virtue as the Basis of Government

The celebration of the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution provided Americans with a timely opportunity to reflect on the type of government they had created two centuries earlier and had maintained with minimal structural changes ever since. One observation to emerge from this period of national reflection on any form of government is that the men who met in Philadelphia through the hot summer of 1789 did not create their republican institutions out of a void but had, instead, relied heavily upon their own experience of the world and on the experience of history. The historical lessons emphasized in the eighteenth-century education of those men were those of Rome and Britain; therefore, through an examination of the lessons of history they considered significant, we should be able to understand better what they intended our institutions to achieve.

It is argued in this essay that our institutions were designed to make it possible for a more virtuous American to evolve from the colonial Briton. As Crèvecoeur (1947:112) said, "What then is the American, this new man?" It is argued that these new Americans were supposed to resemble the old Romans, hence, the importance of educating the citizens in classical studies to understand their responsibilities to the republic.

Part 1: The Roman Republic

Ancient Romans believed that the moral education of the youth was a more significant task for historians than the memorialization of events or the composition of romances. It is essential to remember this in order to understand how Romans viewed themselves. Important as history might be for entertainment or explaining the evolution of the state, these goals were considered less worthy than the development of virtuous habits and the discouragement of vice.

Such an attitude toward history explains why Livy was such an important figure in interpreting the history of early republican Rome. Although he was an enthusiastic researcher and an entertaining storyteller, Livy's popularity among enlightened political leaders derived more from his ability to express brilliantly the belief that personal and community virtues must be the basis of government: "I invite the reader's attention to the. . . important consideration of the kind of lives our ancestors lived, of who were the men, and the means both in politics and war by which Rome's power was first acquired and subsequently expanded" (Livy I:1; translated by Sélincourt 1960:18).

Livy's career coincided closely with that of his patron, the emperor Augustus. Without much question, Livy inspired some of Augustus' futile efforts to restore morality to Roman life (the chronology of Livy's publishing career demonstrates that Augustus did not tell him what or how to write). Although

Augustus' private life was far from blameless, he was careful to nurture a public reputation for supporting traditional virtues. In doing so, he reflected Livy's statements that great men should be the models for society, and that great men's concern for their reputation in history should be the means of inspiring them to virtue and deterring them from vice (Walsh 1961:39).

Livy's insights in this matter have not been misplaced: sometimes men and women are mindful of the judgment of history, and sometimes leaders who possess the necessary moral qualities can inspire their people to great deeds. Livy was well aware of Roman vices. Although the people possessed great virtues by being usually hard-working, frugal, courageous, moral, and willing to sacrifice their labors and their lives, they were also quarrelsome, dissolute, vicious, and selfish. The primary duty of the men leading the Roman state was to preserve institutions (family, religion, courts) which cultivated desirable characteristics and discouraged those which were not (Walsh 1961:66).

Livy's stories were filled with examples of men who either embodied the principal Roman virtues or violated them. Livy loved to present opposites (Claudius and Verginius, Tullia and Lucretia), and to highlight occasions in which one honorable individual inspired the wavering public to act rightly, regardless of the danger or cost. Although Livy wrote over and over again that earlier Romans had been brave, patriotic, dutiful citizens, in story after story he depicted them as ordinary human beings with great shortcomings.

It is worth pausing for a moment to consider Cincinnatus. If Rome had been filled with patriotic citizens, why did they have to send for him repeatedly to take up dictatorial authority? The answer Livy wants us to give is that only Cincinnatus possessed the necessary personal virtues to lead the state. In fact, Livy was so obsessed with this lesson that he ignored historical fact in dealing with Appius Claudius. Livy accused that *Decemvir* of crimes he had not committed partly because the presentation of a "High Noon" crisis in the frontier-style village demanded a memorably immoral villain who challenged virtuous men and women to the utmost. Appius Claudius had his paragraphs of prominence but he went down to inevitable defeat when confronted by one courageous individual—Verginius (Livy III:35; Sélincourt 1960:206-232).

Livy wanted Roman children, Roman fathers, and even Roman mothers to realize that they, too, could influence the fate of the empire—*Fortuna* might indeed present them with the opportunity to act rightly at a critical moment and thus change the course of history. However, one could act rightly only if one were inspired through education and example.

An additional motivation for public morality was the belief that no state could prosper without the approval of the gods. Because the gods judged a state by the behavior of its leaders, the principal task of the Roman censor was to safeguard the state by overseeing the morality of the officials—first of all the priests and priestesses, then the senate, and finally the common people. In times of crisis, when the support of the gods was most essential, the censors were very strict (Wardman 1982:9). Let us pause to examine one such example, the

behavior of Caesar shortly after he became Pontifex Maximus: after a scandal had occurred in his home at the festival of Bona Dea, he found it necessary to divorce his wife even though he believed her innocent of wrong-doing. The proverb that "Caesar's wife must be above suspicion" did not refer to a macho demand for female fidelity, but to Caesar's very real fear that the blame for any public calamity (an earthquake or military defeat) could literally be laid at his door.

We must not forget that between 91 and 30 B.C. two generations of Roman nobles had lived in continual fear of losing their lives and property. In a time when almost any excuse served for a condemnation, it was safest to stay out of sight. Augustus' restoration of peace did not erase the memory of recent crimes, and since Augustus had been guilty of some of the worst outrages himself, contemporaries had reason to fear that the unaccustomed tranquility of the Principate was but an interlude between terrors—as it proved to be. When we consider that public life was also time-consuming, expensive, and frustrating, it should come as no surprise that many nobles chose private life over politics. When Livy overlooked these problems, bound up as they were with dangerous implications for contemporary politics, he was left with only one acceptable explanation for the fact Augustus had to resort to intimidation and legislation to force young bachelors to marry, establish families, and hold public offices: that immorality had triumphed (Wardman 1982: 12 and 21).

Augustus' policies did not fail because playboys refused to pose as empty models for society but because any intelligent person could see the essential hypocrisy of imperial policies; on country estates one could safely say what one thought. Under Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero, politicians survived only through flattery and participation in imperial vices. Livy's exhortation to live the moral life became an empty platitude. As the cult of the divine emperor grew and slowly overtook the traditional gods as protector of the city, the hollowness of Roman religion became revealed as well.[1]

The one god the Romans never lost their faith in was *Providentia*. To the Romans Providence (known also as *Fortuna* or luck) was not a mere concept. Whatever happened, however unfortunate or foolish, was the will of the gods. The historian Plutarch not only emphasized the role of Providence in Roman success—he valued its importance above that of virtue (Barrow 1967:124-131). Fortuna may be fickle and undependable, but she was not to be influenced by irrational religious rites or superstitions. Instead, she favored men and women who behaved bravely and morally. Plutarch's stories were designed to convey this lesson to impressionable young readers (Barrow 1967:54; 91-94).

Centuries after the death of these Roman historians, their ideas were revived by Enlightenment *philosophes* whose works were read by prominent American revolutionaries. Thus, Americans confirmed traditions they had learned

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[1]Robert Graves' *I, Claudius* (New York, 1934) describes the spirit of this era excellently.

from their British experience: mistrust of absolute rulers, idealistic patriotism, high personal standards, and a belief that rational religions were superior to emotional ones. After the American Revolution had achieved its immediate goals, these men took up the task of creating a citizenry which could meet the challenges of independence.

Part Two: American Interpretations of the Roman Past

Americans today like to think of Romans in the republican era as a sturdy, moral, hard-working people rather like our ancestors at the birth of our republic, and to think of Romans in the imperial epoch as having slipped from their youthful high standards to a cosmopolitan hedonism and moral looseness mirroring a similar condition in our own times. We Americans think this way because we, like the Romans, have in our fundamental philosophy of life a moral heritage so deep that we aspire to it without ever expecting to live up to it. We cite outstanding individuals of the past as examples of the type of person we would like to be dominant in our society. However, being eminently practical, we are also quite willing to make do with the lesser humans we actually have.[2]

This leads to a fundamental misconception: Americans who look to the founders of our republic for moral role-models are misled by later generations' hero-worship of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson—judgments not shared by all their contemporaries. Moreover, only the uninformed dare claim that every citizen of the Early Republic was more than an average human being. American moralists and ministers of the late eighteenth century were as firmly persuaded that they lived in evil times as are their twentieth-century counterparts. The presidency of George Washington was remarkable not because he led a nation of cooperative, law-abiding, upright men and women. If the American people had been so easily formed into a nation, anyone could have taken Washington's place; moreover, we would probably look upon Washington as the man who began the process of corrupting a virtuous people. We honor Washington partly because his fellow Americans were so difficult to govern that foreign governments confidently predicted the American experiment would fail: no republic had ever survived long—not even the Romans had been able to make theirs work; moreover, Americans were so diverse (Puritan fishermen, Quaker farmers, cavalier tobacco planters), so cantankerous (quarrelling over religion, western lands, taxes, and states rights), and so lawless (for years Britain had sent criminals and debtors to the colonies, slavery was

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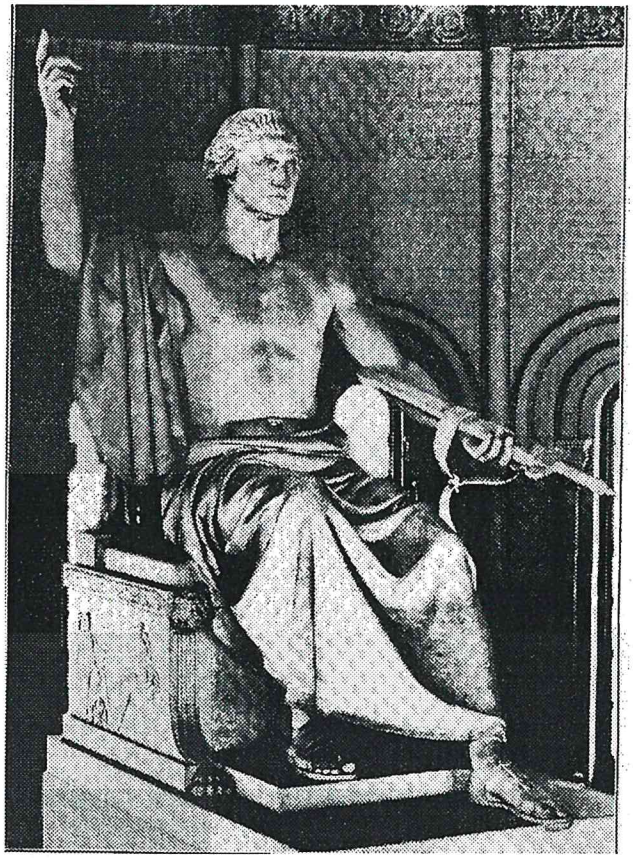
[2]Jefferson (1904:XV,237) is an exception. He had complete faith in the Common Man; moreover, he never did like Romans: "I never could discover that they possessed much virtue, or real liberty." He (1904:II.197f.) argued that Roman slavery, too, was worse than American because it was industrial in nature rather than agricultural.

widespread, tax evasion a national habit, and flight from one state to another so easy) that the American nation must necessarily be short-lived. Observers expected that the combination of personal ambition, frustration with the political intrigues of popular government, and fear which had turned Cromwell into a despot could hardly fail to have its working on a rich military man such as George Washington. Washington's greatness lay in an extra-ordinary personal integrity and sense of duty which gave him the resolution to resist these forces. In short, he personified the Roman virtues so perfectly that contemporaries saw nothing amiss in Horatio Grennough sculpting the *Pater Patriae*'s bust wearing a toga, formerly in the U.S. Capitol and now in the Smisthonian (see illustration).



George Washington
by Horatio Greenough

Washington's generation was well aware of its own shortcomings. (What people reared in Calvinist theology could not have been?) Christian beliefs, Whig politics, and experience taught that all men were (at least potentially) sinners, schemers, and crooks. Madison and Hamilton wrote eloquently in the *Federalist Papers* that government must be built on the vices of a people, not on appeals to their virtue! They argued that people were so easily corrupted, that every governmental institution must have its self-regulating balancing mechanisms. Even so, the American people rejected the idea that a society can be founded on cynical self-interest alone: ideals are equally important. The generation of 1775-1789 found fitting examples for reflection in the pages of Livy and Plutarch (Reinhold 1984:174-175 and 1987:4-7; Wood 1969:3-45; Wiltshire 1987:8-11). They interpreted the events of their lifetime in a thoroughly Whig manner as the defence of the rights of the people from a tyrannical monarch and corrupt oligarchs; they anticipated future challenges from foreign kings and domestic demagogues. Where could they find useful lessons from the past? Nowhere better than in Roman history. As a result, Americans of the revolutionary era came to

know their classical history well.[3] Perhaps this *knowledge* was often superficial "window-dressing," but it was, nevertheless, not confined to the educated upper-class but broadly spread through the population. It is no accident that the map of our country is dotted with names like Cincinnati, Ithaca, Athens, Sparta, Syracuse, and Cicero; the common citizen knew that in giving a town a classical name he was making a statement of intent—his community was identifying itself with noble thoughts and valiant deeds, it was setting a goal for future generations to achieve.[4]

The decade which followed the Revolution was a very discouraging one. Fearful of strong government, many Americans argued that each state must remain fully sovereign and, to the extent that it was possible, must be governed directly by the people. Once the people relaxed their vigilance—as must happen when power is transferred to a distant capital—a political aristocracy would seize control, as they had done in Rome. Washington argued against the formation of political parties, believing that the Roman example proved that republican government would collapse under the weight of their disputes. Upon hearing these arguments, a number of people responded by suggesting that the teaching of classical literature be forbidden altogether, lest young people become cynical about the future of their country. However, most educators continued the pre-revolutionary efforts to teach their fellow countrymen to learn from Roman errors. This was more than a call to return to the simple, moral practices of their immigrant ancestors; if that were true, these men would hardly be different from

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[3]Greene (1943:120-24) indicates that classical languages were the basic curriculum of the colleges attended by eighteen of the fifty-four signers of the Declaration of Independence and three had completed the seven year program at the Boston Latin School. Plutarch was available in English translation. Also, Reinhold (1975:18): Jefferson several times outlined a proper course of reading in the ancient historians. In 1785, for example, writing from Paris to young Peter Carr, he advised on Greek history his "reading everything in the original and not in translations," and covering Goldsmith's history of Greece, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon's *Hellenica* and *Anabasis*, Quintus Curtius, and Justin. Much later, in 1825, writing on the study of ancient history at the university of Virginia, he advised "in all cases I prefer original authors to compilers," and listed the following: Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Diodorus, Livy, Caesar, Suetonius, Tacitus, Dio Cassius, to be read "in their originals if understood, and in translation if not,—" also Arrian, Quintus, Curtius, Polybius, Sallust, Plutarch, Dionysius of Hallicarnassus, as well as Gibbon and a Universal history.

[4]See Reinhold (1975) for the classical authors popular in the colonial and early republican era; Reinhold (1984:23-80); Bailyn (1967:3-26); when the Constitutional Convention was meeting, Hamilton searched Greek history for examples of confederations (Crèvecoeur 1947:276).

the evangelists of any generation who see nothing but corruption around them and seek to persuade listeners to return to older, purer ways. Theirs was more than a continuation of Puritan preaching: it represented a deep concern with *creating* the type of people who could make a republic last.[5]

In this endeavor, the educators shared a common goal with the Greek and Roman historians whose works they were reading: Polybius, Cicero, Livy, Tacitus, and Plutarch. Each of these writers had used examples from Roman history as practical and moral lessons which could be applicable to the American situation.[6]

It must be emphasized that these ancient writers saw the Roman people as filled with shortcomings. If Americans had begun with the idea that only a completely virtuous people could make a republic work, they would have given up in despair. However, they could read Livy's words:

> [To the Capitoline Hill] fled all the rag-tag-and-bobtail from the neighboring peoples; Some free, some slave, and all of them wanting nothing but a fresh start. That mob was the first real addition to the city's strength, the first step to her future greatness.
>
> Livy I:8; translated by Sélincourt (1960:26-27)

> One has but to think of what the population was like in those early days—a rabble of vagrants, mostly runaways and refugees—and to ask what would have happened if they had suddenly found themselves protected from all authority by inviolable sanctuary, and enjoying freedom of action, if not full political rights. In such circumstances, unrestrained by the power of the throne, they would, no doubt, have set sail on the stormy sea of democratic politics, swayed by the gusts of popular eloquence and quarreling for power with the governing class of a city which did not even belong to them, before any real sense of community had time to grow. That sense—the only true patriotism—comes slowly and

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[5]Crèvecoeur (1947:48-53); the Ordinance of 1785 contained this phrase: "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

[6]Kirk (1989:43-48); however, not all knowledge was positive: Jefferson was appalled that congressmen in 1776 and 1781 proposed appointing a dictator. To his mind, these were men "seduced in their judgment by the example of an ancient republic, whose constitution and circumstance were fundamentally different." Jefferson (1904:II, 173, 177); Wilson (1991:51-62).

> springs from the heart; it is founded upon respect for the family and love of the soil
>
> Livy II:1; translated by Sélincourt (1960:89).

These quotes offered food for thought. Americans were already concerned about inculcating respect for the family and love of the soil among those of their number who were already notorious for their footloose wandering and readiness to fight in defense of individual rights. The Roman example offered a solution: "Rome had originally been founded by force of arms; the new king now prepared to give the community a second beginning, this time on the solid basis of law and religious observances" (Livy I:19; translated by Sélincourt 1960:38). In America, however, the task of creating a people united by laws and religious practices was complicated by the diversity of religious practice and the fear of theological tyranny. Efforts to develop a quasi-secular religious tradition were only partially successful until Lincoln, a man not tied to any church, combined patriotism and the divine plan to give a second beginning to the American nation. With sad eloquence and humble sincerity, he persuaded a generation that a non-sectarian Providence was watching over the nation in its great struggle against slavery (Boorstin 1958:19 and 134f.).

It is striking how the subsequent American attitude toward religion and morality has paralleled Roman practice. Romans emphasized the correct performance of the rites, demanded exceptional morality only of public figures, and were tolerant toward the growth of new cults and sects. The censors sought to maintain morality but were more active in condemning public rather than private activities, because Providence reacted almost solely to the virtuousness or viciousness of public figures. In America the original narrowness of the colonies based on single religions gave way to wide diversity of sects (with Jefferson's Virginia Statute on Religious Freedom as the model), and legal restrictions on private activities slowly lessened. Nevertheless, in the future Americans would continue to demand that public figures voice a belief in "religion," behave publicly in a "moral" fashion (concealing their swearing and infidelities), and obey the law—in short, they should not tempt Providence. Americans later held their presidents particularly accountable. George Washington was responsible for setting a personal example of rectitude which intimidated his successors for a century and a half. Recent history has shown to what a great degree Americans retain this Puritan-Roman attitude (to the complete bafflement of the rest of the world, especially to Europeans, who see entirely different lessons in the Roman experience).[7]

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[7]See Boorstin (1958:3-4), with the emphasis on the American rejection of utopian goals in favor of pragmatic actions; Koch (1961:139-45); Ferrero (1914).

The attitude of Washington's generation toward religion is especially striking when one considers that many of the nation's leaders were deists and masons rather than churchgoers. Churchmen considered Jefferson the devil incarnate and had their doubts about Washington, but Jefferson and Washington supported religion only to the extent that it promoted public morality; Jefferson was prouder of having been the author of the Virginia Statute on Religious Freedom than he was of having been president. In short, American religiousness is striking: tolerant and unfocused except in its expectation that government officials and community leaders give the appearance of practicing conventional morality and fiscal responsibility.

Americans also believed that property ownership was essential to maintaining a stable community. Like the Romans, Americans limited the right to vote to landowners; and like the Roman *populares*, the Jeffersonians wanted laws which protected small farmers. This led to the nation's first great controversy. Rich men who speculated in frontier land found themselves in direct confrontation with poor men who demanded that unoccupied land (unoccupied by white men) be made available to those with the courage and ambition to go into the wilderness. The result was that the founding generation came to fear an American repetition of Livy's dominant theme: class conflict reflecting disputes over land.[8] As we can read in Livy, these disagreements became especially vicious following war, as farmers who had been impoverished by the conflict found themselves paying heavy taxes and excluded from a share of the conquered

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[8]Jefferson believed not only that owners of any property, however small, were more likely to demand a role in government and thus oppose subversion by the wealthy, but also that farmers were more virtuous than the other classes in a society; consequently, his Republican-Democrats argued for the widest possible ownership of land and the least possible role for government officials. This became the dominant ideology of the Democratic party in the era from 1800-1860. Most historians assume without having investigated the matter beyond reading Jefferson (as if he were the only Republican of importance) that this rural ideal rests on Rousseau rather to the exclusion of Roman inspirations. The primary foundation of agrarianism was popular self-interest: the role of classics was to provide an intellectually respectable justification of democratic theory; similarly, the classics provided conservatives with examples of the dangers of mobocracy which could be cited in hopes of persuading voters to support political programs that seemingly benefitted the rich more than the poor.

lands. In 1786 Shay's Rebellion[9] reminded educated Americans vividly of crises in Livy's writings:

> A double danger was threatening the city's peace: first imminent war with the Volscians [read Great Britain] and, secondly, internal discord of ever-increasing bitterness between the ruling class and the masses. The chief cause of the dispute was the plight of the unfortunates who were 'bound over' to their creditors for debt. These men complained that while they were fighting in the field to preserve their country's liberty and to extend her power, their fellow-citizens at home had enslaved and oppressed them. . . . Finally, their growing resentment was fanned into flame by a particular instance of the appalling condition into which a debtor might fall. An old man suddenly presented himself in the forum. . . . "While I was on service," he said, "during the Sabine war, my crops were ruined by enemy raids, and my cottage was burnt. Everything I had was taken, including my cattle. Then, when I was least able to do so, I was expected to pay taxes, and fell, consequently, into debt. Interest on the borrowed money increased my burden; I lost the land which my father and grandfather had owned before me, and then my other possessions; ruin spread like a disease through all I had, and even my body was not exempt from it, for I was finally seized by my creditor and reduced to slavery; nay, worse—I was hauled away to the prison and the slaughterhouse.
>
> Livy II:23; translated by Sélincourt (1960:113-114).

The conflict of the classes was fought in every arena, and no reader of Livy's pages can close the book and remain unaware of the temptations of power: the upper-class Romans who held authority were tempted to monopolize political office, make discriminatory laws, take the best lands for themselves, and even reach out their hands for the daughters of the poor.[10] The abuses of power were moderated by political reforms that made the Roman government one of the most

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[9]In 1786 a Revolutionary War Veteran named Daniel Shay led 2000 Massachusetts farmer to Springfield in an effort to seize the armory, in hopes of removing the overrepresented Boston "aristocracy" from control of the state tax system.

[10]American colonists were acquainted first-hand with the snobbery, corruption, and incompetence of the British upper-class. Modern American may recapture the spirit of this attitude in McCullough (1990). Alexander Hamilton's affair with an impoverished client became a political liability of the first order—he was accused of the abuse of power and wealth, and Jeffersonians warned that such actions would lead inevitably to despotism and monarchy.

complicated systems imaginable, but which moderated the danger of excessive power by dividing authority among competing bodies—with one exception (the office of dictator), every office was shared by at least two officials, and the threat of hurried, unwise abuse of power was blunted by the veto power of the tribunes. Through eighteenth-century intermediaries Washington's generation studied the principles of Roman government as described by Polybius, a Greek hostage who lived in Rome in 200 B.C., in *Histories* VI.

Polybius saw Roman institutions as a means of creating a better people (or at least correcting their worst habits) by employing a "mixed" government. According to Polybius, there are three "pure" types of government: monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. The Romans endowed their consuls with royal authority, gave the noble senators a dominant role in debating legislation and foreign policy, and passed all laws in an Assembly. Polybius saw this mixed constitution as a means of avoiding the normal, natural evolution of the pure forms of government into their harmful counterparts—tyranny, oligarchy, and mob rule. Ancient philosophers assumed that kings would become tyrants who would then be overthrown by their nobles, who would establish an aristocracy which would degenerate into oligarchy, which would be overthrown by the common people, who would establish a democracy which would degenerate into such a mob that only a king could reestablish order. The mixed constitution was itself a natural corrective for the normal tendency to degenerate to which all political bodies were prone.[11]

To cite more examples would likely suggest that the Roman contribution to American thought was greater than the facts indicate. While many Americans read Roman authors, many read selectively, looking only for ideas which were useful. We must remember that colonial America did not produce a single classical scholar of note (Reinhold 1984:179-83), and that books on classical subjects were not popular (Reinhold 1984:297-98; 1975:9-10). *Americans generally learned about the classical world indirectly:* the role of intermediaries from the Enlightenment should not be overlooked, especially role of British historians and French *philosophes* (Boorstin 1958:300-309). Americans were then, as now, primarily a pragmatic people, and few were interested in classical knowledge *per se*. Most of what they knew was read in translation and reflected a Whig interpretation of history—a denunciation of Tory monarchism (Reinhold 1975:173-86). As a result, they were aware of the basic outline of Greek and Roman history, recognized names and understood concepts of ancient law and religion, and were concerned with the "lessons of history." If this knowledge was not profound, it was nevertheless more important to them than it is to Americans

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[11]Reinhold (1984:100-109); the ideas came principally from Montesquieu. For Adams' arguments in favor of dividing governmental authority into legislative, executive, and judicial branches (from his book *A Defence of the Government of the United States of America*), see Reinhold (1984:88-91).

today. Classical lore was such an integral part of their civilization that it is difficult for us to know whether something which appears to be an allusion to a classical source is the result of personal study of the classics, or ideas picked up through reading English or French books, or from newspapers and conversation. Conversation and correspondence were valued skills, and one suspects that more than a few individuals studied the classics in order to be more brilliant conversationalists and writers.[12]

Part 3: American Conservatism and Rome

The attitude wealthy Americans expressed concerning education was not greatly different from the attitude the Romans had about their own classical education (i.e., the study of Greek literature and history was considered to be the mainstay of the system). Most Romans were ambiguous about the Greeks. On one hand, they looked upon a Greek-centered education as potentially dangerous to the morals of Roman youth; on the other hand, the Greeks had much to say about art, architecture, literature, and philosophy—and even conservative Romans found Stoic and Epicurean philosophy attractive. The Greeks had especially interesting ideas about government, but neither Romans nor Americans were comfortable with Plato's *Republic*—its emphasis on an aristocracy based on talent and on unproven theories ran counter to all their instincts and experience (Reinhold 1975:15).[13] Northern Americans differed from Southerners over Aristotle's belief that some men were natural rulers and others natural slaves, but John Adams acted on the principle that some men formed the elite who deserved to govern. Public reaction to his aristocratic utterances and demands made him the least popular president of his generation.

John C. Calhoun was a much more significant representative of conservative thought than John Adams. First of all, he was a genuine believer in Jeffersonian agrarianism who mistrusted the northern mercantile world. Secondly, he was well acquainted with the writings of Roman historians. It is easy to recognize Livy as his source when he says that "nothing is more difficult than to equalize the action of a government in reference to the various and diversified interest of the community; and nothing more easy to pervert its power into instruments to aggrandize and enrich one or more interests by oppressing and impoverishing the others" (Calhoun 1953:13).0 Also, when he says, "the necessary result, then, of unequal fiscal action of the government is to divide the

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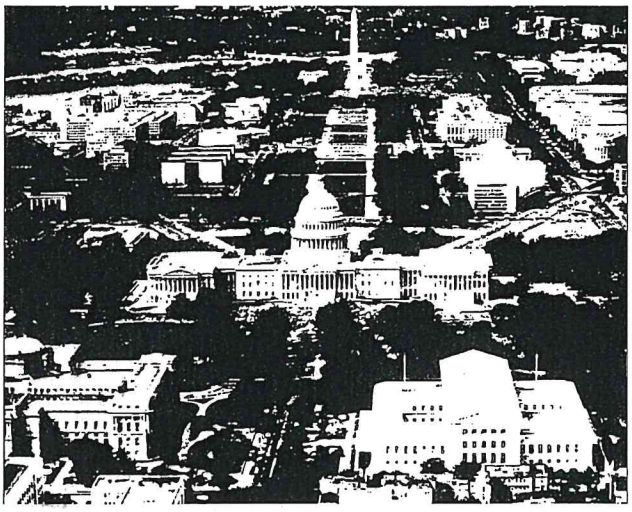
[12]Reinhold 1975:114; Jefferson (1904:XV, 233-7) wrote that he fell on his knees in thankfulness for having been required to learn the classical languages, but he had no use for any lessons from Roman history.

[13]These concerns provoked violent attacks on the classics (Reinhold 1984:116-37).



Aerial View of Washington, D.C.

community into two great classes; one consisting of those who, in reality, pay the taxes and, of course, bear exclusively the burden of supporting the government; and the other, of those of are the recipients of their proceeds through disbursements, and who are in fact, supported by the government; or in fewer words, to divide it into tax-payers and tax-consumers" (Calhoun 1953:17). His solution was an eminently Roman one: to divide the powers of government in such a way that each interest has "either a concurrent voice in making laws and a veto on their execution" (Calhoun 1953:20). Calhoun preferred to rely on the principle of concurrent powers largely because of the negative example of the veto in the Polish republic, but he praised the Roman system which balanced other strong organs of government against the class veto: "The government was, indeed, powerfully constituted and apparently well proportioned, both in its positive and negative organs. It is truly an iron government. With the tribunate it proved to be one of the most oppressive and cruel that ever existed, but with it, one of the strongest and best" (Calhoun 1953:74-75).

Calhoun is not a popular figure today. He believed that slavery was essential in a democracy—there had to be a wealthy upper class with sufficient leisure time for acquiring an education and devoting itself to unpaid governmental service. He also believed in states' rights—the only barrier to the rise of a Caesar through misuse of federal funds and the armed forces. More importantly, he accurately represented those many men and women who believed that America should learn from Roman experience—even though they chose very selectively what they wanted to learn. The appeal of Rome for the wealthy Southerner was reflected not only in sharing Calhoun's theories of government, but also in the names chosen for free men and slaves alike—Cato, Virgil, Marcus, and so forth. Under the rule of southern presidents and congressmen, classical forms in architecture became dominant. The attractive and practical buildings constructed from the mixture of the Georgian style (which had come via England from Italian villas built according to Vetruvius' principles) and French enthusiasm for everything connected with the Roman Republic. Symbolically, Greek Revival architecture (which would be more accurately called Roman Revival) represented the belief that public buildings, like public virtues, should be based on the

simplicity and honesty of ancient Rome (Boorstin 1958:371; Hughes 1987; Vance 1989).

Summary

The example of Rome was an integral part of the debate on public morality and education which occurred at the foundation of the American republic and which persisted through the next seven decades. The lessons were, unfortunately, easier to agree upon than to act on. Nevertheless, there was a remarkable unity in the belief that the new nation had to avoid the mistakes of Rome: we had to prevent the rise of military adventurers, limit the power of wealth and privilege, and develop a system of education based on strict morality, democratic ideals, and honoring those men and women who had labored and suffered in the service of the republic. We could do this best by combining patriotic stories with a classical education.

Our greatest men and women served as models: Jefferson was the best educated man of his era, but Washington was more respected and loved. Washington's personal example set the standard for his successors; his Farewell Address helped America avoid problems that plagued other newly independent countries. As a result of the classical influence, the ideal American politician resembled Cincinnatus not Caesar, Cicero not Augustus, and Cato the Younger not Catullus—men of virtue who could lead a nation of common but promising citizens (Greene 1943:396-97).

HERACLES IN THE EARLY STOA

by Albert Watanabe

Heracles in the Early Stoa[1]

The portrayal of Heracles by Stoics such as Epictetus and Seneca has attracted much attention. Epictetus in particular looks back to the Cynics (Hoistad 1948:61-63 and Galinsky 1972:147). But very little has been written on the intervening period from Antisthenes and the Cynics to the time of Seneca and Epictetus. This negligence is primarily due to the sparseness of the evidence. In this paper I have collected together the handful of references to Heracles among the Stoics preceding Seneca and Epictetus.

References to Heracles in the early Stoa are found in Arnim's *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (=*SVF* 1905). These include Vol. 1.514 (Cornutum, *De natura deorum* 31=Cleanthes); Vol. 2.1009 (Aet. *Placit.* 1.6); Vol. 2.1024 (Sen. *Ben.* 4.8, cited in this paper); Vol. 2.1093 (Plut. *De Iside et Osiride* 367C, also cited in this paper); and Vol. 3. 210, 342 and 478 (Chrysippum). For the middle Stoa, we have Panaetius F 91 (van Straaten) (although Panaetius is not specifically named in the fragment). For Posidonius references are found in F 53 (Edelstein-Kidd) = 82 Theiler; F 219 E-K = 313 The; F 229 E-K = 29 The; F 246 E-K = 26 The. I focus on two of these references as significant. First an allegorical interpretation of Heracles as the animating principle of the universe is found in chapter 31 of *De natura deorum* of Cornutus, a freed man of the younger Seneca. This interpretation probably derives from Cleanthes, who is referred to at the end of the chapter. Next Aetius' *Placita* 1.6 refers to the apotheosis of Heracles. On the whole no reference to the apotheosis of Heracles can be unquestionably assigned to the early Stoa. I cite here evidence that the early Stoa maintained that virtuous men attain immortality. Thus it is possible that they used Heracles as an example of this doctrine.

Passage 1: *SVF* 1.514 = Cornutus, *De natura deorum* 31

> Heracles is the reason (*logos*) in the universe in accordance with which nature is strong (*ischura*) and powerful (*krataia*), being invincible (*aniketos*) and unconquerable (*aperigenetos*), imparting strength (*ischus*) and power (*alke*) to the individual parts of the universe. He is named perhaps from the fact that he ascended to the heroes, as he was the one causing good men to praise (*kleizesthai*) him.[2]

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[1] This article is dedicated to Bernice L. Fox with many memories of enjoyable conversations on Sunday afternoons.

[2]Cornutus gives an etymology of the name Heracles based on the components "hero" and "to praise in song" (*kleizesthai* = cognate with *kleos*).

> For the ancients used to call heroes those who were noble in body and mind and who appear because of this to partake of divine descent. And it is unnecessary to be disturbed by recent interpretations. For the son of Alcmene and Amphitryon was thought worthy of the same designation as a god because of his virtue, so that it is difficult to distinguish the deeds of the god from those recorded of the hero. Perhaps the lion skin and club were assigned in the ancient accounts of the gods to this one (i.e the god). [I omit an interpolation.] Each of these would be symbols of strength (*rome*) and nobility. For the lion is the most powerful (*alkimotatos*) beast and the club is the most forceful (*karterotatos*) weapon. And the god would be introduced as an archer as he permeates (penetrates) everywhere and the motion of his weapon creates a certain tension (*entonon*). [Another interpolation is omitted.] Appropriately did they hand down that he lived with Hebe on Cos, as his mind is more complete,[3] for as Euripides (*Bellerophon* F 291N) says:
>
> > The hands of young men are well-strung (*eutonoterai*) for doing things.
> > But the minds of older men are much better.
>
> And I also interpret the service to Omphale to be plausibly fitting for him. The ancients on account of this in turn explain that it is necessary that the strongest (*ischurotatoi*) place themselves under the command of reason and to do what is ordered by reason, if indeed something feminine according to speculation and rational consideration falls to the voice (*omphe*). Not unreasonably they thought it right that it (the voice) be called Omphale. It is possible to refer the Twelve Labors not unnaturally to the god, as Cleanthes also did. But it is not necessary that ingenuity appear to take precedence everywhere.

Cornutus here gives an allegorical interpretation of Heracles as the *logos* in the universe. In what follows I shall attempt to show that this interpretation probably derives from Cleanthes. In light of this examination I shall then discuss the reference at the end of the chapter to Cleanthes and the Twelve Labors of Heracles.

First let us examine the allegorical interpretation of Heracles as the *logos* in the universe. Cornutus probably learned of this interpretation from Seneca. For in *De beneficiis* 4.8.1 Seneca maintains that the Stoic god appears under various guises:

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[3]The argument here is unclear.

> Our philosophers think that this [god] is also father Liber, Hercules and Mercury. . . . [He is] Hercules, since this power (*vis*) is unconquerable (*invicta*); and, when [this power] will be relaxed after producing all these works, there will be a return to the fire [of the ekpyrosis].

It is clear that "power" (*vis*) here is Latin for the "logos in accordance with which nature is strong and powerful". And *invicta* is a translation of *aniketos* and *aperigenetos* in Cornutus. Clearly Seneca knows of the interpretation of Heracles found in Cornutus. But Cornutus gives us fuller details of the interpretation. Wilamowitz (1884) believed that this interpretation ultimately derived from Cleanthes and Arnim (1905) printed the passage of Cornutus in his section on Cleanthes, writing: *Totum fere caput adscripsi, quia omnia ex Cleanthe sumpta esse probabile est, cuius de tensione doctrina Herculis fabula illustratur.*[4] Wilamowitz says this in passing in a footnote and does not tell us anything specific. But a fragment of Cleanthes shows a close parallel in wording to Cornutus and I believe that the beginning of the interpretation in Cornutus probably goes back to Cleanthes. The fragment is found in Plutarch's *De stoicorum repugnantiis* 1034D (*SVF* 1.563):

> Cleanthes in his *Notes on Physics* says that tension (*tonos*) is a blow (*plege*) of fire; and, if it is adequate in the soul for accomplishing what is incumbent, then it is called strength (*ischus*) and power (*kratos*). In his own words he asserts: "This strength (*ischus*) and power (*kratos*), whenever it occurs in relation to matters, to which we must manifestly adhere, is self-control, [he then defines the other cardinal virtues in terms of *ischus* and *kratos*]."

This passage provides a striking parallel to the passage of Cornutus. Plutarch give us Cleanthes' definition of tension as "a blow of fire". The exact meaning of this definition is unclear but it must refer to the permeation of the universe by fire, which is the animating principle of the universe.[5] The permeation of fire in the universe creates a balance which holds the universe together and makes it *ischuros* and *krataios*. Thus *tonos* in Plutarch corresponds to *logos* in Cornutus.[6] Furthermore according to Plutarch Cleanthes believed that, in addition to the tension in the universe, a tension also exists in the soul. When this tension is

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[4]Arnim (1905) in *SVF* 1.514

[5]Cleanthes in Stob. 1.17.3 (*SVF* 1.497) speaks of a tension in the universe but does not use the term *ischus* and *kratos*. On the concept of tension in Cleanthes' cosmology, see Hahm (1977:153-56, 169-74 and Appendix III).

[6]Arnim (1905), in fact, emends *logos* in Cornutus to *tonos*.

adequate to perform what is incumbent, it is called strength (*ischus*) and power (*kratos*) and a person acts morally. But if this tension is lax, then a person is dissolute. But to return to the main point, the collocation of the terms of *ischus* and *kratos* in Cleanthes offers the most striking parallel to the passage of Cornutus. Thus I believe that the allegorical interpretation at the beginning of chapter 31 of Cornutus probably derives from Cleanthes.

The question may be raised how much of the rest of the passage goes back to Cleanthes. It is reasonable that other references to *tonos*, *ischus* and *kratos* may derive from him. These include the references to Heracles as the archer god whose weapon creates a certain tension (*entonon*). A little later we find the "correction" of the verses of Euripides, "the well-strung (*eutonoterai*) hands". Furthermore the explanation of Heracles' lionskin and club are connected with strength. Finally, in the interpretation of Heracles' service to Omphale, Cornutus explains that it is necessary for the strongest (*ischurotatoi*) to place themselves under the command of reason. Of these I believe that the references to Heracles the archer and to the lionskin and club have the greatest probability of deriving from Cleanthes.

The significance of this interpretation has not been fully appreciated. For it stands in contrast to the usual moral interpretation of Heracles found among philosophers such as Prodicus ap. *Xen. Mem.* 2, Antisthenes and the Cynics. While Cleanthes has retained a moral aspect in his interpretation, he has been innovative in bringing Heracles from the moral realm into the physical sphere. He is the *logos* (the rational, animating principle) and the *tonos* (tension) which holds the universe together and makes it strong. This physical interpretation of Heracles will be perpetuated by later Stoics.[7]

If we follow Diogenes Laertius, Antisthenes anticipated certain ideas of Cleanthes. For, according to Diogenes Antisthenes linked Heracles and *ischus* (Hoistad 1948:35-37 and Galinsky 1972:106-7). We learn from D. L. 6.2 that Antisthenes used Heracles that Antisthenes used Heracles as an example illustrating the assertion that labor (*ponos*) is a good. Such views were probably expressed in one of three works on Heracles attributed to Antisthenes in D.L. 6.16 and 18: (1) *The Greater Heracles* or *On Strength* (*ischus*); (2) *Heracles* or *Midas* ; (3) *Heracles* or *On Prudence* (*phronesis*) or *On Strength* (*ischus*). From the alternate subtitles of the last work it is reasonable to assume that *ischus* is not physical but moral strength. This interpretation is further strengthened by D.L. 6.11, where Antisthenes tells us that "virtue is sufficient for happiness as it

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[7] Cf. the Seneca passage cited above and Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 367C (*SVF* 2.1093), which tells us that Heracles represents "interweaving and destructive *pneuma*". Thus Heracles is the *pneuma* which weaves together the universe. But he is also destructive, because, when he ceases toil and relaxes his strength, the world will come to an end in the *ekpyrosis*.

requires nothing except the strength (*ischus*) of a Socrates". Thus Diogenes gives the impression that Cleanthes is expanding upon the link between Heracles and *ischus* found in Antisthenes. The danger here is clearly that Diogenes wishes to see a close relation between Antisthenes and the Cynics on the one hand and the Stoics on the other. Thus it is probable that Stoic terminology is being read back into Antisthenes. Nevertheless something in Antisthenes' interpretation encouraged the link to be made. Unfortunately this link is obscured by Diogenes' desire to draw Antisthenes and the Stoa together.

Now let us turn to the explicit reference to Cleanthes and the Twelve Labors of Heracles. Cornutus declines to relate what Cleanthes said about these labors because Cleanthes was too ingenious. It is likely that some allegorical interpretation is involved. Unfortunately Cornutus tells us nothing more. Generally editors have cited other allegorical interpretations of Heracles' Twelve Labors which compare Heracles to the sun and the Twelve Labors to the signs of the Zodiac.[8] The importance of the sun in this interpretation is suggestive since Cleanthes maintained that the sun was the ruling part of the universe (*SVF* 1.499). But it should be noted that Cleanthes elsewhere makes the expected identification of Apollo and the sun (*SVF* 1.540-42). But this does not necessarily invalidate this interpretation since Cleanthes also identifies Dionysus and the sun (*SVF* 1.546). Thus the identification of Heracles and the sun cannot be excluded.

West (1983) proposes another interpretation. According to West Heracles' labors correspond to all the divine activity which takes place from one ekpyrosis to the next (this being equivalent to the "Great Year"). West supports his interpretation with the passage from Seneca's *De Beneficiis* cited at the beginning of this paper. In other words Heracles' activities would represent the workings of *logos* and *tonos* in the universe. It would thus agree with the interpretation in the rest of the chapter. I think that this is very appealing in West's interpretation. But he then suggests that the Twelve Labors correspond to the twelve millennia of the "Great Year". This is rather speculative. On the whole Cornutus does not give us enough information to support either interpretation. But I do think that West is probably right in seeing that Cleanthes in his interpretation of the Twelve Labors regarded Heracles' activities as corresponding to the divine activity which occurs during the "Great Year".

Passage 2: *SVF* 2.1009 = Aet. *Placit* 1.6

> The seventh category [of *didache* ("teaching") about the gods] is for the most part that [type of divinity] who has received honors on

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[8]Cf. Porphyry ap. Eus. *P.E.* 3.112C, Lyd. *Mens.* 4.67 (p. 121 Wunsch), *Orphic Hymn* 12, Nonnus *D.* 40.369. Discussion in O. Gruppe, *RE Suppl.* 3, col. 1104 and West (1983:192-93).

account of the good deeds done in this life, but who was born human, as Heracles, the Dioscuroi and Dionysus.

In this passage Aetius explains how we obtain the conception of the gods. He first gives a Stoic definition of god as "intelligible and fiery pneuma, which does not have shape, but changes into whatever form it wishes and assimilates itself to all." Then he explains that the conception of the gods arises from the beauty of the cosmos. Finally he tells us that the teaching about the gods is divided into seven categories. These categories are usually linked to the question how we receive the conception of the gods. Heracles belongs to the seventh category. Presumably one way we receive the conception of the gods arises from seeing virtuous men attain immortality.

One may raise the question whether these ideas can be traced back to the early Stoa. Arnim (1905) clearly believed that these arguments belong to the early Stoa, although he noted that the source of the passage was probably Posidonius. Recently Colish (1985:29-31) contrasts the myth of Heracles and the corresponding doctrine of the apotheosis of the virtuous man with the early Stoic doctrine that the souls of good men survive until the ekpyrosis. Thus it is implied that the doctrine of apotheosis and the supporting myth of Heracles is not found in the early Stoa. The fact that Arnim (1905) can only cite Aetius for the apotheosis of Heracles in the early Stoa speaks in favor of Colish. But there is one important piece of evidence which has been overlooked. According to Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 1.39 (*SVF* 2. 1077), Chrysippus, the third leader of the Stoa, maintained that those humans who had attained immortality are included among gods: (*Chrysippus dicit esse deum*) *etiam homines eos qui inmortalitatem essent consecuti*. Philodemus, *De Pietate*, chap. 11 (*SVF* 2.1076), drawing on the same source as Cicero, is more specific citing the first book of Chrysippus' *On the Gods* as his source: "He [Chrysippus] says that men change into gods."[9] If the doctrine of apotheosis is found in Chrysippus, it raises the possibility that Heracles was cited as an example. Admittedly the evidence for the doctrine is meager. But it is important to see that the doctrine of apotheosis and the supporting myth of Heracles cannot be completely excluded from the early Stoa.

Thus we have examined two passages which give us significant glimpses of Heracles in the early Stoa. The first in Cornutus probably derives from Cleanthes and portrays Heracles as the *logos* within the universe. Cleanthes, in this interpretation, has transferred Heracles from the moral realm to the physical sphere. In the second passage I argue that the doctrine of apotheosis and the supporting example of Heracles cannot be completely excluded from the early Stoa.

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[9]On these passages, see Hoven (1971:89-90), who raises the question of whether the doctrine of apotheosis found in Chrysippus is linked to the teaching on daemons, often attributed to Posidonius.

A SHORT HISTORY OF ETA SIGMA PHI,

THE NATIONAL CLASSICAL HONORARY

by Brent M. Froberg

A Short History of Eta Sigma Phi
National Classical Honorary Fraternity

This first history of Eta Sigma Phi fittingly appears in a publication dedicated to Professor Emerita Bernice Fox, honorary trustee of Eta Sigma Phi, and founder in 1956 of Gamma Omicron Chapter. During her long tenure as its adviser, Gamma Omicron Chapter promoted scholarship and camaraderie among its students of Latin and Greek at Monmouth College. Nationally, Gamma Omicron achieved a level of involvement seldom matched by any other chapter. A list of Gamma Omicron members who have held national office appears in Appendix I.

Someday a history larger than this present survey will appear. The purpose here is to bring forth the highlights of Eta Sigma Phi's seventy-seven year history and to present some pictures from the archives of Eta Sigma Phi. For many readers the people pictured in these pages will be, "writ in remembrance more than things long past."

In autumn, 1914, some students in the University of Chicago's Department of Greek organized themselves as an undergraduate classical club which they named Phi Sigma. This organization continued for ten years with a membership consisting of students of Latin and of Greek. When Phi Sigma formed a union in 1924 with a society already existing at Northwestern University, Eta Sigma Phi became a national fraternity. In 1927, Eta Sigma Phi was incorporated under the charitable trust laws of the state of Illinois.

Delegates to the national convention annually elect students to the Fraternity's offices of president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer. An executive secretary, usually a faculty member teaching at a school with an active chapter, coordinates the work of the officers and manages Eta Sigma Phi's day-to-day correspondence.

In the early years of the organization three people, all associated with the University of Chicago, gave Eta Sigma Phi its impetus and were largely responsible for the Fraternity's growth. They were Professor Gertrude Smith, a founder of Eta Sigma Phi; Mary Brokaw, many years the editor of the *Nuntius*, Eta Sigma Phi's newsletter; and H. Lloyd Stow, Eta Sigma Phi's first executive secretary (Illustration #1).

Professor Smith was the prime mover in making Eta Sigma Phi a national society. In a letter to the National Office Professor Stow recently wrote that Professor Smith "worked hard and consistently and was the real power behind the scene, not only from her office (also the National Office of Eta Sigma Phi) but also by her faithful attendance for many, many years at the national conventions."

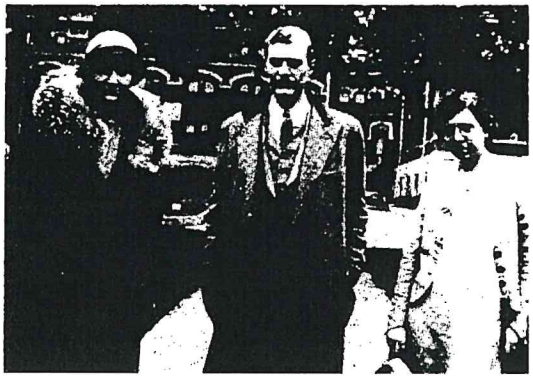

Illustration #1
From left to right: Profs Gertrude Smith, H. Lloyd Stow, and Mary Brokaw

While a member of the faculty at Ohio University, Mary Brokaw edited the *Nuntius*. When she left Ohio University, she went to *Time* in the editorial production department in Philadelphia.

H. Lloyd Stow (Illustration #2) entered the University of Chicago as an honor student in 1926 and became a member of Alpha Chapter. As a junior he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa and received the A.B. degree with honors in Greek in 1930. From the time of his graduation through 1937, he served as executive secretary of Eta Sigma Phi at the University of Chicago where he continued his studies as a graduate student. When he left Chicago to take a position on the faculty of the University of Oklahoma, he continued his association with Eta Sigma Phi as a member of its Board of Trustees. His association continued after he became a member of the faculty in Classics at Vanderbilt University in 1952. He remained active in the Fraternity as a member of its Board of Trustees (until 1957), and as recently as 1976, he gave the quintessential after dinner address to Eta Sigma Phi's delegates who met that year for their national convention on the campus of Vanderbilt University.

H. Lloyd Stow was succeeded by a number of people who filled the position of executive secretary for short terms before the beginning of the second world war and during the actual period of the war. At the end of World War II, the executive secretary spurred the efforts needed to revitalize the Fraternity. From 1947-1951, long-dormant chapters were restored through the work of the late William Korfmacher of St. Louis University. Graydon Regenos, long associated with Tulane University, served from 1951-1955; he assumed the role of both executive secretary and editor of the *Nuntius*, two functions commonly separated during the early days of the Fraternity. During most of Professor Stow's tenure as executive secretary, for example, Mary Brokaw who had earned an M.A. degree from the University of Chicago and had become a member of the faculty at Ohio University (Gamma Chapter), served as the editor of the *Nuntius*. A number of alumni of Eta Sigma Phi will remember well the wit and grace of the late Graydon Regenos whose last teaching assignment, incidentally, from

1970-71, was at Monmouth College. He retired to his home in nearby Galesburg, Illinois.

In 1955 Herman Robert Butts (Illustration #3) became executive secretary and served for thirteen consecutive terms, a record that remains unsurpassed in length and in service. He managed to edit the *Nuntius*, serve as registrar of medals, and handle the affairs of the Fraternity all at once. Besides these duties, he taught a large number of classes at Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Alabama, home of the Pi Chapter. H.R., as he was known to all, had a long association with Eta Sigma Phi stretching back to his days as a student at the University of Iowa in the early 1930s. His years as executive secretary were marked by strong growth in the Fraternity and the beginning of the scholarship program.

Illustration #2
H. Lloyd Stow

Following his untimely death on February 12, 1971, a tribute by Oscar Nybakken appeared in the September, 1971 (vol. 46, no.1) issue of the *Nuntius*. Of Professor Butts, Dr. Nybakken wrote that he, "devoted his life to humanistic education, to the Greek and Latin languages and culture especially. He was a dynamic teacher and neither years nor educational trends could alter his firm faith or dim his enthusiasm. His record as Executive Secretary of Eta Sigma Phi will probably never be matched. His unwavering faith in youth and in Eta Sigma Phi's educational goals, coupled with his enthusiasm and his natural aptitude for getting along well with everyone, enabled him to give courteous and helpful advice to more than seventy separate chapters. . . ."

Professor Butts's successors included William Odom (1968-69), Professor Mary Ann Burns (1969-73), Theodore Bedrick (1973-74), Raymond L. Den Adel (1974-78), and Brent M. Froberg (1978-). During the 1973-74 term, Professor Bernice Fox served as the editor of *Nuntius*, and during the term of Professor Den Adel, Professor Roy Lindahl, a 1954 graduate of Monmouth College, served as the editor of *Nuntius*. A remarkable picture (Illustration #4), taken at the National Convention held at

Illustration #3
Prof. Herman Robert ("H.R.") Butts, Jr.

Monmouth College in 1983 shows Professors Bedrick, Den Adel, Lindahl, Fox, Regenos, and Froberg together.

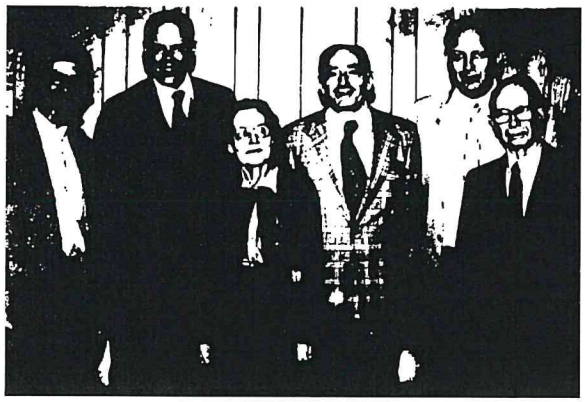

Illustration #4
From left to right: Profs Roy Lindahl, Brent M. Froberg, Bernice L. Fox, Theodore Bedrick, Ray Den Adel and Graydon Regenos

The prosperity of the thirteen years during which H.R. Butts served as executive secretary could best be illustrated by the many new chapters that were added and by the significant steps that were taken then to build an endowment to support the ambitious new programs of Eta Sigma Phi. Certainly, the most significant development was the beginning, in 1957, of the scholarship program designed to give aspiring teachers with distinguished academic records an opportunity to spend a summer with the American Academy in Rome or with the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. Both the American Academy and the American School offer summer programs designed to acquaint students with the topography and with the monuments of the ancient Greek and Roman cultures; these programs have been ideally suited for recipients of the Eta Sigma Phi scholarships because they give new depth to their philological studies and add, through first hand knowledge, to their understanding of Greco-Roman civilization.

Eta Sigma Phi's Board of Trustees and its various executive secretaries have carefully managed the financial gifts of alumni and of loyal faculty members to build an endowment that today produces $4100.00 annually to make possible the awarding of a scholarship to each of the two summer sessions. The two schools also provide some assistance to bring the total value of Eta Sigma Phi Scholarships in 1991 to $5000.00. Currently, a drive is underway to raise an additional $30,000 in gifts to increase the endowment. When the drive concludes, Eta Sigma Phi will offer a third scholarship, for a summer session of the Vergilian Society at Cumae, to be named the Theodore Bedrick Eta Sigma Phi Scholarship.

The first committee to select Eta Sigma Phi's summer scholar in 1957 consisted of Graydon Regenos, Grace L. Beede, and Gertrude Ewing. They selected Donald Laing, a graduate of Alpha Psi Chapter at Washington and Jefferson College, to attend the summer session of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. In 1958, Harry Rutledge (Illustration #5), now president of The American Classical League and a past president of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, became Eta Sigma Phi's first recipient of the scholarship to the American Academy in Rome. Reflective of the times is that in 1958, the value of the scholarship to Rome was only $400.00; in 1991 that scholarship now bears a value of $2,400.00, a numerical rise that reflects

inflation, devaluation, and the ability of Eta Sigma Phi to keep pace. Also, by 1961, Eta Sigma Phi had the means to offer two scholarships each summer.

Illustration #5
Harry C. Rutledge

Other outstanding winners of the Eta Sigma Phi scholarships have gone on to achieve distinction in classical studies. In 1961, W. W. de Grummond (Illustration #6), now a member of Eta Sigma Phi's Board of Trustees, held the scholarship to Athens. Much earlier, in 1956 at the National Convention, Eta Sigma Phi had played a decisive part in Professor de Grummond's decision to become a teacher of Latin and Greek. His choice has led to a long, productive career at Florida State University and his service to the Classical Association of the Middle West and South as the editor of *Classical Journal* and as its secretary-treasurer.

In 1965, Karelisa Hartigan, then a student at the College of Wooster, won the scholarship to Greece. What she wrote in her statement of application then has a prophetic ring now: "My ambition is to become a professor of Classics." She also wrote, "Greek, which I began in my freshman year, opened a whole realm of exciting study." Today, Karelisa Hartigan is the adviser of one of Eta Sigma Phi's largest chapters (Epsilon Iota of the University of Florida) and is an expert on ancient Greek cities. In the competition for the scholarships awarded in 1969, Tom Falkner was granted the scholarship to Rome and Margaret Mayo won the scholarship to Athens. Today, Professor Falkner advises a chapter at the College of Wooster, and Margaret Mayo, once an undergraduate at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, is now curator of ancient art for the Virginia Museum of Fine Art in Richmond, Virginia. In 1988, her traveling exhibit of Cycladic art was on nationwide tour. A complete list of winners of Eta Sigma Phi scholarships is included in Appendix II.

Illustration #6
W. W. de Grummond

Significant help for the scholarship fund came from a still enigmatic source in 1969, from a bequest of the estate of the late Maurine Dallas Watkins (Illustration #7). She was born in Crawfordsville, Indiana, in 1896, and attended Crawfordsville High School. She attended Butler University and then worked as a journalist assigned

to cover the Scopes Trial for the Chicago Tribune. She had a successful career as a writer specializing in drama and in satire. Most remarkable of all is that her play *Chicago*, released only after her death in 1969, was made into a musical by Bob Fosse. She was keenly interested in the Classics, but the reasons for her interest are obscure. She spent the last years of her life in Florida where she cared for her aged mother, who outlived her unexpectedly; on Sunday afternoons she would frequently telephone H.R. Butts and talk with him—at her expense—for over two hours. There is only one comment in any of H.R.'s correspondence—that she liked Plato—to shed any light on her interest in a subject that she never studied in college. H.R. survived Miss Watkins by only one year, living long enough to learn of the generous provisions of her will. She left Eta Sigma Phi $10,000 with the stipulation that the money be awarded in Eta Sigma Phi's contests. Her bequest was taken to mean the competition for the scholarships, and so the money became the backbone of the endowment fund. It also made possible the availability of money to award as prizes for contests in Latin and in Greek translation. Today, these contests are named for Miss Watkins. Others benefitted, too, from the largess of Maurine Dallas Watkins; graduate programs in Classics at the University of Iowa and at the University of Virginia, to name two—have known the extent of her great generosity. The scholarships and the translation contests have identified and encouraged outstanding students in Classics. To know today's outstanding undergraduates is to be able to predict the future of the Classics. Fifteen years ago, I could have placed five or six names into a sealed envelope, put that envelope into a vault, had that envelope opened today, and have gained a reputation for prescience to rival that of Nostradamus. But that reputation would have been unfairly won, for the winners of the prizes offered by Eta Sigma Phi have attained remarkable records.

Illustration #7
Maurine Dallas Watkins

Today, Eta Sigma Phi has approximately eighty active chapters across the United States. To consider these chapters is to remember certain personalities associated with them. Alpha Chapter, for example, at the University of Chicago, was saddened in 1934 by the death of the great Paul Shorey. The name of Shorey recalls the names of some of his students who held him in such high regard: Edgar Reinke, Grace Beede, and John Latimer. In that same year, The Ohio State University, where Bernice Fox was a teaching assistant from 1936 to 1941, became the home of the Alpha Tau Chapter. The Ohio State University brings to mind John B. Titchener, long-time chairman of the Classics

Department. J. N. Hough began his career at Ohio State, and George M. Bolling, a brilliant Homeric scholar and formidable bridge champion, were members of the Department of Classics then. Next to join after Ohio State was the College of Wooster; Virgil Hiatt, usually associated with Butler University, was a member of Wooster's faculty in Classics when Alpha Upsilon Chapter was installed there. Early members of Iowa's Epsilon Chapter included Oscar Nybakken, Ruby Hickman (long employed with Scott, Foresman), and Paul Murphy.

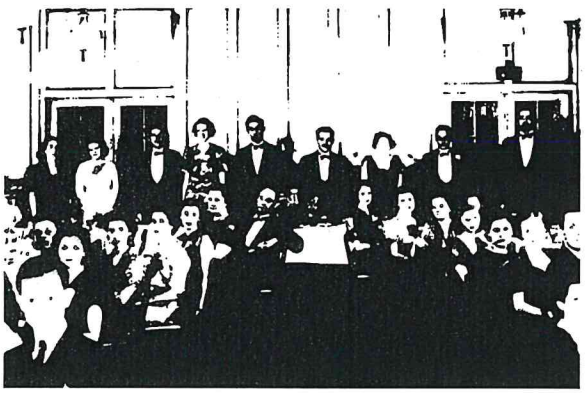

Illustration #8
The 14th annual convention
Columbus, Ohio, 1938

Annually, Eta Sigma Phi holds a convention at the invitation of an active chapter. In 1934, the Tenth Annual Convention was in Iowa City; it was held at Lehigh in 1935. The Fourteenth Annual Convention was held in Columbus, Ohio, in 1938. A picture (Illustration #8) from Eta Sigma Phi's archives reveals the great formality that attended conventions over fifty years ago. To look at the elegance of the formal dress and then to realize that America was then suffering through a depression is startling. Eta Sigma Phi apparently weathered the times in style. A list of convention sites appears in Appendix III.

Students involved in the local chapters were concerned, early in the Fraternity's history, about ways to promote achievement in the study of classical languages in the secondary schools. In April, 1928, at the Fourth National Convention of Eta Sigma Phi held at the State University of Iowa (now the University of Iowa), Helene Henderson, a member of Iowa's Epsilon Chapter, presented a petition, "to sponsor the conferring of medals to high school seniors who have studied Latin in their senior year with distinction. It is suggested that the medals be conferred upon such students as have, in their senior year, completed Cicero or Vergil or their equivalents (third or fourth year Latin) or equivalent courses in Greek, with a uniform grade of 'A'."

Professor Stow credited Roy C. Flickinger of the University of Iowa's faculty in classics with the concept of the medal. In a letter to the National Office (April 27, 1992) Professor Stow offered the following background about the medal

> . . . it was an enormous stimulus to Latin study in secondary schools throughout the country, as well as being in depression years one of the main sources of financial income to the fraternity. . . . It became my responsibility to deal with the design, size, etc. with the jewelers Wright

and Street of Chicago. We thought originally there might be a modest desire for the award, but to our amazement it became a 'hot seller'. Eta Sigma Phi made a small profit on each medal awarded, but the total number ran sky-high. Teachers from coast to coast welcomed the medal and in many, many schools it was the equivalent of a college Phi Beta Kappa key. For the first several years I had to box, address, insure and mail every medal, and many times I stayed up half the night doing the job.

Later, at the Twenty-Fifth National Convention held in 1953 Grace L. Beede, then a Trustee, promoted the idea of awarding medals to students with fewer than four years of Latin at the secondary level. Beginning in 1954, there have been three varieties of medals (two small medals of bronze and of silver and one, large silver medal) available for chapters to award to outstanding students in high schools in their areas.

The archives and records of Eta Sigma Phi invite consideration of the Fraternity's accomplishments; what do these sources teach us? The consistent focus has always been on achievement in the study of classical languages. To that end, Eta Sigma Phi has encouraged good scholarship in the schools and in the colleges; it has also supported those specifically in the early stages of careers in the teaching of the Classics.

The late Gertrude Smith gave Eta Sigma Phi its motto by adapting the words of Pericles, as recorded by Thucydides: *philosophoumen kai philokaloumen*. In using these words in his funeral oration to characterize his fellow Athenians, Pericles also suggested that Athenians could have beauty without extravagance and that they could pursue wisdom without becoming soft. Pericles's characterization of his fellow citizens is an appropriate goal for all members and alumni of Eta Sigma Phi, for love of beauty and of wisdom can be attained by all who have been initiated into the Fraternity, not just by those who choose the teaching of Classics as a profession.

The broad vision of Eta Sigma Phi's motto reminded Sister Kathleen Feeley, then president of the College of Notre Dame of Maryland, to quote some inspirational words from Cardinal Newman's *Idea of a University* (1910), as she welcomed delegates to her campus for the Sixtieth Annual Convention in 1988. These were Newman's words: "I say that a cultivated intellect, because it is a good in itself, brings with it a power and a grace to every work and occupation which it undertakes, and

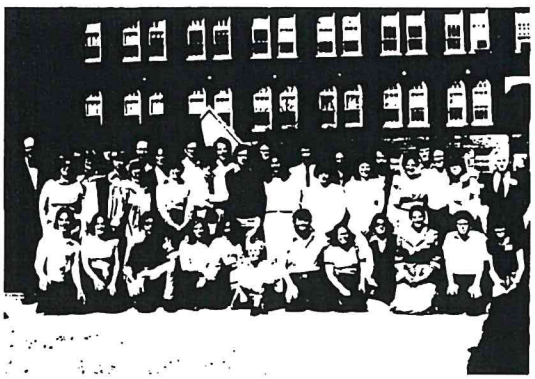

Illustration #9
51st annual convention
St. Louis, Missouri, 1979

enables us to be more useful, and to a greater number." Truly, if Eta Sigma Phi avoids the extravagance and the softness against which Pericles warned the Athenians and promotes the cultivation of the intellect, then Eta Sigma Phi will continue to help its members achieve those benefits—the power and grace of a cultivated intellect—that its founders originally sought.

Let the spirit of earnest endeavor, good will, and friendship pervade the body of Eta Sigma Phi and bind us all together.

Appendix I

National Officers, Gamma Omicron Chapter

Professor Bernice Fox, Trustee, 1970-79;
Editor, *Nuntius*, 1973-74; Honorary Trustee, 1982-

Lynn McGaan, Secretary, 1959-60
Sandra Epperson, Treasurer, 1961-62
Elizabeth Tanner, President, 1972-73
Kerry Bean, Secretary, 1978-79
Louella Emmons, President, 1981-82
Katherine Roe, Secretary, 1981-82
Marcene Holverson, Vice-President, 1984-85
Karen J. Swank, Secretary, 1986-87, 1987-88
Megan Long, Secretary, 1992

Appendix II

Winners, Eta Sigma Phi Summer Scholarships

1957: Donald R. Laing, Alpha Psi, Washington and Jefferson College (American School of Classical Studies)

1958: Harry C. Rutledge, Alpha Tau, The Ohio State University (American Academy in Rome)

1959: Kloris Dressler, Beta Upsilon, Marshall College (American School of Classical Studies)

1960: Martha G. Thomas, Alpha Delta, Agnes Scott College (American Academy in Rome)

1961: W. W. de Grummond, Alpha Omega, Louisiana State University (American School)
Marianne M. Jansen, Beta Omicron, Mount Marty College (American Academy)

1962: Patricia Thompson, Delta Alpha, Randolph-Macon Woman's College (American School)
Ray F. Mitchell, Psi, Vanderbilt University (American Academy)

1963: Stephen Weislogel, Alpha Tau, The Ohio State University (American School)
Gatewood Anthony Folger, Delta Alpha, Randolph-Macon Woman's College (American Academy)

1964: Patrick M. Hardy, Delta Beta, Canisius College (American School)
Robert K. Bohm, Alpha Rho, Muhlenberg College (American Academy)

1965: Karelisa Voelker, Alpha Upsilon, College of Wooster (American School)
James Findley, Gamma Alpha, Indiana State University (American Academy)

1966: Judith Ann Briggs, Beta Omicron, Mount Mary College (American School)
Bernard L. Briel, Beta Theta, Hampden-Sydney College (American Academy)

1967: Paul D. Kovacs, Alpha Upsilon, College of Wooster (American School)
Francis M. Lazarus, Delta Beta, Canisius College (American Academy)

1968: Theodore A. Berktold, Gamma Lambda, St. Mary's College (American School)
Eddie Lowry, Beta Theta, Hampden-Sydney College (American Academy)

1969: Margaret Ellen Mayo, Delta Alpha, Randolph-Macon Woman's College (American School)
Thomas M. Falkner, Gamma Phi, Le Moyne College (American Academy)

1970: William Cole, Jr., Delta Pi, Randolph-Macon College (American School)
Rosemary Wieczorek, Beta Omicron, Mount Mary College (American Academy)

1971: Sandria J. Ewers, Delta Alpha, Randolph-Macon Woman's (American School)
Jane E. Foster, Delta Phi, Southwest Missouri State College (American Academy)

1972: Jolie M. Siebold, Beta Omicron, Mount Mary College (American School)
Steven C. Fazio, Pi, Birmingham-Southern College (American Academy)

1973: Gloria Ralph, Delta Alpha, Randolph-Macon Woman's College (American School)
Catherine Spotswood Gibbes, Delta Alpha, Randolph-Macon Woman's College (American School)

1974: Jerry Muntz, Psi, Vanderbilt University (American School)
Sally Rogers, Eta, Florida State University (American Academy)

1975: Billie T. Anderson, Beta Alpha, The University of South Dakota (American School)
Christine E. Thompson, Gamma Alpha, Indiana State University (American Academy)

1976: Niall Slater, Alpha Upsilon, The College of Wooster (American School)
Stephanie Pope, Delta Alpha, Randolph-Macon Woman's College (American Academy)

1977: Mark Eisenbraun, Beta Alpha, The University of South Dakota (American School)
Leslie Perkins, Eta, Florida State University (American Academy)

1978: Wanda Finney, Delta Alpha, Randolph-Macon Woman's College (American School)
Cathy Curtis, Beta Upsilon, Marshall University (American Academy)

1979: David L. Wray, Alpha Sigma, Emory University (American School)
Peter A. Persuitti, Epsilon Gamma, University of Scranton (American Academy)

1980: Cheryl Fortenberry, Lambda, University of Mississippi (American School)
Louise Jenkins, Beta Upsilon, Marshall University (American Academy)

1981: Charlou Koenig, Epsilon Kappa, Brigham Young University (American School)
Erin Hertzberger, Eta, Florida State University (American Academy)

1982: R. Alden Smith, Delta Theta, Dickinson College (American School)
Christopher C. Smith, Delta Chi, St. Olaf College (American Academy)

1983: Denise Davison, Epsilon Kappa, Brigham Young University (American School)
Sherwin Little, Mu, University of Cincinnati (American Academy)

1984: David Caulfield, Epsilon Mu, Fordham University (American School)
Margaret Worsham Musgrove, Gamma Sigma, University of Texas (American Academy)

1985: Margaret Kirkegaard, Delta Chi, St. Olaf College (American Academy)
(No award was made for the American School in this year.)

1986: Susann Sowers, Beta Nu, Mary Washington University (American School)
Mary Teresa Rossini, Epsilon Nu, Creighton University (American Academy)

1987: Amy Smalldon, Epsilon Iota, University of Florida (American School)
Juan Carlos Garcia, Epsilon Iota, University of Florida (American Academy)

1988: Bryan James Lipp, Beta Alpha, The University of South Dakota (American School)
Eileen Torrence, Gamma Alpha, Indiana State University (American Academy)

1989: Christine Panas, Beta Pi, The University of Arkansas (American School)
Andrea Wooden, Delta Alpha, Randolph-Macon Woman's College (American Academy)

1990: Amy Hornick, Eta, Florida State University (American School)
S. Christopher Garner, Delta Sigma, University of California-Irvine (American Academy)

1991: Kathryn S. Chew, Delta Sigma, University of California-Irvine (American School)
Sian I. Wiltshire, Zeta Zeta, University of Washington (American Academy)

1992: Christopher Ayers, Epsilon Rho, College of Charleston (American School)
Pallas Comnenos, Epsilon Iota, University of Florida (American Academy)

Appendix III

National Convention Sites

1st Alpha, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, May 30, 1925.
2nd Beta, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, 1926.
3rd Gamma, Ohio University, Athens, OH, May 13-14, 1927.
4th Epsilon, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA, April 27-28, 1928.
5th Upsilon, Mississippi State College for Women, Columbus, MS, May 3-4, 1929.
6th Omicron, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, 1930.
7th Mu, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH, May 1-2, 1931.
8th Psi, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, April 29-30, 1932.
9th Alpha Xi, Washington University, St. Louis, MO, April 1933.

10th Epsilon, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA, April 27-28, 1934.
11th Alpha Epsilon, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA, April 5-6, 1935.
12th Alpha, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, April 24-25, 1936.
13th Pi, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, AL, 1937.
14th Alpha Tau, The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH, 1938.
15th Alpha Pi, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA, 1939.
16th Alpha Chi, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA, April 11-13, 1940.
17th Alpha Xi, Washington University, St. Louis, MO, 1941.
18th Omega, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA, April 23-24, 1942.
19th Omega, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA, April 3-4, 1947.
20th Alpha Xi, Washington University, St. Louis, MO, April 5-6, 1948.
21st Gamma, Ohio University, Athens, OH, April 22-23, 1949.
22nd Psi, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, April 21-22, 1950.
23rd Tau, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY, April 6-7, 1951.
24th Theta, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April 4-5, 1952.
25th Alpha Delta, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, GA, April 10-11, 1953.
26th Alpha Xi, Washington University, St. Louis, MO, April 23-24, 1954.
27th Beta Nu, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, VA, April 15-16, 1955.
28th Pi, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, AL, April 13-14, 1956.
29th Beta, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, April 5-6, 1957.
30th Alpha Psi, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, PA, March 28-29, 1958.
31st Beta Zeta, Saint Louis University, St. Louis, MO, April 24-25, 1959.
32nd Beta Upsilon, Marshall University, Huntington, WV, April 1-2, 1960.
33rd Beta Sigma, Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI, March 17-18, 1961.
34th Theta, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, March 23-24, 1962.
35th Beta Kappa, College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore, MD, March 22-23, 1963.
36th Alpha Mu, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO, April 10-11, 1964.
37th Omega (College of William and Mary), Beta Theta (Hampden-Sydney College), Beta Nu (Mary Washington College), and Delta Alpha (Randolph-Macon Woman's College), Richmond, VA, March 26-27, 1965.
38th Delta Beta, Canisius College, Buffalo, NY, April 1-2, 1966.
39th Alpha Chi, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA, April 7-8, 1967.
40th Beta Xi, Rosary College, Chicago, IL, March 29-30, 1968.
41st Delta Eta, Seton Hall College, Pittsburgh, PA, March 28-29, 1969.
42nd Beta Gamma, University of Richmond, Richmond, VA, April 10-11, 1970.
43rd Beta Zeta, Saint Louis University, St. Louis, MO, March 26-27, 1971.
44th Gamma Kappa, Heidelberg College, Tiffin, OH, March 10-11, 1972.
45th Alpha Phi, Millsaps College, Jackson, MS, April 6-7, 1973.
46th Gamma Theta, Georgetown College, Georgetown, KY, March 29-30, 1974.

47th Eta, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, April 18-19, 1975.
48th Psi, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, March 18-20, 1976.
49th Delta Zeta, Colgate University, Hamilton, NY, April 14-16, 1977.
50th Gamma Alpha, Indiana State University, Terre Haute, IN, April 6-8, 1978.
51st Beta Zeta, Saint Louis University, St. Louis, MO, April 5-7, 1979.
52nd Eta, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, April 10-12, 1980.
53rd Beta Kappa, College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore, MD, March 26-28, 1981.
54th Alpha Pi, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA, March 11-13, 1982.
55th Gamma Omicron, Monmouth College, Monmouth, IL, April 14-16, 1983.
56th Gamma Sigma, University of Texas, Austin, TX, March 22-24, 1984.
57th Delta Chi, St. Olaf College, Northfield, MN, April 18-20, 1985.
58th Beta Gamma, University of Richmond, Richmond, VA, April 4-6, 1986.
59th Gamma Alpha, Indiana State University, Terre Haute, IN, April 3-5, 1987.
60th Beta Kappa, College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore, MD, March 25-27, 1988.
61st Epsilon Omicron, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA, April 14-16, 1989.
62nd Epsilon Rho, College of Charleston, Charleston, SC, March 30- April 1, 1990.
63rd Eta, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, March 22-24, 1991.
64th Gamma Omicron, Monmouth College, Monmouth, IL, March 27-29, 1992.

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