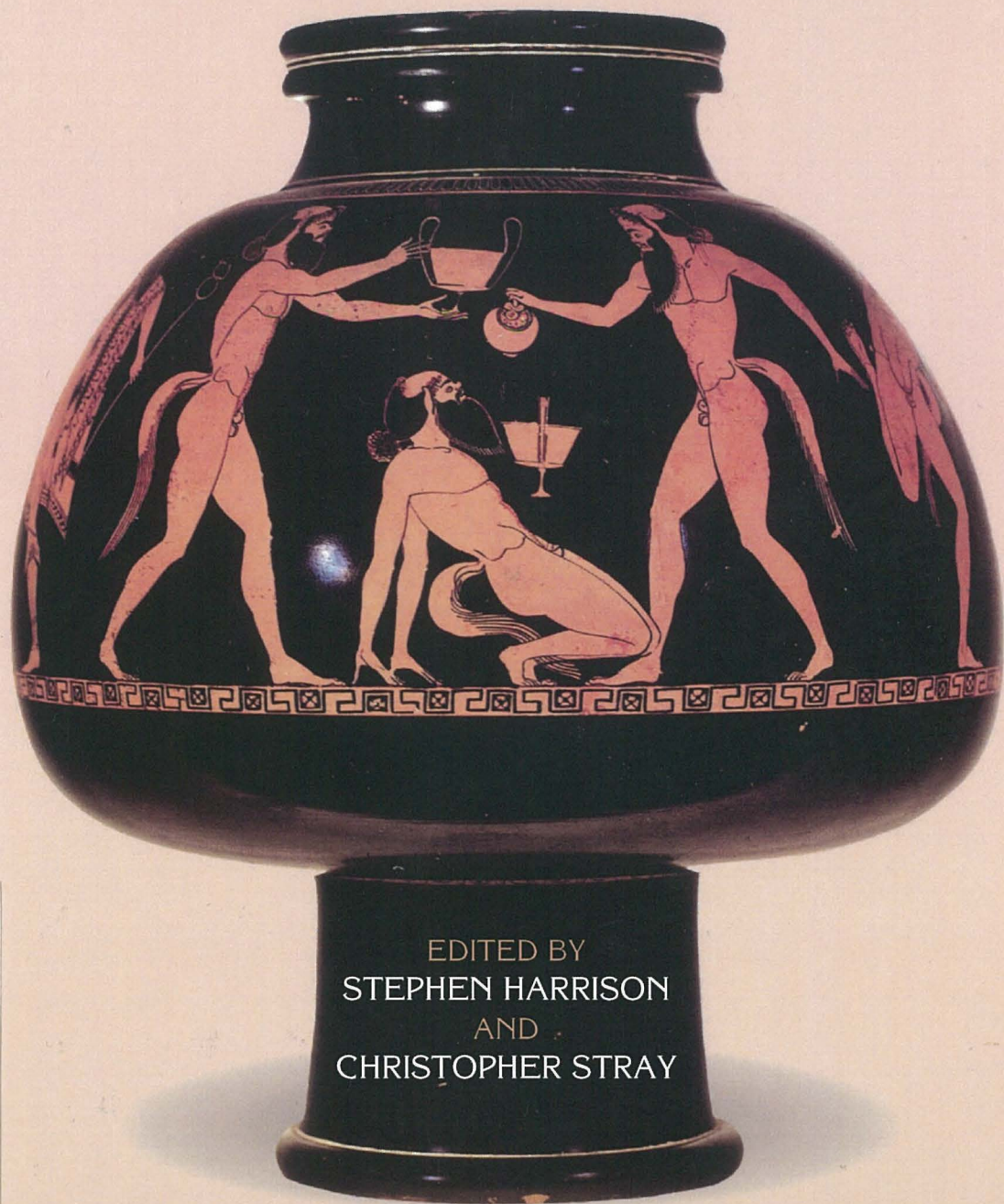


EXPURGATING THE CLASSICS

Editing Out in Greek and Latin



EDITED BY
STEPHEN HARRISON
AND
CHRISTOPHER STRAY

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In the first collection to be devoted to this subject, a distinguished cast of contributors explores expurgation in both Greek and Latin authors in ancient and modern times. The major focus is on the period from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, with chapters ranging from early Greek lyric and Aristophanes through Lucretius, Horace, Martial and Catullus to the expurgation of schoolboy texts, the Loeb Classical Library and the Penguin Classics. The contributors draw on evidence from the papers of editors, and on material in publishing archives. The introduction discusses the different types of expurgation, and how it differs from related phenomena such as censorship.

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Jacket illustrations: Front: Attic red-figure *psykter* by the vase-painter Douris, 500-470 BC, decorated with a scene of revelling satyrs. British Museum Vase E76. This image is based on an expurgated negative in which the phallus of the central satyr was painted out.

Back: the same scene, unexpurgated.



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Introduction

Stephen Harrison and Christopher Stray

In this introduction our aim is a modest one: to raise a few general questions about our subject, and to identify some specific topics which occur and recur in the papers to follow. Expurgation as defined here is the deliberate removal (purging) of offensive matter from texts; it thus has to do with absences and presences. Absences and presences constitute a fundamental feature of the transmission of classical texts. Some absence is fortuitous – manuscripts are lost or destroyed, in whole or in part. Some aspects of the original texts are ‘lost in translation’. More generally, some things (most indeed) are changed in transmission. What we now know as ‘Classics’, in fact, is the product of a whole series of inclusions and exclusions. As Bowie points out in his chapter, Greek lyric, elegy and iambus was subject to filtering and selection in the ancient world, so that until the emergence of papyrological evidence it did not constitute a problem in the sense that Greek comedy did.

Another key historical point in the development of expurgation is the advent of Christianity in the later Roman Empire. From this point Christian attitudes began to exercise considerable influence on the censorship and expurgation of classical texts: this becomes clearly visible in Byzantium, where we find our first explicit evidence for expurgation (Wilson 1983, 8-18). Initially, expurgation was largely on religious grounds, and even authors of evident obscenity such as Aristophanes were not subject to excision for that reason, though it is clear in the work of Byzantine critics such as the ninth-century patriarch Photius, writing in his *Bibliotheca* (Library), a set of reading notes on ancient Greek books, that obscenity was an object of considerable anxiety, and in the thirteenth century the monk Maximus Planudes edited out some erotic items in his version of the Greek Anthology, while the Greek version of Ovid’s erotic poems attributed to Planudes has a series of petty bowdlerisations (which may not be from Planudes’ own hand but derive from his circle).

In the West, the rediscovery of a full range of Greek and Roman texts in the Renaissance brought the issue especially to the fore, and the inclusion of much pagan literature in the Papal Index of prohibited books (see below) is clearly a response both to obscenity and to the ‘untruth’ of pagan theology. That the latter continued to matter is plainly shown in the approach to Lucretius, considered by David Butterfield, whose perceived atheism and scientific materialism evidently aligned him with later critics of religion.

The rise of both secular education and bourgeois gentility in the post-Renaissance period provides a further reason for expurgation of classical texts; here the major

target is obscenity, whether in school editions, to 'protect' (usually) male youth, or in translations, where a female readership was clearly in prospect. Such attitudes lasted into living memory, as Stephen Harrison's chapter on Horace shows, though the Victorian and Edwardian eras were periods of particular anxiety on this front (see further below on school editions from this period), as is especially well shown by Ian Ruffell's chapter on Aristophanes and by Gideon Nisbet's on the Greek Anthology. Here the late Sir Kenneth Dover deserves particular acknowledgement: his classic paper on Archilochus (like his work on Greek homosexuality) opened the way to franker and more modern approaches to obscenity in the post-1960 era, as Ruffell notes.

The boundaries between absences and presences can be seen in the organisation of scholarly work on the ancient world. For some people, Classics and Ancient History (as in the titles of some university departments) are different things, the one embodying eternal ideals, the other being essentially temporal. Some have avoided the relations of the Greek world with its eastern neighbours; others impose chronological limits which remove pre-classical Greece and Byzantium from view. In this book we are concerned with the expurgation of classical texts, and so are dealing with a more specific and more detailed topic; but it is worth bearing in mind both the larger picture of absences and presences created by transmission and reception, and the visions and assumptions discussed in this volume which drive the deliberate excision of words and passages from texts.

One way to focus on the nature of expurgation is to compare selective textual excision with total prohibition. The *Index librorum prohibitorum* was first issued by Pope Paul IV in 1559, reached a twentieth edition in 1948, and was formally abolished by John XXIII in 1966. The Index prompted fear and loathing, and also ridicule, but making it was a relatively simple exercise. Not so the *Index expurgatorius* which appeared in 1607, the work of Guanzelli da Brisighella (Lea 1890, 78). The task of specifying all prohibited passages in books was an enormous one, and the Index was incomplete, despite its 600 double-columned pages, covering only 52 authors. It was reprinted in 1609 but quietly suppressed two years later, to be reissued in 1723 by Protestants (not of course for its original purpose). As many later bowdlerisers found, excising passages in a text often provoked notice and comment. A missing book might not be noticed, especially if it not been known before. A missing passage was easier to spot, especially if its absence spoiled the flow of a text. An example of interrupted flow was spotted by Daniel Kiss when he was teaching the General Authors section of Honours Moderations in Oxford in 2002. The prescribed text was W.C. Summers' *Select Letters of Seneca*, and Kiss found that it had been bowdlerised. A comparison of Summers' text with the Oxford Classical Text showed that he had deleted a number of phrases that were sexually explicit or implicit, or scatological. In Epistle 77.14, about a Spartan boy who had been captured and enslaved, and committed suicide rather than face this humiliation, Summers had deleted the words 'adferre enim uas obscenum iuebatur', which made the crucial point that it was not servitude in general that the boy objected to, but being made to carry around his new masters' chamber-pots.¹

Summers' edition was published by Macmillan in 1910, and thus belongs to the later stages of the great outpouring of school and university editions in the late

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nineteenth century whose editors and publishers felt obliged to balance scholarship with propriety. By the 1870s, existing series from Longmans, Rivington, Bell and Parker had been joined by OUP's Clarendon Press Series (1865-), CUP's Pitt Press Series (1875-) and Macmillan's Elementary Classics (1879-). Here the intended readership is crucial; in this period it is common to find expurgation assumed as necessary in smaller editions, but not in larger ones – as for example in Wickham's Horace.² The occasional glimpse can be gained of readers' concerns and publishers' responses. In 1886, the edition of Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* prescribed for the Cambridge Local examinations was criticised in 1886 by 'A University woman and a teacher'. The original text, she argued,

contains several passages unsuitable *virginibus puerisque* ... Merivale, somewhat apologetically, omits a word here and there, leaving a hardly more desirable lacuna; but why, as his edition is avowedly 'for use in schools', did he not omit *en bloc* c.13-15? ... the object of the Cambridge Local Examinations is the encouraging in middle class schools of accurate scholarship, hardly that of historical research into the corrupt lives of ancient Romans.³

A decade later, we catch a glimpse of a publisher's response in the minutes of the Classical Sub-syndicate of Cambridge University Press. On 22 October 1896 it '[a]greed to withdraw Auden's edition of *Pseudolus* and Gray's of *Asinaria* from the Pitt Press series, and to alter the preface of the latter by omitting allusion to its use in schools'. Clearly complaints had been received, of the kind voiced earlier about the *Bellum Catilinae*.⁴ An interesting case which links the dual concerns with what Richard Jebb called 'the integrity and the purity of the text' (see below) is that of the texts of Martial published by OUP in the 1900s. W.M. Lindsay was contracted to produce both an OCT and a volume of selected epigrams. He refused to fulfil the latter task, and it was given to two Charterhouse schoolmasters, R.T. Bridge and E.D.C. Lake, whose selection was later reprinted in two volumes (1906-8), with notes which were also published separately. The selection, *Martialis Epigrammata Selecta*, looks at first glance like an OCT, except that it is bound in green rather than in brown. This history is for OUP unique to Martial, whose epigrams were acknowledged as exemplary in form but obscene in content; their brevity however made them useful teaching material.

The best-known literary reference to expurgation in school editions (also discussed in James Morwood's chapter) is to Byron's Don Juan, whose 'Classic studies made a little puzzle/ Because of filthy loves of gods and goddesses ...' (*Don Juan*, I.41-5):

And then what proper person can be partial
To all those nauseous epigrams of Martial?

Juan was taught from out the best edition,
Expurgated by learned men, who place,
Judiciously, from out the schoolboy's vision,
The grosser parts; but fearful to deface
Too much their modest bard by this omission,
And pitying sore his mutilated case,
They only add them all in an appendix,
Which saves, in fact, the trouble of an index;

For there we have them all at one fell swoop,
Instead of being scatter'd through the pages;
They stand forth marshall'd in a handsome troop,
To meet the ingenuous youth of future ages,
Till some less rigid editor shall stoop
To call them back into their separate cages,
Instead of standing staring altogether,
Like garden gods – and not so decent either.

The reference is to Vincent Colleson's Delphin edition of Martial of 1680, produced as part of a series intended for the education of the Dauphin of France, son of Louis XIV. In the introduction to his appendix, Colleson wrote:

You will find all of those epigrams which were lacking in their proper places, the number alone being written. They are full of such great moments of turpitude that they would seem despicable not only to the August Prince, to whom my work is dedicated, but to any modest reader also. Nevertheless, in order that Martial be complete in all his parts, and that nothing be desired by certain peevish men, the obscene epigrams are separately edited, with notes from the most part from other sources, so that they can be rejected or taken up according to the reader's will.⁵

The issue of multiple readerships was neatly summed up by Richard Jebb in the preface to his edition of Theophrastus' *Characters* in 1870, a book aimed both at scholars and at the general reader. Defending his decision to omit some passages, he acknowledged that he was 'risking the censure of that large majority who prefer the *integrity* to the *purity* of a text'. Both his and Colleson's comments remind us of the location of expurgation within a commercial nexus of commissioning, publication and orientation to a variety of markets. In pursuing this theme, we also need to take into account the materiality of the book: something which is not just the carrier of a text, but also an object to be considered in its own right. There is, for example, a practical aspect to the relegation of sections of text to the end of the book: they can more easily be razed out. This practice was not uncommon in Byron's time, and copies of schoolbooks survive in which the Latin translation following a Greek text has been removed. Some of the irritation felt by schoolmasters at Jebb's Sophocles in the 1880s was surely that a facing translation was impossible to excise in this way: cutting it out would have removed the Greek on the reverse of the page.

In the case of the Delphin Martial, whole epigrams were removed to the end of the book (are there books in which individual lines or phrases are so treated?). As in other cases, the nature of the original text affects the nature of its expurgation. Most obviously, the Seneca epistle referred to above might be read without noticing an omission, while a deletion in a poetic text could usually be spotted via the interruption of line numbering. Where this happened, it was all too easy to spot the interruption in the sequence of line numbers and to rise to the challenge of finding what had been cut out. An insight into the practicalities of line numbering is given by an advertisement for the anonymous school edition of Catullus, Juvenal and Persius published by Longmans in 1839, 'in usum scholae Harroviensis': 'Although the text is expurgated, the established number of the lines is retained, in order to facilitate the reference to the notes in other editions.'⁶

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It is one thing to remove a few short epigrams from an edition of Martial; much more difficult to exclude 32 poems (about a quarter of the total corpus) from a book called *The Poems of Catullus*, as C.J. Fordyce did in his 1961 edition, discussed by Gail Trimble in her chapter. D.F.S. Thomson, in his review of the book in *Phoenix*, amid a considerable amount of negative comment, remarked approvingly that 'No poem is mutilated, and there are no gaps in the pages of the text': as if one might include blank pages for omitted poems. Michael Putnam in his review in *AJP* pointed out that obscenities and double entendres in included poems were also ignored. Mynors' OCT text was used, but only for included poems, and despite Fordyce's reference to its being 'reprinted', this was not the case. The current OUP web page for the book accentuates the positive, calling it an edition of '80 poems of Catullus'. One is reminded of the handful of late nineteenth-century books bearing the title, *Thirteen Satires of Juvenal*. Is it more difficult to exclude three satires from an edition of Juvenal, as many have done, than to cut 32 poems from an edition of Catullus? It depends on their size, content and structure, but as the comparison shows, also on the presence or absence of a tradition of expurgation. The only book called *Sixteen Satires of Juvenal* published between 1647 and 1967 is a translation brought out in Oxford by the local booksellers and publishers Thornton in 1885, clearly a crib for undergraduates. A translation of fifteen satires came out in 2003, self-published in St Alban's. The only *Fourteen Satires* to have been published is J.D. Duff's Pitt Press edition of 1898, which also omitted passages in the included satires.

Most of the evidence cited above comes from the nineteenth century, famous for Victorian prudery and for Dr Bowdler (though also, as Nisbet points out, for John Addington Symonds). Analysis of a longer time span would surely reveal different kinds of expurgation. Consider the case of Charles Hoole, a seventeenth-century royalist who after being ejected from his position during the Interregnum was obliged to teach and publish to keep alive. Hoole is best known for his remarkable book *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Keeping School* (1660). In the previous year he had brought out *Pueriles Confabulatiunculae* (*Childrens Talke, English and Latine*), a set of Latin dialogues for children, with facing English translations. Here are two samples, from pp. 87-8:

Hang the school and the Master too. A pox on all the brewers. Drink lustily.

Ubi pedunt vulpes? ... Where do foxes fart? A little above their hams.⁷

Canis mixturus, cur pedem levat alterum? Ne permingat caligas.

Why doth a dog being to piss, hold up one leg? lest he should be piss his stockings.

These dialogues were attacked the following year by George Fox and his co-authors in *A Battle-door for Teachers and Professors*, a book which ends with a 28-page appendix of examples of 'bad and unsavoury words' from contemporary schoolbooks.⁸ One is reminded of Byron again:

They only add them all in an appendix,
Which saves, in fact, the trouble of an index;

In this case the attack is largely motivated by a concern to have people use the Quaker 'Thou' for the second person singular; this is a striking and unusual book, but even more striking is the boldness of Hoole's original text – the opposite of expurgation.

Situating expurgation in the context of publishing reminds us that the question of genre needs to be applied not only to texts, but also to the books in which they appear. Most of the examples discussed above come from texts and editions, but expurgation can also be found in less likely places. A school Latin-English dictionary published in Philadelphia in 1858 has a preface organised as a catechism. In it the editors ask, 'What may be excluded from a school-lexicon?' Their answer:

Latin authors who are never read in schools ... writers who come after the Silver age; especially the Latin of the Church fathers, and that of the Middle Ages ... writers upon technical subjects; and for moral reasons, much of the vocabulary of such writers as Martial and Petronius Arbiter ... By omitting the classes of writers above named, the lexicon is made a standard of pure Latinity. (Crooks and Schem 1858)

Here a common principle of stylistic exclusion (as with *OLD*, which stops at c. AD 200) is combined with a very different and (for dictionaries) much less common moralising principle.

The contributors to this volume discuss a wide range of techniques of expurgation, and of practices which are related to expurgation. Lawton, whose subject is a bilingual series, identifies several techniques: obfuscation (euphemisation or deliberate mis-translation); excision (outplacement of original text from its proper order, either printing it without a translation or not printing it at all); non-translation (similar to excision, but retaining the standard order of the text, while omitting a version in any language other than the original); retranslation (the printing of an in-line translation that is not in English). In the case of a bilingual series, we are dealing with a more complicated subject than a plain Latin or Greek text. The issue is simplified to a degree by the Loeb commitment to presenting a complete original text. This leads to noticeable lacunae when sections are untranslated, as Lawton shows. Crowe's discussion of Penguin translations similarly identifies a range of techniques, from outright omission to a variety of fudges and dilutions, but in this case the reader cannot judge them without a running comparison with an external text. Running through some chapters is the theme of 'concealment of concealment', identified and discussed by Deborah Roberts in her Afterword.⁹

Commentaries, on the other hand, offer a more varied and multiple subject, especially when they include translations. In essence, a full commentary like Fraenkel's *Agamemnon* or Jebb's *Sophocles* has three elements, all of them potentially usable for expurgation or related practices: text, translation, commentary. Fordyce's *Catullus* lacks the translation element, but is still a sufficiently complicated case, as Gail Trimble shows in her chapter. *Catullus* resembles *Martial* to some extent, in offering a corpus of short pieces in which the removal of whole poems is a practical possibility in a way that the excision of large sections of a book of the *Aeneid* would not be. We hope the essays gathered here will provoke further exploration of expurgation, whose ramifications deserve more attention than they have so far received.

Introduction

Notes

1. 77 [14] *Exempla nunc magnorum virorum me tibi iudicas relaturum? Puerorum referam. Lacon ille memoriae traditur inpubis adhuc, qui captus clamabat 'non serviam' sua illa Dorica lingua, et verbis fidem inposuit; ut primum iussus est servili fungi et contumelioso ministerio, adferre enim vas obscenum iuebatur, inlissum parieti caput rupit.*

2. Wickham's text with commentary appeared in two volumes in 1874 and 1891; *Selected Odes, With Notes for Use by a Fifth Form* in 1886; Odes I, with notes for use in forms below the sixth in 1892. They were followed in 1901 by his OCT, and two years later by *Horace for English Readers*, a prose translation. Wickham thus occupied the whole Horatian ground.

3. 'The Local Examinations', *Cambridge Review* 8 (10 November 1886), 69. CUP were widely criticised for colluding with the Local Examinations Syndicate in prescribing their own editions (Stray 2013), but at this point had no edition of Sallust; it was published in 1900, edited by W.C. Summers, whose edition of Seneca we have already mentioned.

4. CUP Archives, Cambridge University Library, Pr V 25: Classical Sub-syndicate minutes, 1894-1916.

5. Translation kindly provided by David Butterfield.

6. *Catullus, Tibullus, Persius, Expurgati. In usum scholae Harroviensis*. London, Longman, 1839. Bishops' Wordsworth's Library, Lancaster University Library, C2/25. The Longmans archive (Reading University Library) has no information on the identity of the editor, who may have been Christopher Wordsworth, the then headmaster.

7. Here alone the Latin of the answer is not given.

8. Fox, Stubbs and Furley 1660. The appendix is signed by Stubbs.

9. This is thus the polar opposite of the 'concealment on display' shown by veiling on the ancient stage (Cairns 2011, 16).

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Unnatural selection: expurgation of Greek melic, elegiac and iambic poetry

Ewen Bowie

Introduction

Much archaic and classical Greek melic, elegiac and iambic poetry was initially composed for male audiences, and chiefly for male singers or reciters, to be performed in symposia. To judge from vase paintings and from the erotic ballet at the end of Xenophon's dialogue *Symposium*, the sympotic atmosphere could be highly sexualised, no holds barred (as it were), and some surviving poetry shows that sexual relations could be the subject of more or less explicit talk, song and propositions. The poetry that has come down to us has rather less of such material than one might expect from the vase painting, and I suspect that one reason is the filtering out of raunchier elements at various stages in transmission. This paper will indeed eventually reach twentieth-century expurgation or other modes of cleansing Greek melic, elegiac and iambic poetry, but it will begin with some *sondages* in these stages in transmission because they put the lyric corpus in a quite different category from, say, Attic Old Comedy. By a miracle which has little to do with the grace of the God of the Orthodox Church, eleven comedies of Aristophanes survived in continuous transmission through late antiquity and Byzantium – so far as I know without significant expurgation along the way. Consequently prudish moderns have had difficulties in addressing their rich vein of humorous but politically and theatrically well-calculated obscenity. Greek lyric, elegiac and iambic poetry, on the other hand, arrived to some extent pre-washed, and its prize exhibits had already passed certain tests of readerly acceptability. This made life much easier for sensitive modern anthologists. But life was not so easy for editors setting out to offer complete editions of fragments, because much obscene language embedded in short excerpts had passed down in the works of content-blind grammarians, lexicographers or metricians. On the whole, however, the modern scholar here proved as able to rise to the occasion as the ancient, and I have not encountered *systematic* expurgation in such editions.

The archaic and classical period

Let me return briefly, then, to the beginning. Countless melic and elegiac songs and countless iambic poems must have been composed and performed in the archaic and classical Greek world, then to survive only for months, days or even hours. From around the middle of the seventh century BC some were both written down and then somehow preserved until the much more bookish fourth century by a process of textual transmission to which an oral transmission sometimes ran in parallel. I do not think that we have reason to believe that at this moment of preservation by writing a moral filter operated – but of course we just do not know, and there seem to be clear indications of the operation of social and political filters.¹ Certainly a great deal was written down that would later attract censure or censorship: by Archilochus, Mimnermus, Sappho, Solon and Hipponax.

The first intimations of perceived immorality may have been manifested towards the end of the fifth century when a collection of morally and politically ‘sound’ elegiac poetry, interlaced with a number of lighter metasymphotic pieces about wine, song and the symposium, was put together by the sophist and poet Euenus of Paros, perhaps in the first instance to equip his private pupils the ephebic sons of Callias for singing in symposia (see Bowie 2012). So far as we can tell from the major and central part of the *Theognidea* (lines 255 to c. 1002) which drew on that collection, it seems to have had little explicit erotic material – some exceptions are lines 257-60, 263-6, 993-1002 (of which 993-6 was indeed noted as erotic by Athenaeus 310a-b) and 1017-19. Admittedly the elegiac songs of one of the poets best represented in this collection, Theognis of Megara, were addressed regularly to a male figure Cyrnus (who exists for us only in the vocative Κύρνε), a youth whose status as the ἐρώμενος of the singer can be argued often to be implicit in the advisory stance of the *persona cantans*. But only one couplet of one poem (lines 253-4, concluding the long poem of lines 237-54) refers to that relationship more or less explicitly:

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὀλίγης παρὰ σεῦ οὐ τυγχάνω αἰδοῦς,
ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ μικρὸν παῖδα λόγοις μ’ἀπαταίς.

Yet I get not even a little respect from you,
but you deceive me with your words as if I were a small boy.

It is possible that the immediate recipients of Euenus’ elegiac collection, the teenage sons of Callias, may have caused him to exclude or to limit poems of overt sexual content, though it should be borne in mind that elegy does not seem to have been used for narrative of sexual adventures, even if the new Simonides papyrus (fr. 22 W²) shows that it could be used for narrative of sexual fantasies.

At the same time, however, I suspect, though it is beyond proof, that Euenus also put together another shorter collection of elegy – around 160 lines – whose erotic stance is revealed both by its content and by the address of many pieces ὦ παῖ, a collection that even has an opening poem addressing Ἔρως (*Eros*) (see again Bowie 2012):

1. *Unnatural selection: expurgation of Greek melic, elegiac and iambic poetry*

Σχέτλι*Ερως, μανίαι σε τιθνήσαντο λαβούσαι·
ἐκ σέθεν ὤλετο μὲν Ἴλιου ἀκρόπολις,
ὤλετο δ' Αἰγείδης Θησεὺς μέγας, ὤλετο δ' Αἶας
ἐσθλὸς Οἰλιάδης σῆσιν ἀτασθαλίαις.

Theognidea 1231-4

Uncompromising Desire, it was the Madresses who took you and fostered you!
Because of you was the acropolis of Ilion destroyed,
mighty Theseus, son of Aegeus, was destroyed, and destroyed too was Ajax,
the noble son of Oileus, through his own acts of outrage.

In the context of this paper what is interesting is that whereas the main collection of the *Theognidea*, drawing partly on that of Euenus for the sons of Callias, was frequently quoted in antiquity and was indeed drawn upon extensively by John of Stobi, usually called Stobaeus, for *his* anthology in the fifth century AD, not a single line of this shorter, pederastic collection was cited by any ancient author. One possible exception might be the couplet 1253-4, cited by Plato *Lysis* 212e without naming its author, but Plato probably took the view of the commentator Hermias on Plato, *Phaedrus* 231e that this couplet was by Solon:

ὀλβιος ὦι παῖδες τε φίλοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι
θηρευταὶ τε κύνες καὶ ξένοι ἀλλοδαποί

Theognidea 1253-4 = Solon fr. 23 W

Blessed is the man who has dear boys, and single-hooved horses,
and hunting dogs, and guest-friends from foreign parts.

This much smaller collection is preserved for us only in a Paris manuscript of the early tenth century, where it follows the main Theognidean collection, 'Book One'. It may be identical with the 'Ερωτικά (*Erotics*) attributed to Euenus by Artemidorus *Oneirocritica* (1.4 p14.2-5 Pack).

I should make it clear that this view of Theognis 'Book Two' is not the *communis opinio*. The hypothesis that is most often presented is that a Byzantine anthologist or scribe extracted these 160 lines of pederastic verse from a text of the *Theognidea* in which they had been transmitted interspersed among its non-pederastic poetry. This would be a palmary case of expurgation if such a hypothesis were correct, but there are some very powerful objections which seem to me to make it quite untenable. But this is a problem I have recently discussed elsewhere and do not wish to revisit here (see Bowie 2012).

What remains interesting for my overall investigation – if my view is correct – is how the inclinations and agendas of ancient authors on whom we rely for citations have shaped the range of these citations: the predominantly morally uplifting collection of *Theognidea* 'Book One', descended from the predominantly morally uplifting collection of Euenus, is much cited; the morally questionable poetry of 'Book Two' is not cited at all. It might be reasonable to call this a process of 'natural selection'.

Plutarch

I now turn to one such selective quoter, Plutarch. Plutarch's citations of archaic and classical Greek melic, elegiac and iambic poetry show how *his* agenda guides and sometimes limits his range of citation. As his *How to study poetry* shows, he was just as aware of the corrupting capacity of poetry as his master Plato, and he has elaborate strategies for mitigating that corrupting capacity in the face of canonical texts like those of Homer and Euripides which were unavoidable in the educational curriculum.² So it is not surprising that Plutarch's citations of the iambographers are anodyne: he does quote Hipponax and Semonides, perhaps at second hand, but none of their riskier bits, nor such bits of Archilochus.³

On the other hand the discussion of heterosexual and homosexual desire in his Ἐρωτικός (*On desire*) does indeed lead Plutarch to quote amatory poetry of both Sappho and Solon. At 751b his character Daphnaeus quotes Solon fr. 25 W, describing the ἀνὴρ ἐρωτικός (the man susceptible to desire) – a couplet whose pentameter was clearly notorious, since it is also cited by Apuleius (*Apology* 9) and Athenaeus (602E):

ἔσθ' ἥβης ἐρατοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀνθεσι παιδοφιλήσῃ,
μηρῶν μείρων καὶ γλυκεροῦ στόματος.

So long as he enjoys the love of boys, in the desirable bloom of their youth,
longing for thighs and sweet mouth.

Then shortly after, at 751e, he cites fr. 26 W:

ἔργα δὲ Κυπρογενοῦς νῦν μοι φίλα καὶ Διονύσου
καὶ Μουσέων, ἃ τίθησ' ἀνδράσιν εὐφροσύνας.

The acts of Aphrodite are now dear to me, and those of Dionysus
and of the Muses, which give men entertainment.

Daphnaeus explains that when he composed fr. 25 W Solon was 'young and full of seed'; but when he composed fr. 26 W he was old and had calmed down. In the same sequence, at Ἐρωτικός 751e, Daphnaeus quotes the second line of Sappho fr. 49 Campbell in a discussion of sexual χάρις ('charm' or 'appeal'), σμίκρα μοι πάις ἔμμεν' ἐφαίνεο κάχαρις ('You seemed to me to be a little girl and without appeal').

This sequence shows that Plutarch is quite ready to draw on explicitly sexual poetry when it serves his argument. It may be significant that fr. 25 W is cited only here in Plutarch's extant work, whereas the less torrid fr. 26 W is also used for biographical detail in his *Life of Solon* 31.7 and for period colour in *Banquet of the Seven Sages* 155e.

It is also clear that Sappho fr. 31 Campbell made a powerful impression on Plutarch, as it did on Longinus, our main source for its text. It is quoted twice, quite differently, in *Moralia*. In the Ἐρωτικός (*On desire*) 763e the narrative of Autobulus has his father – that is the writer Plutarch himself, at an earlier period of his life – persuade Daphnaeus to recite lines from this poem of 'beautiful Sappho', and then himself comment on the power of desire that they attest. In *How to detect one's ethical*

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progress 81e the same passage is drawn somewhat gratuitously into a comparison between erotic arousal and the excitement generated by a sense of philosophical progress:

‘νέας’ μὲν γὰρ γυναικός, ὡς Αἰσχύλος φησὶν, (in *Toxotides*, fr. 423 Radt)
‘οὐ τι λανθάνει φλέγων
ὀφθαλμός, ἥτις ἀνδρὸς ἦι γεγευμένη’
νέωι δ’ ἀνδρὶ γευσάμενῳ προκοπῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ τὰ Σαπφικά ταυτὶ παρέπεται
κάμ μὲν γλώσσα ἔαγε, λέπτον δ’
αὐτικά χρώι πῦρ ὑποδεδρόμακεν,
ἀθόρῳβον δ’ ὄψει καὶ πρᾶϊον ὄμμα, φθεγγομένου δ’ ἂν ἀκοῦσαι ποθήσειας.

For in the case ‘of a young woman’ as Aeschylus says,
‘who has tasted a man,
it does not go unnoticed when her eye is bright’,
and in the case of a young man who has tasted true progress in philosophy these Sapphic
symptoms attend him:
his tongue breaks, and a delicate
fire at once courses beneath his skin,
but you will see his eye undisturbed and calm, and you would wish to hear him uttering.

The passage is also paraphrased, again with a mention of Sappho’s name (τὰ τῆς Σαπφούς, ‘the symptoms of Sappho’) in the *Life of Demetrius* 38.4 when Plutarch lists the symptoms of sexual desire manifested by Antiochus in the presence of his step-mother Stratonice.⁴ Again Plutarch takes the bull by the horns, perhaps feeling that in the contexts of the *On desire* and the *Life of Demetrius* this by now canonical poem offered him the high-culture décor that he sought, but it is interesting how his treatment in *How to detect one’s ethical progress* 81d sidelines the erotic subject matter.

I cite one final illustration from Plutarch before I move to John of Stobi. Plutarch cites Mimnermus only once, and he does so with a pronounced negative spin. In *On moral virtue* 445f (a work whose Plutarchan authorship has been questioned), reviewing the characteristics of the ἀκόλαστος (the man who cannot control his desires), Plutarch cites the first couplet of Mimnermus fr.1 W with the judgement ‘ἀκολάστων μὲν γὰρ αἶδε φωναί’ (‘for these are the utterances of men who cannot control their desires’):

τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης;
τεθναίνῃ, ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι ...

What is life, and what is pleasurable without golden Aphrodite?
May I die when I no longer have any interest in these things ...

Plutarch spares his reader the more explicit third and following lines, κρυπταδὴ φιλότης καὶ μείλιχα δῶρα καὶ εὐνὴ ... (‘Secret love-making, and emollient gifts, and bed ...’), though he surely had access to them, just as almost 400 years later John of Stobi, Stobaeus, was able to offer ten full lines from this poem.

Stobaeus

I turn now to John of Stobi himself.⁵ First, a reminder of some basic points about Stobaeus' date and procedures. This Christian writer from Macedonian Stobi, operating early in the fifth century AD, purports to be compiling what Campbell suggestively called an 'aide-memoire' for his son, not good at recalling what he had read,⁶ and arranges the material under 208 headings. These headings were presumably intended to help a reader to find his way around the work as a whole and to locate extracts relevant to particular topics. Stobaeus' readiness to reproduce very long pieces of prose shows that he was not put off by sheer length, though in most cases his excerpts from early poetry are quite short. Longish pieces from early poetry that are exceptions to this generalisation are Semonides fr. 7 W (118 lines), Solon fr. 13 W (76 lines) and Tyrtaeus fr. 11 W (38 lines). Stobaeus' standard mode of presentation is to identify his extracts by their author and, in some genres, by their work.

I shall test Stobaeus' principles of selection against his choices from Mimnermus, Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax and Sappho, and I shall briefly note his treatment of the *Theognidea*.

First Mimnermus. We are hugely in debt to Stobaeus for his anthologising of Mimnermus. He has preserved thirty-six and a half elegiac lines, spread over seven fragments; one of these is of sixteen lines, while three are attributed specifically to one of the two books in which Mimnermus' poetry circulated in the Hellenistic world, the *Nanno*. Stobaeus' citations privilege poetry suitable to his headings *περί τοῦ βίου ὅτι βραχύς* ('On the shortness of life', 4.34) and *περί γήρως* ('On old age', 4.50), and the second part of fr. 1 W could have been included in this latter section too. Of course one might not expect the high moral tone of Stobaeus to admit the opening lines of fr. 1 W at all. But he does – and is our only source for all ten lines that we have – because he has a category *ψόγος Ἀφροδίτης* ('Vituperation of Aphrodite', 4.20). As in Plutarch's essay *On Moral Virtue*, it is fine to cite the devil so long as you condemn him at the same time, though Stobaeus was surely wrong if he really thought that in fr. 1 W Mimnermus was condemning Aphrodite.

In another of his citations of Mimnermus Stobaeus is more expurgative. In *περί γήρως* 4.50.69 he cites five lines, beginning with a pentameter, a clear sign that he has been cutting. Very fortunately these five lines overlap with a piece in the *Theognidea*, 1017-22, which supply the missing three lines that precede Stobaeus' piece. They – and indeed all eight lines – *could* have been cited under *ψόγος Ἀφροδίτης* ('Vituperation of Aphrodite', 4.20) but Stobaeus has adopted the alternative strategy of simply excising the offending portion. The compiler of the songbook from which the *Theognidea* drew (as I have argued, perhaps Euenus of Paros) saw more sympotic opportunity in the opening lines than in lines 7-8 with their elaboration of the *topos* of old age, so it was these lines 7-8 that he chose to cut. The combined eight-line sequence runs as follows:

αὐτίκα μοι κατὰ μὲν χροίην ῥέει ἄσπετος ἰδρώς,
 πτοιῶμαι δ' ἔσθρων ἄνθος ὀμηλικίης
 τερπνὸν ὁμῶς καὶ καλόν· ἐπὶ πλεόν ὤφελεν εἶναι.

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ἀλλ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον γίνεται ὥσπερ ὄναρ
ἤβη τιμήσσεα· τὸ δ' ἀργαλέον καὶ ἄμορφον
γῆρας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτίχ' ὑπερκρέμαται,
ἐχθρόν ὁμῶς καὶ ἄτιμον, ὃ τ' ἄγνωστον τιθεῖ ἄνδρα,
βλάπτει δ' ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ νόον ἀμφιχυθέν.

1-6 *Theognidea* 1017-22; 4-8 Stob. 4.50.69 Μιμνέρμου Ναννοῦς

At once down over my skin there flows limitless sweat
and I get excited when I gaze at the flower of my coevals
pleasurable and beautiful alike: would that it might last for longer!
but short-spanned like a dream
is youth that is so valued: and hard and ugly
old age hangs close over our heads
hostile and unvalued alike, that makes a man unrecognisable,
and damages his eyes and mind when it is poured over him.

As for Archilochus, Stobaeus' heading ψόγος Ἀφροδίτης ('Vituperation of Aphrodite', 4.20) does not of course admit erotic narratives such as fr. 48 W (of which Athenaeus cites two lines and a papyrus has supplied much more, see further below) or the seduction poem on the Cologne papyrus published in 1974, fr. 196A W². But this section does allow in two short fragments about the power of desire. One is fr. 193 W, stressing the pain of πόθος, while another fragment (fr. 194 W), preserved by a grammarian for its word βακχίη, in the same metre as fr. 193 W, and so probably from the same poem, shows that in it an orgy was described. Stobaeus gives us none of that description!

The other short fragment about the power of desire is fr. 191 W, in the same metre as the shorter of the two Cologne epodic pieces, fr. 188 W²: it has therefore made an important contribution to attempts to reconstruct that poem (see Bowie 1987). We can only guess why Stobaeus did not quote the vituperative first lines, addressed to an apparently unnamed former sexual partner, with which the poem has long been known to have opened, οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς θάλλεις ἀπαλὸν χρῶα ('you no longer have the bloom of youth on soft skin'): but he may have been concerned that the word ὄγμος, 'furrow', at the beginning of the second line had an obscene physiological meaning.

Certainly vituperative descriptions of women did not in themselves deter Stobaeus. We owe to him our longest sympotic piece from the archaic period, Semonides fr. 7 W, 118 trimeters comparing different sorts of wives to different animals. Stobaeus seems to have topped and tailed it, but it does not seem that he has excised anything in the middle, though for him some of the very physical descriptions must have been on the cusp.

The third canonical iambographer, Hipponax, is scantily and misleadingly represented in Stobaeus. Three pieces given to him there are judged spurious by modern editors, and we are left with the two choliambic trimeters, also suspect:

δυ' ἡμέραι γυναικός εἰσιν ἡδισταί
ὅταν γαμήῃ τις κάκφερη τεθνήκυιαν.

Hipponax fr. 68 W

Two days in a woman's life are the most pleasant:
when someone marries her, and when he buries her on her death.

Political correctness was not a ground for expurgation in the early fifth century AD.

Stobaeus' handling of Sappho, much of whose poetry was probably still available in the fifth century AD, was similar. He offers two short quotations. One, fr. 55 Campbell, on a rival's exclusion from immortality, had already been cited by Plutarch at *praecepta coniugalia* ('Advice on marriage') 146a, and is tabled under 3.4.12 *περὶ ἀφροσύνης* ('On folly'). The other, cited under 4.22.112 *περὶ γάμου* ('On marriage'), is another of Stobaeus' negative takes on sex:

ἀλλ' ἔων φίλος ἄμμι
λέχος ἄρνυσο νεώτερον·
οὐ γὰρ τλάσοι' ἔγω συνοί-
κην ἔοισα γεραιτέρα

Sappho fr. 121 Campbell

Please, be a friend to us,
but take a younger bedfellow:
for I shall not be able to endure living
with you, older as I am.

Stobaeus quotes much from the *Theognidea* 'Book One', of which he seems to have a version identical or very close to that which is transmitted by our Byzantine manuscripts: needless to say none of the few sexual passages in that collection is quoted.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries: selections with commentary

I now leap some 1500 years to the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and begin with some consideration of selections accompanied by a commentary.

I start with the book of George Stanley Farnell, *Greek Lyric Poetry: A Complete Collection of the Surviving Passages from the Greek Song-writers*, 'arranged with prefatory articles, introductory matter, and commentary'. It was published both in London and New York in 1891 by Longmans and Green.⁷ Farnell had studied *Litterae Humaniores* at Wadham College, Oxford and had gone on to teach at St Paul's School, London. His definition of 'song' to include epodes and tetrameters but not trimeters, together with his decision not to admit half lines or single words, protected him from much sexual material in Archilochus. But he does print fr. 188.1-2 W, lines which were known from Hephaestion before they were augmented by the 1974 Cologne papyrus: he offers no comment on their overall content or on the meaning of ὄγμος ('furrow').

Farnell's collection had a short shelf-life. It was superseded by Herbert Weir Smyth's selection *Greek Melic Poets*, completed at the American School at Athens in November 1899 and published by Macmillan in 1900. Smyth's brief excluded elegy, and therewith the potential nettle of Theognis 'Book Two', and it excluded iambographers, whose seamier quoted fragments might well have given him problems. Although papyri had long since recovered Alcman fr. 1 PMGF and much more recently Bacchylides, Smyth knew nothing of Sappho fr. 94 Campbell, which was published only in 1907. But he made no attempt to expurgate what melic poetry

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was available to him, and was eloquent if not wholly explicit about Sappho's love for the girls he supposed to be her female pupils (Smyth 1900: 228-9).

Macmillan's successor to *Greek Melic Poets* was David Campbell's *Greek Lyric Poetry* (1967), reissued in 1982 by Bristol Classical Press with the addition of the texts of the Cologne Alcaeus and Archilochus and of fragments of Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* from Oxyrhynchus. Campbell did not include any of the more explicitly sexual iambic fragments of Archilochus, e.g. fr. 25 W, or even fr. 48 W, so his selection gives a misleading impression of the content of Archilochean *iamboi*; the addition of the Cologne epode in the 1982 edition allowed a more balanced perspective on the epodes, but not on trimeters. Likewise with Hipponax the misogynistic couplet cited by Stobaeus was chosen (as it had been by Stobaeus) but none of the scenes of orgies (fr. 13-17 W, fr. 84 W) or fertility cures (fr. 92 W). Again a misrepresentative impression was thus given.

In making choices relating to the *Theognidea* Campbell laboured under the grave disability of being a unitarian, i.e. a scholar who believed that all the elegiac lines transmitted under the name 'Theognis' in our medieval manuscripts were indeed the work of a single poet of that name, and that may have contributed to his decision to exclude pieces foregrounding sexual activity like lines 255-6 or 993ff., as it will have done to his decision to print only the lines of Mimnermus fr. 5 W that are preserved by Stobaeus. Here his commentary (p. 228) does note baldly '1-3 occur at Theognis 1020-2' – but since Campbell does not print *Theognidea* 1017-22 the reader cannot easily check how misleading this note is. Not surprisingly Campbell printed none of the 160 lines of 'Book Two', an odd decision even for a unitarian.

My last example of a modern selection of texts with commentary is B. Gentili and C. Catenacci, *Polinnia*, third edition, Firenze 2007. The first edition of this work for students at Liceo and at University was the work of Perotta, published in 1948; a second, done by Perotta and Gentili, was published in 1965. In the 2007 edition Gentili and Catenacci have no problem with Mimnermus fr. 1 W. Like Campbell, they select Solon fr. 23 W, of which they translate the opening phrase ὄλβιος ὦι παῖδες τε φίλοι ... as *felix ille cui sint pueri*, but this Latin is offered for helpful elucidation, not to clothe the sense in decent obscurity. Admittedly they too offer nothing from Theognis 'Book Two', nor from raunchier quoted lines of Archilochus. But this third edition offers a full text and commentary for Archilochus fr. 196A W, headed 'un'avventura amorosa'. In commenting on the much-discussed penultimate line, λευκὴν ὄν ἀφῆκα μένος, they elucidate λευκὴν ὄν μένος ('white strength') as 'bianco vigore, cioè "sperma"', and compare for this phrase λευκὸν μένος in Dioscorides *Anthologia Palatina* 5.55.7 and Ps-Clement *Homilies* 3.27; for the verb they compare Aristotle's *Historia animalium* 489a τὸ σπέρμα ἀφίαισι.

Polinnia also has full text and commentary for Sappho fr. 94 Campbell, with adequate explanation of ἐξίης πόθον ('you used to satisfy your longing') in line 23 following στρώμναι ('bed') in line 21. One may contrast the omission of these lines in Campbell 1967. This is not to say that none of the choices in *Polinnia* can be attributed to avoidance of problematic subjects. It offers nothing at all from the iambist Semonides of Amorgos, and is very thin on Hipponax. Though for Simonidean elegy it understandably offers the opening invocation and narrative of the poem that must have gone on to sing of the battle of Plataea, fr. 11 W², first published in 1992, it does not

include the valuable testimony to elegy's use for erotic fantasy, conjuring up a journey to an island and idyllic moments with a boy Echecratidas in a meadow, fr. 22 W².

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century complete editions

I shall now say a little about one modern edition that set out to present all surviving elegiac and iambic poetry, and so could not resort to excision, i.e. J.M. Edmonds' two-volume Loeb entitled *Elegy and Iambus*, published in 1931. Edmonds had no alternative to printing Mimnermus fr. 1 W, but in line 9, ἀλλ' ἐχθρὸς μὲν παισίν, ἀτίμαστος δὲ γυναιξίν, he translated παισίν as 'children'. In a poem praising sex and deprecating old age the line can hardly mean anything other than 'but he is repugnant to boys, and unhonoured by women'. Edmonds does likewise with Solon fr. 23.1 W (fr. 24.1 Edmonds) ὄλβιος ὧι παῖδές τε φίλοι ... where we have seen *Polinnia* to be exemplary. On the other hand Edmonds does print the lines of Mimnermus fr. 5 W only found in *Theognidea* 1017-19, thus offering a coherent sequence (of which line 1017 seems very likely to be the opening). He also includes the suspect iambic fragment of Mimnermus (fr. 23 Edmonds, not in West) ἀριστα χλωδὸς οἴφει ('a lame man fucks best') but fudges the translation, offering his readers 'lame men make lusty husbands'.

His treatment of Archilochus fr. 42 W (fr. 32 Edmonds), quoted by Athenaeus for the use of βρῦτον to mean 'beer', is much less satisfactory. I first print West's text:

ὥσπερ αὐλῶι βρῦτον ἢ Θρείξ ἀνὴρ
ἢ Φρυγὸς ἔμυζε, κύβδα δ' ἦν πονεομένη

She was sucking, as with a reed a Thracian man
or a Phrygian sucks up beer, and she was bent over, working hard

Athenaeus' manuscripts have ἔβρυξε as the third word of the second line, but the prosody of a short epsilon before mute and liquid βρ conflicts with what seems to be Archilochus' metrical practice, and Wilamowitz's emendation to ἔμυζε was accepted by Tarditi 1968, Gerber 1970 and West 1971-2. Wilamowitz based his very persuasive suggestion on the entry in Hesychius s.v. ἔμυζεν: ἔστενεν, ἀπεθήλαζεν, ('ἔμυζεν: (s) he was moaning, (s)he was sucking out') showing ἔμυζεν to mean 'was sucking' or (if we give the prefix ἀπ(ο)- full weight) 'was sucking off'. Thus in 1993 West translated:

Like a Thracian or Phrygian drinking beer through a tube
She sucked, stooped down, engaged too from behind

I can find no support, however, for giving πονεομένη a passive sense, and hence I translate above, like Gerber 1970, 'she was bent over, working hard'. As in his 1974 discussion of Archilochus fr. 118 W, West seems keen to introduce a threesome without sufficient basis in the texts.

There is little of all this in Edmonds 1931, whose text runs as follows:

ὥσπερ <παρ'> αὐλῶι βρῦτον ἢ Θρείξ ἀνὴρ
ἢ Φρυγὸς ἔβρυξε, κύβδα δ' ἦν πονευμένη

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The missing syllable of the first trimeter can be supplied in various ways, but Edmonds' <παρ'> in <παρ'> αὐλῶι shifts the comparison of *fellatio* with drinking beer through a straw to an activity performed to the accompaniment of the αὐλός, retains the metrically suspect ἔβρυζε, and he writes in a note (p. 114 n. 1) 'the word translated "drank" most prob. means "swallowed down" (Boisacq) and was apparently a colloquial word for what was otherwise known as ἄμυστις or drinking without stopping for breath, a trick of the symposium, originally Thracian, which was done to the sound of the flute, cf. Ath. 11.783d ff.; the Greek adds a still more reprehensible trait *et a tergo percutiebatur*'. Athenaeus does indeed discuss the practice of drinking ἄμυστις, and says it was timed by a μέλος which one of the passages he cites shows was played on an αὐλός, though Athenaeus says nothing about Thracian origins. I do not know of any scholar who has followed Edmonds in this interpretation, though as we have seen West accepted, or perhaps imagined independently, *et a tergo percutiebatur*.

I shall be much briefer with Edmonds' earlier (1922) three-volume Loeb *Lyra Graeca*, partly because Anacreon, who might have been expected to cause problems, is not an issue for the reason that his sexual language is sheathed in clever double entendres. I note simply a curious choice in dealing with Sappho fr. 94 Campbell (fr. 83 Edmonds). In 1955 Lobel and Page printed lines 21-3 as follows:

καὶ στρώμν[αν ἐ]πὶ μολθάκαν
ἀπάλαν πα[] . . . ων
ἐξίης πόθο[] . νίδων

and upon soft beds
tender
you would satisfy the longing of/for [young g]irls.

Edmonds printed:

καὶ στρώμν[ας ἐπὶ κειμένα]
ἀπάλαν πὰν [ὀνηάτων
ἐξίης πόθο[ν ἢ δὲ πότων γλυκίων]

This he translated:

Lying upon the couch you
have taken your fill
of dainty meats and sweet drinks.

So far as I can see the *editio princeps* of fr. 94 Campbell already suggested that .νίδων was to be read at the end of line 23. Edmonds was well known for seeing traces on papyri that no other scholar could see, but here he seems to have suppressed what an earlier edition supported.

Modern anthologies in Greek and in translation

I conclude with a glance at two modern anthologies.⁸ First *Ancient Gems in a Modern Setting*, a collection of variorum translations of Greek poetry published in 1913

(and reprinted 1918) by G.B. Grundy, who was a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, from 1903 to 1931. Grundy's introduction explains the principle on which he chose the translations (many of which are his own) but does not explain the principle on which he chose the pieces of Greek they translate.⁹ Even if he had done so, one might not want to believe him, since I was assured by W.F.R. Hardie (who knew him personally and was one of the Oxford Lit. Hum. Faculty in the 1960s who prided themselves on their imitations of Grundy) that in autobiographical matters Grundy was a persistent liar.

The poets whose treatment I have been considering in this chapter are represented in Grundy's anthology as follows.

Archilochus is represented by the quoted fragments 122 W and 105 W, both in versions by Charles Merivale. In 1913 few of the papyri that were so greatly to enrich our understanding of Archilochus had yet been published, though Grundy probably knew of Oxyrhynchus papyrus 854, published in 1908, which added to Athenaeus' existing quotation of fr. 4 W, and of the Strasburg papyrus, published in 1899 (Hipponax fr. 115, 116 and 117 W), which its first editor Reitzenstein claimed for Archilochus. Grundy may not have judged the latter's vituperative rhetoric life-enhancing.

Mimnermus is represented by fr. 2 W, in a version by J.A. Pott (Keble College, Oxford, and Goodrich House, Ross-on-Wye), and by fr. 12 W, in a version by Gilbert Murray, who had been Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford since 1908. Grundy also printed his own version of a couplet that appears in different forms at *Theognidea* 887-8 and at 1070a-b:

ἦβα μοι, φίλε θυμέ – τάχ' αὖ τινες ἄλλοι ἔσονται
ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ δὲ θανῶν γαῖα μέλαιν' ἔσομαι

Theognidea 887-8

τέρπεο μοι, φίλε θυμέ – τάχ' αὖ τινες ἄλλοι ἔσονται
ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ δὲ θανῶν γαῖα μέλαιν' ἔσομαι

Theognidea 1070a-b

Keep young, dear soul of mine, retain thy mirth;
Others will soon be men, and I black earth.

Grundy followed Bergk and Kroll in attributing the couplet to Mimnermus – as van Groningen 1966 observed, a gratuitous hypothesis. His translation 'mirth' hardly does justice to the ἦβα of 887-8 (the couplet he claims to translate) which, as van Groningen noted, has sexual overtones. This dumbing down chimes with Grundy's decision to offer a version not of Mimnermus fr. 1 W, with its dangerous ninth line (see above) but of the more anodyne fr. 2 W.

Of Sappho fr. 55 Campbell Grundy offered two versions, one by Walter Headlam and one by Cornelius Felton. The decision to have two versions of this four-liner, which had also been privileged by Stobaeus, and yet not to include either fr. 1 Campbell or fr. 31 Campbell in a book entitled *Ancient Gems in a Modern Setting*, is quite remarkable, though doubtless in 1913 contemplation of an enemy's predictable oblivion (the subject of Sappho fr. 55 Campbell) may have been easier for a Fellow

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of an all-male Oxford College to empathise with than the homoerotic excitement of Sappho. It is hard not to think that the content of frs. 1 and 31 played a part in their omission.

The second of my two modern anthologies is the *Oxford Book of Greek Verse*, edited by Gilbert Murray, Cyril Bailey, E.A. Barber, T.F. Higham and Maurice Bowra, first published in 1930 and reprinted until 1966. Up until the late 1960s it was the prescribed text for the Greek lyric poetry special subject in Honour Moderations at Oxford.

The martial exhortations of Tyrtaeus and Callinus unusually (but not illogically) come before Archilochus. Archilochus himself is represented by eleven pieces, frs. 1, 5, 19, 21 + 22, 30 + 31 (headed simply 'A girl'), 105, 114, 122, 128, 177 (all West 1971-1972 fragment numbers) and a piece printed in West 1971-2 as 'Homer' fr. 5. Of these pieces three are from Stobaeus. Oddly fr. 13 W, also Stobaeus, and the only lines of Archilochus available then (or now) with a strong claim to being a complete poem, were not chosen, though the reasons can have had nothing to do with censorship. The nearest piece to being risqué is fr. 30 + 31 W (printed as one fragment), for which the *Oxford Book of Greek Verse in Translation*, edited by T.F. Higham and Maurice Bowra and first published in 1938, offers J.A. Symonds' translation:

Holding a myrtle-rod she blithely moved,
and a fair blossoming rose; the flowing tresses
shadowed her shoulders, falling to her girdle.

I am not sure whether substituting 'falling to her girdle' for Archilochus' specific mention of the girl's back, apparently visible and so presumably unclothed, should be seen as bowdlerisation; and I guess that on some USA campuses the translation 'myrtle-rod' would get one into trouble. But what is noticeable in the selections we have looked at is that nobody has tried to relate this soft-focus ekphrasis to the two lines quoted by Athenaeus and now known from a papyrus to come from an erotic narrative addressed to Archilochus' friend Glaucus. As the papyrus demonstrates, the narrative was quite long – not less than 32 lines – but the papyrus preserves no more than the first ten letters of each line, often fewer. Fortunately two crucial lines are also quoted by Athenaeus:

τροφὸς κατ.[ἐσφυριχμένας κόμην
καὶ στῆθος, ὡς ἂν καὶ γέρων ἠράσσατο.
ὦ Γλαῦκ.[

Archilochus fr. 48.5-7 W

Their nurse was bringing them down, perfume smeared on their hair
and breasts, so that even an old man would have been struck by desire.
O Glaucus ...

Even the most recent scholarly selection with commentary of Greek melic, elegiac and iambic poetry, by Jurek Danielewicz and Krystyna Bartol (Warsaw-Poznań 1999), omits Archilochus' very illuminating fr. 48, though their inclusion of his frs. 34, 41 and 43 show they are not deterred by raw sex.

In the *Oxford Book of Greek Verse* Mimnermus is represented by fr. 1 W, 2 W and 12 W (the myth of the cup of the sun). The admission of fr. 1 W is welcome, but the extent to which Mimnermus' poetry might have explored the emotions of *eros* is obscured by the omission of fr. 5 W, though the editors may perhaps have believed that the erotic declaration of fr. 5 W was not by Mimnermus but by Theognis.

But in fact Mimnermus fr. 5 W does not appear in their Theognis selection either. Apart from the marvellous immortality poem *Theognidea* 237-54, this *Oxford Book of Greek Verse* selection ranges over friendship, eugenics, politics, vendettas, poverty and dispossession. A lament for the passing of youth – ἡβης ἄνθος ἀπολλύμενον (*Theognidea* 1070 = *Oxford Book of Greek Verse* 196) – and the last couplet of lines 237-54 are the only clues to the presence in Theognis 'Book One' of a few pieces that reflect the sexually charged atmosphere of the symposium, and the only reference to drinking is to drinking the blood of one's enemies (*Theognidea* 349 = *Oxford Book of Greek Verse* 191).

Oxford Book of Greek Verse offers only two pieces of Hipponax, an anodyne sequence in which the poet laments his poverty (fr. 36 W, quoted by Johannes Tzetzes), and the (by now) predictable couplet about a woman's best two days, fr. 68 W, drawn, as we have seen, from Stobaeus.

The eighteen pieces of Sappho are a much more generous and representative selection. By 1930 the Sapphic corpus was not so very different from what we have now, with the exception of the new lines of fr. 58 and the adjacent poem. Lobel had published Σαπφούς μέλη in 1925, and as we have seen Edmonds had already published some very unreliable texts in his 1922 *Lyra Graeca*. But one or two signs of shyness remain. Fr. 31 Campbell is simply but tendentiously entitled 'To a bride' (*Oxford Book of Greek Verse* 141). A single strophe of fr. 2 Campbell is plucked out from the prayer to Aphrodite to visit the singer and is entitled 'A Garden' (*Oxford Book of Greek Verse* 151). *Oxford Book of Greek Verse* 147 gives the reader only lines 1-20 of fr. 94 Campbell: the reader is thus spared

καὶ στρώμν[αν ἐ]πὶ μολθάκαν	21
ἀπάλαν πα[] ... ων	22
ἐξίης πόθο[] .νίδων	23

The translation in *OBGV in Translation* is by Bowra.

Conclusions

The problems faced by sensitive readers and excerptors of melic, iambic and especially elegiac poetry were few by comparison with those offered by Old Comedy. An easy and often-adopted strategy for an anthologist was simply to choose unproblematic passages, and, if a desired sequence contained elements that seemed offensive, to excise these elements, a move especially easy to make at the beginning or end of a passage. Writing, editing or translating as if the passage was not 'really' about sex at all is a tactic cognate with offering allegorical interpretations of myth that we find in Plutarch and perhaps in a different form in Edmonds. And in publications that offer translations, imprecise or inadequate translation remains a last resort.

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Notes

1. For discussions of stages in the production of a written text of parts of the *Theognidea* see Vetta 1980, Rösler 2006, Selle 2008, Colesanti 2011. For Sappho's text cf. Yatromanolakis 2007. For discussion of the transmission of Alcman see Carey 2011, with references to earlier debates; for Pindar see Hubbard 2011, again with references to earlier discussions.

2. For an authoritative account of Plutarch's agenda see now the introduction to Hunter and Russell 2011.

3. On Plutarch's citation of elegiac and iambic poetry see Bowie 1997; on the relation between his habits of citation in the *Lives* and in the *Moralia* Bowie 2008; on the poetry appropriate for reading by a statesman Bowie 2004.

4. With the exception of a possible allusion to fr. 130 Campbell at *Symptotic questions* 681b on the use of the term γλυκύπικρον all Plutarch's citations of Sappho identify her as the poet of the passage cited: as well as those discussed cf. 146a (fr. 55 Campbell), 456e (fr. 158 Campbell), 646ef (again fr. 158 Campbell), 751d (fr. 49 Campbell). This might suggest that Sappho is not a 'respectable' poet whose work one might be relied upon to recognise in a high-minded context.

5. For a full discussion of Stobaeus' excerption of melic, elegiac and iambic poetry see Bowie 2010.

6. Σεπτίμῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ υἱῷ ... τὴν φύσιν ἀμαυρότερον ἔχουσιν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀναγνώσμάτων μνήμην, ('for his own son Septimius ... whose mind was somewhat hazy as regards recollection of what he had read'), Photius *Bibl.* 112a16-18, see Campbell 1984.

7. Chris Stray points out to me that this was the year of the Chace Act, and that the New York publication was probably arranged to secure US copyright.

8. So far as I can see the poems in Henry Wellesley's 1849 *Anthologia Polyglotta: A Selection of Versions in Various Languages Chiefly from the Greek Anthology* are all from the Greek Anthology.

9. The selection of *Ancient Gems in a Modern Setting* is heavily biased towards epigram, perhaps influenced by J.W. Mackail's *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology* (London 1906) and/or A.J. Butler's *Amaranth and Asphodel: Songs from the Greek Anthology* (London 1881).

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‘Seeing the meat for what it is’: Aristophanic expurgation and its phallacies

Ian Ruffell

Expurgation has a long history in the reception of Greek comedy, especially in a pedagogic context, and can be traced as far back as the arrival of Greek texts into the West in the fifteenth century.¹ In the English-speaking world, it is particularly notable with the growth of school and university editions from 1835 onwards, but its influence in classical scholarship continues into the second half of the twentieth century. In this paper, I consider the nature and extent of expurgation in (primarily British) texts of Aristophanes, and explore the set of contexts and attitudes – social, political, pedagogic and scholarly – which underlie it. The expurgating stance continues, I argue, in other aspects of classical scholarship, and is particularly seen in the treatment of visual and material evidence for the comic grotesque. The reasoning in Beare’s dispute with Webster in the 1950s over the presence of the phallus and other forms of grotesque costume² closely correlates with expurgation in a more purely textual sense.

The perspective upon the genre that expurgation presents can also be seen even in wider concerns of Aristophanic scholarship in relation to its social and political force. For de Ste Croix, whose appendix on the politics of Aristophanes furnishes me with the gratuitous double entendre of the title, the phallus and phallic humour stand for the extreme of regrettably necessary humour from which the serious content can and should be unpicked. Thus, *Lysistrata*’s interactions with the Athenian and Spartan ambassadors are for de Ste Croix entirely serious and without a single joke. Despite the ithyphallic ambassadors and associated sexual humour and despite the groping of the naked (or near-naked) Reconciliation, the audience, he argues, would ‘have no difficulty recognizing the meat for what it is’.³ Innuendo aside, de Ste Croix’s handling of the phallus here reflects the early Victorian expurgators and their audiences who separated Aristophanes’ moral purpose from the regrettable filth.

Expurgation in texts and translations of Aristophanes has received some attention already, not least in a ground-breaking article by Dover.⁴ Dover warns us about taking a superior attitude when discussing bowdlerisation and expurgation. Indeed, it would be wrong to suppose that the underlying sentiments do not still persist, particularly in a pedagogic context. My own experience in this respect stems from Essex in the late 1980s, when I co-produced a version of *Lysistrata* at school. This

involved, among other things, getting clearance from the headmaster on the grounds that the language had been toned down in places.⁵ Even so, the mother of one of our chorus-members, who was thirteen or fourteen and in the middle of his first year of Greek, got hold of the script, stormed into the school and demanded from the Classics teachers a guarantee that her son be prevented from encountering such filth until the sixth form. I am pleased to say that they refused, but the boy was accordingly withdrawn from Greek.⁶

1. Expurgation in *Akharnians*

Expurgation of Aristophanes was a major pursuit of British scholars in the nineteenth century. It should not, however, be inferred that expurgation did not happen in other languages – I am aware of, at least, an Italian expurgated edition of Aristophanes.⁷ I shall be concentrating mostly on one play, *Akharnians*, and use other Aristophanic plays periodically for comparative evidence, and for evidence of the scholarly reception of expurgation. My choice of play is in some respects unscientific: *Akharnians* happens to be the play for which I have the most old editions within easy reach. A more rational basis for the selection is that it is probably the most frequently edited text for schools, followed by *Clouds* and *Wasps*. They all feature in all the main series of school editions. *Akharnians* is, however, undoubtedly the most well-represented among editions of any kind by British or Irish scholars. Its ubiquity was noted apologetically by Paley in the prologue to his edition (1876, iii) ('not so much from a paucity of editions of the most popular and brilliant play of Aristophanes'), while the *Saturday Review* of 6 April 1872 welcomed Sidgwick's *Scenes from Aristophanes* as having moved away from 'the ... formerly inevitable *Acharnians*' (448).⁸

The following British or Irish editions are used here:

Elmsley (1809, 2nd edition 1830), critical edition *in usum studiosiae iuventutis* ('for the use of young scholars')⁹

Mitchell (1835), with commentary; editions of *Knights* (1836), *Wasps* (1835), *Clouds* (1838) and *Frogs* (1839) followed; Mitchell had earlier translated the comedies (1820-1)

Blaydes (1845), and again as vol. 7 (1887) of the complete series (1880-93)

Holden (1848, 3rd edition 1868), an edition of the eleven plays with critical notes

Green (1867-8), *Akharnians* and *Knights*, with brief notes, in Rivingtons' *Catena Classicorum* series, followed by *Wasps* and *Clouds* (1868); 2nd edition 1870;¹⁰ continued (for Longmans) with *Peace* (1873), *Birds* (1875), and in the Pitt Press series (*Frogs* 1879, *Plutus* 1881, *Birds* 1879, and subsequent editions)

Turner (1863);¹¹ also *Knights* (1861), *Birds* (1865)

Paley (1876); also *Peace* (1873), *Frogs* (1877)

Merry (1880, 5th edition 1901) in the Clarendon Press series; also *Knights* (1887), *Wasps* (1893), *Clouds* (1879), *Peace* (1900), *Birds* (1889) and *Frogs* (1884), and subsequent editions

Graves (1905), in the Pitt Press series; also *Clouds* (1898), *Wasps* (1894) and *Peace* (1911)

Rennie (1909), edition with extensive commentary

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Starkie (1909), edition with translation and extensive commentary; also editions with commentary of *Wasps* (1897) and, with translation, *Clouds* (1911)
 Rogers (1910), edition, translation and notes, in a complete series
 Elliott (1914), critical edition

Of these editions of *Akharnians*, Green in his first Rivingtons edition,¹² Paley, Blaydes, Starkie, Turner (using Dindorf's text¹³) and Rogers do not expurgate the Greek text. The others, including Green's second edition, do.¹⁴ The more heavy-handed expurgators – Mitchell's edition with commentary of 1835, Holden's edition of the eleven plays of 1848 – are in the earlier part of the century, but with one or two small-scale exceptions, the activities of all cluster in the same parts of the text and show similar concerns.

There are five main areas of *Akharnians* that were expurgated. The first is the account given at the opening assembly by the envoys who have been sent to Persia, in particular their report of the Persian king crapping on a mountain for eight months. In the following texts (broadly Wilson's OCT) and translations (mine), expurgated lines are underlined and details of individual editors' practice are given after each quotation.

Πρ.	ἔτει τετάρτῳ δ' εἰς τὰ βασιλεῖ' ἤλθομεν· <u>ἀλλ' εἰς ἀπόπατον ὤχετο στρατιὰν λαβών,</u> <u>κάχεζεν ὀκτὼ μῆνας ἐπὶ χρυσῶν ὀρών, –</u>	80
Δι.	<u>πόσου δὲ τὸν προκτὸν χρόνου ξυνήγαγεν;</u> <u>τῇ πανσελήνῳ;</u>	
Πρ.	– <u>κάτ' ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε.</u> εἴτ' ἐξένιζε παρετίθει θ' ἡμῖν ὄλους ἐκ κριβάνου βοῦς –	85
Δι.	καὶ τίς εἶδε πώποτε βοῦς κριβάνιτας; τῶν ἀλαζονευμάτων.	
Pr.	In the fourth year, we came to the palace: <u>but the king had gone with his army to a dump</u> <u>and was off for eight months shitting on the golden hills.</u>	80
Di.	<u>And when did he clench his arse?</u> <u>At the full moon?</u>	
Pr.	<u>And then he came home.</u> Then he entertained us and set before us entire oven-roasted oxen.	85
Di.	And who ever saw oven-baked oxen? Stuff and nonsense.	

81-4 om. Mitchell, Holden, Merry, Graves, Green₂

Akharnians 80-7

This is the only substantial intervention that deals with scatology, and context is clearly important. No editor has a problem with Derketes' oxen keeping him in manure (1093), but a king on the crapper is apparently *infra dig*. Mitchell has a couple of instances of bowel movements that are deprecated: in particular, he intervenes to prevent Cratinus from being hit with a turd (omitting ἀρτίως κεχεσμένον, 'recently shitted' 1170, so Graves; Green₂ omits the entire line) and the anthropomorphised coal-basket from

squirting coal dust in fear (350-1), and neither he nor Holden₁ will allow Dikaiopolis to spend his time waiting for the assembly farting (30 om. Holden₁; *πέρδομαι* om. Mitchell), but their later colleagues are much less bothered by any of this.¹⁵

Secondly, the hymn to Phales is extensively butchered. Most expurgators are prepared to countenance the *concept* of a *phallikon* in an abstract sense: the term is usually preserved in introducing the song (261). What is clearly much more problematic is the phallus itself. Any instruction to Xanthias to carry it in the procession is excised by all expurgators (243, 259-60). All likewise have difficulty with the farting daughter and the joke about her giving birth in future to kittens (baby weasels).

<p> <u>ἀγ', ὦ θύγατερ, ὅπως τὸ κανοῦν καλὴ καλῶς</u> <u>οἴσεις βλέπουσα θυμβροφάγον. ὥς μακάριος</u> <u>ὅστις σ' ὀπύσει κάκποήσεται γαλᾶς</u> <u>σοῦ μηδὲν ἥττους βδεῖν. ἐπειδὴν ὀρθρος ἦ.</u> <u>πρόβαινε, κὰν τῷ χλῷ φυλάττεσθαι σφόδρα</u> <u>μὴ τις λαθῶν σου περιτράγῃ τὰ χρυσία.</u> <u>ὦ Ξανθία, σφῶν δ' ἐστὶν ὀρθὸς ἐκτέος</u> <u>ὁ φαλλὸς ἐξόπισθε τῆς κανηφόρου.</u> <u>ἐγὼ δ' ἀκολουθῶν ἄσομαι τὸ φαλλικόν</u> <u>σὺ δ', ὦ γύναι, θεῶ μ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους. πρόβα.</u> </p>	<p>255</p> <p>260</p>
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<p> Come on, daughter, make sure you look pretty and prettily <u>carry the basket, with a thyme-eating expression. How blessed</u> <u>the man will be who marries you and fathers on you weasels</u> <u>as good as you at farting early in the morning.</u> Advance—and in the crowd take good care that no one sneakily snaffles your jewellery. <u>Xanthias, you two make sure you keep the</u> <u>the phallus erect behind the basket bearer.</u> <u>I'll follow behind and sing the phallic hymn.</u> And you, my wife, watch me from the roof. Advance! </p>	<p>255</p> <p>260</p>
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254–6 ὥς μακάριος ... om. Mitchell, Holden
255–6 κάκποήσεται ... om. Green₂, Merry, Graves, Rennie
259–60 om. Mitchell, Holden, Green₂, Merry, Graves, Rennie
261 om. Green₂

Akharnians 253-62

Bowel movements (at least for non-royal men) are one thing, but pregnancy is another. Gender, as can be seen elsewhere, is at issue, although the grotesque imagery and hint of bestiality is no doubt also problematic. As with the emblem of Phales, sex itself is not *directly* the issue.

The same cannot be said for the last two elements in the Phales hymn which are excised. For many editors, a wandering Phales is allowable, and they choose just to remove the reference to pederasty; Mitchell and Holden, perhaps more alive to the implications of such nightly komastic excursions, delete those too. Finally, the agricultural rape imagery is excised by consensus. Phales and the *phallikon* are thus transmuted into a rather peaceful agricultural deity and song respectively.

2. 'Seeing the meat for what it is': Aristophanic expurgation and its phallacies

Φαλῆς, ἑταῖρε Βακχίου,
ξύγκωμε, νυκτοπεριπλάνη-
τε, μοιχέ, παιδεραστά, 265
 ἔκτω σ' ἔτει προσεῖπον εἰς
 τὸν δῆμον ἐλθὼν ἄσμενος,
 σπονδὰς ποησάμενος ἑμαυ-
 τῷ, πραγμάτων τε καὶ μαχῶν
 καὶ Λαμάχων ἀπαλλαγείς. 270
πολλῷ γάρ ἐσθ' ἥδιον, ὦ Φαλῆς Φαλῆς,
κλέπτουσαν εὐρόνθ' ὠρικὴν ὕληφόρον,
τὴν Στρυμοδώρου Θράτταν ἐκ τοῦ φελλέως,
μέσσην λαβόντ', ἄραντα, κατα-
βαλόντα καταγιγαρτίσαι. 275
Φαλῆς Φαλῆς,
 ἐὰν μεθ' ἡμῶν ξυμπίης, ἐκ κραιπάλης
 ἔωθεν εἰρήνης ροφήσεις τρύβλιον·
 ἢ δ' ἀσπίς ἐν τῷ φεψάλῳ κρεμήσεται.

Phales, friend of the Bacchic one,
fellow reveller, midnight-rambler,
lothario, boy-lover: 265
 in the sixth year I have addressed you,
 after happily returning to my parish,
 with my self-made personal peace treaty,
 free from trouble and strife
 and Lamachuses. 270
For it's much more pleasant, Phales, Phales,
to catch a young beauty carrying stolen wood,
Strymodoros' Thratta, the scrubber¹⁶ –
grab her round the middle, lift her up, throw
her down and pop her cherry. 275
Phales, Phales,
 if you drink with us, after the bender
 in the morning you'll slurp the bowl of peace;
 and my shield will hang up among the embers.

264-5 om. Mitchell, Holden

265 om. Green₂, Merry, Graves, Rennie

271-5 om. Mitchell, Holden, Green₂, Merry, Graves, Rennie

276 om. Green₂

Akharnians 263-79

The materiality of the phallus is also subject to smaller-scale interventions throughout the play. The Odomantoi, Thracian mercenaries introduced to the assembly by the ambassadors who have been living high on the hog, are circumcised. Circumcision is a mark of their non-Greek status, a mark of their lack of sophistication and a means of devaluing their possible contribution to the Athenian *polis*; the circumcised phallus, thick and red at the tip, is elsewhere deprecated (disingenuously) by Aristophanes as a cheap means of raising a laugh (*Clouds* 538-9).¹⁷ Dikaiopolis' gesture towards and commentary upon their phallus and their lack of foreskins in particular are duly excised (157-8 om. Mitchell; 158 om. Holden, Green₂, Merry, Graves, Rennie; 161 om. Holden, Merry, Rennie, τοῖς ἀπεψωλημένοις 'the ones (with foreskins)

peeled back' om. Mitchell). Foreskins and erections are also involved in Dikaiopolis' observation about Lamakhos' going 'well-equipped' and subsequent suggestion to the general that he should have sexually aroused Dikaiopolis (592). These are excised by Mitchell and Holden₁ (εἰ δ' ἰσχυρὸς εἰ | τί μ' οὐκ ἀπεψώλησας; 'You're strong: why haven't you peeled me back?'; 591-2; 592 om. Green₂); Holden₃, Merry, Graves and Rennie adopt Bergk's less offensive emendation ἀπεψίλωσας, 'why haven't you stripped my armour' in 592.¹⁸ If Dikaiopolis' comment was properly understood as a shameless offer to be penetrated by Lamakhos, this clearly would not have helped, but the reference to the materiality of the phallus and foreskins in particular seems to have been more than enough to offend some scholars.

The third site of substantial intervention, even more radically truncated than the Phales hymn, is the scene with the Megarian and his daughters which follows the parabasis. In this scene, Dikaiopolis, after securing his personal peace treaty and winning over the chorus of Akharnians, finally is able to establish a personal market and open it to all-comers; cue the entrance of a starving Megarian, who tries to pass off his daughters as pigs and flog them to Dikaiopolis for some food – any food. The scene turns both on the bad disguise of the daughters (the frequent comic device of incomplete costume¹⁹) and a pun on χοῖρος – 'piglet' and 'cunt' (cf. 'beaver' and 'pussy' in different English traditions) – in which both the Megarian and Dikaiopolis are complicit. The pun is duly recognised by our expurgators, along with attendant innuendo and more straightforward obscenity relating to male and female genitalia that make the joke plain. Any hint that there is anything other than animal disguise is accordingly excised, leaving not very much.

Δι.	τί λέγεις σύ; ποδαπή χοῖρος ἦδε;	
Με.	Μεγαρικά.	
	ἢ οὐ χοῖρός ἐσθ' ἄδ';	
Δι.	οὐκ ἔμοιγε φαίνεται.	
Με.	οὐ δεινά; θᾶσθε· τῷδε τὰς ἀπιστίας· <u>οὐ φατι τάνδε χοῖρον ἤμεν· ἀλλὰ μάν,</u> <u>αἰ λῆς, περίδου μοι περί θυμιτιδᾶν ἁλῶν,</u> <u>αἰ μή 'στιν οὗτος χοῖρος 'Ελλάνων νόμῳ.</u>	770
Δι.	<u>ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου γε.</u>	
Με.	<u>ναὶ τὸν Διοκλέα,</u> <u>ἐμά γε· τὸ δέ νιν εἵμεναι τίνος δοκεῖς;</u> ἢ λῆς ἀκοῦσαι φθεγγομένας;	775
Δι.	νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς	
	ἔγωγε.	
Με.	φώνει δὴ τὸ ταχέως, χοιρίον. οὐ χρῆσθα; σιγῆς, ὦ κάκιστ' ἀπολουμένα; πάλιν τυ ἀποισῶ ναὶ τὸν 'Ερμᾶν οἴκαδ'.	
Κο.	κοῖ κοῖ.	780
Με.	αὐτα 'στὶ χοῖρος·	
Δι.	νῦν γε χοῖρος φαίνεται. <u>ἀτὰρ ἐκτραφεῖς γε κύσθος ἔσται.</u>	
Με.	<u>πέντ' ἐτῶν,</u> <u>σάφ' ἴσθι, ποττὰν ματέρ' εἰκασθήσεται.</u>	
Δι.	<u>ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θύσιμός ἐστιν αὐτηγί.</u>	
Με.	<u>σά μάν;</u> <u>πᾶ δ' οὐχὶ θύσιμός ἐστι;</u>	

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Δι.	<u>κέρκον οὐκ ἔχει.</u>	785
Με.	<u>νέα γάρ ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ δελφακουμένα</u> <u>ἔξει μέγαν τε καὶ παχείαν κήρυθραν.</u> <u>ἀλλ' αἱ τράφειν λῆς, ἅδε τοι χοῖρος καλά.</u>	
Δι.	<u>ὡς ξυγγενῆς ὁ κύσθος αὐτῆς θάτέρα.</u>	
Με.	<u>ὁμοματρία γάρ ἐστι κῆκ τῶντῳ πατρός.</u> <u>ἀλλ' ἂν παχυνθῇ κὰν ἀναχνοανθῇ τριχί.</u> <u>κάλλιστος ἐστὶ χοῖρος Ἀφροδίτα θύειν.</u> <u>ἀλλ' οὐχὶ χοῖρος τὰφροδίτῃ θύεται.</u> <u>οὐ χοῖρος Ἀφροδίτα; μόνα γὰρ δαιμόνων.</u> <u>καὶ γίνεται γὰρ τάνδε τὰν χοίρων τὸ κρῆς</u> <u>ἄδιστον ἂν τὸν ὀδελὸν ἀμπεπαρμένον.</u>	790
Δι.	<u>ἤδη δ' ἄνευ τῆς μητρὸς ἐσθιοιεν ἄν;</u>	
Με.	<u>ναὶ τὸν Ποτειδᾶ, καὶ κ' ἄνις γὰρ τῷ πατρός.</u>	
Δι.	<u>τί δ' ἐσθίει μάλιστα;</u>	
Με.	<u>πάνθ' ἅ κα διδῶς.</u> <u>αὐτὸς δ' ἐρώτη.</u>	
Δι.	<u>χοῖρε, χοῖρε.</u>	
Κο.	<u>κοῖ κοῖ.</u>	800
Δι.	<u>τρώγοις ἂν ἐρεβίνθους;</u>	
Κο.	<u>κοῖ κοῖ κοῖ.</u>	
Δι.	<u>τί δαί; Φιβάλεως ἰσχάδας;</u>	
Κο.	<u>κοῖ κοῖ.</u>	
Δι.	<u>τί δαί σῦ· τρώγοις ἄν;</u>	
Κο.	<u>κοῖ κοῖ κοῖ</u>	
Δι.	<u>ὥς ὅξῃ πρὸς τὰς ἰσχάδας κεκράγατε.</u> <u>ἐνεγκάτω τις ἐνδοθεν τῶν ἰσχάδων</u> <u>τοῖς χοιριδιοῖσιν. ἄρα τρώξονται· βαβαί,</u> <u>οἶον ῥοθιάζους, ὧ πολυτίμηθ' Ἡράκλεις.</u> <u>ποδαπὰ τὰ χοίρι'; ὥς Τραγασαῖα φαίνεται.</u>	805
Δι.	What are you on about? Where do you get a piggy like this?	
Με.	Megarian. Isn't this a piggy?	It's
Δι.	It doesn't look like it to me.	
Με.	Isn't this terrible? Look! What mistrust he has. <u>He says this isn't a piggy. Well then,</u> <u>if you want, bet me some thyme-infused salt</u> <u>if this isn't a piggy in the Greek sense.</u> <u>OK, but it's a human being's.</u>	770
Δι.		
Με.	<u>Yes, by Diocles.</u> <u>It's mine! Who else do you think it belongs to?</u> Would you like to hear them making a noise?	775
Δι.	Yes, by the gods,	
Με.	I certainly would. Make a noise then piggy, quick. You don't feel like it? You're keeping quiet, damn and blast you? I'll take you back home again, by Hermes.	
Girl 1	Oink, oink.	780
Με.	<u>There: it's a piggy.</u>	
Δι.	<u>Now, it looks like a piggy.</u> <u>But when it's grown up, it'll be a cunt.</u>	
Με.	In five years time,	

Di.	<u>believe me, she'll look like her mother.</u>	
Me.	<u>But this one here isn't at all suitable for sacrifice.</u>	
	<u>How come?</u>	
	<u>In what way isn't it suitable?</u>	
Di.	<u>It hasn't got a tail.</u>	785
Me.	<u>Yes, it's because she's young. When she porks up,</u> <u>she'll have one – big, thick and red.</u> <u>But if you want to bring one on, this one here's a fine piggy for you.</u>	
Di.	<u>How similar this one's cunt is to the other.</u>	
Me.	<u>Yes: she has the same mother and the same father.</u>	790
	<u>If she gets fattened up and covered in hair,</u> <u>she'll be a really lovely piggy to sacrifice to Aphrodite.</u>	
Di.	<u>But a piggy isn't sacrificed to Aphrodite.</u>	
Me.	<u>A piggy not sacrificed to Aphrodite? She's the only deity to whom</u> <u>they're sacrificed.</u>	
	<u>And the meat of these piggies</u>	795
	<u>is sweetest when skewered on a spit.</u>	
Di.	Would they already eat without their mother?	
Me.	Yes by Poseidon – and away from their father too.	
Di.	What does it eat?	
Me.	Everything you give it.	
	<u>Ask it yourself.</u>	
Di.	<u>Piggy, piggy!</u>	
Girl 1	<u>Oink, oink.</u>	800
Di.	<u>Would you eat chickpeas?</u>	
Girl 1	<u>Oink, oink, oink.</u>	
Di.	<u>Hm, and what about Phibalean figs?</u>	
Girl 1	<u>Oink, oink.</u>	
Di.	<u>And what about you? Would you eat them?</u>	
Girl 2	<u>Oink, oink, oink.</u>	
Di.	<u>How loudly you moan in response to figs!</u>	
	Someone bring out some figs from inside	805
	for the little piggies. Will they eat them? Wow!	
	How they slurp them down. Holy Heracles!	
	Where are these animals from? They really seem to be from Eaton.	

771-5 om. Mitchell

774-5 om. Holden, Green₂, Merry, Graves, Rennie

782-96 om. Mitchell, Holden, Green₂, Merry, Rennie

782-6, 788-96 om. Graves

800-4 om. Mitchell 803 om. Green₂

Akharnians 768-808

Most expurgators leave it at that; Mitchell is slightly more careful to omit the suggestion in 773 that there is a pun to be found in the routine. He also omits the further vegetable double entendres, a fantasia of fellatio with chickpeas (ἐρεβίνθοι) and figs (ἰσχάδες) common slang for the penis and male genitalia.²⁰ I think the other expurgators must have felt that these lines could just be interpreted as a (somewhat lame) starvation joke.²¹

The fourth site of concern occurs with the arrival of the best man and bridesmaid. This is more straightforward. The best man offers Dikaiopolis meat from the wedding feast in return for a drop of peace. He wants to stay at home and fuck, not go on

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campaign – a wish of which he is deprived by the expurgators (1052). More extensive intervention happens to the bridesmaid. Any suggestion that the bride might either have sex with her husband, might handle a penis, or do anything else with it, is suppressed.

- Πα. ἐκέλευε δ' ἐγγχείαι σε τῶν κρεῶν χάριν,
ἵνα μὴ στρατεύοιτ', ἀλλὰ βινοίῃ μένων,
εἰς τὸν ἀλάβαστον κύαθον εἰρήνης ἔνα.
- Δι. ἀπόφερ', ἀπόφερε τὰ κρέα καὶ μὴ μοι δίδου,
ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐγγχείαιμι χιλίων δραχμῶν.
ἀλλ' αὐτῇ τίς ἐστιν; 1055
- Πα. ἡ νυμφεύτρια
δεῖται παρὰ τῆς νύμφης τι σοὶ λέξαι μόνω.
- Δι. φέρει δὴ, τί σὺ λέγεις; ὥς γέλοιοι, ὦ θεοί,
τὸ δέημα τῆς νύμφης, ὃ δεῖται μου σφόδρα,
ὅπως ἂν οἰκουρῇ τὸ πέος τοῦ νυμφίου. 1060
φέρει δεῦρο τὰς σπονδάς, ἵν' αὐτῇ δῶ μόνῃ,
ὅτι γυνή 'στι τοῦ πολέμου τ' οὐκ αἰτία.
ὑπεχ' ὥδε δεῦρο τοῦ ξάλειπτρον, ὦ γύναι,
οἷσθ' ὥς ποεῖται τοῦτο; τῇ νύμφῃ φράσον,
ὅταν στρατιώτας καταλέγωσι, τουτῶ 1065
νύκτωρ ἀλειφέτω τὸ πέος τοῦ νυμφίου,
ἀπόφερε τὰς σπονδάς, φέρε τὴν οἰνήρυσιν,
ἵν' οἶνον ἐγγέω λαβῶν εἰς τοὺς Χοᾶς.
- B.M. He urges you, in return for the meat –
so as not to go on campaign but stay at home and fuck –
to pour one cup of peace into this bottle.
- Di. Take it away, take the meat away and don't give it to me,
as I wouldn't pour any for a thousand drachmas. 1055
But who's this woman here?
- B.M. The bridesmaid
needs to tell you something from the bride, to you alone.
- Di. Come on then, what do you have to tell me? Gods, how amusing
the urgent request the bride is making from me,
for her husband's cock to stay at home. 1060
Bring the treaty here; I'll give some to her and her alone,
since she's a woman and isn't responsible for the war.
Hold the bottle under here like this, woman.
Do you know how this is done? Tell the bride,
whenever they enlist troops, 1065
she should rub her husband's cock with this at night.
Take the treaty away. Bring me the wine ladle,
so I can pour wine with it into the Jugs.

1052 Holden, Merry, Graves, Rennie; ἀλλὰ κινολῇ μένων om. Mitchell

1056-68 om. Holden,

1056-66 om. Mitchell

1060 om. Holden, Green, Merry, Graves, Rennie

1064-6 om. Holden, Green, Graves

1065-6 om. Merry, Rennie

Akharnians 1051-68

Mitchell and Holden, in his first edition, again go further and simply remove the entire dialogue with the bridesmaid. By Holden's third edition, the bridesmaid has reappeared, but the content of Dikaiopolis' conversation with her, as in the other expurgated editions, remains rather mysterious.²² There is definite variability, however, in the handling of women and sex, which seems clearly related to class and status.²³ In the account of the party to which the priest of Dionysos invites Dikaiopolis, prostitutes survive in most texts, except Holden and Mitchell (1091 om. Holden; αἱ πόρναι πάρα, 'the prostitutes are present' om. Mitchell; Graves prints αὐλητρίς πάρα, 'the flute girl is present'). In 1093, Holden keeps the dancing-girls (*orkhestrides*) in 1093, presumably on the grounds that they can be interpreted with a non-sexual dimension. Mitchell takes no chances and cuts the line entirely.

Finally, the chorus bid farewell to Dikaiopolis and look ahead explicitly to a sexual encounter, and that is, again, excised by most expurgators except Graves; again Mitchell goes rather further than his colleagues (1143-9 om. Mitchell; 1147-9 om. Holden, Merry, Graves, Rennie; 1148-9 Green₂). The party takes place during the Anthesteria festival (and while they are singing) and he returns claiming victory in the drinking contest and supported by girls from the party. The contrasting fates of Lamakhos, wounded by falling over a vine-prop, and Dikaiopolis prove challenging for an expurgator, as the sex/war opposition is thematic and a substantial part of the scene. Nonetheless the contrast between the returning heroes is ruthlessly excised when mention is made of erections, Dikaiopolis' penis, and in particular the girls touching it.

Δι.	<u>ἄτταταῖ ἄτταταῖ.</u> <u>τῶν τιθίων, ὥς σκληρὰ καὶ κυδώνια.</u> <u>φιλήσατόν με μαλθακῶς, ὃ χρυσίω,</u> <u>τὸ περιπεταστὸν κάμπιμανδαλωτόν.</u> <u>τὸν γὰρ χοᾶ πρῶτος ἐκπέπωκα.</u>	1200
Λα.	ὡ συμφορὰ τάλαινα τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν. ἰὼ ἰὼ τραυμάτων ἐπωδύνων.	1205
Δι.	ἰὴ ἰὴ, χαῖρε, Λαμαχιππιον.	
Λα.	στυγερὸς ἐγώ.	
Δι.	τί με σὺ κυνεῖς·	
Λα.	μογερὸς ἐγώ.	
Δι.	τί με σὺ δάκνεις·	
Λα.	τάλας ἐγὼ ξυμβολῆς βαρείας.	1210
Δι.	τοῖς Χουσί γάρ τις ξυμβολὰς ἐπράττετο·	
Λα.	ἰὼ ἰὼ, Παιὰν Παιάν.	
Δι.	ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νυνὶ τήμερον Παιώνια.	
Λα.	<u>λάβεσθέ μου, λάβεσθε τοῦ σκέλους· παπαῖ,</u> <u>προσλάβεσθ' ὃ φίλοι.</u>	1215
Δι.	<u>ἐμοῦ δέ γε σφῶ τοῦ πέους ἄμφω μέσου</u> <u>προσλάβεσθ' ὃ φίλοι.</u>	
Λα.	<u>εἰλιγγίῳ κᾶρα λίθω πεπληγμένος</u> <u>καὶ σκοτοδινίῳ.</u>	
Δι.	<u>κἀγὼ καθεύδειν βούλομαι καὶ στύομαι</u> <u>καὶ σκοτοβινίῳ.</u>	1220
Λα.	θύραξέ μ' ἐξενέγκατ' εἰς τοῦ Πιττάλου παιωνίαισι χερσίν.	
Δι.	ὥς τοὺς κριτάς με φέρετε. ποῦ 'στιν ὁ βασιλεὺς; ἀπόδοτέ μοι τὸν ἄσκόν.	

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Di.	<u>Oh, oh, oh, oh, oh, oh,</u> <u>what tits! Like firm quinces!</u> <u>Kiss me gently, my two jewels,</u> <u>one with lips and one with tongue.</u>	1200
	For I have drunk my jug dry first.	
La.	Oh the miserable onset of my misfortunes!	
	Ah, ah, the wounds that pain me!	1205
Di.	Oi, oi! Hello, Lamachippikins!	
La.	I am hated!	
Di.	What – are you kissing me?	
La.	I am struggling!	
Di.	What – are you biting me?	
La.	Woe is me, what a grievous clash!	1210
Di.	Did someone make you pay their slate at the Jugs?	
La.	Oh, oh, Paian, Paian!	
Di.	But there's no festival of Paion today.	
La.	Take, take this leg of mine! Ow!	
	Take hold, friends.	1215
Di.	<u>Take my thick cock in the middle, you two,</u> <u>take hold, lovers!</u>	
La.	<u>I am dizzy from being hit on the head with a stone,</u> <u>and I'm stumbling in the dark.</u>	
Di.	<u>I too want to go to bed and my cock's stiff</u> <u>and I want to fuck in the dark.</u>	1220
La.	Take me away to Pittalos' clinic, with healing hands.	
Di.	Take me to the judges. Where's the King Magistrate? Give me the wine skin!	1225

1198-1202/3 om. Holden₁

1199 om. Mitchell, Green₂, Merry, Graves, Holden₃

1201 om. Mitchell, Holden₃, Green₂, Merry, Graves²⁴

1214-21 om. Mitchell, Holden, Merry, Graves

1216-21 om. Rennie

1216-7, 1220-1 om. Green₂

Akharnians 1198-1225²⁵

The materiality of secondary sexual characteristics is as worrying for all the expurgators as the primary ones. To paraphrase Scissor Sisters, you can't get tits in *komôidia*. Furthermore, a decorous kiss is one thing, but receiving a full-on kiss from a woman – involving tongues – cannot be countenanced. Still less do any of the expurgating scholars countenance the touching (let alone masturbating) of the penis.

This survey of the evidence suggests already that there are some inconsistencies of approach, not least, in addition to those that I have mentioned already, in relation to *katapygosynê* (literally, 'taking it up the arse') and *euryprôktia* ('wide-arsedness'). Mitchell is most consistent here – the comment of the King's Eye that the Ionians (Athenians) are *khaunoprôktoi* ('have gaping arses')²⁶ and the dispute over its interpretation between Dikaiopolis and the ambassadors (103-9) meets with his disapproval no less than the *euryprôktia* of Alkibiades and Prepis, which draws the attention of some other editors, albeit not consistently (716 om. Mitchell, Holden; 843 om. Mitchell, Holden, Green₂, Graves) or shaved Kleonymos, with his 'hot-desiring arse' (119 om. Mitchell, Holden, Green₂), or the chorus-leader's wish not to

be λακαταπύγων ('a right arsehole' 664; put in square brackets by Mitchell; omitted by Holden). Even so, Mitchell keeps 79, which notes that the only people approved of in Athens are cock-suckers and queers (*laikastas* and *katapygonas*). Admittedly (as Frankie Howerd would say), this is the opportunity for a truly splendid note, which I discuss further below: for Mitchell, the expression is 'coarse but manly'.

Other editors are, as it were, rather down on cock-sucking: Holden, Green₂ and Merry omit 79. The female prostitutes, however, who are implicated in the comic explanation of the causes of the war are allowed to ply their trade unmolested by any scholar with a pen (529, 537).²⁷ This sort of inconsistency is a cause of glee for Gildersleeve, when he tackles the question of expurgation; he accuses Merry, in particular, of not getting some of the jokes.²⁸ Indeed, the greater readiness with which the older expurgators, Mitchell and, particularly in his first edition, Holden, wielded the knife reflects a keener eye for obscenity, or less preparedness to trust that innuendo could be read innocently by the innocent.²⁹ Even so, Holden could be criticised by one reviewer for not going far enough.³⁰

Holden's expurgations are particularly well sign-posted, since in addition to an explanation in his preface and apologetic justification for publishing an edition of Aristophanes for schools,³¹ he supplements his expurgated line numbers with a running header of Dindorf's unexpurgated line numbers in his first edition, and parallel numbers (in smaller type) based on Meineke in his third. The third edition also marks more omissions explicitly. Rennie, Green₂, Merry and Graves, who do not explain their practice, do keep the actual line numbers which clearly show that there are missing lines, although in some cases it might be difficult for a novice to tell whether the missing lines are missing because of colometry or because of expurgation, but Mitchell's text wholly lacks such signals.³²

Moral considerations clearly outweigh concerns of textual coherence or plausibility, especially metrical plausibility. Merry, by and large, does less metrical violence, at least in dialogue, but most expurgators will leave a half-line or even omit a word mid-line, with no clear policy and scant regard to metre and sometimes sense. One of the main reasons for this is what the writers are wanting from Aristophanes: for some, comedy was useful as evidence for law, culture, politics and customs, others emphasised the charm of its language and poetry, reflecting ancient interest in the Attic purity of the genre;³³ vulgar and obscene elements were not of paramount interest to either group, except as a barrier to the plays being read at all.³⁴ Interest in comedy as a phenomenon for its own sake is more evident among the later expurgators, particularly Merry and Rennie, but too much seems to have infringed, as Mitchell had put it (also on 663), upon the 'proper tone of comedy'.

2. Cultural, political and academic contexts

This survey of expurgation in *Akharnians* has already suggested some clear trends, both in what is removed and in why Aristophanes was tackled at all. In this section, I draw out the common threads and ask what the excisions can tell us about the reasons for expurgation, its particular scope in Aristophanes, and the assumptions of editors and users of expurgated editions. I shall also consider the nature, speed and timing of the move away from expurgation.

2. 'Seeing the meat for what it is': Aristophanic expurgation and its phallacies

Dover's pioneering article on expurgation of Greek literature offers useful starting points, but in fairly broad brush strokes. He is mostly interested in the sex, reasonably enough given that it constitutes the bulk of the material, but not at all in scatology ('a trivial matter not requiring comment or explanation'), which is unfortunate as the elements of class and gender, and the discomfort with the human body, noted above, are all points echoed in the sexual material. Dover's explanation is focused in the main on the habits of schoolboys: 'The[y] were aware that in the majority of the young the impulse to sexual activity is strong and recurrent and the imagination easily fired by a representation, even sometimes by a hint, of sexual freedom going beyond what was them [*sic*] treated as permissible in the family and at school.'³⁵ Social and sexual control is plausible enough, but the terms of that control need investigation. Dover's approach here leads him into difficulties when he explains, implausibly, that violence was not expurgated because schoolboys had ample opportunity for sexual experimentation, but not for violence. Much better was his other (rather contradictory) explanation that violence was socially useful or necessary, in military or legal contexts. Violence as a phenomenon in school is hardly unknown then or now, let alone more sanctioned, if controlled, violence in sporting contexts.³⁶ Indeed, violence in an Anglo-American context has historically been treated far differently to sex in, for example, film classification and other areas of cultural policy.³⁷

In terms of historical development, Dover's main suggestion is that the choice to expurgate or not correlates with a changing attitude to the Greeks, from the exemplary (Greeks as models, albeit with the rough edges knocked off) to the anthropological (Greeks as other). In the discussion at the Fondation Hardt, Dover was pushed on a social and political dimension, it being suggested to him (by Robert Bolgar) that expurgation belonged to the period when Classics was the standard education of the upper and middle-classes, and declined as Classics became a minority pursuit. Dover suggested briefly in response that expurgation was a mark of cultural confidence, lost after the First World War.

I suppose that up to the first World War British upper-class and middle-class society was extraordinarily confident of its own values. It knew what it wanted from the Classics, and it exploited them in order to sustain its values. Now, especially after the Second World War, this self-assurance has given way to self-doubt, humility and guilt; we do not now 'exploit' the Classics, because we are not agreed on the ends to which the study of Classics is a means. (Dover 1980, 88)

Both the socio-political explanation (sustenance of values) and the pedagogic explanation (different uses of the Greeks) are attractive, but what is missing is an account of what particular values are reflected in expurgation. One might add that the concern for those values may not only reflect and enhance upper- and middle-class identity, but also be fundamentally related to the *export* of those values in an imperial context. It must be emphasised, however, that the practice of expurgation was not exclusively British, nor exclusively imperial. Italy (as noted above) and the United States consumed expurgated Aristophanic editions;³⁸ imperial Germany (as Dover shows) did not.

A shift from an exemplary to anthropological pedagogy is something that, particularly in the post-war period, can be observed beyond Classics, although that

shift continues to be politically contested, particularly from the right.³⁹ Classics, as a once-privileged discipline, is particularly indicative of the broader trend. It is not, I think, the *displacement* of Classics in itself that is responsible for this pedagogic shift. There are, however, discipline-specific issues that can be observed, as I argue below. The historical development, however, is by no means as clear-cut as Dover presents it. Moreover, the pattern of Aristophanic expurgation is somewhat misleading. The dearth of Aristophanic editions in English in the 1920s and 1930s (compared with the 1890s and 1900s) makes it hard to observe developing editorial practice. The *use* and reprinting of expurgated versions, however, and not least the longevity of Merry, suggests that there was no great demand for the unexpurgated version. Merry's editions were reprinted and republished well into the inter-war period and at least one was printed in the post-war period. They were still being mentioned on Oxford reading lists in the early 1990s, if not exactly in complimentary terms; at the same time, Rennie's expurgated text and commentary was given equal billing on Oxford reading lists with Starkie's unexpurgated offering.⁴⁰

Choice of play is also relevant, either as complement or alternative to expurgation. Thus C.C. Felton, Professor of Greek at Harvard, offered unexpurgated editions of *Clouds* and *Birds*. In the former, he criticises Mitchell's choice of expurgating that particular play, but maintains that most of the others 'are quite unfit to have a place in any scheme of classical learning', while also maintaining (improbably) that Aristophanes was more decent than his contemporaries.⁴¹ Although Felton refuses small-scale expurgation, he seeks, in effect, to expurgate entire plays from the canon.⁴² Ironically enough, Felton's edition of the, as it were, safe *Clouds* was subsequently expurgated in T.K. Arnold's *Eclogae Aristophanicae* (1852). Other 'Selections from ...' safer plays included the Rugby editions of Sidgwick. The growing popularity of *Clouds* in the nineteenth century is reflective of this expurgation through selection, and it is no surprise either that the only new (unexpurgated) contender for the school text market in the UK until the 1990s, aside from Stanford's *Frogs* (1963), was Dover's own cut-down school edition of *Clouds* (1970).

Issues of masculinity are to the fore both in what is expurgated and, indeed, what is left in. For the more historicist critics, in particular, the positive values of Aristophanes lay in the *moral* dimension, as the pursuer of wickedness and harrier of sophists. Thus Mitchell can excuse (some of) Aristophanic obscenity and insult by characterising it as 'coarse but manly'. The fact that *Akharnians* 79 is used in aggressive, but anonymous and generic, abuse (and not of any historical individuals) no doubt also eased its retention. As the work of a scholar who wears his cultural and political prejudices on his sleeve and makes it plain that pedagogy is about training future administrators and politicians, Mitchell's commentary is an absolute treasure trove. Some of his positions are not universally endorsed by contemporaries and later editors – a strong line in support of the Spartans (as 'gentlemen') and thus praise of the personal peace treaty found particular fault⁴³ – but his praise of a hardy masculinity in Aristophanes (and in the character of Dikaiopolis) is echoed by other editors. Despite his elision elsewhere of the *katapygones* and *euryprôktoi*, the masculinity of aggression and satire can encompass the mention of such horrors as cock-sucking and anal sex, however coyly annotated:

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79. λαικαστάς. The expression is coarse, but manly; and the morality as sound in principle as it is logical in deduction. Intemperance in diet is generally, and almost necessarily, followed by excesses and vices of a still more odious character. Translate, *sensualists*.

Ιβ καταπυγónας. Translate, if at all, *infamous profligates*. On the fouler stains of antiquity, it will form no part of this publication to dilate. If one record or two has been allowed to remain in these pages, it is for the sake of pointing to the doom assigned to such crimes in that terrific register of human guilt and human punishment, the Inferno of Dante.

Aimè, che piaghe vidi ne' lor membri,
Recenti e vecchie dalle fiamme incese!
Ancor men' duol, pur ch' i' me ne rimembri.

Canto XVI

Ah me! what wounds I mark'd upon their limbs,
Recent and old, inflicted by the flames!
E'en the remembrance of them grieves me yet.

Cary's Transl.

Non ragionam di lor, ma guarda e passa.

Canto III.

Speak not of them, but look, and pass them by.

Such aggressive masculinity is also connected to obscenity by Felton, the critic of Mitchell. He argues that 'The Attic drama – at least the comedy ... – never felt the refining influence which the society of women exercises over the character and works of man'.⁴⁴ Likewise, for Rennie, 'The position of Athenian women precluded the possibility of Comedy in the highest sense'.⁴⁵ When Aristophanes goes too far, it is the excess of all men together.

Gender is also implicated in the concerns over sex and bodies, and the way they are expurgated. In general, a little light obscenity is allowed, but discussion and, in particular, display of genitalia, both male and female, is suppressed. Some of Mitchell's concerns with defecation may also fall into this category, but clearly it is the sexual organs that are particularly taboo. As far as masculinity is concerned, the loss of inhibition or control is clearly the major issue, and it is problematic that this is symbolised in particular by the phallus.

Some suggestion of sex may be allowed, but *in the right way*. Notions of female sexuality, in particular, are ruthlessly suppressed, by all our writers, with the modest exception of professionals – occasionally. In the examples I discussed earlier, it is quite clear that it is active female sexuality that is particularly problematic: women kissing men (with tongue), rather than vice-versa, women (or in the case of the pigs, girls) enjoying sex, women taking the initiative in securing peace and sex, women knowing what to do with massage oil, or using the male penis. Dover may be right that such topics may be more than febrile young male minds can take, but there is surely a broader point to be made here about the construction of gender and sexuality in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Whatever else you can say about Aristophanic gender stereotypes, they are a mile away from the ideologies of the period.

Holden's edition of *Lysistrata* combines all these elements. Holden does such violence to *Lysistrata* in his first edition that even he has to call them *excerpta*, and relegates the offending passages out of sequence to the end of the book. With female

control of sexuality *and* loss of male control, and its visual representation in clearly ithyphallic characters, this play exemplifies a set of problems which the expurgators had with Aristophanic comedy. Thus Holden omits in particular:

- the revelation (119-66) of the plan to the women (with a note that *Suadet Lysistrata feminas suum quamque virum derelinquere, mox jurejurando adactura ne prius ad illos redeant, quam mutui belli finem fecerint*, 'Lysistrata persuades the women that they should each leave their husbands, and will subsequently compel them by the swearing of an oath not to return to them until they should make an end of the war', Holden 1848, 411)
- the oath itself (212-36)
- the attempt of the women to feign pregnancy and escape the Acropolis (706-76; keeping only 706-9, 718.5-9, 726-7.5 762-8)
- the climax of the Myrrhine-Kinesias scene (904-79)
- and the following introduction of the ithyphallic ambassadors (980-1013; retaining only 980-1, 994, 1000(part)-1001(part), 1005(part)-6, 1007-12(part), 1013)

In the second and third editions, Holden is less coy about female drunkenness and (feigned) pregnancy; female power over sexuality remains anathema (cuts to the Myrrhine-Kinesias scene remain in place) and waving phalluses are still out of the question (albeit more selectively handled). Such emphases in Aristophanic expurgation may require modification of the 'loss of confidence' theory; against, or in addition to, that, can be set other types of cultural change, not least changing attitudes to the body in general, a growing acknowledgement of female sexuality, but also the changing role of women socially and politically, and within Classics as a discipline.⁴⁶

The unrestrained phallus, however, stood for more than sex alone or even a manly aggression. For Dover, the problem that the nineteenth-century scholars had with the phallus is that they could not understand a religion that admitted of, in particular, *humour*. Indeed, for Dover, the phallus does not really have a great deal to do with Dionysos, but everything to do with comedy. But Mitchell is all too aware of other currents in Dionysiac worship that are problematic for him. His note on the *phallikon* (230) makes it plain. After summarising (somewhat obliquely) theories on the nature and symbolism of fertility cult, he draws closer to what, for him, is the essential truth of the phallus: it is symbolic of *political* liberty and that is why it needs to be suppressed. Such liberation leads to a general 'deep depravation of manners' and 'emancipation from political restraint and control'. It would be going too far to see Holden as a Bakhtinian before his time, but one can see similarities. Not for Mitchell the circumscription of licence (cf. Halliwell and others): certainly Dionysiac cult was permitted by the elite, he chides that elite for their *political mistake*; it represents the 'popular triumph over their rulers'.

Other expurgators are not as candid as Mitchell, and many are hostile to his political views and instead praise Aristophanic (social and political) freedom, while deploring its excesses (such as targeting Socrates). Even for Felton, there is a clear sense of sexual and social freedom being interdependent. Thus Bolgar's political and class-based perspective is an ongoing element in the negotiation of expurgation and not (only) a feature of post-imperial decline. The growing extension of the franchise,

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the emergence of organised working-class politics and the importance of organised labour, and the widening of access to education, may mean that by the 1920s, at least, the political and social context of such sexual and political freedom was markedly different from that in which Mitchell and Holden, for example, were operating. After the 1944 Education Act, the students themselves, at least in the state sector, while certainly a minority, would have been rather more diverse at both school and university than hitherto.

The immediate target audience of expurgated editions is usually assumed to be school pupils, but the distinction between school and university use is somewhat problematic and far from exclusive. Some of the expurgated editions are explicitly intended for school use: thus Holden's large edition, despite its emphasis on textual matters, is aimed explicitly at schools, although more than one reviewer found its austerity and lack of explanatory notes a drawback to this aim.⁴⁷ Others, such as Mitchell, Turner (despite the title page) and Felton are explicitly aimed at both audiences, with little distinction. The briefer and cheaper editions of Graves, Green and Merry are usually taken by their audiences to be school editions, and there is a broad distinction in scope and scale to be observed between these and larger-scale, more critical or scholarly editions, but it only holds up to a point. While the larger editions may be more aimed at university level and above, Merry's commentaries themselves were seen by at least one reviewer as having a place in the university ecology.⁴⁸ Given the blurring between the two, it is perhaps not entirely surprising that expurgation is neither limited to the 'school manual' nor universally to be found there. There are clearly school editions that do not expurgate and critical editions that do. Green's 1867 edition, as far as I can tell, does not expurgate at all, even though that was modified in subsequent editions. As I have discussed, Felton's school and college edition of *Clouds* and *Birds* likewise does not expurgate. Conversely, as late as 1909, Rennie's text and commentary does expurgate. In scope, this edition is broadly similar to other large-scale works of the time such as those by Starkie (including the almost simultaneous edition of *Akharnians*), of Neil on *Knights* or of Sharpley on *Peace*, and is far more substantial than that of Paley, which is explicitly pitched against 'expurgated school-manuals'.⁴⁹ The advanced nature of Rennie's work (particularly in the commentary) is noted in its reception; one reviewer discusses using it with a sixth form as well as with university students, but notes that much of the material was aimed at the classical scholar and over the heads of the young.⁵⁰ Given its unexpurgated peers, we might regard Rennie as something of an anachronism at this level, which may reflect the particular context in which he was working. It is not perhaps surprising that the last hurrah in expurgation of *Akharnians*, at least, came from Glasgow, where Christian influence, Protestant (as previously dominant in the University of Glasgow) or Catholic, is still rather more of a cultural factor than elsewhere in the UK: indeed, the *Life of Brian* was only allowed in cinemas in 2009.⁵¹

In addition to this broad division between genres of edition, however, the practice of expurgation has to be seen in the context of competing and contested notions of scholarship. Brink has presented a rather one-sided view of the obsessions of English Classics in the nineteenth century, focusing on composition rather than critical scholarship;⁵² and it is clear that many of the expurgators are directly or indirectly writing for and coming out of that milieu, with notions of charm (Holden) and taste

to the fore. Indeed, we may see the reluctance to engage with bodies as in part due to the ideology of taste that runs through such scholarship. Merry sets out, in a review of Church's epitome of comic stories, some of the principles that needed to be applied to expurgating Aristophanes.

There is a full flavour about the plays which has to be toned down, a grossness of expression has to be pruned, without leaving the plays scentless and flat: there is a 'topical' element in the jests and the situations, which must neither be neglected nor overborne by commentary: there is the political and social purpose, which must be kept in view without being obtruded: and – hardest of all – there is a characteristic subtlety and lightness of touch, and a constant suggestion of true poetry, never obscured in the original by the coarser and commoner surroundings, which must, somehow, be retained even in an epitome, if it is to give a truthful sketch. (Merry 1893)

It is important, however, to stress that the reception of Merry's editions, far from seeing this, as Brink would, as the antithesis of true scholarship, viewed this instead as central to it. Thus Tyrrell, himself an expurgator of note, describes Merry's contribution as follows:

His editions, unpretending in appearance and modest in tone, show most of the highest qualities which an editor of Aristophanes ought to possess – a faculty of concise and clear exposition, a keen appreciation of the niceties of Aristophanic idiom, a sense of humour, and a taste for turning phrases. (Tyrrell 1891)

It is not, however, only fellow-expurgators who saw in Merry serious scholarship. Starkie (a serious scholar and critic, by any standard, and no expurgator) described it as refined, delicate and scholarly.

The latest instalment of Dr. Merry's edition of Aristophanes maintains the high level of its predecessors. It displays the same literary skill in translation, the same refined scholarship, and the same delicate appreciation of wit and humour. To the man of the world, who wishes to renew his acquaintance with the greatest works of Aristophanes, no edition can be more highly recommended.

As school-books, Dr. Merry's volumes have the merit, which is rarely met with in present-day text-books, of not superseding the use of grammar or dictionary. They are suggestive without being exhaustive. (Starkie 1895, 117)

There was, however, an alternative approach to scholarship, heavy on textual criticism and systematic study, increasingly influenced by Dutch and, especially, German scholarship. Admittedly, some of the English exponents (e.g. Blaydes) were somewhat eccentric, and the general English approach in the field of comedy was conservative and nationalistic about textual criticism in equal measure, preferring to look back to Elmsley, Porson and Bentley⁵³ rather more than across the Channel. Nonetheless, this current in English Classics is particularly to be seen influencing the larger works (including that of Holden, especially in his somewhat less expurgated third edition). Thus Paley, in his preface to *Akharnians*, argues for the need for large critical editions, and after dwelling extensively on the faults of the more adventurous Teutonic criticism, has a side-swipe at school-manuals, and ends up with this revealing assessment of expurgation:

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Though I admit with regret that some passages in this play are not fit for school-reading, I nevertheless object altogether to expurgated editions, as serving no really good purpose, while they misrepresent or pervert the whole tenor and character of a play. No young student need read verses that are certain not to be set nor in any way asked for: every one can read them in the cheap texts of Aristophanes that are so readily procurable. Jokes of this kind are generally as silly as they are coarse; they are fitted only to give pleasure to the mob, for whom they were meant, and no well-regulated mind will dwell on them with delight. I think it better to let an ancient author (if he is to be read at all) speak for himself, than to attempt to make him appear moral when he is not so. (Paley 1876, vii)

Much more squarely in the tradition of Germanic philology is the most prominent stance against expurgation in Anglo-American scholarship of the period. Gildersleeve in his 'Brief Mentions' in *AJP* addresses the issue in relation to Aristophanes on at least two occasions.⁵⁴ On the latter occasion, he explicitly cites a denunciation by Körte of Graves' expurgated edition. It is indeed rather splendidly splenetic:

Das Büchelchen besticht zunächst durch seine handliche Form, gefällige Ausstattung und die Knappheit des Kommentars; es ist aber ganz wertlos, ja geradezu schädlich. Daß der Herausgeber seinen Vorgängern gegenüber ganz unselbständig ist, ja ihre Angaben oft mißversteht, daß er von der neueren Bühnenforschung keinerlei Kenntnis hat, sind schon üble Mängel; aber noch viel schlimmer ist die Dreistigkeit, mit der er sich erlaubt, Aristophanes zu kastrieren. Man sollte es kaum für möglich halten, daß die Cambridger University Press im Jahre 1905 eine offenbar für Studenten bestimmte Aristophanesausgabe zu drucken gewagt hat, in der stillschweigend alles ausgemerzt – ist, was für eine höhere Tochter anstößig sein könnte.

The little book is especially notable for its handy form, pleasing appearance and the concision of the commentary; it is, however, entirely worthless, indeed, to be blunt, harmful. That the editor is entirely dependent on his predecessors, indeed often misunderstands their statements, that he has no knowledge whatsoever of recent work on the stage, are a bad enough defect; but much uglier still is the impertinence with which he permits himself to castrate Aristophanes. One should think it hardly possible that Cambridge University Press has, in the year 1905, ventured to publish an edition of Aristophanes evidently meant for students, in which everything is silently culled which could be offensive for a young lady. (Körte 1911, 262-3)

In addition to the social and cultural factors, the development of Classics as a discipline is thus also clearly important. The extension and refreshing of existing traditions of textual criticism in Britain and Ireland by the growing importance of, in particular, German scholarship is, although gradual and variable, a further reason why expurgation dies away as a practice that might be described as scholarly. But the culturally-located and the discipline-located explanations inter-relate. Körte, writing in 1911, is assuming that scholarship is a masculine (and perhaps professional) activity. It is still reasonable, for Körte, to spare a well-born lady the obscenity of Aristophanes. Gildersleeve, who apes him, likewise hedges his own amused stance on expurgation:

... as Greek does not blush, the awkwardness of expounding Aristophanes to mixed classes of men and women may be obviated and has been obviated by referring the sex of which La Fontaine says, 'ses oreilles sont chastes', to the scholiast. (Gildersleeve 1915, 237)

The delicacy of the mocking Gildersleeve is as revealing, in its way, of the rationale for expurgation as the comments of some of the expurgating or selective editors themselves. Gender, sexuality, performativity and the changing pedagogic environment are all bound up in this recourse to the Aristophanic scholia. Reading on the page, in Greek, is clearly perceived by Gildersleeve as less damaging than witnessing (let alone participating in) discussion in the vernacular. His concern for the threat posed by pedagogic immediacy is not so far away from the concern displayed by the expurgators in terms of the immediacy of the body, particularly their playing down of the dramatic instantiation of genitalia, male and female.

3. Phallogogy: visual expurgation

For all that Gildersleeve nods towards Körte and German scholarship on Aristophanes, he has not fully taken on board Körte's criticism of Graves. Körte's objections were not only to the expurgation but also to the lack of familiarity with the latest work on the stage, and that must be as much material as literary: the growing accumulation of archaeological evidence for ancient theatre. The unconcern for, if not avoidance of, the material evidence and a penchant for expurgation are complementary. The visual and material evidence, which Körte was himself a pioneer in assembling,⁵⁵ by its immediacy makes it impossible to evade the grotesque dimension of Old Comedy, whether by deliberate excision or by shuffling students off to scholia (or, as Felton suggests, *lexica*⁵⁶). It would be particularly inimical to the emphasis on taste that is seen in Merry and other English scholars. It is surely no coincidence that it is German scholarship that is particularly insistent not only on textual accuracy but also on contextual and dramatic accuracy and immediacy.

The linguistic, literary and historical interests of scholarship on Greek drama in the English-speaking world took longer to shift, however. Whether Merry, Graves and their contemporaries were demonstrating ignorance, unconcern or a delicately blind eye, their position is understandable in the context of English scholarship as it had developed. Over forty years later, major publications had made the evidence more readily available and difficult to ignore, not least the work of Bieber, translated into English for a major US academic press, and the (still relatively cautious) use of such material in the first editions of Pickard-Cambridge's handbooks.⁵⁷ Yet an attempt by Webster to discuss the visual dimension of Old and Middle Comedy through archaeological material in the late 1940s and early 1950s⁵⁸ led to a backlash and a determined effort to resist, with an exchange of no fewer than five further articles in the *Classical Quarterly* debating the presence or absence of the phallus in Greek Comedy.

Webster, drawing on work in German scholarship (Körte and Bieber, among others), as well as his own engagement with the material evidence, argued for the presence of the phallus and grotesque padding as the normal costume of comic actors. He also posited a link between Attic Comedy and South Italian vases (the so-called phlyax vases).⁵⁹ Both positions are now widely accepted, indeed constitute scholarly orthodoxy,⁶⁰ thanks in large part to the efforts of Webster and his colleagues in systematically cataloguing the material evidence.⁶¹ In a critique of Webster, Beare set his face against the material evidence and rested his case largely on textual evidence and even more on his own assumptions and preoccupations.⁶²

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The debate happens in a social, cultural and educational context that is very different to that of Merry, Graves and Rennie, let alone Mitchell and Holden. Nonetheless, Beare's concern to remove the visual dimension of vulgarity and obscenity seems to share the concerns of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century textual expurgators, both in the priority given to text and to the emphasis on taste. The vehemence and persistence of the debate is another reason why I would question Dover's more straightforward account of historical progression; even Gould and Lewis in the revised version of *Pickard-Cambridge* show it considerable respect, even though they disagree with his categorical conclusion;⁶³ the Beare/Webster debate was reassessed scrupulously and seriously by Stone in the early 1980s;⁶⁴ indeed, for me as a student in the 1990s, the debate was still being presented as one worth considering.

The best textual evidence that might support the absence of a phallus is the passage from *Clouds* where Aristophanes is reflecting on his early career and setting out the qualities of his comedy, particularly the first version of *Clouds*, compared to a modest young girl.

ὥς δὲ σώφρων ἐστὶ φύσει σκέψασθ', ἥτις πρῶτα μὲν
οὐδὲν ἦλθε ραψαμένη σκῦτινον καθειμένον
ἐρυθρὸν ἐξ ἄκρου, παχύ, τοῖς παιδίοις ἴν' ἢ γέλως.

Notice how she is modest in nature: first, she
came without stitching together a dangling leather rod
red at the tip, and thick, to make the kids laugh.

Clouds 537-9

As a result of this passage, some scholars have inferred that the actors in *Clouds* did not wear the phallus. My own view is that this *style* of phallus is standing by metonymy for a broader style of comedy rather than describing the costume of the actors; but in common with many claims of Aristophanic sophistication in this parabasis, it needs to be taken with a large pinch of salt. But I don't want to re-open this question, so much as look at the nature and motivation behind Beare's stance against the phallus. Beare presents his argument as a point of scholarly interpretation, yet his antipathy towards German scholarship is palpable, not here for its text-critical concerns, but for its use of archaeology and perhaps also for its systematising tendencies. Webster's concern for arguments from archaeology, rather than from the text, argues Beare, is in the tradition of German work on the stage, which he traces back to Körte.

An elaborate theory has been built up by German scholarship which derives the dress of the *actors* (as distinct from the *chorus* of Old Comedy) from that worn by performers in early Peloponnesian mimes, and this again from the appearance of the Dionysiac demons shown in Corinthian vases, a common element throughout being the phallus and the use of the padding; while the connexion of this with the stage is clinched by the evidence of the *phlyakes*-vases. (Beare 1954, 67)

Beare's anxieties are more than those of the literary specialist confronted by the menace of archaeology. Rather, he seems to share the emphasis of his textual expurgators on

taste. He is prepared, unlike them, to countenance reference to sex and to the body, but not the vulgarity of *its visual representation*. This is most noticeable, again, in his discussion of women. One of his main arguments against visual representation of the phallus is drawn from the references to female genitalia in Old Comedy: it is literally *inconceivable* for Beare that such things might be visually represented.⁶⁵ And if female genitalia can be mentioned but not shown, then likewise the references to τὸ πέος and similar: verbally explicit, but left unseen. It is an extraordinary vision of scenes such as the ithyphallic Athenians of *Lysistrata* or Mnesilokhos trying (and failing) to hide his phallus from the women in *Thesmophoriazusae*.

Beare is also concerned by matters of incongruity, refusing to accept a degree of the grotesque, especially in characters that are said to be younger or more attractive; again, he focuses on female characters. 'Even for the Greeks, daintiness was an important part of feminine charm,' he notes.⁶⁶ This certainly shows how Beare's notions of gender are infecting his scholarship; but the issue of taste extends more widely to the whole tenor of Aristophanic poetry; the incongruity of grotesque costume would undermine the emotional and literary qualities of the poetry:

Much of the dialogue is certainly indecent; but much is serious, impassioned, and deeply moving. Verbal jest, however broad, may be forgotten a moment after it is spoken, and the actors who spoke it may address in very different vein. But theatrical costume cannot be altered every time the mood changes. Which is the greater incongruity: to suppose that some of the finest poetry of the Greek stage was spoken by actors dressed as obscene clowns, or to suppose that all the lines of Old Comedy, whether merry or grave, may have been uttered by actors in the costume of everyday life? (Beare 1954, 75)

The shift is from disturbing elements within the poetry to disturbing elements surrounding the poetry, but the concerns are the same. Like some of the textual expurgators (particularly Mitchell) he sees and values in Aristophanes a gravity and moral seriousness, which for him would be vitiated if characters were representation in grotesque or comic form. Here, Beare differs from de Ste Croix, who ignores the visual dimension and in his elision of comic elements maintains a textual perspective which would be familiar to the expurgators. Indeed, whether visual or textual, the problem of marrying these grotesque and comic elements with the serious or literary or moral Aristophanes is still proving troublesome to critics – not so much, the issue of seeing the meat for what it is, but keeping both balls in the air, as it were.

4. Conclusion

To conclude, the dispute over the costume of Aristophanic comedy in the 1950s raises issues that are still bothering classical scholars, but which can be traced back to the concerns of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century commentators, who expurgated Aristophanic texts. Concerned to preserve the charm and elegance of Aristophanic Greek, or to present his satirical vigour, unfettered by vulgar obscenity, they excised references to the body, especially genitals, and to sexual, and to a lesser extent scatological, elements. The phallus stands here as one signifier of anxiety: the liberation which it embodies, social, sexual and political, needs to be suppressed;

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but it is in the policing of gender that the interventions of the expurgators are most noticeable: restrained but tough masculinity needs to be upheld and female sexuality in particular needs to be closed down. These concerns reflect the evolving social, sexual, political and pedagogical contexts, and their effects can still be felt in British Classics today.

Notes

1. Wilson 2007, 11 has drawn attention to evidence for an expurgated text of Aristophanes at an early humanist school in the first half of the fifteenth century and for an expurgated translation of around the same date.

2. Beare 1954, 1957, 1959; Webster 1954, 1955, 1957.

3. de Ste Croix 1972, 368.

4. Dover 1980, concentrating on texts. For translations, see especially Roberts 2008. For theatrical translations, see also Henderson 2002, 508-10.

5. The translation was based heavily on whatever existing translations I could find: at least those of Sommerstein, Rogers and Dudley Fitts. The school, Colchester Royal Grammar School, was a selective state school.

6. I have it on good authority that the play was also responsible for putting one audience member in touch with his sexuality. You win some, you lose some.

7. Cupaiuolo 1914.

8. Dover also uses the play extensively in his article on expurgation.

9. From the title page of the second edition.

10. For the second edition, I have used a 1892 Longmans edition cross-referenced with a 1871 edition published by Severs Francis in the US.

11. I have consulted an edition of 1870.

12. His second edition for Rivingtons (and Severs Francis), however, and his editions for Longmans and Cambridge do expurgate.

13. I have not included the various editions by Dindorf in this list of editions, although some of those were printed in Britain; nor have I included Bekker's edition, published in London in 1829.

14. Editions are marked in what follows by subscript numerals.

15. Mitchell also objects to the Theban pipers blowing 'the dog's arse' (863), again uniquely.

16. Literally 'from the scrub', with a pun on Phales.

17. On circumcision, see Dover 1987, 293-4 and Dover on *Clouds* 538-9, cf. Henderson 1991, 110-11 and Olson on *Akharnians* 157-61, who maintain against Dover that the Odomantoi may have erect rather than circumcised phalluses here, whatever Dikaiopolis' allegation.

18. Rennie places this in angle brackets.

19. A running in joke in both *Thesm.* and *Frogs*. On disguise, see especially Muecke 1982.

20. Henderson 1991, 117-19, although he is curiously coy about the dried figs (ισχάδες) in this particular passage. See however Olson on 801-3; cf. also Henderson's Loeb translation.

21. It is not clear to me why Green just omits 803; it is not obviously a case of expurgation.

22. I have not managed to locate a copy of Holden's second edition.

23. For the intersection of class and sexuality, including the gap between upper- and middle-class ideology and actual practice, see Barret-Ducrocq 1991.

24. Green also transposes 1204 and 1205. Graves transposes 1203 and 1204 and regularises stichomythia; Holden, and Merry transpose and assign both to Dikaiopolis.

25. Here I prefer Henderson's text.

26. Mitchell also omits 404, perhaps because of the Khaonians ('Gapers').

27. Henderson 1991, 153 argues that λαικάζω and cognates refer to sexual debauchery and prostitution in particular, rather than cock-sucking, but see Bain 1991, 74-7, Jocelyn 1980 and Olson on 79. It is probable that λαικάζω and cognates were understood by editors as referring to sexual intercourse more generally, but the point about inconsistency remains.

28. Gildersleeve 1900, 230.
29. The third edition I have seen includes the second edition of *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusae* of 1861, which are also less expurgated than the first edition.
30. In *The Athenaeum* 2181 of 14 August 1869 (p. 206), referring to *Lysistrata* 21-4 and alluding to many similar oversights in *Peace*.
31. Holden 1848, vii.
32. The Italian edition of *Birds* by Cupaiuolo (1914) marks omissions within the line by asterisks, a practice not widely adopted by British expurgators. Rennie marks an ellipsis at the end of 1064 and indicates the expurgation of 1147-9 and 1216-21 with asterisks; Holden, marks the missing 1199 and 1201; Mitchell resorts to a (misleading) English explanation to cover 863. Green 1873 flags the change of editorial policy towards expurgation in the preface to *Peace*, but I have not observed it elsewhere in his editions.
33. *optimus Graecitatis magister, ex quo, tanquam ex fonte quodam, profluit nativus Attici sermonis lepor, cujus in comoediis, tanquam in speculo, depicti redduntur Atheniensium mores et quotidiana vitae forique consuetudo*, 'the best teacher of Greekness, from whom, as if from some spring, the native charm of Attic speech flows, in whose comedies, as if shown in a mirror, the character of the Athenians and their everyday habits of life and politics are represented' according to Holden 1848, vii, in a preface that seeks to emphasise that the undertaking was not for immoral purposes.
34. *Ibid.*; cf. Momigliano 1980, 307.
35. Dover 1980, 70.
36. For criticism, see Kenney 1982, citing real and fictional Victorian violence in schools. Akiba et al. 2002 compare modern school violence in 37 countries; for the UK, see Watkins et al. 2007, with bibliography.
37. For a perspective on this, Norwegian censors in the time of the Hays Code were cutting almost exclusively violence from imported cinema: above all, Hollywood films, but secondly British productions.
38. As late as 1896, Holden was being recommended as essential for the US high school library (Meador 1896).
39. As I write, the Mayor of London is requesting talks on famous Greeks and Romans in the run-up to the Olympics.
40. As a commentary rather than a text, admittedly, I confess that it was with some shock that I only noticed it was expurgated when I wrote this paper.
41. Felton 1858, xvii, and generally xvii-xviii. See also Felton 1849, iii.
42. Both decisions endorsed by the reviewer in *The North American Review* 53, no. 113 (1841), 526-9 at 528-9.
43. See reviews in *The Athenaeum*, 10 January 1835, 27-8; *The Eclectic Review* 13 (1843), 260-78; also the review of his *Wasps* in *The Athenaeum*, 31 October 1835, 809-10.
44. Felton 1858, xviii.
45. Rennie 1909, 9.
46. See Hardwick 2000.
47. See, e.g., *The Athenaeum*, 14 August 1869, 206; *Fraser's Magazine* 40, no. 236, August 1869, 147-58, at 148.
48. See the review of Merry's *Frogs* in *The Academy*, 31 May 1884, 382; contrast the review of *Knights* in the same journal (19 November 1887, 334). For Merry in the late twentieth century, see note above.
49. Referring to Green and (the translation of) Hailstone: Paley 1876, vi.
50. See *The Athenaeum* 18 September 1909, 326; cf. comments on its 'scholastic' value in *The Academy*, 10 April 1909, 969-70 at 969.
51. For the BBC report, see http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/glasgow_and_west/8126490.stm, published 6 June 2009; accessed 11 August 2011. Rennie later moved to Trinity College, Dublin, but published *Akharnians* while still at Glasgow.
52. Brink 1986.
53. For this earlier generation of English scholarship, see Clarke 1945.
54. Gildersleeve 1900, 229-30, on Merry's *Peace*; Gildersleeve 1915, 236-8.

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55. See Körte 1893.
56. Felton 1858, xviii.
57. Bieber 1939; Pickard-Cambridge 1927, 1953.
58. Webster 1948, 1952, 1954.
59. Webster 1948.
60. Foley 2000, Revermann 2006, 145-59; evidence for the comic body is collected by Stone 1984, 19-155.
61. Webster and Green 1978.
62. Beare 1954, 1957, 1959; replies by Webster 1955, 1957.
63. Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 221.
64. The debate is summarised by Stone 1984, 72-5.
65. Beare 1954, 73.
66. Beare 1954, 74.

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Headlam's Herodas: the art of suggestion

Daniel Orrells

No less an institution than the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (third edition) cites Walter Headlam's edition of and commentary on Herodas as a 'great monument ... of learning' along with Fraenkel on Aeschylus and Nisbet-Hubbard on Horace. The entry on 'Literary Theory and Classical Studies', written by Don and Peta Fowler, locates such scholarship at the beginning of modern literary criticism of the classics, reassuring classicist-readers that 'there is much in traditional philology of which the discipline can be proud'. Walter Headlam was a fellow of King's College Cambridge from 1890 until his sudden death in 1908 aged 42. A direct descendant of the famous Cambridge classicist Richard Bentley, Walter grew up in an extremely accomplished upper-middle-class family, which abounded in brigadier-generals, bishops, Professors of Greek and well known literary critics.¹ After Harrow, he won a scholarship to King's in 1884; was made a fellow in 1890; and by 1903 had been awarded three Sir William Browne gold medals, the Porson prize, and a Doctor of Literature degree. A highly ambitious young scholar, he wrote a scathing critique of his Trinity colleague Arthur Verrall's editions of Aeschylus, which elicited a response from the author.² This was indeed an exciting time to be a classicist. The British presence in Egypt ensured a constant flow of papyri to the British Museum in London, and one of the most interesting discoveries was of the text of Herodas, an author whose work was hitherto hardly known. And it was to the promising new fellow of King's (tipped one day to be Regius Professor of Greek) that the task of writing the Herodas commentary was consigned.

The publication of the papyri recording Herodas' poetry should, however, have caused more excitement. As Frederic Kenyon wrote in 1891 in his *editio princeps* on the newly discovered poems: 'It is not often that a literary discovery can restore to us, not merely a work or an author hitherto practically unknown, but a species of ancient literature of which no complete specimen has been extant in modern times.'³ But with a wink to the professional Victorian classicist, he hoped that Herodas might portend the discovery of more poems by Sappho. As Headlam would quickly find out, Herodas' corpus features sexually provocative and desirous women who enjoy the company of other women in a way quite different from the intellectual Sappho presented in Henry Wharton's 1885 edition of her work. Although it might seem puzzling why such an ambitious scholar should have chosen to prove his reputation with Herodas, who Kenyon himself had stressed was *no* great classic, Headlam's commentary does

tell us a lot about the professional and personal interests of the 1890s classicist. The relationship between sexuality and classical scholarship received intense public attention in 1895 when Oscar Wilde tried to defend the Platonic love that dare not speak its name. The effects of Wilde's downfall were profound, contributing to growing questions about the relevance and utility of a classical education for modern Britons. The shadow of Wilde loomed large over Edwardian Englishmen, as we can read in E.M. Forster's *Maurice*, in which the eponymous hero obsessively worries that his love for Clive might make him another 'Oscar'. Headlam's subtle and learned commentary, on the other hand, examined the significance of ancient Greek texts for modern *female* sexuality and same-sex desire. In this essay, we will explore how Herodas' complex textuality in *Mimiamb* 6 offered Headlam a way to write about, albeit in Greek and Latin, prickly contemporary questions concerning female sexual passions and female education. In this poem, two friends, Metro and Koritto, discuss the whereabouts of a fabulous, but missing, dildo. Herodas' poem, though, is not a lewd, obscene, explicitly pornographic text. Apart from Headlam's non-translation of Herodas' word for dildo, there was little call for expurgation here. Instead Herodas' textuality is marked by suggestion, allusiveness and double entendre. Metro's and Koritto's hunt for the dildo anticipates the reader's own hunt for obscenity behind the veneer of poetry. What is even happening in this text becomes the issue: is all this talk actually sex? Are we to imagine Metro and Koritto engaging in sexual relations? With its clever interrogation of the relationship between text and sex, Herodas' poem asks its readers to think about the language of sexual desire between women. What are two women in love meant to sound like? Can we recognise their sex-talk when we see it? Or are they just horny wives in need of their husbands?

The questions posed by *Mimiamb* 6 addressed serious concerns for intellectuals of the 1890s, exactly the moment when the Herodas papyrus was first published and when Headlam began work on his commentary. The 1890s New Woman, as we shall see, provided the context for much debate about the expression of female desire and women's education. At a time when female undergraduates were beginning to study at Oxford and Cambridge, the erotic expressiveness of Sappho and Dionysus' maenadic followers attracted women writers and intellectuals in profound measure. The possibilities for voicing female homoeroticism and for exploring female homosociality in the new women's colleges at the ancient universities were potentially liberating and radical. But the expression of female love through Greek idiom was beset with ironies and difficulties. Katherine Bradley (1846-1914) and Edith Cooper (1862-1913), aunt and niece, who lived as a married couple, published, under the pseudonym 'Michael Field', a volume of Sapphic lyrics in 1889 entitled *Long Ago*. But as Yopie Prins has asked: 'how shall we read these poems written by two women writing as a man writing as Sappho?'²⁴ Both masculine and feminine, 'Michael Field' was writing against a dense canvas of nineteenth-century Sapphos: different scholars and writers had projected the Sappho that they wanted to see, hetero- and homoerotic. In 1885 Henry Wharton published an edition of Sappho's fragments which also anthologised numerous different English translations. The fragmentation of Sappho's corpus ensured her multiplication in modernity.

Male classicists such as John Addington Symonds and Walter Pater, on the other hand, wrote admiringly about ancient Spartan pederasty, a model of manly

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homoeroticism, in which the elder was called the 'inspirer' and the youth the 'hearer'.⁵ The Spartan youth's hearing and heeding of his older lover's lessons was viewed as an ideal model of pedagogy, a model which even Plato longingly admired (as Pater examined). There was, however, great anxiety about female modes of ancient pedagogy at the end of the nineteenth century. For instance, Amy Levy's poem 'Xantippe' (1881) described the exclusion of Socrates' wife from the *Symposium*.⁶ And in the second edition of his *A Problem in Greek Ethics* (the first modern work in English on the history of homosexuality), John Addington Symonds (a friend of Headlam's) added a chapter on female homoeroticism, written partly as a result of the publication of the Herodas papyrus, in which he was damning about the possibilities of female pedagogy: in contrast to male *paiderastia*, 'feminine homosexual passions were never worked into the social system, never became educational and military agents'.⁷ Although 'Greek logic', as exemplified by Aristophanes' myth of the *Symposium*, 'admitted the homosexual female to equal rights with the homosexual male', Symonds can find 'no recorded example ... of noble friendship between women'. Even 'Aeolian women', such as Sappho, 'did not found a glorious tradition corresponding to that of the Dorian [Spartan] men. If homosexual love between females assumed the form of an institution at one moment in Aeolia, this failed to strike roots deep into the subsoil of the nation'.⁸ His disapproval of lesbianism could not be clearer when he writes: 'while the Greeks utilised and ennobled boy-love, they left Lesbian love to follow the same course of degeneracy as it pursues in modern times'.⁹ Significantly, the only explicit discussion of phallic sexuality in *A Problem in Greek Ethics* comes in this section, when he alludes to the strap-on dildos in Lucian's *Amores* and, he infers, Herodas' sixth *mimiamb*.¹⁰ Ancient and modern female homosexuals are presented as a sterile, degenerate race, incapable of reproducing themselves in a 'glorious tradition', seeding the earth as Dorian men had done – indeed they merely mimic the fecundity of the phallus with 'monstrous instruments of lust'.¹¹

The emergence of a poem starring *Metro* (~ *matêr*, 'mummy') and *Koritto* (~ *korê*, 'daughter') was to give Walter Headlam food for thought about the nature of ancient Greek female pederasty in the naughty 1890s. Male homoeroticism received a concrete public image in Oscar Wilde in 1895. Henry Labouchere's 1885 amendment that outlawed gross indecency between men (thereby extending the existing law against sodomy) remained silent, however, about sexual relations between women. Female lovers like 'Michael Field' could be explicit *and* had to be discreet about their desires.¹² Paradoxically, then, love between women could be openly expressed because it was seemingly unimaginable to many late Victorian men. Whereas young Spartan lovers fully heard their elder comrades, hearing the lessons of female erotic pedagogy in the late nineteenth century was altogether more difficult. And Herodas' suggestive text uncannily anticipated the difficulty Victorian men had in reading and recognising female desire. Rather than an exercise in straightforward expurgation, we shall see that Headlam's commentary itself becomes highly suggestive when it comes to discussing Herodas' word for dildo in *Mimiamb* 6. Just as Herodas' readers are meant to wonder about the nature of the relationship between *Metro* and *Koritto*, so Headlam's are also encouraged to dig deep into his commentary to see what evidence of female sexual desire they can be provoked to find.

Fin de siècle classics

The publication of the British Museum papyrus of Herodas occurred rather awkwardly during an intense period of discussion about women's pedagogy at British universities. In particular the access to Greek (as opposed to Latin) for female students was viewed as highly problematic. And Herodas' poetry worryingly delved into the private conversations and discourses of the so-called gentler sex, with alarming possibilities. It is no accident that there are numerous references to doors in Herodas' text. Such thresholds articulate a masculine concern for the (in)security of their *oikos* and the women residing inside. It is around this pivotal structure that much of the action of the *Mimiamboi* occurs. The front door is almost battered down by a madam in poem 1; Battarus the brothelkeeper claims that Thales came to his door at night with a torch in hand to fire his house in *Mimiamb* 2; in *Mimiamb* 3, Kottalos the errant schoolboy, according to his mother, would not know where to find the door of his teacher. Kynno notices a door in the temple is open so that there is rare and precious access to the sacristy in *Mimiamb* 4. Although *Mimiamb* 5 does not specifically mention the word 'door', Bitinna bemoans the fact that she gave her slave and lover Gastron freedom, and let him roam out of doors to associate with other people. In *Mimiamb* 6 Koritto notes how 'every door nowadays shudders at the tax-collector', and at the end of the poem, Koritto asks her slave-girl to shut the door. And in *Mimiamb* 7, Metro has taken some women to the door of Kerdon the cobbler. Herodas' poems, then, give readers a sense that they are eavesdropping, that they are listening into what they cannot or even should not be hearing. Herodas' textuality consists of a series of grumbles, barks, murmurs, groans and shrieks: *gruxo*, *laleo*, *analaleo*, *tonthoruzo*, *hulakteo*. The *Mimiamb*s are filled with asides, references, allusions, proverbial sayings, double entendres, innuendo and snatches of meaning. As Headlam himself observed (in the Introduction to his edition), Herodas' 'difficulty lies in the fact that he is alluding, and his allusions, however easy for his audience, for us are difficult.'¹³ No Prologue introduces this poetry-book – we don't get a programme, a sense of how to listen to these women. Instead we have to listen *in*.

So precisely why might Herodas have seemed such a dangerous text in the 1890s, a second-rate Sappho? From the opening poem, we see sexually desirous and dangerously available women. This first poem features a woman, whose husband is away, while she is being tempted by a procuress. This anti-Penelope works as an introduction to the *dramatis personae* in the rest of the book: *Mimiamb* 3 stars a woman who enjoys seeing her son beaten black and blue by his schoolteacher. In the fourth poem, in the temple of Asklepios, Kynno and Kokkale admire the beautiful statues. Kokkale sadistically admires a naked boy: 'he will bleed, will he not, if I scratch him ...' (4.59-60). A few lines on she remarks that 'I should have screamed for fear the [statue of the] ox would do me harm' (4.70), alluding scandalously to stories of women raped by gods. The sadomasochism continues in Poem 5, where Bitinna chastises her slave Gastron for no longer having sex with her, and has him beaten: is this text designed to shock the reader or turn him on, fantasising about the prospect of being enslaved to a woman? Indeed all these poems would have quite perfectly

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provoked contemporary, 1890s anxieties about the so-called New Woman. Although there was little agreement about what the New Woman was, numerous, conflicting images and stereotypes circulated. Grant Allen's novel *The Woman Who Did* championed free love; other women activists re-examined the role of motherhood; suffragettes contested constitutional politics; some joined socialist causes; others explored the place of women in literature and the arts; and critics (male and female) displayed concern over her mannishness.¹⁴

The publication of the Herodas papyrus occurred at a heady moment. The artwork of Aubrey Beardsley in journals such as *The Yellow Book* appeared soon after. In 1894 Beardsley was at the height of his fame, beginning the year with an illustrated version of Oscar Wilde's notorious French play *Salomé*. In 1896, Beardsley collaborated with Leonard Smithers, a London publisher of erotica, exotica and anthropology. Smithers had published Sir Richard Burton's infamous *Book of a Thousand Nights and a Night* along with its 'Terminal Essay' on pederasty in 1885. Now with Beardsley, as well as an obscene edition of *Lysistrata*, Smithers also published Juvenal's *Sixth Satire*. Beardsley's drawings give Juvenal's poem a highly sadomasochistic colouring – women impaled on columns being scourged by the satirist, and the actor Bathyllus displaying his anus to the viewer to be penetrated. Any early, learned reader of Herodas would have been aware of this 1890s material. Indeed, as we shall explore in more detail shortly, when Walter Headlam discusses the Greek word for 'dildo' in his commentary, he refers his readers to Burton's works just mentioned, with specific references to the subject. The end of nineteenth-century Britain witnessed an intense interrogation of gender roles, the seeming potency of female sexuality becoming a great source of anxiety. As Elaine Showalter has succinctly put it, 'the New Woman was an anarchic figure who threatened to turn the world upside down and to be on top in a wild carnival of social and sexual misrule'.¹⁵ The wants and desires of real women were addressed with profound intent, as social realist works such as George Gissing's *The Odd Women* (1893) boldly expressed. Headlam's Introduction subtly alludes to a troubled modern London, 'a city of dreadful delight' as Judith Walkowitz has more recently called it.¹⁶ Headlam contrasts the Athens of Menander with the Alexandria of Herodas: the former was like modern Paris, known for 'charming and delicate urbanity'. Headlam's Menander could never have produced plays at Alexandria, 'with its huge mob of mixed races, its Hellenistic tongue, its passion for shows of tawdry finery, its commercial crowd, was not the place for the flowers of Attic wit. The cultured were few ...'.¹⁷ His description clearly echoes contemporary images of London filled with all the empire, 'mixed races' as in the split, doubled worlds of Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886), Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891) and Richard Marsh's *The Beetle* (1897).

As Sally Ledger writes, 'The collision between the old and the new that characterised the *fin de siècle* marks it as an excitingly volatile transitional period; a time when British cultural politics were caught between two ages; the Victorian and the modern; a time fraught both with anxiety and with an exhilarating sense of possibility'.¹⁸ With regard to the university discipline of Classics, this tension was keenly felt. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, numerous questions were raised about the centrality of Greek and Latin on school and university curricula, highlighted by the Greek Question.¹⁹ The relevance of Classics

in the modern Victorian world was fiercely debated. At the same time, however, exciting new papyrological discoveries energised the discipline. In an article titled 'The British Museum Papyri' in *The Times* (Monday 24 August 1891), we read:

It never rains but it pours. Barely six months ago the discovery was announced in these columns of a papyrus MS. at the British Museum, containing the long-lost work of Aristotle on the Athenian Constitution; and it is only a few weeks since we noticed the appearance of the volume by Professors Mahaffy and Sayce, dealing with the Petrie papyri, among which are included the oldest fragments of classical manuscripts at present known to the world. To-day the British Museum publishes the second instalment of its new treasures ... some of them, indeed, being copies of works already known, but others being additions to the stock of extant classical literature.

These additions were the poems of Herodas, as the article goes on to announce. With the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Athenian Constitution*, Herodas, and later in 1896 'a lost classic', Bacchylides, the Christmas Eve editorial of *The Times* in 1896 could proclaim: 'A new field of investigation has lately been opened up in Egypt, where the papyri of a learned age have survived many generations of anarchical conquest and intolerant ignorance' (Thursday 24 December 1896 (issue 35082), p. 7, col. E). These brand new texts brought a thrilling modernity to Classics. In the 1891 article that alerted the public to Herodas we clearly see this excitement expressed:

The present discovery [Herodas] will not interest so wide a circle as that of the Aristotelian treasure ... It is a sign, moreover, that the hope of new accessions to those relics, which were aroused by the reappearance of the Aristotle, were not in vain, and it gives yet stronger ground of hope for the future, that works of some of the greater among the lost authors of Greece may still be buried beneath the sands of Egypt and may yet be discovered by some fortunate explorers of that country. (Monday 24 August 1891 (issue 33411), p. 6, col. C)

The romanticism in this account is clear: 'beneath the sands of Egypt ... some fortunate explorers' may find The article closes, however, with an awkward awareness about the relocation of such artefacts from Egypt to the British Museum in London:

If these follow Aristotle and Herodas to the national Museum, the satisfaction of Englishmen should not be less, although in matters of classical scholarship there is no rational ground for jealousy between the lovers of ancient literature, to whatever country and nation they may belong.

On the one hand, the writer refers to 'the satisfaction of Englishmen' whose 'national Museum' will, it is hoped, house more treasures previously 'buried beneath the sands of Egypt'. And yet, there is no reason for jealousy, since ancient literature belongs to no single 'country and nation'. At the same time as suggesting that such discoveries should be a source of national pride (indeed in January 1895, the British Museum publicly exhibited its latest papyrological finds, including Herodas),²⁰ the article's author dampens down any such suggestion. As David Fearn has recently examined, the removal of the Bacchylides fragment involved it being smuggled out of Egypt in a box of oranges by Sir Ernest Wallis Budge, Egyptologist, Orientalist and adventurer, as he recounts in his 1920 travelogue *By Nile and Tigris*. The *editio*

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princeps of Bacchylides by Frederic Kenyon in 1897, Fearn shows, mentions nothing about the complex processes of expropriation of papyri. That is to say, it was the new British presence in Egypt since 1882 that facilitated the removal of classical treasures. The English belief that ancient artefacts were safer on English soil than Egyptian was further complicated by French and German claims on the ownership of antiquity. Indeed the Antiquities Service in Cairo was left in the hands of the French in exchange for diplomatic concessions in other areas.²¹ The concern about who owned the Herodas papyrus was also reflected in John Addington Symonds' *Studies of the Greek Poets*, in the third edition of which (1893) Symonds added a chapter on Herodas. In his introduction to these, he notes that Herodas' poems 'were found, I believe, in papyrus manuscripts, which had been used to stuff a mummy-case in Egypt – much as one employs a waste-paper to wad a box containing valuable glass or china.'²² Egypt, Symonds suggests, is no place to keep this valuable Greek treasure. Of course, Kenyon also didn't give any details about how the Herodas papyrus found its way from Egypt to London. Constantine Cavafy, the contemporary Alexandrian poet, on the other hand, jibes sarcastically in his 1892 poem 'The Mimiambi of Herodas' that 'the wise men from the North [*apo ton borra sophoi | andres*]' have taken him away.²³

The concern about the domestication of Egyptian papyri within an English context is reflected in the summary of Poem 6 in the 1891 announcement in *The Times* of Kenyon's publication. Although the writer obviously does not explicitly discuss the subject matter of the poem (Metro and Koritto's search for a dildo), the joke would have been clear to any classical scholar who would have eventually read the Herodas papyrus:

In the sixth [poem], two ladies discuss a subject dear to the female heart in every age, that of dress (with an excursus on the iniquities of servants), and go into raptures over some mysterious article of attire unknown to the lexicons, conjectures as to the nature of which had better be referred to Girton or Lady Margaret's, rather than to Balliol or Trinity. The result of this conference is seen in the seventh poem, where the same ladies pay a visit to the shop of a certain cobbler and are shown a large variety of ladies' boots ... Unfortunately, these last two poems, which would seem to be of such unusual interest, are seriously mutilated by inconsiderate worms. (Monday 24 August 1891 (Issue 33411), p. 6, col. C)

The elliptical allusion to the dildo ('raptures' subtly referring to female sexual pleasure) leads to a joke about the relatively recent introduction of female undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge (Girton College in 1869 and Lady Margaret Hall in 1878). Such a poem reveals the activities taking place in those institutions, the writer jokes. The obfuscation of any obscenity is then compounded by the serious mutilation of these poems by 'inconsiderate worms', who have expurgated these 'unusual' texts before any Victorian scholar could get his hands on them!²⁴ Although the article concludes in the hope that more such texts might enhance 'the satisfaction of Englishmen', Poem 6 is seen as a poem about female university education – certainly not reading matter for the men of Balliol or Trinity. And it is the status of modern English women in late Victorian and Edwardian culture that so interested Walter Headlam when he began the long task of putting together his commentary on Herodas' mutilated little

corpus. Just as Victorian pedagogues worried about letting female students into the ancient English universities, so Headlam would concern himself with the entry of a papyrus from Egypt about dildo-desiring women into the classical Greek canon, traditionally seen as the preserve of English gentlemen.

Herodas' textual desires

Headlam's Herodas is not simply another riotous chapter in this period of literary and cultural appropriation of the classics. Rather Headlam works very hard to represent his poet as a writer of suggestion and evocation, rather than obscene debauchery. As Headlam says of *Mimiamb* 6, in which Metro and Koritto discuss the wonderful dildo made by Kerdon, 'It is an ugly subject; but allowance being made for it, the mime is at least as clever and amusing as the rest.'²⁵ Herodas' cleverness lies precisely in, as Headlam puts it, 'touches ... the more delightful often because they do not clamour for attention. The execution has the quality of first-rate Alexandrian work in miniature ... the finish and firm outlines ... freshness and familiarity ... as one learns to appreciate their subtle points.'²⁶ Herodas' allusive poetry, which gives the sense that we are only ever listening in to the conversation, actually trains the careful listener's ears: what 'clever', 'subtle points' can we hear in the language? Indeed how can a poet be subtle and clever when writing about dildos? For Headlam, as we will soon see, the answer reflected keen contemporary concerns about the modern woman and female education.

Before examining Headlam's commentary on Herodas' dildo, let us re-familiarise ourselves with *Mimiamb* 6 itself. Metro and Koritto's hunt for Kerdon's dildo anticipates the reader's own hunt for innuendo and in-joking in the poem. The slippery double entendres irreverently mimic the slippery object in question. The reader/viewer receives no gratuitous peep-show into the bawdy world of lower-class women. Herodas' 'difficult' language (as Headlam notes) conceals as much as it reveals. Indeed the poem makes such an art-form of the double entendre that the reader ends up wondering whether there is a line or a word that does not lend itself to supplementary, smutty meaning. As the meaning of language gets out of control, how out of control do we readers get, imagining the dildo slip? Herodas presents us with Koritto offering Metro a seat in her home, whereupon the latter delicately asks the former from where she purchased that 'red *baubon*', Herodas' word for 'dildo' (more commonly *olisbos* in Greek, 6.18-19). Rather than answer her question, Koritto asks Metro where she saw her dildo. Metro replies that Nossis, Erinna's daughter, had it. Koritto had, it seems, lent out her sexual aid, and now it is apparently lost. But Metro's interest does not abate: who made it, she asks. The answer is Kerdon, but tantalisingly, the search is not over yet: Metro knows two Kerdons – which one is it? Koritto replies neither, but a third, a short bald-headed man. However, the quest is still not complete, as Koritto reports that her Kerdon was making two dildos when she saw him, and that the one she really wanted he was selling to someone else, whose name he wouldn't reveal. Now at the end of the poem, Metro asks for directions, which Koritto promptly gives, closing off with an order to her slave to check on the hens: she doesn't want one to fly out of her lap, presumably as her dildo did.

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Without offering a line-by-line commentary ourselves, we can nod to some pointed examples of Herodas' suggestive, evocative language. First, there is a recurring joke in the poem about the women's annoyance at their counterparts who keep on passing round this dildo without returning it to its owner. As early as line 12, before we know the reason for Metro's visit, we see Koritto barking at her slave. Metro replies: 'dear Koritto, you are rubbing the same yoke as I'. Within a few lines it becomes clear that Koritto's fidgetiness comes from the loss of her *baubon*. The yoke evokes a gentle, but insistent phallic symbolism, and the verb for 'rubbing', *tribo*, alludes to the word *tribas*, itself never actually used once in this poem. Later at line 27, when Koritto hears that her dildo is being passed round various women, she exclaims, 'women, this woman will be the end of me'. The verb, *ektribo*, an emphatic version of the verb before, show just how badly Koritto is being rubbed up the wrong way. Close readers of the poem will also see that Kerdon himself looks suspicious: he is described as 'bald-headed' and 'small', in Greek *phalakros* and *mikkos* (6.59). The *phal*- and *-akros* in *phalakros* and the jocular emphasis on his size suggest the manufacturer himself resembles a dildo. Indeed the comparison of the man to a fig gently underlines the joke (6.60-1). This poem, then, is a scene of sexual desire under erasure, in denial ... mutters, moans and frustration. Koritto says to her friend that her 'eyes bulged out' (*exekumena* from *exkumaino*, 6.68) when she saw Kerdon's dildos. Although this performative poem entices the reader/viewer with the possibility that female bodily desire can be seen and visualised in the shape of a dildo, the moment when Koritto sees the signifier of her sexual desire, it is her eyes that swell, in a word that echoes the verb *egkumoneo*, to become pregnant. The only parts of this woman's body that phallically bulge with pleasure are her eyes. The naked desire that the reader/viewer sees in this poem is precisely the seeing of desire.

Indeed the whole point of a double entendre is that it playfully asks the reader whether the language in question has one single meaning or a dirty additional second. And the relationship between the one and the two is a leitmotif in Herodas' poem. We will remember that there were two dildos that Koritto saw, but she could only get her hands on one. The second was ultimately out of her grasp. Metro also knows two Kerdons and wants to know which *one* the dildo-maker was. The very title of the poem plays with this leitmotif: *Philiazousai e idiazousai*, literally 'Women who love or women who are alone.' Is this poem about two women who like to be together or a single woman who enjoys solitary self-pleasure? Are we reading here a sex scene, sexual discourse, text as sex, between women? What precisely has just happened in this poem? Just what is the relationship between this mummy-Metro and daughter-Koritto? This interpretative dilemma of one meaning or two has also caused readers to consider *Mimiamb* 6's relationship to the other poems in Herodas' poetry-book, in particular *Mimiamb* 7, *Skuteus* ('The Cobbler'). It stars Kerdon, who is trying to sell his shoes to a group of women, one of whom is Metro. A couple of classical scholars have argued in earnest about whether 7 was a sequel to 6, that is, whether Kerdon's leather shoes were really his leather dildos.²⁷ Are these two poems, then, actually just one? The scholar cannot help but get into enjoyable knots when it comes to controlling Herodas' doubling language. Just as the boundaries between texts become blurred, so the boundary between text and sex is questioned.

Herodas' Headlam

Headlam was not simply being prudish in his description of Herodas as 'difficult', 'subtle', or even 'clever': Herodas' text, like much of Alexandrian poetry, requires careful attention. Interestingly, Headlam's own commentary, like many commentaries, ends up mimicking the text it seeks to elucidate, as it tried to re(-)present the text. Rather than come out with it, as it were, his explanation of the text is just as suggestive and allusive as Herodas' textuality. Headlam's own writing encourages us to dig deep, to look harder at the allusions that *he* is making. Consideration of the context, in which he was putting together his commentary, will help us uncover the significance of his subtle, learned notes on Herodas' equally suggestive text.

We have already noted the *fin-de-siècle* anxiety around the educated woman. Headlam himself was directly involved in the politics of female education. He took on women undergraduates from Newnham, such as Jessie Crum, who in 1901 became the second woman to achieve a first class in Part II of Cambridge's Classical Tripos.²⁸ Sharing students with the radical and innovative classicist Jane Harrison (to whom we shall return later) would have ensured that Headlam was profoundly conscious about the intellectual relations between older and younger women. In 1910, Cecil, Walter's younger brother, wrote and published a biography (Walter had only recently died, in 1908). Although the portrait of Walter is somewhat pious (he comes across as an amiable, bumbling, eccentric, other-worldly don), there are stranger hints about Walter's interest in intelligent young women and girls. Early on in *Walter Headlam*, Cecil writes about Walter's fondness for writing Greek poetry. But the example he uses is an odd one: during a walk Walter was taking with three Newnham students, he broke his hunting-crop while opening a gate for them. The students bought him a new one. Seemingly overcome with gratitude, he wrote them a poem, the first verse of which was in Greek. (One of the students was Jessie Crum, which makes the poem datable to no later than 1901, when she sat her Part II examinations.) It is, however, a bizarre piece of writing, in which he wishes that the whip (*mastix*) were a 'Circean wand [*Kirkeios rhabdos*]' which he might use to make them immortal. The eroticism of the imagery is flirtatious and playful. Indeed the sexual possibilities of flagellation would have been clear to him from his reading of Herodas' *Mimiamb* 5, as well as of the writings of Swinburne, whose work he enjoyed,²⁹ and whom he originally intended to be the dedicatee of his translation of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. We know about Headlam's intent to honour Swinburne because the young Virginia Woolf (at the time, Virginia Stephen) notes breezily in a letter that he then changed his mind and decided to dedicate his *Agamemnon* to her.³⁰ Headlam's attraction to the *parthenos* Virginia is not mentioned in Cecil's biography but is well recorded in contemporary sources, and is another example of his interest in the younger classically educated woman (she was sixteen years his junior). Virginia herself had been learning Greek from Clara Pater and Janet Case with whom she had developed an intensely passionate friendship.³¹ Around 1902, she got to know Walter (an old family friend) after her father's diagnosis with cancer. Sarah M. Hall speculates that 'she was searching for a father surrogate'.³² In 1907, it seems, from hints we can gather in Virginia's letters to friends and family, their relationship intensified, but was

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quite suddenly broken off. Biographers have speculated that relations and friends of Virginia were suspicious of Headlam's fondness for young girls.³³

Cecil himself wrote that Walter 'loved children, and had something of the Lewis Carroll cult for girl-children'.³⁴ He hosted children's tea-parties and wrote intense poems in Greek and in English to young girls, some of which Cecil provides at the end of his biography.³⁵ The poem in Greek is an impassioned address to a nine-year-old girl, Mary, written in Sapphics:

Beloved [φίλας] offspring of a mother dear, hail, girl with tresses of gold [χρυσοπλόκαμ'], wise [σόφα] in both counsel with her words of sense, and in fresh-limbed [νεογυνίαις] dancing, I call fortunate both your father and your mother, who bore you and reared you to be a delight both for your contemporaries and for older men [ἀλίκεσσι χάρμα παλαιτέροισι τε], delightful [εὐφιλες] shoot. And so, that day will soon come when, in recollection [ὀμμινυασκομένα], you will say: 'He too saw me, and died having loved [φιλήσας] me dearly'.³⁶

Headlam was writing within a very particular context, when Victorian culture became equally fascinated with and concerned about the body of the female child.³⁷ The innocence and the purifying power of a little girl's wisdom and love became subjects repeatedly revisited in Victorian art and literature. C.L. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll), John Ruskin, Algernon Swinburne and Frederic Leighton all publicly waxed lyrical about the moral and physical beauty of the young female. In 1889, the poet Ernest Dowson published a manifesto called 'The Cult of the Child'.³⁸ The desires voiced by such men were quite acceptable within Victorian public culture. And yet, this admiration of the female child did not straightforwardly distinguish the intellectual from the sexual. Headlam's own poem to Mary well exemplifies the slippery nature of this Victorian adoration of the girl: it is a public address written in lyric Greek, therefore designed for her literate parents to enjoy and deem acceptable, while at the same time its vocabulary is suffused with eroticised discourse. The repetition of the φίλ- compounds (lines 1, 8, 12) is heavily loaded. And although her blond hair makes her look like a goddess (cf. *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 205), her 'fresh-limbed' dancing is taken out of the pederastic Pindar Fr. 123 (quoted in Athenaeus 12.76.38) in praise of the beautiful youth Theoxenus ('whenever I look upon the fresh-limbed youth of boys'³⁹). Even more charged is Headlam's third verse, which states that Mary is a delight to her 'contemporaries' (using a Sapphic word, Fr. 64a) as well as 'older men'. The hymn to this goddess closes with a Sapphic leitmotif about the struggle to remember a love left long in the past (see Sappho Frr. 16 and 96). The unusual form ὀμμινυασκομένα appears in Theocritus' Sapphic *Idyll* 30.22, a poem in which an older man castigates himself for falling in love with a beautiful boy: his heart will be eaten away 'in remembering [ὀμμινυασκομένῳ]' the boy's image. In Headlam's strange poem, Mary the child is like a 'wise' goddess from the ancient world, a fragment from the past that Headlam has seen and loves. When she herself grows up, she will look longingly back to Headlam, now himself like a lost figure in antiquity. There will never be a time, Headlam infers, when they will be able to love each other. Sappho's and Theocritus' feelings of erotic loss fuel Headlam's and Mary's. And if we now turn to Headlam's discussion of Herodas' 'dildo', even then, the nature of female sexual desire is difficult to keep hold of and to voice in the Victorian

present. Herodas' dildo, as we have seen, continually slides out of hand. If ancient Greek offered a language for female sexuality, that slippery language at the same time required constant translating and commentary.

Headlam begins his analysis of the term with a quotation from the *Suda* (not translated from the Greek) explaining what the *baubon* actually was: 'leather genitals, the tip made of red hide, having the shape of male genitalia. Bacchants attach them to themselves strapping them round the neck and between the thighs, as they dance in honour of Dionysus.'⁴⁰ Immediately, at the beginning of the note, then, despite no mention of Dionysus in the poem itself, Headlam alludes to contemporary late-Victorian and Edwardian debates about the New Woman inside and beyond classical scholarship.⁴¹ Although the lack of any translation of the quote from the *Suda* ensures that Headlam's text be available only to educated readers, Headlam's Cambridge colleague, Jane Harrison, wrote in 1903 in her *Prolegomena* about Dionysus, who 'bears to the end, as no other god does, the stamp of his matriarchal origin. He can never rid himself of the throng of worshipping women, he is always the nursling of his Maenads.'⁴² Late Victorian and Edwardian classical scholarship experienced a profound interest in the violent, sexual rites of Dionysus, Demeter and Persephone in contrast to Matthew Arnold's Apollonian Greeks influenced by Winckelmann's 'noble and silent' Hellenism. As well as the scholarship of Walter Pater (which we shall consider shortly), the poetry of 'Michael Field' (Katherine Bradley and Edith Cooper) 'affected an "imaginative identification" with the figure of the Greek maenad', as Stefano Evangelista and Yopie Prins have examined.⁴³ 'Their modern paganism,' as Evangelista puts it, 'is simultaneously an authorial identity and a revolt against the social and religious conventions of the time.'⁴⁴ The interest that this unusual pair of lovers took in Dionysus in their poetry and plays expressed a very deliberate appropriation of male scholarly visions of Greece. By opening his note on 'baubon' by reference to Dionysus, Headlam was clearly, and yet subtly and obscurely, signalling his reader's attention to the contemporary scholarly and literary interest in Bacchus. Herodas' aesthetic of teasing suggestiveness is mimicked in Headlam's learned notes.

This interest in the significance of ancient Greece for modern sexual politics is reiterated a few lines down, when he refers his reader to Richard Burton's famous 1885 *Terminal Essay*, a work that purported to examine pederasty in all its forms around the world. Under the direction (which is *very* easy for Headlam's reader to miss) 'see further ... Burton *1001 Nights* and the *Terminal Essay* x (ed. Macm.), pp. 208, 9', Headlam points us to a particularly juicy section of Burton's work in which he wrote: 'within the Sotadic zone there is a blending of the masculine and feminine temperaments, a crisis which elsewhere occurs only sporadically. Hence the male *féminisme* whereby the man becomes patiens as well as agens, and the woman a tribade, a votary of mascula Sappho, Queen of Frictrices or Rubbers.' In a note, Burton then refers to the verb *tribesthai*, defining it as 'the friction of the labia and insertion of the clitoris when unusually developed; or artificial by means of the fascinum, the artificial penis'. Headlam was fully aware of Herodas' clever innuendo, even if his notes on the word 'tribo' seem to say nothing. His highly discreet pointer to Burton's works subtly alludes to contemporary debates in sexology and anthropology about same-sex sexuality. 'Sexual invert' was one of the most common terms used to describe a person sexually attracted to a member of their own sex in the 1880s and 1890s.

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Such a person was either characterised as someone possessing a man's body encasing a woman's soul or a woman's body with a man's soul. This hybridity is reflected in Burton's notion about the 'blending of the masculine and feminine temperaments', and in the Greek word he uses, 'crasis'. Indeed Burton was writing at a transitional moment: before the second half of the nineteenth century, females who partook in sexual relations with other women were sometimes viewed as hermaphroditic, their clitoris being enlarged to phallic proportions. An early instance of the term 'tribadism' was in 1811 in the court papers of the case of Miss Marianne Woods and Miss Jane Pirie v. Dame Cumming Gordon, in which charges of a sexual nature were made against Miss Woods and Miss Pirie by former pupils of their school in Scotland.⁴⁵ With the development of sexological rationales for same-sex desire in the second half of the nineteenth century, the dual nature of such a woman became encapsulated by the theory of sexual inversion.⁴⁶ But Headlam's interest in Burton's account was not just sexual but also racial. Earlier we quoted Headlam's image of ancient Alexandria 'with its huge mob of mixed races'. Burton's Sotadic zone, which covered the Mediterranean, the Middle East, parts of Asia and the Americas, was expressly *not* Northern European. Indeed Burton's term 'Sotadic' comes from the Alexandrian poet Sotades who penned notorious and obscene pederastic verse. Headlam's ancient Alexandria was a place of racial and sexual hybrid doubles, mixed races and phallic women. Such poetry perfectly reflected the cultural context of the 1890s: one of the biggest bestsellers of the decade (and into the Edwardian period), far outstripping *Dracula*, was Richard Marsh's *The Beetle*, a chilling modern gothic horror about a sexually ambivalent, hermaphroditic beast who travels from Egypt to London. The journey of the Herodas papyrus from Egypt to the British Museum spoke pointedly to 1890s concerns about the incursion of the feminine into the male space of an English classical education.

Headlam's note on 'baubon' which voices and does not voice the nature of female homoerotic desire (just like Herodas' text which might or might not present a scene of sex) concludes by explaining Herodas' difficult Greek with ... more Greek, citing the terms *hetairistriaí* and *dietaíristriaí*, the former famously appearing in Plato's *Symposium* (191e). Then, near to the end of the note, Headlam comments with a joke of his own: 'The accent is difficult ...'. He continues: 'Leutz gives τριβών etc. for dissyllabic nouns ending in -βών except parts of the body such as βουβών.' Although it refers to a 'rag', the word τριβών roguishly refers back to Burton's text as well as the puns on *tribad* in Herodas' own poem. Indeed the word also means a 'rogue', a word we might characterise Headlam himself with here, as he notes that the accent on *baubon* reflects that used for words describing the body such as βουβών, meaning 'groin': could Headlam be suggesting that *baubon* be a part of the body? Is this a sophisticated joke about Victorian stereotypes that viewed women who loved women as hermaphroditic? Or is this a chauvinistic barb referring to enlarged clitorises? Just as Herodas' text teases its reader, so Headlam suggestively poses the possibility of a double entendre about female desire, hidden under the veneer of masculine classical scholarship.

We saw earlier how the meaning of Herodas' poem is constantly doubled, and so is Headlam's note. In fact, it is the only note in his whole commentary that is split into two, opening with the discussion we have just read, only to begin again with

another discussion about the etymology of the word. It is the only word in Herodas' corpus that gets two treatments by Headlam. And it is in this second analysis that Headlam's interest in female pedagogy is drawn out. As discussed in the introduction above, women's education was viewed with great anxiety by late Victorian writers. In his *Studies of the Greek Poets*, Symonds writes that Lesbian women were 'highly educated, and accustomed to express their sentiments to an extent unknown elsewhere in history' but that the beauty of Lesbian poetry was quickly 'exhausted ... and mere decadence to sensuality ensued'.⁴⁷ The reference to aesthetic decadence would have spoken clearly to his readers in the 1890s. Headlam's approach to the subject of female pederasty, on the other hand, is a discreet discussion of *mother-daughter relations*. Although he never explicitly discusses the meaning of the names 'Metro' ('mother') and 'Koritto' ('daughter'),⁴⁸ he argues that *baubon* (as well as being an onomatopoeic word related to words for 'sleep') should be compared with Baubo, the old woman who revealed her genitals to Demeter to cheer her for her loss of Persephone. Citing numerous classical sources (Clement of Alexandria, Arnobius, Hippolytus and Plutarch), he notes another scholar's conjecture that the Baubo story explains 'the indecent tricks played at the Thesmophoria in the absence of the male sex'.

As well as the pervasive interest in Dionysus and his rites, the story of Demeter and Persephone and the Eleusinian mysteries received huge attention in the second half of the nineteenth-century. Within the British scholarly community, Walter Pater's 1876 essay 'The Myth of Demeter and Persephone' was especially significant. In 1895 Pater's friend and Oxford colleague Charles Shadwell reprinted this piece with several others Pater had written in a volume called *Greek Studies*. Pater himself had died in 1894. The appearance of such a tome in the same year as the Wilde trials and during a time when the usefulness of Greek for a university education was the subject of intense debate is important for understanding Headlam's subtle note on Baubo and Demeter. For as Richard Dellamora has observed, the love of Demeter and Persephone, according to Pater, exceeded the normal terms of mother-daughter love. Pater writes of the 'bride' Persephone, 'consumed within herself by desire for her mother'.⁴⁹ For Pater, the story of their love is one of tragic loss.⁵⁰ The impossibility of a happy relationship between these two female figures after the Wilde trials receives an altogether more comic treatment in Herodas' poem in which another 'mother' and 'daughter' are teased by the lack of a dildo. Such female desire was, perhaps, unknowable. As Dellamora has also shown, Alfred Tennyson, who knew Pater's essay, used it to write his 1887 poem 'Demeter and Persephone' in which he 'appears to endorse the Victorian ethos of female self-renunciation as the price to be paid so that love and civilization may triumph'.⁵¹ In late Victorian culture, the story of this mother and daughter becomes the story of fertility and the development of civilisation: Demeter has to share her daughter with a man, Hades. Just as Headlam mentions the Thesmophoria in his note, so he would have been more than aware of contemporary critiques of the New Woman which were busy circulating images of New Women as bad, degenerate mothers. In 1894 one male writer warned that 'the New Woman, if a mother at all, will be the mother of a New Man', which will lead to the 'ultimate extinction of the race'.⁵² Indeed we have already seen Symonds writing in *A Problem in Greek Ethics* how ancient Lesbian love 'failed to strike roots deep into the subsoil of the nation' and so led to 'degeneracy'.

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Headlam's interest in Metro and Koritto thus reflected a much broader contemporary anxiety about what older women should teach their younger pupils. The complex interrelationship between female desire, female education and female modes of pedagogy bubbles beneath the surface of Headlam's extremely scholarly text. How much about female desire the male classicist can know from Herodas is a game that is replayed in Headlam's own commentary. Herodas' text shows how difficult it was for a Victorian audience to recognise female love when they saw it. Michael Field's 1893 poem 'An Invitation' (from *Underneath the Bough*) in which an older woman invites a younger girl to lean on her knee, to read Sappho, represents one of the few moments in late Victorian literature where two females usurp the traditional Platonic pederastic space for pedagogy. As we have seen, Headlam himself was caught up in the new business of teaching female undergraduates such as Jessie Crum: did he ever read *Mimiamb* 6 with his students from Newnham? What would such a supervision have looked like? What would have been the lesson to be learned?

In the late Victorian and Edwardian classical community, Herodas' text offered a space for the scholarly reader's imagination to run wild about the possibilities of female desire and women's education. The language of the poem suggests continual pleasure in an endless proliferation of desire, inviting the reader to see more and more double entendres, while at the same time closing down that possibility – the dildo – the object of desire – always remaining out of reach. And so the exact meaning of Herodas' text playfully eludes the scholar's comprehension.⁵³ So, on the one hand, Herodas' poem would have operated as a space for readers of the naughty '90s and the Edwardian period to see female sexual desire right before their eyes. As Headlam's note begins, 'Weil and Dr Jackson have discerned what needed only to be pointed out that βαυβών = ὄλισθος'. The '=' suggests that nothing could be clearer – a straightforward synonym. But, on the other hand, at the very end of Headlam's note, he proliferates with more and more words of definition: 'Other names for the βαυβών are γέρον and θυωνίδα; and I suspect ... ναρίσσου τερενώτερον ... allude[s] to the instrument.' And then, as we have already seen, Headlam continues to search for the word's meaning yet again, through its etymology. If Herodas' text seems to offer at first glance (at the beginning of Headlam's note) a straightforward image for female desire, that word βαυβών breeds a continual chain of signifiers for that desire, continually questioning the scholar whether he has understood it, whether he can grasp, know – put into language – female sexuality. At this period in British history, female same-sex desire found a voice in Greek, which at the same time eluded stable expression precisely because of that recourse to Greek, which required continual commentary and explanation.

Epilogue: Headlam in the 1920s

Headlam died before his *magnum opus* could see the light of day. In *As We Were* (1930), in which E.F. Benson looks back at his student days at King's (1888-1891), he paints an amusing portrait of Headlam unable to finish commenting on the women in Herodas. Noting that he was of a new, modern generation of students who had not come from Eton, Benson writes that King's fellows' 'knowledge of Greek ended just about where Walter Headlam's began.'⁵⁴ Written for those who would recognise

the scholar and the poetry of Herodas, Benson naughtily comments that real life had little interest for Headlam: rather, his existence 'was a word in his Herondas [*sic*], which occurred in no dictionary, but which he knew he had seen before in some scholiast on Aristophanes ... it was a slang word, not very polite, in use among the daughters of joy [prostitutes] in Corinth.'⁵⁵ And so 'Headlam pursued the ladies of Corinth till the small hours of the morning.'⁵⁶ 'Damn,' Benson's Headlam exclaims, 'I shall never finish Herondas.'⁵⁷

In 1921, Virginia Woolf wrote a short story entitled 'A Society' about a group of women who form 'a society for asking questions'. One of the group, Castalia, is charged with the humorous task of infiltrating the office of a Classics professor. While he is out, she chances to examine his life work, an edition of Sappho, which is mostly a defence of her chastity. Castalia was astounded at the scholarly arguments in the book about 'the use of some instrument which looked for all the world like a hairpin'.⁵⁸ In the same year Woolf also penned her essay 'On Not Knowing Greek' which famously questioned the possibility of classical scholarship: although we might have a perfect comprehension of its grammar and vocabulary, 'are we really reading Greek as it was written?'⁵⁹ It was in this literary-intellectual context (in 1922, the following year) that Headlam's commentary was finally, posthumously, published (with revisions and additions) by another King's College classicist, A.D. Knox. Just as Headlam had to sift through the fragments that remained of Herodas, so it was Knox's task to work through the papers of Headlam. Right at the end of Headlam's observations on *baubon*, Knox adds: 'The view of those who suppose the similarity with Baubo accidental ... is at least possible.' After reading through all of Headlam's long doubled note on the word, Knox in the end leaves doubt about what it means to know about female sexuality, just one year after one of England's most famous women writers publicly challenged the possibilities of knowing Sappho and knowing Greek.

In this monumental edition, Knox reproduces for the benefit of his reader an image showing part of the Herodas papyrus kept in the British Museum (see Fig. 3.1). In his own addition to Headlam's introduction, Knox writes, 'To sum up: the facsimile shown is sufficient to mark the shapes of letters, thus providing a check on readings where the papyrus is partly legible, and showing the forms of letters familiar to the writer of the papyrus.'⁶⁰

In a dense, scholarly discussion about what Herodas' text can teach us about papyrological methodology, Knox shows that this section of the text, relatively clear as it is, can help the classical scholar piece together other more fragmentary pieces of the text. The handwriting seen here can be used to exemplify the scribe's hand. What Knox chooses *not* to mention is that these are lines 6.18ff.: 'Please tell me, and don't lie, dear Koritto, who stitched for you that scarlet dildo? ...' The lines which most obscenely express female sexual desire in all of Herodas' corpus are also the lines, Knox suggests, that can teach us about papyrology and textual criticism. As in Headlam's *fin-de-siècle* notes, Knox's edition makes sex between women there for all to see, if only you could read it. Knox prints female desire on the page right in front of the reader, but his papyrological discussion says nothing about the *baubon*. Female desire is speakable and unspeakable, expurgated and unexpurgated, as it were – left an open secret. Just as in Headlam's note, Knox cannot help wondering about

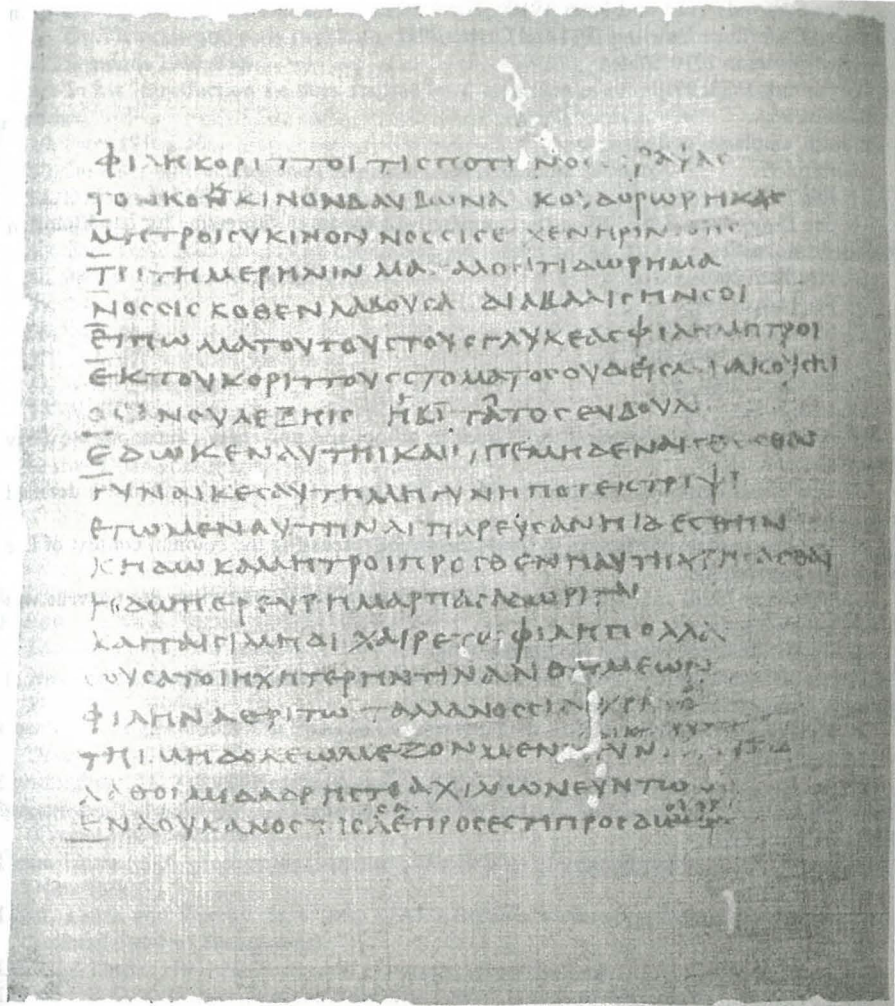


Fig. 3.1. Part of the Herodas papyrus reproduced in *Herodas: The Mimes and Fragments*, with notes by Walter Headlam, edited by A.D. Knox (Cambridge University Press, 1922).

the tricky relationship between female sexual desire and scholarly knowledge. At a time, between 1885 and 1930, when Sappho inspired a generation of women writers and artists,⁶¹ before the 1928 publication of Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*, Headlam's classic commentary was the most detailed scholarly examination of the possibility of putting female same-sex desire into language.

Notes

1. See Hall 2006, 48-9.
2. W. Headlam 1891 and Verrall 1892.
3. Kenyon 1891, 3.
4. Prins 1999, 74.

5. See Symonds 1928 and Pater 1910b. For further examination of Spartan pederasty in Victorian Oxford see Dowling 1994 and Orrells 2011.

6. See Olverson 2010, 57-69.

7. Symonds 1928, 95.

8. Ibid., 96.

9. Ibid., emphases added.

10. Ibid., 97.

11. Ibid.

12. See Evangelista 2009, 110 on the comparative freedom of expression for late Victorian female homoerotics.

13. Headlam 2001, xxvii.

14. See Ledger 1995.

15. Showalter 1990, 38.

16. Walkowitz 1992, title.

17. Headlam 2001, xv.

18. Ledger 1995, 22.

19. On the question of compulsory Greek in school and university education, see Stray 1998, 224, 249, 265-9.

20. *The Times* (Monday January 28 1895; p. 12; Issue 34485; col A) provides a detailed report on the exhibition.

21. See Fearn 2010. My thanks to David Fearn for discussing the colonial context of late Victorian papyrology.

22. Symonds 1920, 458-9. See Kenyon 1891, 6-7 on the possibility that the papyrus was found with a mummy.

23. On Cavafy and Herodas, see Kutzko 2003.

24. See also Kenyon 1891, 10 on the mutilated nature of the text here, allowing him to avoid giving a synopsis as he had done for poems 1-5.

25. Headlam 2001, xlvii.

26. Ibid., lvi.

27. See Cunningham 1964, Levin 1976, and more recently, Rist 1993.

28. Crum, a pupil of Jane Harrison, had travelled to Greece on a study tour in the Spring of 1901: see Stray 1995.

29. See C. Headlam 1910a, 149.

30. Hall 2006, 58.

31. See Lamos 2006, 153.

32. Ibid., 54.

33. See Hall 2006, 47, 60-1, and Bell 1972, 2: 118.

34. C. Headlam 1910a, 88.

35. Hall 2006, 60. We can read an address to a seven-year old; a translation of Odysseus' meeting with the young Nausicaa (C. Headlam 1910b, 40-1, 81-94). The poet and wife of Cambridge classicist Francis Cornford, Frances Cornford, when looking back on her life in Cambridge in 1955, also wrote that he 'was one of the bachelor dons who were kind to little girls'. She continues, dreamily, that 'he belonged in spirit to [no] one era' (Cornford 1955).

36. C. Headlam 1910, 101.

37. The 1880s witnessed long, public campaigns to raise the age of consent to 16 under the spectre of child prostitution, a tragedy to which the peculiarly primitive nature of the child apparently made itself vulnerable: see Kincaid 1992, 61-103.

38. See Dowson 1889. On the Victorian cult of the child, more generally, see Lebaillly 1999.

39. On this fragment, see Hubbard 2002.

40. Headlam 2001, 288.

41. Prins 1999a discusses 1890s characterisations of unmarried women as Greek maenads.

42. Harrison 1922, 561.

43. See Prins 1999a and Evangelista 2009, 111-24 (the quotation here comes from Evangelista 2009, 115).

44. Evangelista 2009, 115.

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45. For discussion of this case, see Halberstam 1998, 62-5.
46. On Victorian and early twentieth-century female sexual inversion, see Doan 2001.
47. Symonds 1920, 192.
48. In his Introduction he does analyse lewd etymologies of other characters' names in Herodas.
49. Pater 1910a, 89.
50. On Pater on Demeter and Persephone, see Dellamora 1990, 171-6.
51. Dellamora 1990, 174.
52. Quoted in Ledger 1995, 31; see *ibid.*, 30-1.
53. See Orrells 2005, 81-119 on the endless play of desire and double entendre in Herodas.
54. Benson, quoted in Lindsay 1955, 43.
55. *Ibid.*, 44.
56. *Ibid.*, 45-6.
57. *Ibid.*, 47.
58. Woolf 1989, 128.
59. Woolf 1925, 36.
60. Headlam 2001, lviii.
61. See Doan and Garrity 2007.

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Flowers in the wilderness: Greek epigram in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

Gideon Nisbet

The fragment collector depends on his opposite number for his success. There must be writers to produce fragments, shred traditions ... The shredders and the doxographers are no friends of [Chinese literary] tradition, they handle it with the greatest negligence and even contempt ... In a fine irony of history, it is the doxographer, the shredder, the compiler of category books... who become the unwitting friends of the lover of antiquity ... who uses them to painstakingly reassemble what they have disassembled ... In this crude way they save some precious gems from utter destruction. (Wagner 1997, 44-5)

I would beg any possible, but improbable, reader who desires to peruse the Anthology as a whole, to read first the epigrams of Meleager's Stephanus, then those of Philippus, and finally the Byzantine poems. In the intervals the iron hand of History had entirely recast and changed the spirit and the language of Greece, and much misunderstanding has been caused by people quoting anything from the 'Greek Anthology' as specifically 'Greek' ... the glorious language of old Greece is their imperishable heritage, a heritage that the corruption of the ages should not be permitted to defile. (Paton 1916, x)

1. Introduction

To expurgate, one need not always cut: in the right circumstances, selection and inclusion can be every bit as powerful a means of reining in the semantic and cultural import of a text as are, more typically, alteration and excision. This is especially true of the processes of mediation by which a culturally Other body of texts is made accessible to a language community whose members are unable to access the originals directly. In the case of the select band of Greek and Latin texts which constitute 'the Classics', the socioeconomic roots of this inability complicate the ideology of reception. The role of Classics as an underwriter of privilege and hegemony has historically encouraged translators, commentators, and explainers of the Classics to hedge their representations of ancient literature and life when addressing audiences deemed to be vulnerable (vulnerable precisely because not inoculated by the rigours of Latin and Greek linguistic training at public school) – women, children, the working classes. The ambit of the mediator is further complicated by the exalted status conventionally ascribed within culture to the works of ancient authors typically hailed as ancestors of, and frequently as ideal models for, modern Western civilisation: these authors

must be 'right', but it may not always be 'right' to open them up to marginal readerly constituencies who may bring their own agendas to the translated text and read it in the 'wrong' way.

The classical text with which this chapter will engage is a tellingly marginal case: the Greek Anthology, our principal source for ancient literary epigrams which range in date from the Hellenistic era (with some earlier, pre-epigrammatic inclusions) to the tenth-century Byzantium of its compiler. Put together late, variable in quality and containing much anonymous content, the Anthology is not a literary classic in the conventional sense, but its very name declares its representative authority as a culturally vital document of ancient Greek life and thought. The epigrams of the Anthology will be considered in their reception in British print media during the mid- to late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The chapter will suggest that looking at how translators and popular scholars went about explaining epigram to non-specialist readers, and in particular how they selected and arranged their poetic exemplars, can give us a useful and perhaps a unique perspective on how classical Greek cultural history was being mediated to an Anglophone mass public.¹ Translators of the classics for a mass readership occupy an important gatekeeper role: they give access but also control and filter it; and writers of popularising literary and cultural history (what we currently term 'outreach') are in a similar position. To expurgate, such a writer or translator need not always actively conceal, mutilate, or expunge. When the proposed destination text is billed as a representative selection from what is known to be a larger body of work, he or she may expurgate passively and by small degrees, in each of his or her choices for inclusion. In each of the examples studied in this chapter, we may go further and say that a definite and explicit scheme of expurgatory selection is at work: each selection proceeds according to an individual master-plan, a set of categories or chapter-headings under which the chosen poems are to be placed. Individually and collectively, these master-plans tell their own story.

From the 1870s onwards, translators and narrators of classical heritage in Britain presented epigram as a vital and unchanging exemplar of the classical Greek spirit, but in the same breath glossed over both the extreme partiality of their small selections, and the radical rearrangements they themselves were undertaking in order to cleanse their source text of foreign impurities and clarify its message for the present day. Often the versions resulting from these activities bore hardly any resemblance to what we would consider the real Greek Anthology, but a sensitive and learned exegete of the time might well feel the opposite: a drastic purge and reordering of the text was precisely what was needed in order to liberate the underlying spirit of the Greek Anthology, imaginatively re-creating the treasure-house of poetic blossoms which it ought always to have been. It appeared to them necessary to destroy the Anthology in order to save it; to discard and draw attention away from its historic reality as a text in order to uncover its eternal truth as an idea.

First some key terms must be explained. Epigrams are short poems, incised literally 'upon' an object or composed figuratively 'on' a topic – the Greek prefix 'epi-' can carry either shade of meaning. Not uncommonly these poems are 'epigrammatic' in the modern sense of displaying pithy wit, but this is not an essential part of what ancient readers understood by the term, at least in Greek. Whether we know it or

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not, our generic expectations of satirical 'point' are shaped by the enduring post-classical popularity of the Latin epigrammatist Martial, who drew primarily on the contemporary 'skoptic' (amusingly abusive) variety of Greek epigram.² Martial was very nearly a one-off in promoting epigram as a Latin literary form, and the huge majority of epigrams continued to be written in Greek, right through into the Byzantine era and even beyond. Recent finds, notably the 'Milan Posidippus' papyrus, continue to develop our understanding of how this Greek literary genre developed from the Hellenistic period onwards.³

Although the publication of the Milan papyrus has justly been acclaimed as an exciting breakthrough, our main literary source for ancient Greek epigram remains the Greek Anthology, just as was the case for nineteenth-century readers. This Anthology ('Flower-Collection') is in essence a sprawling tenth-century compendium by a Byzantine scholar-monk, Constantine Cephalas, who drew upon several ancient and late antique prototypes including (indirectly) the famous Garlands of Meleager and Philip. Together with some prose and verse texts relating more or less closely to the genre, Cephalas amassed several thousand ancient and late antique epigrams on diverse topics, presenting them thematically by category. For many centuries Cephalas' great work was known only in a reduced, reordered and censored fourteenth-century version by Maximus Planudes, but this 'Planudean Anthology' (APL) was eventually displaced by the publication of a fairly good manuscript of Cephalas, discovered in the Palatine Library in Heidelberg and thus called the 'Palatine Anthology' (AP, an abbreviation used frequently in the rest of this chapter).⁴

Although various metres are found, an epigram typically consists of one or more elegiac couplets. In the Anthology and elsewhere, the most common length of a literary epigram is two couplets, or four lines of verse in total. This brevity perhaps gestures towards epigram's roots in verse inscription. Literary epigram begins in the Hellenistic world, perhaps as a by-product of the collecting impulse which underlies Alexandrian scholarship; the Hellenistic epigrammatists establish a sophisticated dialogue with the themes and material contexts of genuine inscribed texts.⁵ Nonetheless, the move from stone to papyrus, and more or less simultaneously to performance at symposia, freed epigram from its situational bonds. Because an epigram is such a radically mobile little text – and because the individual poem develops its meaning in dialogue with its immediate neighbours – it can change meaning with every shift of context. Epigrams moved from stone to papyrus to symposium and back again, each context always implicit in the other; from authored book to cherry-picked anthology, on a small or medium scale; and on through murky pathways until the tenth century and Cephalas' editorial scissors.

At every stage, content was lost. The Anthology is an imperfect copy of a partial selection, derived from prototypes to each of which the same description could fittingly be applied. Meaning and nuance, too, were lost – but perhaps also sometimes gained – as editors expropriated particular poems from designed publication contexts in authored epigram-books, and fitted them into new organisational categories amid unfamiliar neighbours.⁶ Cutting and pasting epigram is nothing new, and from that point of view one could say that the genre's Victorian exegetes were being faithful to ancient tradition.

W.R. Paton, quoted at the outset, is a late and clear-voiced exponent of this

approach despite the task that lies to his hand – editing and translating the entire Greek Anthology for the Loeb series of facing-text translations, a commission to which he brings formidable scholarship and commendable sticking power. Running to five volumes in total (1916-18), Paton's invaluable Loeb was the first and remains the only near-complete translation of the Anthology into English (a handful of erotic poems are rendered instead into Latin, wholly or in part).

Epigram and selective reading

Paton's Loeb is perhaps unique also within its series in exhorting its readers to ignore the greater part of its own competently and sensitively rendered contents. As we have seen, its translator begs the hypothetical ('possible, but improbable') would-be reader of the whole Anthology to relent of his or her folly and settle instead for just three chronological categories of poem. The earliest of these, the Garland of Meleager, is self-evidently the best of the three in aesthetic terms because closest to 'the great or classical period of Greek literature'.⁷ Paton's conflation of quality and period straightforwardly reproduces the traditional consensus that the apogee of Greek achievement was fifth-century Athens. His contemporary readers will typically have come to the Loeb primed by programmatic statements from one or more of the numerous late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century popular histories of classical literature, all singing from the same hymn-sheet (albeit with minor variations of key). Ancient Greece's particular trajectory of cultural rise, peak and decline was an ideological given, which is to say it had entered into common knowledge.⁸

Paton thus taps into a broad popular awareness that Meleager's age had already been one of decorous decline, both moral and aesthetic (the two are by strong implication closely linked). Meleager's successor in the garland-weaving trade, Philip, had fallen much further: loss of liberty and the coming of Rome ('the iron hand of history') had robbed old Hellas of its creative spark or 'genius', which had migrated to the conquering culture, itself now famously embarked on its own 'classic' literary age.⁹ Paton has nothing good to say about the Byzantines (his third category) as poets, but assigns their epigrams some incidental value as art-historical documents; presumably they are also morally up to scratch.¹⁰ Everything in between – and we are speaking here of the better part of a millennium – must be omitted. Why?

Of course, no one was really going to read the whole thing. Paton's characterisation of the Anthology's hypothetical start-to-finish reader as 'improbable' suggests that he has taken on board (and perhaps expects his readers to recall to mind) Martial's repeated protestations that only a glutton for punishment would read an epigram-book from beginning to end, rather than dipping in and out: 'Someone who reads a hundred epigrams and hasn't had enough is a glutton for punishment, Caedicianus' (Martial 1.1.18). Martial's protestation is surely ironic, at least in part, since any reader who makes it this far has already left the hundred-poem mark well behind ('If you can read this sticker, you're too close'). At the outset of the book he hailed his reader as *studiosus* (1.1.4), a devoted fan who is familiar with Martial's own earlier publications and knows what to expect; here, at its close, the word's additional meanings come into play.¹¹ Current scholarship on Martial takes his books seriously as coherently designed and internally intricate compositions, the full meaning of which only

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comes out when they are read (and re-read) in their entirety – or perhaps even when they are considered in their larger context, as the constituent parts of what Martial perhaps always planned as a twelve-book sequence in comic rivalry with Vergil's *Aeneid*.¹² 1.118's rueful admission of epigram's tiresomeness *en bloc* is thus probably a self-referential joke: it identifies a non-existent problem which does not seem to have troubled any ancient epigrammatist before or after Martial (and if epigram was really so awful why did he persevere with it, and why were his readers allegedly so keen?). Read straight, however, Martial's emphatic devaluation of the epigram-book as a compositional whole lent ready justification to some highly selective school editions – many of his nineteenth-century readers, in translation or even in the Latin, would be lucky to find 'a hundred epigrams' at all.¹³

The status assigned to Martial in reception as (directly contrary to fact) the paradigmatic ancient epigrammatist encouraged application of a yet more brisk scissors-and-paste approach to the Greek epigrams of the Anthology, a work roughly three times the size of Martial's corpus and carrying only the faintest occasional traces of the original organisational schemes of its member poets.¹⁴ Lacking Martial's reputation for wit, the Anthology could never hope to be championed by a *lector studiosus* of its own; its sheer bulk made it a poor prospect for translation in its entirety, as did its evident repetitiveness of topic. The Anthology's individual Books, generally much longer than Martial's own, lacked any of his creativity of arrangement: even the sexy or funny ones were really not a good read. Realistically, any commercially viable selection from the Anthology was going to end up missing out many more poems than it included.

As part of a series famously dedicated to bringing classical texts to the English-speaking reader as a philanthropic end, Paton's Loeb stands as the honourable exception which proves the rule by its uniqueness. Even here, however, the reader is urged to become his or her own censoring editor and to make drastic cuts. Why would Paton have us figuratively expurgate all poems dating from the particular periods he specifies, including what one could readily argue to have been Greek epigram's golden age – the cultural renaissance under the Roman Empire which we commonly term 'Second Sophistic'?¹⁵

3. Real Greece, or true Greece?

For Paton, as for his predecessors in explaining and translating the Anthology, a poem is not 'specifically "Greek"' simply because an ancient Greek happens to have written it: thus the spiritual epigrams of Christian Byzantium are more truly Greek than the witty and sensual poems of the Second Sophistic (first to third centuries AD). Transcending boundaries of space, time and ethnicity, this Greece was a spiritual essence which, the Victorians thought, had now revived in modern Britain; Paton's rhetoric of purity recalls countless late-nineteenth-century exegetes, constantly scrubbing the nation's pervasive Hellenic 'heritage' to preserve it as a fitting model for present and future achievement.¹⁶

While striking a pose of scholarly impartiality, these translators and exegetes found themselves drawn to epigram because it lent itself to advantageous appropriation. This is a topic which could be explored from many angles, but my particular interest

here is in how epigram's nineteenth- and early twentieth-century explainers went about framing, structuring and classifying the poems they chose to expound upon.¹⁷ Through these strategies of organisation, epigram was repeatedly refashioned to reflect prescriptively on present-day social concerns.

To write on epigram in this way, concentrating on categories and macrostructure to the exclusion of individual poems, runs against the grain of usual practice – my own included. As short and often sparkling poetic *jeux d'esprit*, individual epigrams are ideal jumping-off points for our own writerly exercises in academic self-fashioning: epigrams riff on each other, and we riff on them. Scattering a handful of poetic gems enlivens a chapter on epigram while simultaneously creating self-evident structure on the page. And epigrams are fun – it feels perverse to look past the decorative trees and make ourselves see only the utilitarian plantation which contains them.

To this day, the 'look and feel' of a typical short publication on epigram masks an important truth. Turning the pages we see a snippet of ancient text, followed by some clever exposition by the modern scholar; another snippet, another insightful interpretation, and so on. In its visual shape on the page and its narrative logic and rhythm, this could be scholarship on any ancient text from Homer to Ovid. However, there is an important difference: assumed knowledge of, or straightforward access to, the context of these snippets. The author of an article on four lines from a single book of Homer's *Iliad* writes in the reasonable expectation that we have read all (or most) of the *Iliad* and that we have access to a complete text, within which these lines may be easily located. He or she knows that we can check to see what happens before and after, and this helps keep scholarship honest.

Even today, the author of an article on a four-line epigram from the Anthology faces a very different set of audience expectations. No one reader can ever really know the Anthology's several thousand poems as a totality – it is simply too big; the poems are arbitrarily placed, making questions of intended literary (or other) context immensely problematic, and finding comparators may be very hard. At least we have the Loeb to make the task of browsing less onerous, but prior to the publication of its five volumes (1916-18), non-Hellenists had nowhere to turn.¹⁸ Cephalas' Anthology could be read in its complete and correctly ordered form only by those who knew Greek, most accessibly in the Tauschnitz edition (1829). Amazingly, until the start of the nineteenth century (more than two centuries after the Palatine manuscript had come to light) there had been no published edition of the Cephalian text at all. Nor was its publication universally welcomed: for decades afterwards, many readers continued to prefer reprints of the familiar Planudean abridgement, and more than one late Victorian commentator commends Planudes for his assiduity as a censor of problematic sexual content which should never have been committed to paper in the first place.¹⁹ In any case, the Anthology was already awkwardly large even in its bowdlerised form – surely the last thing it needed was a top-up of additional poems. (Planudes also set epigram's later expurgators a welcome precedent by obscuring what he cut, and indeed never mentioning that he was cutting a previously whole source text – Cephalas is never named.)

The Greekless majority of the nineteenth century's new mass reading public was thus entirely dependent on secondary sources for its understanding of the Anthology's history and structure. Since epigram was not discussed in standard

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works on Greek literature before the 1870s, and only intermittently thereafter, this meant taking translators at their word. Any selection of poems could be represented as typical of the Anthology's content, range, style, and spirit. The arrangement of these poems under confidently declared category-headings created the impression that the translator's account of epigram was both objective and complete.

Classification was control. As we will shortly see, this new regime of knowledge presented newly devised categories of ancient epigram as timeless categories of socially admissible experience, shared by ancients and moderns alike.

4. Ancient and late-antique structures of organisation

The Anthology, the end-point of epigram's ancient reception history, arranges its many epigrams (and additional material) by broad thematic category. As a general principle, each category occupies a single book:

1. Christian epigrams
2. Christodorus of Thebes
3. Cyzicene Epigrams
4. Prefaces
5. Erotic
6. Anathematic
7. Sepulchral
8. Epigrams by Gregory of Nazianzus
9. Epideictic
10. Protreptic
11. Sympotic and scoptic
12. Pederastic
13. Polymetric
14. Riddles
15. Miscellaneous
16. Planudean Appendix

Some of these categories would have been quite familiar to a Hellenistic epigrammatist; AP 5-7 and 12-14 are uncontroversial cases in point. As a literary form with functional roots in inscription, epigram retained a thematic involvement in votive dedications of objects and in funerary monuments; as previously mentioned, a great many Hellenistic and later poems play with the idea of inscription in these and other contexts, addressing the reader of the book as an imaginary passer-by or as a handler of an incised object (AP 6 and 7). Epigrams 'on' tombs shade easily into cautionary remarks on the brevity of life; these are fully at home in the ancient symposium, alongside riddles (AP 14), poems celebrating wine and friendship, mocking bad behaviour (both in Book 11) and declaring passion for pretty girls and boys (AP 5 and 12). The Planudean Appendix, numbered as Book 16 in modern editions, is a modern compilation of poems known to have been in Cephala (because found in Planudes) but missing from its surviving exemplar, the Palatine manuscript; a lot of these are about art, so it is likely that Cephala originally included a book

of ekphrastic epigrams. This type of poem, too, was familiar to ancient writers and readers of epigram; ekphrasis is a characteristically Hellenistic literary device. The 'Milan Posidippus', identified by current scholarly consensus as a book-roll by a famous poet of that period, includes a headed category of ekphrastic poems 'on' precious gemstones. The epigrams within the category play with the paradoxical idea of inscription on the surface of the gems themselves (superhumanly difficult to achieve and in any case impossible to read), while developing virtuoso descriptions of the stones' visual qualities as carved and set jewellery.

Other categories in Cephala are postclassical, including most obviously the explicitly Christian Books 1 and 8. Not every book presents a single, unified category – AP 11 presents two different but probably related types of epigram (sympotic and scoptic), under a preface claiming that in antiquity they were effectively the same thing, and a closing book (15) proffers a miscellany of poems favoured by Cephala but which have found no home in any of the preceding categories.

It is not even the case that every book contains epigrams. The front end of the Anthology is very odd. The Christian epigrams (AP 1) are followed by a Late Antique ekphrastic catalogue in hexameters of the classical statues seen in a famous gymnasium in Constantinople by an Egyptian visitor, Christodorus of Thebes (AP 2). Paton in his Loeb does his best to make this strange text epigram-like by breaking it up into chunks and interposing descriptive headings of his own invention, but this pious fiction gets us no closer to understanding why Cephala chose to include Christodorus – the decision seems bizarre. Christodorus' epic is followed by another ekphrastic work of startling brevity, a collection of nineteen poems purportedly inscribed in a temple at Cyzicus, one on each of its columns – which if true would make it a very peculiar temple.²⁰ These at least are epigrams (and in elegiacs) but presumably all by a single author, and are really far too short to stand as a separate book, either here or in whatever their previous publication context may have been (especially if the latter was a papyrus book-roll). AP 4 collects the programmatic prefaces of Cephala's predecessor anthologists, Meleager, Philip, and Agathias.

These collected prefaces inaugurate the 'meat' of Cephala's Anthology; the random weirdness is now over. From now on until he sweeps the cutting-room floor in AP 15, the editor rigorously applies his rule of organisation by category. Its precedent is quite clear. In organising his anthology on (with the exception of AP 8) a book-per-category basis, Cephala borrows his scheme of organisation directly from an important sixth-century prototype, the so-called Cycle of Agathias, an anthology in seven books which was the source of much of his material. Agathias in turn had got the idea from the first-century BC Garland of Meleager. Given his date, Meleager's 'books' will have been the genuine article: each will originally have occupied a separate papyrus roll. A single book from the Garland would have been similar in physical appearance and length to a published epigram-book by a single author such as Posidippus.

Meleager's principle of arrangement into large thematic categories (a principle later inherited by Agathias and Cephala) was likewise a scaled-up version of the characteristic internal organisation of the book-rolls published by individual Hellenistic epigrammatists.²¹ These ancient epigrammatists published books that were very unlike those of their imitator Martial or indeed Latin poets in other

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genres – their principle of arrangement was not thematic variation (*uariatio*, or in Greek, ποικιλία) but thematic regularity. The practice was of long standing: papyrus evidence (e.g. P.Oxy. LXVI 4502) appears to confirm that Greek epigrammatists in the Roman empire continued to publish books arranged by category as a matter of routine. Philip (first century AD), who elected to arrange his Garland alphabetically, found no imitators.²² Organisation by thematic category continued to be the default for anthology-makers right up to Cephalas – and beyond, as we shall shortly see.

An epigram-book by a single author will have contained perhaps a dozen thematic categories, each with a section heading announcing the theme (e.g. ‘erotic’), and arranged sequentially. The recently-published ‘Milan Posidippus’ papyrus, our first ever near-complete Hellenistic epigram-book, contains many surprises but obligingly illustrates this standard organising principle. At least one additional category followed these, but its heading is no longer decipherable:

On stones
On bird-oracles
Inscriptional
Funerary
On sculptors of statues
On horses
On shipwrecks
On cures
‘Twists’ (τρόποι)

If this seems strange to us – perhaps even rudimentary, artificial, awkward or dull – then our reaction at least partly reflects the dominant position in epigram’s postclassical reception of Martial: a very atypical, indeed a polemically revisionist epigrammatist who enjoyed the retrospective good fortune of having written in Latin. Martial did not arrange by category. He would wait until the third and fourth centuries to find imitators within antiquity; for the time being, arrangement by category remained basic to the operation of the genre, for readers, writers and garland-makers alike.²³ Epigram had probably been published this way since the beginning: the standard and very sensible modern view is that literary epigram-books look to similarly arranged scholarly collections of inscriptional epigrams arranged by type.²⁴

It may also be argued that arrangement by category suited epigram very well: the genre is so endlessly iterative, so dependent upon multiple versions and ingenious variation on well-worn themes, that putting ‘families’ of epigrams together added value and interest for the browsing reader. The ‘families’ – the thematic categories – could be quite loosely conceived, and there was no fixed menu. Several of the categories included in the Milan Posidippus came as a complete surprise to scholars working in Greek epigram: poems about bird-oracles, incised gemstones, miraculous cures, and at least one (‘twists’) defies analysis.²⁵

As work on the Milan papyrus by Kathryn Gutzwiller in particular has made clear, there was still room to shade the meaning of individual poems through canny juxtaposition and internal cross-referring within the book (‘intratextuality’). Arrangement by category was superficially restrictive, but in fact enabled some

interesting creative effects. Scholars are tempted to find traces of sequencing within individual categories, and even detect possibilities of connection between poems in different parts of the book – for instance, the repetition of a stock character name from an earlier category may have the effect of creating a recurring ‘character’ whose story plays out within the overall frame of the work. Arrangement by category may also have facilitated the use of epigram-books at, or at least in close relation to, symposia.²⁶

By Cephalas’ time, a nominally moral as well as (or instead of) an aesthetic point could also be made by the order in which the anthologist presented his categories:

Let the pious and godly epigrams of the Christians be presented first, even if the Hellenes [i.e. pagans] will be annoyed. (Preface to AP 1)

Not all readers will have found this editorial piety persuasive, however, any more than the disclaimer with which Cephalas later justifies his inclusion of an entire book of pagan pederastic verse:

... For, as the tragic poet says [Euripides, *Bacchae* 318], ‘The wise woman will not be corrupted by attending dances’.

The ‘wise woman’ is probably quite safe with AP 12, given its exclusive interest in male same-sex desire. Nor is the first place granted to the Christian epigrams (AP 1) wholly complimentary. AP 1 does not immediately precede the epigrams of the pagan ‘Hellenes’ (AP 5-15), a juxtaposition which would have suggested comparable or perhaps even superior literary status. Instead, as we have seen, it is followed by miscellaneous front matter which many readers will have hastily skipped, then as now. Cephalas’ structure may be read as strongly implying that the real Anthology starts with the erotic epigrams of AP 5.

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[T]he conviction that the Greeks had been like the Victorians ... was fundamental to Victorian intellectual life and determined the outlook of much Victorian scholarship, criticism and commentary on the Greeks. The appeal to the affinity between the Victorian and the Greek experience was rarely made in a casual manner ... as educated Victorians came to understand themselves in more complex terms, they came to ascribe a similar complexity to the Greeks.²⁷

The Victorian era, then, possessed the text of the Greek Anthology as we have it today: the fifteen books of the fuller and more faithful Palatine version, followed by the Planudean Appendix. The newly restored Anthology was as complete a version as anyone was ever going to get; but it was still a novelty. Unlike, for instance, Greek tragedy, there was no agreed story about epigram – no scholarly consensus that could be disseminated a few years down the line in accounts aimed at a mass public – because epigram had never been deemed worthy of serious study. As a ‘late’ and minor genre, it was relegated to supporting roles, as a modestly useful teaching tool and consequently an upper-class party trick (neatly mirroring its use at symposia

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in antiquity). The educated élite of the early nineteenth century much preferred to compose new Greek epigrams (or turn modern light verse into Greek epigrams through translation) than to study the ones that were already there in the Anthology.²⁸

At mid-century, and in marked contrast to the fortunes of the Latin epigrammatist Martial, the uses of Greek epigram thus extended no further than the better private schools and their alumni. It was a minor genre, and very obscure as far as the mass public were concerned. A selection of 537 poems from the Anthology and elsewhere, Henry Wellesley's *Anthologia Polyglotta*, had appeared in 1849, but this large and fairly expensive book (485 pages plus front matter; fifteen shillings, or two guineas in quarto) gives extremely poor value to the monoglot English reader. Wellesley's carefully censored selection of epigrams ('chastened', vi) is arranged according to no apparent scheme and with no subdivision into categories. Each Greek text is followed by a sequence of translations into several different languages, typically Latin and German and frequently also Italian and/or French, and then finally an English version. Sometimes there are multiple versions: for instance, Wellesley's epigram 157 (AP 9.359) is rendered nine times into five different tongues.

In the copy of *Anthologia Polyglotta* I consulted, an erudite reader had added the AP references by hand; the book's two indices give only the poems' Greek incipits, and the names of the ancient authors and their translators. The latter are typically eminent men of letters, politics and the Church, some of them centuries dead – the Ss alone give up Scaliger, Shelley, Shakespeare and Swift, keeping company with lords and a bishop. *Anthologia Polyglotta* was never reprinted. Its declared purpose (v) was to stimulate a revival of Latin verse composition at Oxford, sharpening the critical sense of the young scholar by enabling stylistic comparisons, but it also courted a more senior readership of classically educated gentlemen (vii) with fond memories of undertaking the Grand Tour in their youth (the modern languages included are precisely those encountered along the standard there-and-back itinerary). The non-élite reader is explicitly warned off, as is the lazy scholar – there is nothing here for 'the common-place lounge' (vi).²⁹

A translation aimed at a mass public did appear in 1854, put together by the elderly George Burges for the Bohn Classical Library, but this was a singularly sorry effort and well below the series' usual standards. Although marketed as 'The Greek Anthology', it was in reality no such thing – instead it merely rendered into prose a succession of classroom mini-anthologies, with much repetition of content and no attempt at representing the notional source text. Copies of it are now hard to track down outside major research libraries, and this presumably reflects poor original sales and a concomitant lack of cultural impact; there is no ripple of interest to be detected in the popularising literature of the 1850s or 1860s. Like Planudes, Burges covered his tracks, although perhaps more in careless haste than censorial zeal: he gave his readers no way of tracing a poem backwards from his ersatz 'Anthology' to the genuine text, still less of assessing what had been left out. This practice is the same as Wellesley's in *Anthologia Polyglotta*. Unlike Wellesley, Burges gives his readers some internal organisation into 'Books', but these do not correspond to the structure of the Anthology in any way (nor is each Book thematically unified). The title page advertises an 'Index of Reference to the Originals', but this is no more helpful than Wellesley's: it consists of two alphabetical lists of Greek incipits, keyed to the pages

on which the English translations of the indicated epigrams appear (the epigrams themselves are not supplied).³⁰ No additional information is given. The implication is that any reader worth his salt will know the original well, presumably from having studied it at one of the schools in question – a very poor formula for a mass-market translation in a series aimed at white-collar commuters on a limited budget.

So the years passed and Greek epigram remained obscure; the public at large was essentially unaware of it. However, this unassuming minor genre was a time-bomb. Because there was no agreed explanatory narrative which could filter down from the published scholarship; because there was no complete translation available – or even a sensible partial one; and because the meaning of epigram had always depended so much on context anyway, the potential was now there for translators and writers of popular literary and cultural history to use epigram to spin pretty much any story they liked about the private lives, social customs and enduring legacy of the ancient Greeks. There was no way in which a Greekless reader could check what they were saying – as we have seen, the only mass-market translation with Greek Anthology printed on its spine bore very little relation to the genuine article.

Translators and popularisers were thus able to dip into the Anthology as though reaching into an absurdly large box of chocolates, serving out dainty selections to the public at large. Each in his turn assured his readers that his own selection truly represented the Anthology – and thus the Genius of the Greeks – in its full flower. To a culture which defined itself through its aspiration to identify with and internalise a Greek ideal which was experienced as all the more glamorous for being (at best) hazily perceived, this was heady stuff. Epigram threw personal identity and national destiny into the mix, as its new exponents assured an eager public that every flavour and texture of Greek life was now theirs for the sampling, from the sublime to the everyday.

6. Bringing the Anthology to life

Here is John Addington Symonds, setting the ball rolling in the First Series of his influential survey, *Studies of the Greek Poets*, first published in 1873.³¹ He bears quoting at length:

The Anthology may from some points of view be regarded as the most valuable relic of antique literature which we possess ... Many subjects of interest in Greek life, which would otherwise have had to be laboriously illustrated from the historians or the comic poets, are here fully and melodiously set forth ... The slight effusions of these minor poets are even nearer to our hearts than the masterpieces of the noblest Greek literature. They treat with a touching limpidity and sweetness of the joys and fears and hopes and sorrows that are common to all humanity. They introduce us to the actual life of a bygone civilisation, stripped of its political or religious accidents, and tell us that the Greeks of Athens or of Sidon thought and felt exactly as we feel. Even the Graffiti of Pompeii have scarcely more power to reconstruct the past and summon as in dreams the voices and the forms of long-since buried men.³²

The absence of time-consuming ‘labour’ could only be a good thing for the career-minded general public to whom Symonds appealed. The pundits might insist that Classics was a bracing moral and intellectual tonic, but on a more pragmatic level, cultivating – or indeed faking – familiarity with the greatest hits of classical Greek

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literature was a way of getting on in the world. The new mass readership created by industrialisation was helped towards participation in this aspirational package by well-priced translations such as the Bohn series, and also by outreach publications, often by major scholars who saw writing for non-specialists as a public duty. Composing affordable little handbooks that told the masses how to read the literary Greats in translation (or less charitably, coached them on how to talk as if they had read them) could be as much part of a scholar's mission as writing commentaries for the University Press: textual scholarship, social paternalism and national improvement went hand in hand.³³ Symonds' major chapter, the first substantial treatment of its kind, thus showcases epigram as a comprehensive and accessible crib to Greek culture from every point of view.

'[S]tripped of its political or religious accidents' by inclusion in a minor genre, the private experience of these Greeks turned out to be just like ours – a daring move on Symonds' part, since his very extensive discussion of epigram goes on to praise the homoerotic verse of Meleager and, with reservations, Strato.³⁴ The bulk of Symonds' chapter consists of discussions of individual poems, but he opens with a concise explanation of the history and arrangement of the Anthology: this is thorough, highly readable, and surprisingly accurate. His closing message, too, is honest in its admission that any account of the Anthology's riches must be highly selective:

The very riches of this flower-garden of little poems are an obstacle to its due appreciation. Each epigram in itself is perfect, and ought to be carefully and lovingly studied. But it is difficult for the critic to deal in a single essay with upwards of four thousand of these precious gems.³⁵

One large-scale omission reflects Symonds' purpose in writing for an Anglophone readership: the purpose of AP 13 is to demonstrate metrical virtuosity and range, and metre tends not to survive the act of translation. Other omissions are less objectively motivated. The heterosexual love-poets of AP 5 are disallowed from consideration by the Byzantine lateness and moral decrepitude of the handful of examples adduced: 'a man need be neither a prude nor a Puritan to turn with sadness and with loathing from these last autumnal blossoms on the tree of Greek beauty.'³⁶ Like Cephalas, Symonds' love for the genre does not scruple at misrepresentation and sleight of hand. Having accurately reported the Anthology's structure, he then begins his exploration of its contents not with Book 5 but with Book 6, tacitly passing over the heterosexual poems *en bloc* and thereafter admitting individual examples only insofar as they prove a point (as above) or enhance his beloved Meleager's glory.³⁷

7. Putting Meleager back in the box

Like a young man newly come from the wrestling-ground, anointed, chapleted, and very calm, the Genius of the Greeks appears before us. Upon his soul there is no burden of the world's pain ... nor has he yet felt sin. The pride and strength of adolescence are his – audacity and endurance, swift passions and exquisite sensibilities, the alternations of sublime repose and boyish noise, grace, pliancy ... the frank enjoyment of the open air, free merriment, and melancholy well beloved ... the pure clear life of Art made perfect in Humanity, which was the pride of Hellas.³⁸

Symonds' subtext was heavy, conjuring up – for those readers inclined to go there – a prelapsarian utopia, a 'state of Paradisal innocence' where morals and aesthetics coincide until corrupted by the (heterosexual) lusts of Rome.³⁹ In this Hellas, human existence is perfected as art and no natural desire is condemned as sinful. This was audacious in a mass-market guidebook. One of Symonds' two great bestsellers (as the author himself wryly acknowledged in his notionally very private *Memoirs*), *Studies of the Greek Poets* shaped public views of ancient Greece for a good half-century.⁴⁰ It is perhaps not surprising, then, that several significant outreach works of the next two decades went out of their way to assert a very different narrative about the content of the Anthology and thus about the character of Hellas – a character which was after all widely held to prefigure our own.

Symonds is candid in professing a necessary selectivity, but his readers are left almost as much at sea as were Burges': there are no references tying individual translations to the corresponding part of the Greek text. The best that can be said is that Symonds' methodical narration usually makes it possible to infer from which Book of the Anthology a particular epigram is taken, but the author supplies no details to narrow the search down any further. Even readers who have some Greek will thus be hard put to gauge how representative these few poems are of the Anthology's overall content. Symonds is largely an honest broker, with the notable exception discussed above – but in subsequent treatments of the genre, selection shades into outright (dis)simulation. Explanatory matter also had a large part to play, as did the titles assigned by translators to individual poems; translations were also frequently tweaked to hide improper meanings in the Greek or to manufacture evidence for particular assertions (a practice of which Symonds himself was occasionally guilty). In the remainder of this chapter, however, I suggest that section headings and organisational structure played an especially important role.

Symonds had reproduced the Anthology's structure more or less faithfully, but popularising scholars and translators after him are unanimous and emphatic in dismissing its scheme of thematic division into Books as valueless. Cephalas is denounced as a negligent and incompetent compiler, like the Chinese doxographers of our opening quotation. His crude method tramples what it seeks to preserve, shredding the genuine Greek feeling that the Anthology properly ought to represent. 'This is not a natural division, and is not satisfactory in its results.'⁴¹ There is something to be said for this point of view – as we have seen, some of the Anthology's categories do not work well for a modern readership – but disallowing the pre-existing structure allowed new structures and categories to be brought into play.

These new structures take on added meaning because of the rhetoric of comprehensiveness developed by epigram's new curators. Developing Symonds' sentiments, subsequent critics declare that epigram expresses every conceivable sentiment and experience of the ancient Greeks. If it is not in the Anthology (as filtered by the modern critic), then the Greeks cannot ever have done it or thought it. Epigram's characteristic elegiac couplet was:

a metre which could refuse nothing, which could rise to the occasion and sink with it, and be equally suited to the epitaph of a hero or the verses accompanying a birthday

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present, a light jest or a profound moral idea, the sigh of a lover or the lament over a perished Empire.⁴²

And yet at the same time the Anthology was chaos and predominantly dross, 'the scrap-heap of Greece'.⁴³ Most of its contents could be discarded without compunction – nothing was lost thereby. Indeed, Planudes had done the world a favour by hacking it about: 'there are not a few epigrams suppressed by him which have since come to light, and which had better never have been published or never written'.⁴⁴ J.W. Mackail's little selection, which became definitive for almost all subsequent translators, includes absolutely 'all [the epigrams] which are of the first excellence in any style' – five hundred out of four thousand, and as we will shortly see, even this little band needed to be rounded out with bits of Mimnermus and Theognis, proving the point of how impoverished the Anthology really was. This was a precedent much followed by translators following Mackail – the Anthology 'in its largest sense' could include anything of appropriate size, or to which scissors could be taken.⁴⁵ Still, paradoxically, Greek epigram as a genre was simply marvellous, because all human life was there.

These new categories were not, then, mere pretty placeholders. They mapped the whole range of admissible human experience shared by us and the Greeks. These were categories of feeling, and the feelings of the Anthology were now increasingly revealed to revolve around home, family, the walk to Church, and love for one's country.

8. Knocking epigram into shape

Having dismissed Cephalas' categories as unnatural and unsatisfactory, Mackail presents his own preferred scheme of arrangement:

Love (= AP 5)
Prayers and Dedications (= AP 6)
Sepulchral (= AP 7)
Literature and art
Religion
Nature
The Family
Beauty (= AP 12)
Fate and Change
The Human Comedy (= AP 11)
Death
Life

In Mackail's initial *editio maior* (1890), with text, translation and notes, these categories follow a substantial introduction (1-88) in which primacy is assigned to the Garland of Meleager; a complete translation of the poet's own preface is prominently placed (13-14):

Dear Muse, for whom bringest thou this gardenful of song, or who is he that fashioned the garland of poets? ...

Already primed by Mackail's heavily didactic introduction, his readers experience the Anthology through the filter of Meleager, earliest and 'best' of ancient anthologists, a line from whom is also used as the book's initial epigraph.⁴⁶ Meleager's preface emphasises the creativity of the expert anthologist in weaving a garland from other authors' poems, which he influentially represents as different species of flower (sometimes charmingly eccentric – Phantias is bean-blossom, for instance) or types of plant (Mnasalcas' pine-fronds, Perseus' aromatic rushes). Meleager also supplies a precedent for the anthologist to introduce original poems of his own, here represented as spring violets, but Mackail resists the temptation to try his hand at original verse. Instead what makes Meleager's preface especially useful to him is its roll-call of poets who are not properly speaking epigrammatists at all, generally archaic lyrists – Sappho (line 6), Erinna (line 12), Alcaeus (line 13), Archilochus (line 38) and so on. Two pocket-sized versions of *Select Epigrams* were subsequently published, one giving only the Greek text, the other the English translation, in 1907 and 1890 respectively: in both of these the introduction was omitted, but Meleager's preface was retained in its place.

Opening with Meleager supplies a classical model for Mackail's own creative initiative in stepping outside the Anthology proper to round out his selection of its 500 'best' poems:

respice animum auctoris ['respect the spirit of the author'] is a safe rule ... Yet it has seemed worth while to illustrate this rule by its exceptions; and there will be found in this collection fragments of Mimnermus and Theognis which in everything but the actual circumstances of their origin satisfy any requirement which can be made.⁴⁷

Mackail's readers then progress through a sequence of categories which, just as in Symonds, purport to 'tell us that the Greeks ... thought and felt exactly as we feel' – but this is a subtly yet profoundly different 'we'. These Greeks are regular in their affections ('Love'), pious ('Prayers and Dedications'), solemn ('Sepulchral'), and much less artistic overall than Symonds had insisted when he extolled Greek aesthetic morality as the basis of sinless male Eros ('Literature and art' as a portmanteau category).⁴⁸ We are reminded again of their piety ('Religion'), in case we missed it first time round; after Church, their affections centre on 'Nature' and 'The Family'. The morally suspect Hellenising aesthetes of the late nineteenth century are thus put firmly in their place.⁴⁹ A small selection of AP 12 material is admitted under a new and studiously vague heading; Mackail's introduction has already cautioned us against reading too much into them:

[Cephalas] himself apologises in a prefatory note for including ... [this] Anthology of epigrams dealing with this special subject ... A limited selection from Section VII. [Mackail's term for AP 12] has been retained under a separate heading, Beauty.⁵⁰

The next three categories run through the vicissitudes of life ('Fate and Change'). Our virtuous pagan forebears show a brave face to their own mortality in an as-yet-unredeemed cosmos, confronting their fate with a good humour very much like our own ('The Human Comedy' – a very selective reading of the often mean and unfunny AP 11, already well represented in the school texts translated by Burges). Mackail's

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next category, 'Death', is well stocked from the Anthology's funerary epigrams, but Death is not the end as it was formerly for the Greeks themselves – now it is merely the threshold to Mackail's climactic category, 'Life'. The new structure turns the fatalistic Greeks of the pagan Anthology ('over all Greek life there lay a shadow') into the unconscious prophets of redemption in Christ.⁵¹ The titles Mackail assigns to his final poems implicitly track a moral evolution towards the new dispensation:

Nil Expedit ['It Avails Naught'] – The Way of the World – The Sum of Knowledge – Nihilism – Nepenthe – The Slaughter-House – Lacrimae Rerum ['Tears of Things'] – The World's Worth – *Pis-Aller* – The Sorrow of Life – The Joy of Life – Quietism – Equanimity – The Rules of the Game – The One Hope – Amor Mysticus ['Love in the Spirit'] – The Last Word.⁵²

A useful parallel – several such could be adduced – may be supplied from a minor translation of 1920 by Alexander Lothian. He dignifies his categories with an appearance of agelessness by assigning them titles in Latin, recalling Mackail's use of Latin tags for individual poem headings:

Veneris ('Of Venus' = AP 5)
Temporis ('Of Time')
Patriae ('Of Fatherland')
Larum ('Of Hearth and Home')
Numinum ('Of Spiritual Feeling')
Panis ('Of Pan')
Maris ('Of the Sea')
Mortis ('Of Death' = AP 7)
Musarum ('Of the Muses')
Minervae Noctuaeque ('Of Minerva and her Owl')
Satyrorum ('Of Satyrs' = AP 11)

Lothian's use of Latin makes these categories appear classical, but they are very much of their time. There are important emphases in common with Mackail – patriotism, religion, romantic love between men and women, implacable Fate and morally instructive death. The countryside is given a characteristically Edwardian twist with the invocation of the woodland god Pan, a cliché of 1890s English literary nature-worship and latterly a focus of nostalgia for an idealised pre-War agrarian idyll.⁵³

Lothian's prettified categories are his own artistic flourish, but his concept of the Anthology is derived wholly and exclusively from reading Mackail's selection. Other translators from the 1890s into the early twentieth century followed suit. As always, the letters 'AP' are conspicuously absent, but now a palatable substitute has been found – 'M' for Mackail, whose numeration is extensively cited: 'It was just as I completed the usual scholastic training of our Universities, that Mr. Mackail's lesser volume of Selections came into my hands'⁵⁴

It is significant that the lesser volume (evidently the Greek-only version of 1907) is specified here. Mackail's *editio maior* of 1890 had concluded with an index allowing any sufficiently motivated reader to find (albeit laboriously) the positions

of his selections within the Anthology's original Books. The pocket-sized versions omitted it, giving their readers no way of establishing context for the included poems – indeed, no clue at all as to the Anthology's original structure. AP 12 has ceased to exist.⁵⁵

Mackail's purges had rescued the true, original Anthology from the rubbish-heap of the merely real one:

So far from being a 'garland of flowers', a metaphor which was applied legitimately to the earliest selection by Meleager, [the Palatine Anthology] is a garden run to weeds in which the weeds predominate with varying degrees of worthlessness and noisomeness ... [Mackail's] work shows that patience, a sympathetic spirit, and a refined literary method were all that was needed to reach the true worth of the collection.⁵⁶

The Anthology's divisions had not been 'natural' – readers had that on Mackail's authority – but these nineteenth-century reclassifications surely were. They mirrored the shared human condition that tied us to the Greeks, by forging a version of epigram (and thus of the range of Greek private experience) which excluded Symonds' Greek love from its moral cosmos.

9. Conclusion

John Addington Symonds is important to the study of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century constructions of antiquity because he was the English-speaking world's most well-loved, influential and enduring mediator of Greek literary culture and thus, by common consent, of cultural values which were held to be timeless and exemplary. In the 1870s, and practically overnight, he made a minor and previously obscure ancient genre a talking point of Victorian culture. The First Series of *Studies of the Greek Poets* kicked off a covert culture-war for control of the classical past, centred around epigram. With no back-story of academic interpretation, epigram and epigrams could be made to support practically any narrative about the exemplary Greek past. For Symonds, Greek identity in all its moods included a heavy subtext of Uranian pederasty; the ensuing backlash buried his evidence by reconstituting the Anthology along rational and healthy Victorian lines. By determining new categories for epigram and casting widely for poems which with those categories could be stocked – expurgating by selection and inclusion – Mackail and his followers sought to close down categories of experience and identity in the here and now.

But *Studies* continued to circulate in its various editions and impressions, creating what effects it would. In his *Memoirs*, which remained unpublished until 1984, Symonds recalls the chance encounter that determined the course of his life. In London on leave from Harrow and returning from a night at the theatre, Symonds the sixth-former idly picked up a relative's copy of Plato's *Phaedrus*. The next thing he knew, it was morning outside. 'I had discovered the true *liber amoris* at last', he recalled, 'the revelation I had been waiting for'.⁵⁷ In his half-century in print, we can wonder for how many thousands of readers Symonds conjured a 'true book of love' in the form of his re-imagined Greek Anthology.

Notes

1. As far as I have been able to ascertain, this exploitation of epigram is essentially a British cultural phenomenon, with no parallel in (e.g.) the United States; Diana Spencer suggests to me that this curious exclusivity might repay further investigation.

2. For a properly cautious account of what we can deduce of Martial's borrowings from the 'scoptic' epigrams of Lucilius and Nicarchus, see Burnikel 1980; the scoptic poets of the early centuries AD are discussed by Nisbet 2003.

3. *Editio minor*: Austin and Bastianini 2002. The Milan papyrus has inspired two good edited volumes: Acosta-Hughes, Kosmetatou and Baumbach 2004 and Gutzwiller 2005.

4. On the complex history of the Anthology see generally Cameron 1993.

5. For a detailed and nuanced study see Bruss 2005; cf. now Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 22-47.

6. Particularly suggestive on epigrammatic 'jostling' and how readers experience juxtaposition in the written text is Fitzgerald 2007, 7, writing specifically on Martial but with potentially much wider relevance.

7. Paton 1916, vii.

8. Jenkyns 1980, 73-7.

9. Paton 1916, vii; by Philip's day (first century AD) 'the spirit of poesy had in the interval descended on Italy, rather than on Greece, and here the most Roman poets, such as Crinagoras of Mytilene, are those who please the most'.

10. Christian epigrams of AP 1 and 'historic value': Paton 1916, 1.

11. *OLD* s.v. studiosus 1 ('zealous, diligent'), 2 ('studious, scholarly').

12. Intratextuality in and between Martial's twelve books is the subject of a recent PhD dissertation by Francesca Sapsford (University of Birmingham, 2012).

13. Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 112-13. For some of these, see Leary, Chapter 7 below.

14. On the very complex compositional history of the Anthology, including traces of the organisational schemes of previous anthologists and – very occasionally and at second hand – of individual poets, see Cameron 1993.

15. On Greek epigram in this period see Livingstone and Nisbet 2010: 118-30, with references to further scholarship; Whitmarsh 2005 is an excellent introduction to the period generally.

16. '[T]hese little-examined documents ... reveal a world of Victorian discourse possessing considerable integrated unity and one replete with surprises and unexpected intellectual twists and turns ... Discussions of Greek antiquity provided a forum where Victorian writers could and did debate all manner of contemporary questions' (Turner 1981, 11).

17. Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 140-62 sketch out some initial parameters for exploring epigram in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century reception, and I hope to develop a more detailed account in a monograph forthcoming in 2013 with Oxford University Press.

18. The Anthology is now also of course searchable electronically as part of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

19. Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 13.

20. Discussed most recently at Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 99-100, with further bibliography.

21. Cameron 1993, 30 and cf. 32 on papyrus evidence (Mnasalcas); on arrangement of epigrams in collections see now specifically Krevans 2007.

22. Cameron 1993, 35.

23. On Martial's late antique imitators see now briefly Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 130-6.

24. As at e.g. Gutzwiller 1998, 28-36, a standard work.

25. Obbink (2004), an astute reader and expert papyrologist, explores some possible interpretations.

26. See again Cameron, this time on Callimachus (1995, chs1-3), for an assertive formulation of the genre's symposiac connection.

27. Turner 1981, 10, 14. Turner's sophisticated study usefully complements the highly entertaining Jenkyns 1980.

28. Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 159-61 on *Sabrinæ Corolla*, a nineteenth-century Garland of English and other modern verse rendered into Greek epigrams by alumni of Shrewsbury School; it was popular enough to run to several editions. Cf. very briefly Stray 1998, 69.

29. Wellesley perhaps has in his sights Jeremiah Newman's *The Lounger's Common-Place Book: or, Miscellaneous Collections in History, Criticism, Biography, Poetry, [and] Romance* (1796). Newman's own preface to the third edition (1805-7, n.p.) ironically deprecates the contents as light edutainment for wastrels – 'an easy tooth-pick companion for idle, dissipated, forgetful men, who pass their mornings in Hyde Park, the fruit-shop, or St James's-street; and who, at the club, or after dinner, would be sorry to appear wholly uninformed on any casual subject of private converse, or public discussion.'

30. The first list covers the first three sections of Burges' collection: ('Westminster, Eton, and Edwards's'). The second list relates to Burges' fourth section, 'Miscellaneous Selections', which includes numerous citations from archaic Greek lyric as well as epigrams proper.

31. 'Late nineteenth-century attitudes to [classical Antiquity] ... owed more to Symonds than to any other writer in English' (Holliday 2000, 81).

32. Symonds 1873, 341-2.

33. A notable example is Sir Richard Jebb, author of the famous series of commentaries on Sophocles for Cambridge University Press but also of the widely distributed *The Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry* (Macmillan: London and New York, 1893).

34. For discussion see Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 142-7.

35. Symonds 1873, 396.

36. Symonds 1873, 382.

37. Meleager as lover of girls and boys (by implication presented as aesthetically and morally equivalent choices): Symonds 1873, 374-8.

38. Symonds 1873, 399, a passage much quoted in the scholarship on this author.

39. Symonds 1873, 419.

40. Prefacing the *Memoirs*, Symonds contrasts his public persona as 'the author of Renaissance in Italy and Studies of the Greek Poets' (1984, 29) to the very private act of writing for an unknown but probably solitary posthumous reader. The publication history of *Studies* is complicated by its perennial popularity – a newly paginated one-volume version of the third edition appeared as late as 1920: Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 143.

41. Mackail 1890, 29.

42. Mackail 1890, 6.

43. Leslie 1929, 31; cf. e.g. Lothian 1920, n.p., 'rubbish heaps confused together'.

44. Neaves 1874, 4-5.

45. Neaves 1874, 13.

46. Mackail 1890, v, quoting AP 4.1.

47. Mackail 1890, 3.

48. Mackail is perhaps inspired here by Lord Charles Neaves, author of the first concerted response to (and strong implicit rebuttal of) Symonds' *Studies*. Neaves proposed seven ideologically safe categories including 'Literary and Artistic' (1874, 16).

49. The most nuanced and sympathetic study of the late Victorian nexus of Hellenism and homosexuality is Dowling 1994, with wider applicability than her title suggests. Ridicule of Symonds, Pater et al. is a recurring motif at Jenkyns 1980, 225-6, 256-7, 281-93, etc.

50. Mackail 1890, 18, 29

51. Greek fatalism: Mackail 1890, 61-4, quoted at 61.

52. Mackail 1890, 275-81. 'Lacrimae Rerum' alludes obviously to Vergil *Aeneid* 1.462, an instantly recognisable school text.

53. Jenkyns 1980, 187-91, 342, and cf. Merivale 1969, particularly for the post-War period. Influential early instances include Arthur Machen's novella, *The Great God Pan* (1890, revised and expanded 1894). The 1890s craze for Pan (Pan-demic?) is echoed in J.M. Barrie's famous character, Peter Pan, who first appeared in novels and plays of the 1900s and 1910s.

54. Lothian 1920, n.p. Another good example is Fry 1915, relying almost exclusively on Mackail's selection (vii-viii).

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55. The 'Index III' of Mackail 1890, 400-3 is primarily intended for readers who already know the Anthology in Greek and wish to look up personal favourites in Mackail's new structure, but it is useable in reverse given persistence.

56. Anonymous review of Mackail in an American periodical, *The Nation* 55.1425 (1892) 304-5.

57. Symonds 1984, 99.

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Contempta relinquo: anxiety and expurgation in the publication of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*

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The text of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* has undergone a tumultuous journey in its transmission, fluctuating in and out of favour as centuries, and indeed civilisations, have passed by. In antiquity, there is little evidence that the great poetic vehicle of Epicureanism found success in philosophical terms; its chief influence, evidenced most notably in the cases of Virgil and Horace, was poetic.¹ No surviving author from the first hundred years after the author's death cited the work, and no record survives from any ancient writer that praises Lucretius' poem as an intellectual or academic venture. On the contrary, the Church Fathers, most prominently Lactantius, mocked and vilified the poem as the dangerously misconceived undertaking of a delirious author. In later writers of the Empire, his work was cited solely for instructive purposes: to elucidate difficult elements of Republican Latinity, to highlight curious prosody, or, as with Macrobius and Servius (both writing around the turn of the fifth century), simply to illustrate Virgil's poetic debt to his Epicurean predecessor. Perhaps the sole exception to this lamentably narrow interest in Lucretius is seen in Isidore, the seventh-century Bishop of Seville, whose *Etymologiae* drew regularly upon Lucretius for material concerning natural philosophy and linguistic matters, which duly influenced the writings of Aldhelm, Bede and Hrabanus Maurus in the following centuries.

As the presence and influence of Christians in the Empire grew over its development and eventual fall, Lucretius' work became an increasingly problematic and unsettling entity. Not only had the author become tainted by a fabricated biographical slur, namely that he composed his poem in moments of insanity and committed suicide via a love potion,² but the contents of *De rerum natura* (DRN) were judged all the more challenging to the Christian reader. The most controversial topics of the poem when in such hands can quickly be outlined: Lucretius' anti-religious stance (1.80-101, 5.1167-1240, 6.43-79, 379-422), his anti-providential belief in disinterested gods (1.44-9 = 2.646-51) and rejection of the presence of gods in the human world (5.146-54), the assertion of a corporeal and mortal soul, and thus denial of an afterlife (Book 3 *passim*), the effective deification of the mortal Epicurus (1.62-79, 3.1-30, 5.1-54, 6.1-42), his explicit treatment of sexual processes (4.1037-1287), the apparent

Schadenfreude at others' misfortunes (2.1-19), and his belief in an infinite universe and infinite worlds (1.951-1007, 2.1048-76): each of these theories must necessarily be rejected by the scrupulous Christian.³ The chief offenders in this array of awkward topics are three in number: (i) anti-religion; (ii) anti-afterlife; (iii) the frank treatment of sex (in many respects the most vivid account in Roman literature).

Although Lucretius' controversial subject matter thus rendered him a particularly unattractive pagan author for an ever-increasing Christian readership, there is evidence that he continued to be read (and thus copied) over a fairly broad temporal and geographic range, close knowledge of his work being attested up to the fifth century not only in Rome but along the North African coast. The collapse of the Roman Empire, however, brought to Lucretius, as it did to so many classical authors, a near-deathly blow: leaving aside Isidore's anomalous access to a copy, there is no evidence that more than one manuscript of *DRN* survived the end of the Roman civilisation. When the task of preserving the Classics moved gradually but inexorably under the charge of Christian, and primarily monastic, communities, whose interests naturally focused on the Bible and other texts of religious significance, the survival of the Classics looked decidedly unlikely. However, a life-line was handed to Latin literature at its most tenuous stage of transmission: the concerted revival of learning under Charlemagne (c. 742-814) embraced classical authors for the rich and varied knowledge that study of them could provide, not least in terms of Latinity. It also initiated, via an energetic wave of transcription and circulation, a major new chapter in the history of Western scholarship that rescued several authors from probable oblivion.

Lucretius, whose poem tackles in its first and last pairs of books many matters of physical, natural, geographical, celestial and astronomical interest, profited greatly from Carolingian study: the copy of *De rerum natura* that survived to the end of the eighth century (but is now lost) was copied at least twice. One of these copies, the so-called *codex Oblongus* (O),⁴ survives to us today as the most important manuscript of the poem: corrected by the Irish monk and scholar Dungal, who was active in Northern France in the early ninth century, as well as several later (albeit less competent) medieval hands, this lavish manuscript shows undeniable signs of careful reading over the centuries.⁵ The other copy (Ψ) has been lost, but its two apographs, the *codex Quadratus* (Q)⁶ and the fragmentary *Schedae* (S),⁷ survive, whose existence provides us with the ability to reconstruct the text of the lost archetype (Ω). Q and S show fewer signs of having been carefully read in the medieval period, although in the case of Q we find the earliest signs of active censorship of Lucretius' work: the recto of the manuscript's first leaf has had the original title of the work (*T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura*) removed by erasure. A later hand (s.X/XI?) has instead added a non-specific, and ultimately misleading, summary '*De physica rerum origine uel effectu*' ('*On the physical origin or outcome of things*') without any indication of the poem's author: since Lucretius' text was almost unknown in the Middle Ages, removal of his name from a manuscript effectively rendered the work anonymous. It therefore seems difficult to explain this strange alteration to the opening page of Q unless a given individual, or monastery as a collective, wished to disguise the fact that the infamous *DRN* of Lucretius was in their possession. This same anxiety may also explain why no mention of Lucretius was made in the twelfth-century monastic

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catalogue of St Bertin, where Q was probably held at that time.⁸ In addition to these hints of tension about *DRN*, it can be concluded from the sheer scarcity of citations of the poem,⁹ and the fact that no manuscript from the tenth to fourteenth centuries survives, that the work was scarcely read and practically unknown to Europe.

Notwithstanding this unpromising climate, however, a manuscript (very probably a lost apograph of O) was rediscovered by the great Florentine humanist Poggio Bracciolini in 1417. Lucretius was thus restored to the world of letters, a world not quite ready for this potentially explosive work. In this chapter I shall survey the primary episodes over the ensuing six centuries of scholarly engagement in Lucretius where the controversial content of *DRN* prompted from its readership equivocation, censorship or even destruction.

Despite the immense interest in the ancient, and particularly Roman, world that characterised fifteenth-century Italy, and the period's keen investigation into scientific theory, Lucretius' poem retained from its discovery a relatively low public profile.¹⁰ Under the radar, however, interest in *De rerum natura* among well-educated and well-connected circles was undeniable: over fifty fifteenth-century manuscripts survive, which bear associations with a geographically broad nexus of Italian cities. Nevertheless, the publication and circulation of Lucretian scholarship was deemed quite a different matter: one has to wait ninety years after the rediscovery of *DRN* for any treatise to appear on the poem's content, and a century for any scholarly commentary (on which more below). The earliest episode of Renaissance censorship that contributed to this surprising statistic was enacted by Marsilio Ficino (1433-99). The intellectual circle of Florence could certainly get their hands, or at least set their eyes, on a text of *DRN* by the 1440s, and the youthful and ambitious Ficino, apparently on the prompting of Poggio, turned his interests to Lucretius and Epicureanism in the following decade. From 1457, quotations of Lucretius appeared frequently in Ficino's essays and correspondence, often in an unquestionably favourable light. This brief flirtation with Epicureanism did not last long, however, and Ficino's later works, particularly after his philosophical allegiances turned to Platonism and he became a priest (in 1473), avoided citing Lucretius unless to criticise his doctrines with fervour. Most intriguingly, Ficino in his final years revealed that he had himself censored what must have been a ground-breaking work, whatever its length and quality: writing to Martinus Uranus in 1492, he confessed that he had written, when still a 'puer', some 'commentariol[i] in Lucretium' but, just as the youthful Plato abandoned his own tragic compositions to the fire (D.L. 3.5), so too did he steal this work from posterity and throw this commentary into the flames.¹¹

The invention of moveable type in the mid-fifteenth century unquestionably revolutionised the circulation of the Classics throughout Europe, and the most common authors enjoyed large-scale reproduction. Lucretius was comparatively neglected in this process, however: only five incunable editions appeared,¹² two of sufficiently small print-runs that, respectively, four and zero copies can currently be traced.¹³ The first four were published with minimal editorial involvement, rather reproducing, in full, the corrupt text of whatever manuscripts were at hand: such distancing perhaps served to protect the editors, who likewise shirked any programmatic preface or engagement with the work's difficult contents, from censure. By contrast, Avancius' (Girolamo Avanzi's) Aldine edition (Venice, 1500)

marked the beginning of keen scholarly attention upon Lucretius, although its prefaces show almost no concern with defending the decision to edit a controversial poet. The two later Italian 'pocket' editions of the poem, the Juntine (Florence, 1512), edited by Crinitus (Pietro Crinito) with the posthumous assistance from the notes of Marullus (Michele Marullo), and the second Aldine edition (Venice, 1515), edited by Naugerius (Andrea Navagero), exhibit the same self-assurance in their undertaking: Crinitus focuses his attention on praising the high stylistic qualities of Lucretius as a poet, as if that provided sufficient ground for the task; Naugerius acknowledges that Lucretius' teachings are manifestly full of lies ('plenus mendaciorum') but advances that they should be read nonetheless, since 'veritas, quanto magis inquiritur, tanto apparet illustrior, & venerabilior' ('the more that truth is investigated, the more splendid and venerable it appears').

The first half-century of the editing of Lucretius, therefore, proceeded in Italy without the imposition of censorship or censure. Two further works deserve mention in this prosperous initial phase in Lucretian scholarship. For the first we turn to Pisa: Francus (Raffaele Franceschi), a lecturer in moral philosophy at the city's university and an overt homosexual, published in 1504 a 'Paraphrasis' on the first three books of *De rerum natura*, supposedly at the prompting of friends, against his own professed wishes to hold it back.¹⁴ The choice to limit himself to the first half of the work alone is perhaps significant: only a few passages could cause the Renaissance reader significant problems in the first two books, and the lascivious elements of Book 4, along with non-providential doctrines of Books 5-6, were thus omitted entirely; nevertheless, the arguments in Book 3 about the corporeality of the soul were included in Francus' selection. Although he evidently sympathised with Lucretius on several points, he felt compelled to add an appendix asserting the *immortality* of the soul. The second work brings us to Bologna, and to the first true commentary written on the poem, the imposing folio of Pius (Giovanni Battista Pio), which appeared from the press of Hieronymus Baptista de Benedictis in 1511.¹⁵ Despite its great length, and the selection of several words per line as lemmata, Pius' level of engagement with the doctrines of the poem was not high, and largely mediated through other authors (especially Aristotle) rather than his own analysis. The work deserves credit for being the first surviving commentary on the work (no ancient scholia survive, beyond the remnants of annotations that have been transmitted as the poem's *capitula*)¹⁶ but is of little practical use to the modern-day scholar. Although Pius' project was undoubtedly on a large scale, and dealt with the entirety of the poem without omission, the prefaces and commentary give little attention to defence of the poem and its annotation. The preface has little to say on the content of Lucretius' work, but closes with the declaration, printed in larger type, 'Omnia orthodoxe fidei subijcio' ('I submit everything to orthodox faith'). The primary apologia consists of only a single paragraph at the very close of the commentary (before a rather incongruous appendix of Plautine emendations). Pius takes the tack of recording explicitly his desired readership for his work: '[haec scripta] soli legant eruditi velim: vel qui student eruditioni ... Nec enim hoc pabulum adolescentulorum est aut amatorum ... Cui Venus: commessatio: chorea: cantus Ionici sunt cordi: hic si Lucretium sumit, pondus tantum sumit' ('I would like only the learned to read [these things], or those who strive for learning... for this is not fare of the very young

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or of lovers ... If the person who loves sex, revelry, dancing and Ionic music picks up Lucretius, he picks up only a weight').

The commentary was evidently thought to have interest outside Italy, for it was reprinted in Paris by Ascenius (Josse Bade) in 1514, to which Beraldu (Nicolas Berauld) added a preface that praised Pius' achievement, acknowledged that Lucretius 'de Atomis, inani, nihiloque quaedam cum Epicuro suo somniaverit' ('regarding atoms, void and nothing imagined certain things along with Epicurus') but asserted that the work should be read diligently none the less for the traces of wisdom it contains and the moral improvement that exercise can bring. This move from Italy to France heralded a major shift in Lucretian scholarship in Europe: despite the preceding flurry of attention, Naugerius' second Aldine of 1515 proved to be the last Italian edition of Lucretius for some 140 years, as Lucretius' doctrines, amidst the strife of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, were deemed too potent for publication. That being so, it is surprising to note that, notwithstanding the anti-classical attitude that pervaded the Italian ecclesiastical community following the Council of Trent (1545), Lucretius' poem was at no stage entered on the Vatican's *Index librorum prohibitorum*.¹⁷ The same freedom was not granted to Italian translations of the work: Gianfrancesco Muscettola completed a prose translation of *DRN* in 1530 but chose not to publish it, a decision that effectively guaranteed its destruction; it was not until over two hundred years later, as we shall see, that the country could stomach the appearance of a vernacular translation of the work.¹⁸

With Italy's attitude to Lucretius and Epicureanism darkening, the publication of *DRN* migrated to Lyon (home of the Gryphii) and Paris (home of an increasingly vibrant community of scholar-printers), where pocket editions of the work appeared apace. The most major landmark in Lucretian scholarship between the poem's rediscovery and the mid-nineteenth century was achieved by Lambinus (Denys Lambin). In 1563 he produced at Paris a dense commentary on the whole work, whose text was the first edited on scientific principles, with the careful collation and inspection of several manuscript (including Q, in two guises). Whereas Pius' earlier commentary retained many features of the scholastic tradition, largely expounding difficult words and phrases, and occasionally providing basic historical context, Lambinus applied his energies to clarifying the text and expounding its philosophy. With this turn to Epicureanism itself, Lambinus had to take pains in his preface to ensure that the aims of his undertaking were not misunderstood: the first full apology for editing Lucretius was thus born. In his lengthy address to Charles IX, Lambinus rejected the claim that the undoubtedly impious writings of Epicurus and Lucretius have the power to make their readers impious too; rather, he asserted that one should focus on the positive aspects of the work; in the case of its faults, the reader should be aware that Lucretius' own role was simply to follow the mistakes already committed by Epicurus. Furthermore, Lambinus declared that it is easy to refute the doctrines Lucretius expounds by careful reflection upon the Christian Word of truth. More importantly, in his wider defence of the rights of Christian scholars, he also adduced the fact that the Church Fathers evidently read pagan poetry without spiritual or moral detriment to themselves, which suggests that the modern reader should not trouble to engage with the poetry of Lucretius and others: if pagan authors were to be abandoned out of hand because of their non-Christian content, Plato and Aristotle,

not to mention Homer, the Greek tragedians and Virgil, would have to be likewise rejected, an idea the Early Modern *res publica litterarum* would have struggled to stomach. Lambinus finally observed that, as well as being of a remarkable beauty and purity in style, *DRN* had much of utility for the reader, especially on curbing desire, on securing mental tranquillity, and on defending the evidential value of the senses. These lively prolegomena provide the key building blocks that structure the defences of Lucretian editors over the next three hundred years.

In the wake of this powerful preface, and a confident address to the reader, Lambinus did not pull any punches in the ensuing commentary but dealt with the totality of subject matter head on. Further opportunity to remind the reader of his ultimate distance from Lucretian doctrines could be taken, however, in the short dedications to scholarly friends that precede each of the six books. We can consider just two examples. In the preface to Book 2, dedicated to the poet Pierre de Ronsard, Lambinus troubled to add *en passant* that Lucretius' philosophy is 'delira, et in multis impia' ('delirious and in many respects impious'), and that his atomic philosophy is unappealing, although its failings are to be attributed to Epicurus alone ('rideamus licet Epicuri deliria', 'though we may mock *Epicurus*' bouts of delirium'). In that to Book 3, dedicated to Germain Vaillant de Guélis (Valens Pimpuntius), later Bishop of Orleans, he carefully stated that Lucretius' doctrines on the soul are fundamentally unconvincing and clearly reaffirmed that his own opinions are entirely in line with Christian doctrine; lest his overall project be called into question, however, this clarification is duly followed with a protestation that 'non omnia sunt in Lucretio respuenda ac rejicienda' ('not everything in Lucretius should be eschewed and rejected'). Lambinus' edition was heralded as a great success: a compact edition without commentary appeared in 1565, and the whole work was reprinted and expanded for a lavish quarto in 1570, both at Paris, and an octavo for the German market (Frankfurt, 1583).

Although Catholicism, and in due course Protestantism, were necessarily staunch enemies of Epicureanism, the editing of *DRN* thrived in mid-sixteenth-century France and Holland. Spurred by Lambinus' success, the Dutch lawyer Gifanuis (Obert van Giffen), who became a major adversary of the Parisian on the credible charge of plagiarism, produced a compact and savvy edition of the poem in 1565/6. His carefully worded preface took the same tack in defending the first scholarly edition of Lucretius in Holland, claiming that the universally admired Cicero would have to be rejected by readers if the Epicurean poet is to suffer that treatment, since both maintained impious beliefs when judged by Christian standards. A wider educative claim is also made, itself redolent of Naugerius' assertion, namely that thinking about these manifest falsehoods encourages the reader to reflect upon, and further understand, the Christian Truth. The work does not have a detailed commentary but the complete text is presented unashamedly as a scholarly venture.

With these solid bases, the editing of Lucretius was to proceed without problem for the next century in both France and Holland. The fact that no Stephanus or Elzevir edition of *DRN* ever appeared could be the result of anxiety about the poem's contents or rather of the belief that the general difficulty of the work's contents would, without a supporting commentary, not attract a large readership.

The near-complete silence that had fallen over Italy (cf. n. 18) was to be broken

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briefly by the bizarre edition of Nardius (Giovanni Nardi), published in Florence in 1647. The work, which is of negligible academic interest, divided the Latin text of the poem by the insertion of brief summaries of its meaning, which prudently passed over several more difficult aspects, silence serving as the best means of censorship. Instead, fifty excursuses, on topics of varying degrees of relevance to *DRN*, are scattered throughout the book and, on the dubious ground that the Athenian plague closing Book 6 arose in Egypt, the edition ends with lengthy discussion – and eight engraved plates – concerning Egyptian burial practices. The sensitivity felt in publishing *DRN* in Florence of the day is evidenced by the extraordinary protection given the book through its ecclesiastical licences. We read on the final page (680) defences of the work, in Latin and Italian, from a range of influential men. One such example of the five, written by Antonius Mucinus, Pronotary Apostolic, stated that, having read through the work carefully, he can find ‘nothing in it that is contrary to the doctrines of Christian faith or good morals’.¹⁹ The statement refers, of course, specifically to Nardi’s own careful wording throughout the commentary. Nardi himself acknowledged in the preface that the work, which he referred to as ‘audax illud facinus’ (‘that audacious crime’), is dangerous to the reader:

perniciosi tamen latent angues in herba, interque gemmantes flores insinuant semet frequenter Aconita dira, feralesque Cicutae. cave proinde, aut declina, adolescens, ne tibi sit exitio florilegium. (A1’)

Yet dangerous snakes lurk in the grass, and terrible wolf-bane and wild hemlock intersperse themselves regularly among the glistening flowers. Take care, then, or turn away, young reader, lest picking these flowers be the death of you.

It is difficult to gauge whether Nardi’s idiosyncratic work found a receptive audience in Italy; the climate for a wider resurgence in Lucretian interest, however, was evidently absent: not only was this edition never reprinted, but the sole Lucretian work to appear before the 1720s was the luxurious pocket edition from the Bulifoni press on Naples in 1693, a work with such a small print run that very few copies survive worldwide.

In contemporary France, however, and in due course England, a wave of neo-Epicurean interest arose with Jean-François Sarasin’s *Discours de Morale sur Épicure* (written in 1645/6), which served significantly to popularise Lucretius’ doctrines. This tract was almost instantly eclipsed by the prolonged work of the French Catholic priest Pierre Gassendi, whose *De vita et moribus Epicuri libri octo* (*Eight Books on the Life and Morals of Epicurus*) appeared in Lyon in 1647, and was soon followed by his *Animadversiones in decimum librum Diogenis Laertii* (*Notes on the Tenth Book of Diogenes Laertius*) (Lyon, 1649), which contained as an appendix a *Philosophiae Epicuri Syntagma* (*An Exposition of Epicurean Philosophy*) that collected and translated extant Epicurean texts.²⁰ Gassendi’s enthusiastic work on Epicureanism became more generally available throughout Europe with the publication of his posthumous *Opera Omnia* (6 vols, Lyon), especially its and third first volumes. This vibrant background saw the first published translation of Lucretius into a vernacular language, that of Michel de Marolles, commendatory abbot of Villeloin, which appeared in Paris in 1650. Marolles, protected by the approval of both his patron (Princess Marie Louise de Gonzague, later Queen of Poland) and his dedicatee (Guillaume de Lamoignon,

Premier Président de Parlement), and encouraged by the favourable attitude of the period towards Epicureanism, showed little concern with having chosen to translate Lucretius, despite its necessarily reaching a wider audience in its French dress.

This same climate allowed Faber (Tannaquy Le Fevre) to produce the first rigorous edition of the poet (Saumur, 1662) for a hundred years, although his work explicitly focused upon the poem's text rather than its philosophical exegesis. Despite his avoidance of tackling the poem's awkward elements explicitly, Faber was well aware of their potential dangers. In his opening address to the reader, he acknowledged that there are many things in writers such as Lucretius which 'non satis tuto exponere possis. Ad haec cum Lucretius a pueris nec legi possit, nec, si possit, debeat tamen, eo fit, ut paucula pluribus potiora sint' ('you could not safely express. In the case of these, since Lucretius cannot be read by boys, nor if he can should he be, it turns out that a few words will be more effective than many' (*Ad Lectorem*, p. v). This abstention from comment is supported by the assertion that Gassendi, the 'incomparable man' ('incomparabili[s] vir': *ibid.*), had recently outlined the full scheme of Epicurus in books that are widely read. An exception was made, however, for Book 3, to the notes on which Faber felt compelled to add a specific preface, since that book especially is to be read 'delectu & acri quodam iudicio' ('with discernment and a keen judgment', 469). That Lucretius teaches that there is nothing to fear in death is highlighted as an especially dangerous doctrine: 'Saxa itaque & scopulos vides, Lector, a quibus longe longeuque refugisse debes' ('therefore you see the rocks and stones, reader, from which you must flee far, far away', 470). This earnest defence closes with an important reminder of the commentator's role: 'Sed tamen est aliud etiam tantillulum, quod te volebam: Si quid a me ex mente Lucretii, vel in hocce libro dictum fuerit, vel in aliis, facito quaeso ut memineris, *Actorem* esse me, non *Poetam*' ('But there is one other very little thing that I want you to know: if anything has been said by me according to the mind of Lucretius, either in this very book or in others, please be sure to remember that I am an actor, not the poet', 472). Just as Lambinus moved culpability from Lucretius to Epicurus, so too does Faber shirk any possible criticism by emphasising that the doctrines discussed originated with the poet: as an *actor*, his exposition of Lucretian doctrine is akin to merely being prompted what line to deliver or discuss. On occasion, the lines in question were too much for the man. Regarding the passages of sexual focus at the close of Book 4, Faber put his readers' sensibilities first when summarising his treatment: 'haec quidem de amore Lucretius; in quibus explicandis si paulo brevior fui, prudens sciensque feci, qui viderem, ita comparatum esse totum illud negotium, ut ad illius intelligentiam nemo interprete opus habebat' ('well, this is what Lucretius has to say on love; if I have been a little too brief in expounding these matters I did so prudently and knowingly, since I realised that the whole business of sex is so constituted that no one has required a commentator to understand it', 499). Although Faber was thus fully aware of the potentially subversive content of Book 4, his edited text took no trouble to doctor or remove the Latin text, thus continuing the integrity of other editions of the poem prior to that date.

The same cannot be said for the edition of Lucretius that appeared in the Delphin editions, edited in the late seventeenth century to provide a library for the young Dauphin, the son of Louis XIV and Maria Theresa. This edition, whose scarcity

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suggests that its print-run was smaller than other authors in the series, or even that copies were destroyed by frustrated publisher or infuriated audience, was entrusted to Fayus (Michel du Fay), who took trouble from the outset to highlight the awkward nature of his task. In his preface, addressed to Louis de France, he writes (with another Horatian echo):

Imprudens quidem certe, ac insipientis forsán sapientiae consultus errare videar, Serenissime Delphine, quod eam Tibi philosophiam, quae irreligiosa aestimatur & impia, religiosissimo, Christianissimoque dicaverim. | Quis enim Philosophus aut Poeta Deorum providentiam negat impudentius, quis Animorum immortalitatem oppugnat acrius, quis religionem omnem audacius tollit, quam Lucretius? (A2)

I may certainly seem to be imprudent, and to err as a purveyor of possibly unwise wisdom, Most Serene Dauphin, in dedicating to you, one most religious and most Christian, a philosophy that is judged irreligious and impious. For what philosopher or poet more impudently denies the Gods' providence? who more bitterly opposes the immortality of souls? who more audaciously removes religion in its entirety, than Lucretius?

As with his earlier fellow editors, Fayus provides some defence for the project by turning to highlight the poetic beauty (in parts) of *DRN*, and underlines some of the useful aspects that come from studying his doctrine. Nevertheless, a frank admission is made: the final part of Book 4, we are told, has been cut out 'quia de rebus Venereis plurima continet somnia' ('because it contains very many delusions on sexual matters, e1'). Fayus moves instantly to recount the fate of these missing lines (266 in number in this edition): they have been cast out and repositioned at the close of the work but without notes or paraphrase, as had been standard for the rest of the commentary. The annotations to Book 4 thus end abruptly with the text, which cuts off mid-line at 4.1030 '*tum quibus aetatis, &c.*'; a note explains that the lines have been removed and pared down 'quia pudicum & castum lectorem non decent, non pudit interpretari, atque annotationibus illustrare' ('because [these verses] do not befit a modest and chaste reader, it was not fitting to provide an interpretation and annotated explanation for them'). Should one turn to the very close of the work, after the index to the poem as a whole, these lines are given in a markedly more minuscule font and without any adornment. Somewhat remarkably, they are given their own index, which avoids the insertion of such salacious terms into the primary index for the poem but allows swifter access to the *versus reiecti*. Fayus takes care to distance himself entirely from editorial involvement in these lines: their heading runs 'Obscoena quaedam in Lucretii contextu praetermissa, & in hunc locum reiecta. Juxta editionem Parei.' ('Some obscene passages omitted in the main text of Lucretius and banished to this place. [Printed] according to the text of Paraeus'. 4v2'). The text itself, which elsewhere had been edited as Fayus' own, is explicitly drawn from Paraeus' insignificant edition (see n. 40 below): any objections to what is read should thus fall, if not to Lucretius, to this earlier editor.

At this point we may leave France and move across the Channel to England, a country likewise affected by a new interest in Epicureanism. The various writings of Walter Charleton²¹ and Thomas Stanley²² helped prompt the appearance of a translation of *DRN* 1 by John Evelyn, which appeared in 1656. Perhaps to test

the reception of the work, Evelyn only published the first book of his complete verse translation of Lucretius, a work which survived only in manuscript until its publication in Repetzki 2000; although this first English rendering undoubtedly exposed Lucretius to a wider audience, his 'animadversions', printed throughout the volume (against his wishes), underlined Evelyn's general disagreement with Epicurean thought, however fascinating it was to him. Two other complete English translations of Lucretius are known from the same period, although both were held back from publication: the puritanical Lucy Hutchinson produced a rendering that she later dismissed as a 'youthful curiositie', ridiculing the poem as 'such vaine Philosophy';²³ the motives of the other figure cannot be discerned, for the prose translation of *De rerum natura*, perhaps dating from the early 1660s, exists anonymously and without further context in the Bodleian (Rawl. MS D 314), its very lack of associations perhaps being a reflection of the anxieties of its creator.²⁴

These English works led the way for the first text of Lucretius to appear in the country, a small-scale reprint of Faber issued, without additional prefatory matter, by John Hayes of Cambridge in 1675 (reprinted in 1686). In the wake of this important step, an ambitious young graduate of Wadham College, Oxford, Thomas Creech, ventured to publish a complete verse translation of *DRN*; although this clever work won the translator great fame, and a fellowship at All Souls, it was something of a perilous venture, which Creech took care to present with restraint. In his spirited preface, Creech seized the opportunity of demonstrating how distasteful Lucretius' (and Epicurus') philosophy is, and how open to ridicule it is. Having made the important observation that the work was 'written for the satisfaction of a Private Gentleman' (b2^r),²⁵ Creech states: 'I have heard that the best Method to overthrow the Epicurean Hypothesis (I mean as it stands opposite to Religion) is to expose a full system of it to publick view.' The literary venture is therefore rebranded as an educative tool to aid the Christian scholar through exposure of the enemy. To bolster his task, Creech added an appendix of 'notes' to his translation, over fifty pages in length, whose primary aim was to refute, rather than explicate, Lucretius' doctrines, often with rather fervent rhetoric. With these defences, the translation itself aimed to be clear and honest, with one important exception: 'I have endeavoured faithfully to disclose [Lucretius'] meaning, show him whole, and entire, unless in the Fourth Book, where some few Verses are omitted, for Reasons obvious enough' (b4^v). Lucretius' notoriously colourful treatment of sexual intercourse and related processes at the close of Book IV was a little too raw for Creech's tastes, and he failed entirely to translate several passages (4.1026-9, 1036-51, 1135-6, 1198-1208, 1257-87), indiscernible omissions unless compared with a Latin text.

Since it stood incomplete, Creech's Lucretius, despite its great success (it passed through eight editions over a century, three in two years)²⁶ threw the gauntlet down for other translators. Within a few years it was duly picked up by John Dryden, who had a keen eye for when to strike: in 1685 he issued a poetic miscellany containing translations from several classical authors, Lucretius included.²⁷ The *DRN* is represented in five selections,²⁸ among which stands the complete treatment of amorous and sexual matters that closes Book 4. Unlike Creech, Dryden showed little timidity in defending his provocative selection of material. Within his wide-ranging preface, he at length came to tackle this point directly:

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'Tis true, there is something, and that of some moment, to be objected against my *Englishing the Nature of Love*, from the Fourth Book of *Lucretius*: And I can less easily answer why I Translated it, than why I thus Translated it. The Objection arises from the Obscenity of the Subject; which is aggravated by the too lively, and alluring delicacy of the Verses. In the first place, without the least Formality of an excuse, I own it pleas'd me: and let my Enemies make the worst they can of this Confession; I am not yet so secure from that passion, but that I want my Authors Antidotes against it.

He continues by defending his decision neither to doctor nor to abridge his translation:

If to mince his meaning, which I am satisf'd was honest and instructive, I had either omitted some part of what he said, or taken from the strength of his expression, I certainly had wrong'd him; and that freeness of thought and words, being thus cashier'd in my hands, he had no longer been *Lucretius* ... I am only the Translatour, not the Inventor; so that the heaviest part of the censure falls upon *Lucretius*, before it reaches me: in the next place, neither he nor I could have used the grossest words; but the cleanliest Metaphors we cou'd find, to palliate the broadness of the meaning; and to conclude, have carried the Poetical part no farther, than the Philosophical exacted.

Dryden did not trouble to defend Lucretius on all points (cf., for instance, 'he was so much an Atheist, that he forgot sometimes to be a Poet') but his passion for the poetry (and its passion) allowed him to override his reservations and challenge Creech's prudishness.

Meanwhile, the wider intellectual society in England had come to acknowledge the importance of Lucretius' work: Newton and Boyle were advancing the cause of atomism, and the literary merits of the poem were more appreciated than ever.²⁹ This energy perhaps provided part of the spur for Creech to publish, at Oxford in 1695, an edition of the poem, together with prose explanation and scholarly annotation in Latin. The tone of this editor had changed significantly from the vociferous objections of the English translator: the prefatory matter makes no real apology for tackling Lucretius, rather the failings of former editors are chastised and the beauty of *DRN* praised. The volume's notes continued along the same tack, since Creech typically refrained from attacking directly the theory under discussion, instead explaining the text and its context as clearly as he could. The result is that a reader can work through a given Lucretian book using the commentary below scarcely without any anti-Epicurean voice interrupting that intellectual experience. With Creech's scruples set aside, the least combative annotated edition of *DRN* to date was now in print.

However, the Creech of old could not lie down completely, for the sake either of his conscience or of his audience: at the close of each of the books we find his own post-factum apologia for the doctrines that have appeared in the preceding poetic text. These appendices are placed with cunning, designed to make good the general absence of hostile rhetoric in his annotations by leaving a powerful anti-Epicurean salvo as a Parthian shot to the reader. The attacks, which often quote Cicero at length, generally admire the rigour and arrangement of Lucretius' foregoing argumentation but constantly assert that his impious slurs against providence are without any force to shake this key tenet of the Christian faith. In the passage that follows the end of Book 1, Creech felt bound to clarify his own position, stating that 'just as I do not reject all things [in the book], I do not approve all of them,'³⁰ and proceeded

to dismiss its anti-providential arguments. In a note following Book 2, Lucretius is termed 'Providentiae impotentissimus impugnator' ('a most ineffective adversary of providence'). Indeed, the most consistent feature throughout Creech's anti-Epicurean tirades is their virulent defence of divine forethought for mankind, clearly seen in the appendix to Book 5:

Lege quae sequuntur, & admirabilis ingenii tam vehementer delirantis miserere; Ea autem est omnium, qui negant Providentiam, sors; ut in Ethicis vana doceant, in Physicis absurda. (p. 310)

Read what follows [i.e. 5.771ff., Lucretius' discussion of the development of the earth and mankind] and take pity on an admirable intelligence that is so wildly delirious; this, however, is the fate of everyone who denies providence, that they teach vanities in Ethics and absurdities in Physics.³¹

Elsewhere in these appendices Creech simply mocks Lucretian doctrine with exclamations of the 'quid stultius?' type; in particular, the contents of Book 3,³² and the close of Book 4,³³ are dismissed with contempt, to be read by the impious alone or hidden in the shadows of the night. For all of these brief bouts of complaint, it is unclear to what extent Creech himself sympathised with Epicurean doctrines by the end of his life, but his death – suicide in 1700 for an undisclosed reason – is not without 'Lucretian' parallels.³⁴ At any rate, there is little doubt that Creech would have revelled in the reproduction of his edition, in part or in full, in England and five other countries during the eighteenth century.

The final stage of scholarly engagement with Lucretius in England, at least for several decades, came in 1714, with an anonymous edition of Creech's commentary that saw his notes be rendered into English. The author, probably a John Digby,³⁵ followed the usual structure of the Lucretian editor's apology: if Lucretius is rejected, other classics should be; many of his arguments are so ridiculous as to be incredible; the work still contains some elements of utility. The purpose of translating Creech's notes into the vernacular, suggesting a wider interest in understanding Lucretius beyond the scholarly community, is put in a contemporary context by the editor:

There is Reason to suspect, that some have not been wanting, and, I fear, are still to be found, who, not being capable of themselves to form a true Judgment of these Arguments of Lucretius, and for want of a right Discernment, have imbib'd some of his false Notions, and yielded too easy an Assent to them: they have taken the Shadow for the Substance of Reason; and thus have been wretchedly seduc'd into Errour. The following Notes are chiefly intended, not only to undeceive such Persons; but also to prevent others from falling into the like Mistakes: and if they compass that Effect, I shall have no Reason to think my Labour misemploy'd, nor to fear the Censure of the Publick. (C2')

Despite this declaration of public benefit, [Digby] did not scruple to supply the salacious missing elements of Creech's translations from Book 4 – by inserting the rendering of Dryden. The preface still demonstrates strong anti-Epicurean feeling: the editor asserts that Lucretius is among those works whose teachings are potentially dangerous to the mentally weak: 'Such books are a sort of edg'd Tools, that either

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ought to be kept from the Weak and the Illiterate; or, when they are put into their hands, they ought to be instructed how to use them without Danger.³⁶

This danger was still felt in England three decades later, when a two-volume prose translation of the work appeared.³⁷ Not only was the work anonymous, but the translator defended his exercise with virulent force from future criticism;³⁸ a more apt charge would be plagiarism from Creech, whose preface is reproduced, in parts verbatim, without acknowledgement, and whose omissions in Book 4 recur in this new rendering.

To turn briefly back to the poem's Latin text alone, in the two years preceding [Digby]'s edition, the prolific London bookseller Jacob Tonson issued two editions of the poem, a lavish edition without notes but followed by a copious selection of variant readings (1712), and a small octavo under the editorship of Michael Maittaire (1713). The former made no defence for editing Lucretius, the latter simply complained that the present day saw so many people babbling delirious doctrines and yet being shown tolerance that the Christian reader will more easily condone Lucretius' own aberrant doctrines.³⁹

Up to this point we have discussed activity in Italy, France, Holland and England in the editing of Lucretius. The reason for this narrow geographical range is simply that, until the late eighteenth century, no work of original scholarship on *DRN* appeared in any other country; the few editions that had appeared in other countries were reproductions of others' work. Only two editions of Lucretius, one a mere reprint, appeared in Germany before the late eighteenth century.⁴⁰ Switzerland had a limited relationship with Lucretius: Naugerius' Aldine was reprinted at Basel in 1531 by Henricus Petrus, and *DRN* was included in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* issued in Geneva by the Crispini in 1611, 1627 and 1640. Thereafter, however, no edition of Lucretius appeared until a reprint of Creech at Basel in 1754 and 1770; strikingly, the earlier of these two editions chose to carry 'Londini', rather than 'Basilae', on its title-page, and to omit Creech's 'interpretatio' (prose rendering) of the work, both of which the 1770 edition felt confident enough to restore. No edition of Lucretius' text was printed in Scotland until 1749, in (what would now be recognised as) Austria until 1787,⁴¹ in Scandinavia until 1819 (but not since),⁴² on the Iberian peninsula and in Eastern Europe until the twentieth century,⁴³ or in the United States until 1860.⁴⁴ A complete edition of the poem has still not (to my knowledge) been published in Ireland, Wales, Africa, Asia (excluding Russia), South America or Australasia.⁴⁵

We may now move back to our starting location, in Italy, where the renewed interest in Lucretius shown in Northern Europe spurred one individual to break the silence: Giovanni Volpi, Professor of Philosophy, Greek and Latin at the University of Padua, published in 1721 the first edition of Lucretius by an Italian since 1515, if we except Nardi's odd volume of 1647 and the pocket Bulifoni edition of 1693; the next edition to appear in Italy after Volpi's that was *not* explicitly a reprint came in 1807.⁴⁶ (With this sheer rarity of Italian involvement should be compared the fact that France witnessed no fewer than twenty-eight editions between 1510 and 1710.) Volpi acknowledged in his introduction that Lucretius, a writer 'vitio ... temporum suorum identidem insanien[s]' ('repeatedly acting insane through the fault of his age', vi), was a potentially dangerous author. To combat this, he devoted the majority of his preface (pp. vii-xvi) to overturning, in advance of the Latin text, the three

points that he regarded as 'potissimum dispicienda ... desipientis huius sapientiae praecipua capita' ('especially despicable ... primary tenets of this foolish "wisdom" ; vii): his teachings on the Gods and religion, on the nature of the soul, and on matter and first principles (the last demonstrating the scientific concern of the day). A young reader was evidently envisaged (or feared), who needed to be on his constant guard: 'Satis erit si juventutem monuerimus, ut meminerit, in *Lucretii* lectione, tamquam in lubrico & periculoso loco, sibi caute ac suspensio pede incedendum: non omnibus quae veritatis speciem prae se ferre videantur, temere assentiendum' ('It will be sufficient if we warn the youth to remember that, in reading Lucretius, they should tread carefully and with wavering foot, as if in a precarious and dangerous place. They should not rashly agree to everything that seems to present the appearance of truth', *ibid.*). In addition to this strongly worded preface, the great Creech's *censurae* are appended to each book as a stern clausula for good measure. Volpi's carefully insulated edition must have stirred some level of interest in his own country, as it was reprinted in Padua without change in 1751 and 1777, although the rest of Italy resolutely remained in pious silence.

That silence had been forcibly demanded in recent years. Alessandro Marchetti's Italian rendering of the poem, which was completed in 1669, granted approval in the following year by the ecclesiastical authorities in Florence but ultimately refused publication by the confessor of Cosmo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, had circulated in Italy and across Europe for many decades in manuscript. In 1717, three years after Marchetti's death, the translation appeared either in London or in Italy under a false 'London' imprint.⁴⁷ The translation was much reprinted thereafter, although not given an explicit Italian imprint until 1797 (the editions of 1761, 1765 and 1768, professedly printed in London, were probably also Venetian). In his *Protesta del Traduttore a' Lettori* that precedes the poem, Marchetti stated that, notwithstanding the anti-religious sentiments of Lucretius' work, the noble elements of the philosophy and poetry prevailed upon him to bring the work into his mother tongue, an honest and passionate declaration.⁴⁸ Yet, in November, 1718, a year following its first publication, state censorship reared its ugly head and Marchetti's translation entered the Vatican's *Index librorum prohibitorum*, no doubt encouraged by the 'confession' of certain Italians that reading it had made them atheistic!⁴⁹

Elsewhere, the eighteenth century saw a more relaxed attitude in the publication of Lucretius. A desire for small and attractive volumes of the poem, not seen since the Jansson editions of Amsterdam in the 1620s and 1630s, began with Étienne Philippe's illustrated duodecimo, issued in Paris – without privilege, and thus without fear of censorship – by Coustelier in 1744 (and later Grangé in 1748 and Barbou in 1754). In his preface, Philippe stated in words reminiscent of Augustine (cf. *Epp.* 118.12) that he no longer believed Epicureanism to represent a threat to Christianity, and that the work can therefore be enjoyed as a poem tackling difficult matters of physics.⁵⁰ If readers did require moral bolstering, Philippe advised them to read Cardinal Polignac's *Anti-Lucretius sive De Deo et Natura*, which he said would soon appear posthumously under the editorship of Abbé Rothelin (it did in 1747). This nine-book, 12,000-verse salvo, written in the style of Lucretius but solely to overturn his doctrines (as well as Newton's), highlights the anxieties that lurked in certain ecclesiastical corners of the literary community: it was translated (in part or in full)

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into English, French, Italian and German but ultimately sold with limited success.⁵¹ Polignac's translation serves as the sterling example of how to combat Lucretius' doctrines while subtly exposing the reader to your own, rather than the Epicurean's, poetic merits.

In Britain, Joseph Brindley in London (1749), the Foulis Press in Glasgow (1749, 1759) and John Baskerville in Birmingham (quarto 1772, duodecimo 1773) each issued *DRN* elegantly and without apology. In 1787, Alter's Viennese edition marked the first scholarly edition of the poem that made no attempt to apologise for editing the work; thereafter, as in Wakefield's sprawling three-volume edition (London, 1796-7) and Eichstaedt's reissue (Leipzig, 1801), explicit defence for editing Lucretius, or censorship in that process, is simply not in evidence, although political and religious non-conformism (fundamentally Unitarianism) pervades the lively and dense commentary. As it became a respectable academic undertaking to edit Lucretius, and the stronghold of religion over Europe loosened its grip, editors and publishers freed themselves of their predecessors' shackles. This open attitude to the poem has continued among academics from the late eighteenth century to the present day.

The work was not without unvoiced disapproval thereafter, however. We have seen that Italy and Spain refrained from dealing with the work academically until the turn of the twentieth century or later. Moving down from the upper echelons of academia, Lucretius was slow to enter university and school curricula: it rarely featured in European universities throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and gradually re-emerged in the early nineteenth; little evidence survives of the use of Lucretius in English schools before the 1820s. From this point the tide started to turn, and selections from *DRN* began to be published for schoolboys,⁵² with the result that it was widely read in schools and universities by the beginning of the 1900s.⁵³ The choice of material was still carefully monitored:⁵⁴ the controversial content of Book 4 kept it firmly out of these books and thus out of the school classroom, perhaps more to save the embarrassment of teachers than the innocence of youth. A similar discrepancy is found in the editions of single books of *DRN* produced for school purposes: whereas some have enjoyed several specific commentaries for a school audience (most especially Book 5, which has merited fifteen school commentaries from Kelsey [1884] to the present), the prime culprit, Book 4, remained out of bounds until an English schoolmaster at Shrewsbury, John Godwin, published a commentary on the entire book for Aris & Phillips in 1991;⁵⁵ the close of Book 4 is yet to get on the school curriculum.

Twentieth-century translations have ceased to play the censor, even where the potential readership might have carried other expectations. The celebrated headmaster and Hellenist, W.H.D. Rouse, never one to mince words, translated the entire work for the Loeb series in 1924 (perhaps since no British Latinist was forthcoming) but did not resort to facing Latin pages for the most erotic aspects of Book 4; Godwin, too, in a series explicitly designed for sixth formers and undergraduates, did not shirk the duties of the honest translator when it came to thrusting and fluids.

Lucretius has thus had a harder time than most of his fellow Roman poets in winning a fair reception, in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and much of the Renaissance and Early Modern period: typically his poetic achievements have been used as the major

reason to read the work, and when the sheer danger of his philosophy to a Christian world has overridden their attraction, he has ceased to be read at all, whether by taste or by decree. Although it is unlikely that religious uncertainty, scientific debate or sexual primness will ever bring *DRN* back under censorship, whatever fate may lie in store for the poem, scholars in our more relaxed age should agree that we owe it to Lucretius to catch up for valuable time lost.

Notes

1. No complete survey of Lucretius' reception throughout Antiquity and the Middle Ages exists, but important material can be gathered from several studies. The broadest account remains Hadzsits 1935, although it often merely skims the surface. For further details regarding certain periods, useful information can be found in Gillespie and Hardie 2007, and in several more specific studies: Philippe 1895, 1896, Bignone 1913, Jessen 1860, Manitius 1894, Alfonsi 1978, and, most fully, Solaro 2000, Appendix, 93-122.

2. This curious piece of information is recorded by Jerome (*Chron.* s.a. 95 B.C. [Ol. 171.3 *an. Abr.* 1922]) and perhaps drew upon Suetonius' lost tract *De poetis*; the ultimate sources for allegations of suicide and love potions could be based upon both Lucretius' failure to condemn suicide at 3.79-82 and a confusion with the *Lucullus* said to have died by a love potion (cf. Plin. *Hist. nat.* 25.3).

3. The Hymn to Venus (1.1-43), difficult to reconcile with Epicurean doctrine, would have been unremarkable for a Christian reader when set against other examples from Classical literature; that *Venus* can be a by-word for sex, however, gave this proem an unsavoury air once paired with the close to *DRN* 4.

4. Leiden UB Voss. Lat. F 30 (s.IX^{1/4}).

5. For a detailed treatment of the annotations in O, see Butterfield 2010, 148-202.

6. Leiden UB Voss. Lat. Q 94 (s.IX^{med.}).

7. Copenhagen Kong. Bibl. Gl. Kgl. S. 211 2° ff.1-8 and Vienna ÖNB Lat. 107, ff.9-18 (s.IX^{3/4}).

8. For the absence, cf. Berthod 1787. Medieval monastic catalogues attest to the presence of Lucretius' work only at Murbach (s.IX), Bobbio (s.IX/X), Corbie (s.XII) and Lobbes (s.XII), all of which have now perished.

9. There is no reason to believe that any citation of Lucretius' work from the late ninth century to the third decade of the fifteenth century drew upon direct contact with a copy of *DRN*, an almost unparalleled silence among surviving classical authors.

10. For more on the fate of Lucretius in the Renaissance, see Lehnerdt 1904, Hadzsits 1935, 248-83, Goddard 1991, Prosperi 2004, and Brown 2010). For a detailed survey of manuscript evidence from the period, see Reeve 1980, 2005, 2006.

11. Ficino 1576, I.963. For wider context on this venture see Gabotto 1891, Hankins forthcoming.

12. Brescia, c. 1473; Verona, 1486; Venice, 1495; Brescia, 1496; Venice, 1500. The landmark work of Cosmo Gordon, *A Bibliography of Lucretius* (London, 1962; reissued with an introduction by E.J. Kenney, Winchester, 1985), serves as essential guidance in the tumultuous field of Lucretian publications.

13. The two Brescian editions are much the most valuable entities for the collector, if not the scholar: copies of the *princeps* are held at the John Rylands Library in Manchester, the Laurentian Library in Florence, the Château de Chantilly in France, and Nehalozeves Castle in the Czech Republic; no copy can be currently traced of the 1496 Brescia edition, printed by Bernardinus Misinta: for further details and queries about its fate, see Smith and Butterfield 2010.

14. Francus 1504. Only four copies (two of which are incomplete) are currently known. For a characteristically insightful discussion of this brief, 32-page work, see Pizzani 1986.

15. For more on Pius' commentary, see Raimondi 1974, Pizzani 1983; Tagliente 1983.

16. The *capitula*, first carefully studied by Hans Fischer's 1924 Giessen thesis *De capitulis Lucretianis*, are analysed extensively in my thesis: Butterfield 2010, 90-147.

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17. The list was circulated from c. 1515 onwards but published in Rome from 1557 through to 1966.

18. A slight anomaly to this trend is seen in Frachetta 1589, a work which sought to expound in simple terms certain aspects of Lucretian doctrine. Since Frachetta maintained that the work should be classed as scientific, not poetic, his series of Italian essays primarily focus on how Lucretius' theories tally with or differ from Aristotelian science, a narrow remit that would have minimised controversy.

19. 'Ego Antonius Mucinus Protonot. Apost. hanc in Lucretium Paraphrasim, & Animadversiones D. Ioannis Nardii varia eruditione refertas accurate perlegi, nihilque in eis reperi [sic], quod Christianae Fidei dogmatibus, vel bonis moribus adversetur. In quorum fidem, &c. Die 18, Maii 1645.' The same claim, that there is nothing 'che repugni alla Pietà Cristiana, e buoni Costumi' is undersigned by Vincenzio Rabatta, Vicar-General of Florence. Thomas Antonellus, Consultor of the Inquisition in the same city, judged the work to be published (echoing Horace): 'Dignissimum adeo, & Cedro, & Sole opus censeo' ('I judge the work to be most worthy of being bound and seeing the light of day').

20. Gassendi had already tackled Epicurean philosophy in detail in his *De vita et doctrina Epicuri* (*On the Life and Teaching of Epicurus*) of 1636-7, which survives in manuscript. For more on Gassendi and his philosophical projects, see Jones 1981 and Joy 1987.

21. This royalist doctor demonstrated general acceptance of Epicurean physics in his *Physiologia Epicuro-Gassendo-Charltoniana* (London, 1654), a work followed two years later by *Epicurus' Morals*, containing his famous 'Apologie for Epicurus'.

22. The second volume (1656) of Thomas Stanley's *History of Philosophy* (London, 1655-62) devoted some one hundred pages to the exposition of Epicureanism.

23. For a magisterial two-volume edition of this translation, with discussion of its context and commentary on its content, see Barbour and Norbrook (2011), replacing the smaller *editio princeps* of de Quehen (1966); an interesting early survey of the work was given by the great Lucretian scholar, Hugh Munro: Munro 1858.

24. For the most recent and most detailed treatment of this most tight-lipped of translations, see Barbour (2010), whose intriguing questions will hopefully provoke further research.

25. Creech seems to have acknowledged the controversial nature of his translating a potentially dangerous book by citing on his title-page a line from Martial's first book (1.3.12, addressed to his own poetic work): *I, fuge, sed poteras tutior esse Domi* ('Go then, flee! but you could have been safer at home!').

26. Oxford, 1682, 1683; London, 1683 (*bis*), 1699, 1700, 1714, 1722, 1793.

27. J. Dryden, *Sylvae; or, the Second Part of Poetical Miscellanies* (London, 1685).

28. 1.1-40, 2.1-61, 3.830-1090, 4.1050-1287 and 5.221-34.

29. The influential William Temple, in his 1685 work *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus; or, of Gardening in the Year* (London, 1692), praised Lucretius as one of the best philosophers and the supreme poets of Rome, which further stirred English interest in the poem.

30. 'ut non omnia rejiciam, sic non omnia probabo' (60).

31. Clearly Creech's pro-Providential arguments did not achieve their full aim. We may compare the anonymous poem *War with Witchcraft, or the Free-Thinker's Iliad* (London, 1732), vv. 543-50: 'With what Success this Author [= Lucretius] wrote, / It needless were – for me to note, / Since in our Tongue – his Labours teach / (Translated by the Hand of Creech) / Our Pupils – Priestcraft to defy / with tuneful Infidelity; / Tho' had he still remain'd – in Latin, / Not one in ten – had e'er got at him.' To verse 547 is added the note 'No Book has done more Service in converting Youth to Free-thinking than this.'

32. 'Impios solos, quos nulla Philosophia curare debuit, juvabit' ('It will please only the impious, of whom no philosophy should take heed').

33. 'De insomniis, ad v.1031 [= 1029], merae nugae; Reliqua vero nocte & tenebris tegenda' ('What he says on dreams are mere trivialities; the remainder should certainly be hidden by night and the dark').

34. The careful inspector of his note *ad* 3.171 [= 173] will find Creech admit, in the context of suicide, that he is 'a natura, et ab aerumnis paulo tristior' (using the wording of Faber's earlier annotation), although he still cannot commend the act.

35. Digby had already translated from Diogenes Laertius and other authors a compilatory work entitled *Epicurus' Morals* (London, 1712) and clearly felt that Epicureanism, although unappealing, required further elucidation.

36. Pref. B1^v-2^r. He proceeded: 'I dare boldly affirm, that whatever Propositions Lucretius advances, contrary to the Christian Religion, are so visibly and notoriously false, and consequently so easily answer'd, that they can not in the least startle any one, who professes our Holy Belief'

37. *T. Lucretius Carus of [sic] the nature of things, in six books* (London, 1743).

38. 'And here I would have it be understood, that I translate *Lucretius* only as a Classick Writer of the first Rank, and one of the Venerable Fathers of *Latin* Poetry, without thinking myself accountable for his Principles, or justifying his System; and whoever apprehends the Design of this Work, in any other View, is a Person of narrow and stinted Conceptions; he is a precise *Fanatic* in the Republick of Letters, and a secret and ignorant Enemy to Human Learning. It would make strange Havock in the Learned World, if a Translator who renders a Pagan Author, or a Tutor that explains an old Classick to his Pupils, should be judged to cultivate and defend all the Folly and Impiety of the Heathen Mythology: This would soon banish those great Founders of Knowledge and polite Literature out of all Methods of Education, and introduce Barbarism and Ignorance equal to that of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, upon the Ruins of every thing that is now called Noble, Generous and Instructive, by the wisest and the most sensible Part of Mankind' (Preface: a3^v-a4^r).

39. 'Christianus lector magis mirabitur Poetam; cui de suorum Numinum & Animae natura minus recte sentienti, ac in Ethnicis & plusquam Cimmeriis tenebris saepius aberranti eo tamen facilius condonabit, quod nunc temporis in luce Christiani solis meridiana tot prophanis impiisque homuncionibus jejuna putidi cerebri figmenta & insanientis sapientiae deliramenta palam & audacter effutientibus per summam clementiam indulgeatur' (A4^v-5^r).

40. Lambinus' commentary was reprinted in Frankfurt (1583) and Paraeus (Daniel Paré) produced a text of the work with very brief notes and a copious *Lexicon Lucretianum* in the same city in 1631; Creech's commentary was reprinted at Leipzig in 1776, and in 1801 Wakefield's edition was reprinted by Karl Eichstaedt at Leipzig, although nothing was issued after volume 1. The first major engagement with Lucretius in Germany was the edition of Albert Forbiger (Leipzig, 1828), duly eclipsed by the magisterial work of Karl Lachmann (Berlin, 1850).

41. F.C. Alter, *Titii Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex Ad Codicem Vindobonensem Expressi* (Vienna, 1787), a work whose text is piously edited on the basis of Vienna ÖNB Lat. 170, a fifteenth-century manuscript of no significance.

42. This was an anonymously edited variorum edition, issued at Uppsala in the *Corpus Auctorum Romanorum* series and with a text based on the second Bipontine edition (Strasbourg, 1808), duly supplemented by Wakefield's *Variae Lectiones*.

43. Balcells 1923-8; the first translation appeared in Portuguese (without Latin text) from the hands of J.D. Marchado Ferraz (Lisbon, 1850).

44. Munro's plain Latin text, edited for the *Cambridge Greek and Latin Texts* series in 1860, was printed in New York for the *Harper's Greek and Latin Texts* by agreement from that year onwards: the first independent edition of Lucretius in America was Francis Kelsey's edition with commentary of Books 1, 3 and 5 (Boston, 1884 etc.).

45. G.C. Lightfoot edited Book 5 in 1953 for Melbourne University Press.

46. In the meantime, the poem had appeared in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* printed in Pesaro in 1766, in a reprint of Creech (Venice, 1785) and, bizarrely, of Fayus (Bassano, 1788); the first Italian commentary since Pius (1511) was issued almost four centuries later by Carlo Giussani (4 vols, Turin, 1896-8).

47. The true place of publication of the edition, which was issued under the oversight of Antinoo Rullo, remains uncertain. The work is entirely separate from the aborted attempt to publish the translation in Naples by Lorenzo Ciccarelli in 1715.

48. 'Io nondimento scorgendo in esso fra le tenebre di pochi errori vivamente risplendere molti lumi della più salda e più sensata Filosofia, e della più robusta e più nobile Poesia; non ò stimato se non ben fatto l'arricchire d'opra sì degna la mia volgare materna Lingua' (*Protesta*, a1^r).

5. Contempta relinquo

49. Volpi's Lucretian edition of the poem, by contrast, was never touched by this censorship.

50. 'ad edendos Lucretii *de Rerum Natura* libros, eosdemque sedulo recognitos, industriam omnem conferre non dubitavimus, rati Epicuri doctrinam jampridem ita obsolevisse, nihil ut inde periculi rei Christianae immineat' (I did not hesitate about applying all my industry to editing Lucretius' books *On Nature*, and carefully revising them, since I thought that the doctrine of Epicurus had become so obsolete that it no longer poses any threat to Christian affairs', *Praef.* v).

51. Polignac's work was the first explicitly anti-Lucretian venture, although earlier poems with this implicit aim had been written, e.g. Lorenzo Bonincontri's, *Rerum naturalium et divinarum libri* (1468/72), Aonio Paleario's *De animorum immortalitate* (1535) and Scipione Capece *De principiis rerum* (1546). For more on Polignac's *Anti-Lucretius*, see Jones 1991, Tsakiropoulou-Summers 2004.

52. J.C. Orelli (Zurich, 1822, 1833); anon. for St Paul's School (London, 1824); J. Edwards (London, 1835); F.L. Crouslé (Paris, 1866 etc.); I. Baccius (Turin, 1872); H. Bergson (Paris, 1884 etc.); J.H. Warburton Lee (Books 1-3; London, 1884 etc.); F.W. Kelsey (Books 1, 3, 5; Boston, 1884 etc.); E. Ragon (Paris, 1884 etc.); T.J. Dymes (London, 1889); V. Brugnola (Milan, 1909 etc.); T.L.C. Landi (Florence, 1914 etc.); A.P. Sinkler (Cambridge, 1937); P. Burney (Paris, 1953 etc.); G. Cogniot (Paris, 1954); G. Tarditi (Rome, 1954); E. Paratore and U. Pizzani (Rome, 1960); G.E. Benfield and R.C. Reeves (Oxford, 1967 etc.).

53. The poem entered the *Bibliotheca* series of both Teubner and Oxford University Press soon after their inception.

54. The first editor of Lucretius in English for schools, J.H. Warburton Lee, an assistant master at Rossall, a school founded for the sons of clergymen, acknowledged (in 1884) the novelty of his task: 'So far as I know, this is the first attempt that has been made to edit a 'popular' edition of any part of Lucretius. I am well aware of the difficulty of the task and also of the reasons why the author has hitherto been little read at schools. But, considering his greatness as a poet, as well as the fact that a knowledge of Lucretius is absolutely indispensable to a right understanding of Virgil, I think that this is to be regretted' (p. v).

55. The first specific commentary on Book 4, issued by Alfred Ernout (Paris, 1916), was an entirely scholarly undertaking, as was Robert Brown's detailed commentary specifically on the offending section of the work (Brown 1987).

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Expurgating Horace, 1660-1900

Stephen Harrison

1. Introduction

This chapter examines the consistent expurgation of 'obscene' material in Horace in translations and editions of the period 1660-1900, mostly in the Anglophone world but with some comparative evidence from Germany; it concludes by contrasting this with increasing openness on such issues in more recent scholarship and translation. It follows on from previous work where I have looked at avoidance of obscenity in nineteenth-century UK school texts and translations of the same poet.¹ Here I take as my case studies versions of and commentaries on some poems of prominent sexual colour in several Horatian genres: the anti-female invective *Epodes* (8 and 12), *Satire* 1.2 (on sex and adultery), and the pederastic *Odes* 4.1 and 4.10.

2. Restoration – licence and restraint?

My first text is the earliest complete English version of Horace, with translations by several hands, edited by Alexander Brome and first published in 1666 in the English Restoration period. Brome (1620-66) was a lawyer, but was best known as a satirical and sympotic Cavalier poet.² Brome's collection has no problems with the pederasty of *Odes* 4.1 and 4.10, and in the versions of *Epodes* 8 and 12 in the first edition of 1666 we find a lively rendition of the two poems' most crude obscenities by Brome himself:

*Rogare longo putidam te saeculo,
viris quid enervet meas,
cum sit tibi dens ater et rugis vetus
frontem senectus exaret
hietque turpis inter aridas natis
podex velut crudae bovis.*

Epode 8.1-6

To me thou superannuated Bitch?
What? Must I scratch where thou dost itch?
O coal-hole-mouth! With what a comely grace
Those reverend Gutters drain that face!

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And filthy arse 'twixt buttocks wither-dried,
Like some raw-boned cows gapes so wide!

*Inachia langues minus ac me;
Inachiam ter nocte potes, mihi semper ad unum
mollis opus. pereat male quae te
Lesbia quaerenti taurum monstravit inertem.*

Epode 12.14-17

Thou with Inachia couldst't hold longer out
Yea, thrice a night! With me at once thou'rt tir'd;
A pox take Lesbia, who when I enquir'd
For tuff-back'd [i.e. 'tough-backed'] Actors, shewed me thee so dull.

In the second edition of 1671 much is toned down, perhaps in reaction to the reception of the first edition. In the revision of *Epode* 8.5-6, clearly done after Brome's death and now characterised as 'paraphrased' by 'T.F.',³ the overt reference to 'buttocks' is replaced by the more decorous 'rump' and the bovine anus reference is removed, though a witty image is deployed:

Around her rump, how her lean haunch-bones show!
Like Ghosts about the Pit below!

And in the 1671 version of *Epode* 12.14-17 (also by 'T.F.' and described as 'paraphrased') the mildly graphic 'hold longer' and the suggestive elision of the verb of coition is removed in favour of the blander 'lov'st', while the reference to pox disappears along with the suggestion of animalistic sexual athleticism in 'tuff-backed':

Thou lov'st Inachia more than me!
Inachia thrice a night, as I am told,
Once serves poor me! – This 'tis to be old!
Curse on that pimping Lesbia (for me)
I bad her bring a Man, not thee.

The version of *Satires* 1.2.68-72 (by 'A.B.') is unchanged between the two editions, perhaps because it is already a decorous rendition of an obscene original:

*huic si muttonis verbis mala tanta videnti
diceret haec animus 'quid vis tibi? numquid ego a te
magno prognatum deposco consule cunnum
velatumque stola, mea cum conferbuit ira?'
quid responderet? 'magno patre nata puella est.'*

Satires 1.2.68-72

Now if that Natural genius of his
Should say to him, when he had seen all this,
Sir, what do you mean? Do I require, when e're
I am inrag'd, the Daughter of a Peer
Or any marri'd woman? What could he
Then answer to't? that woman's meat for me,
Who is descended of a noble stem.

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Here the crude words *mutto* ('prick') and *cunnum* ('cunt') have been carefully transformed into the inoffensive terms 'natural genius' and 'daughter'.

Another early version of Horace in English is that of 1684 by Thomas Creech (1659-1700), better known for his 1682 version of Lucretius. As in Brome's collection, the pederastic 4.1 and 4.10 are rendered without evident embarrassment about the addressee's gender, while the two obscene *Epodes* are cut out, a tactic used by many later translators and editors, and *Satires* 1.2 is again toned down:

Suppose his Whore-pipe now being vext at this,
Should ask him, did I want a noble Miss,
A Whore of Quality to cool my Flame?
No, I had been content with meaner Game:
What answer could be given? What be said?
Only, forsooth, she was a Noble Maid.

Satires 1.2.68-72

Here 'whore-pipe' is graphic,⁴ but 'Maid' clearly cleans up *cunnum*.

Thus in Restoration versions of Horace we find a mixed response to issues of potential obscenity. Neither Brome's collection nor Creech feels the need to modify pederastic poetry, but the frankness of some of the renderings in the 1666 version by Brome (the likely author of *Bumm-foder, or, Waste-paper proper to wipe the nation's rump with or your own*, 1660) was clearly felt to be problematic in 1671; and while Brome's collection avoids the reference to the male member in *Satires* 1.2, Creech feels able to use a colourful (if less obscene) term for the penis. All this may reflect the uncertain cultural situation of the reign of Charles II, where an initial burst of licentiousness (led by the King and Court) as a reaction to years of Commonwealth Puritanism competed with more anxious and sober elements.⁵

3. Georgian gender issues

The most important complete Horatian translation of the eighteenth century in the UK was Philip Francis, *The Works of Horace* (1742-7). Francis (1708-1773), like Creech a clergyman, educator and man of letters,⁶ omits *Epodes* 8 and 12 and excises *Sat.* 1.2.68-72 from his translation (another precedent for later versions). More interesting is his treatment of the two pederastic poems to Ligurinus from *Odes* 4 – here is *Odes* 4.1.33-42 with Francis' version:

*Sed cur heu, Ligurine, cur
manat rara meas lacrima per genas?
Cur facunda parum decoro
inter uerba cadit lingua silentio?
Nocturnis ego somniis
iam captum teneo, iam uolucrum sequor
te per gramina Martii
campi, te per aquas, dure, uolubilis.*

Yet why, ah! fair one, still too dear,
Steals down my cheek th'involuntary tear?
Or why thus falter o'er my tongue

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The words, which once harmonious pour'd along?
Swift through the fields, and flowing streams,
I follow thee in visionary dreams;
Now, now I seize, I clasp thy charms,
And now you burst, ah cruel! from my arms.

Here the gender of the poet's beloved is strongly implied to be female ('fair one'); Francis is not quite as unambiguous as some others in altering the embarrassing gender in Horace's pederastic poetry,⁷ but the strategy is clear.

Francis' version of 4.10 is less coy about gender:

*O crudelis adhuc et Veneris muneribus potens,
insperata tuae cum ueniet pluma superbiae
et, quae nunc umeris inuolitant, deciderint comae,
nunc et qui color est puniceae flore prior rosae
mutatus Ligurinum in faciem uerterit hispidam,
dices, heu, quotiens te speculo uideris alterum:
'Quae mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit,
uel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genae?'*

O cruel still, and vain of beauty's charms,
When wintry age thy insolence disarms;
When fall those locks that on thy shoulders play,
And youth's gay roses on thy cheeks decay;
When that smooth face shall manhood's roughness wear,
And in your glass another form appear:
Ah why, you'll say, do I now vainly burn,
Or with my wishes not my youth return?

Here the addressee's maleness is clear ('manhood'); the relatively Platonic pederasty here seems to be acceptable, perhaps with the support of the male-male love-poems in Shakespeare's sonnets, the style of which is echoed in this version.

Christopher Smart (1722-71), academic, poet, and friend of Dr Johnson,⁸ produced three translations of Horace, one in prose (1756), and one in verse (1767) with a further accompanying revised prose translation. The 1756 prose translation renders the pederastic 4.1 and 4.10 without problems, but *Satires* 1.2 is clearly expurgated, with *mutto* rendered as 'appetite', *cunnius* as 'woman':

*huic si muttonis verbis mala tanta videnti
diceret haec animus 'quid vis tibi? numquid ego a te
magno prognatum deosco consule cunnum
velatumque stola, mea cum conferbuit ira?'*

Satires 1.2.68-71

Suppose this young man's mind had addressed him in the words of his appetite, perceiving such evil consequences: 'What would you have? Did I ever, when my ardour was at the highest, demand a woman descended from a great consul, and covered with robes of quality?

Similar tactics are used in the two *Epode* passages, where all the problematic terms are likewise defused, removing the buttocks and anus and turning inadequate sexual performance into conversational tediousness:

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*Rogare longo putidam te saeculo,
viris quid enervet meas,
cum sit tibi dens ater et rugis vetus
frontem senectus exaret
hietque turpis inter aridas natis
podex velut crudae bovis.*

Epode 8.1-6

Can you, grown rank with lengthened age, ask what unnerves my vigour? When your teeth are black, and old age withers your brow with wrinkles: and your back sinks between your staring hip-bones, like that of an unhealthy cow.

*'Inachia langues minus ac me;
Inachiam ter nocte potes, mihi semper ad unum
mollis opus. pereat male quae te
Lesbia quaerenti taurum monstravit inertem.*

Epode 12.14-17

You are always less dull with Inachia than me: in her company you are three-fold plaisance; but you are ever unprepared to oblige me in a single instance. Lesbia, who first recommended you – so unfit a help in time of need – may she come to an ill end!

This tendency is taken further in the 1767 verse version, which solves the problem of our dubious passages by removing them all: it leaves out *Epodes* 8 and 12, excises *Sat.* 1.2.68-72 by stopping the poem at 1.2.24 (a strategy of curtailment followed by others), similarly cuts off *Odes* 4.1 at line 28 just before the reference to bisexuality, and omits *Odes* 4.10 completely.

Here there are interesting issues of different intended readerships. The 1756 prose version was explicitly for 'those who are desirous of acquiring or recovering a competent Knowledge of the Latin Language,'⁹ i.e. for schoolboys and former schoolboys engaging with the Latin, pretty much a male preserve in this period. The 1767 verse version, printed with a parallel Latin text and a literal prose translation underneath, was by contrast accessible to both sexes, and women would be a clear target of the polite literary ambitions of the poetic translation. In the 1767 preface Smart is explicit about his exclusion of obscene material to protect youthful readers: 'Lastly as I suppose the book will fall into the hands of young persons, I have been especially careful, concerning all passages of Offence'¹⁰ 'Persons' is carefully chosen: in 1767 potential additional female readers form a particular area of concern for the author, and no doubt comprise the main reason for the increased and almost complete excision of any problematic material.

4. Victorian commentary – censoriousness and scholarly justification

The Victorian age, a foundational period of classical scholarship, saw a range of translations and commentaries on Horace which combined the kind of moralising censorship we have seen in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with more ambitious arguments about the inferior technical quality of the poet's obscene work. I have discussed the principal translations elsewhere,¹¹ and will here focus on the main editions of the period, intended primarily for schoolboys and (male) university

students. In the complete annotated Latin text of Horace by the Rev. A.J. Maclean, clergyman and headmaster, which was printed in four editions between 1853 and 1894, *Epodes* 8 and 12 are presented in Latin wholly without comment (a feature unexplained in either text or introduction); here we have the scholarly desire for the complete texts juxtaposed with the idea of protecting the young, who can then only read the dubious material with the help of the teacher. On *Satires* 1.2.81 Maclean has the following note: 'This part of the Satire is rather obscure, partly from the variation of the MSS. I hope I shall not be considered over fastidious if I decline entering upon the merits of the several readings, and the sense of the passage.'¹² Here the prudish editor uses supposed scholarly arguments in order not to annotate content which he finds in poor moral taste, a strategy which we will see repeated in the period.

Maclean's strategy for *Odes* 4.1 and 4.10 is different: the two pederastic poems to Ligurinus are not expurgated, but rather viewed as essentially non-Horatian, as artificial and worthless exercises based on lost Greek models which cannot reflect the poet's true character or feelings or real manly Roman culture. According to Maclean's introduction to 4.1, the poem 'has little to commend it', and '(n)obody will read it and believe that the man was in love when he wrote it, still less that he was influenced by a drivelling affection for the boy Ligurinus mentioned at the end ... (p)erhaps he found a Greek ode that took his fancy and imitated it'.¹³ Similarly on 4.10 Maclean proclaims: 'That this Ligurinus is a merely poetical personage I have not the remotest doubt, no more than that Horace composed the ode with a Greek original before him or in his mind. The absurdities which any other view of the case involves are numberless. There is nothing to fix the date of its composition [...]. It reads more like an early composition than a late one.'¹⁴ Here there are three strands of criticism we can identify behind these arguments for *de facto* expurgation, for regarding these poems as not 'properly' Horatian. First, the general assumption of the period that Horace's poetry was autobiographical (universal until the second half of the twentieth century) here needs to be modified for critics such as Maclean since such frivolous and morally dubious work does not fit a Victorian high-minded view of the poet. Secondly, the morally dubious aspect of pederasty cannot be taken literally by such critics and is therefore attributed to imitation of Greek models, i.e. to echoing an earlier culture where such things could not be denied: like the fellow-students of E.M. Forster's Maurice, Maclean's readers are in effect advised to omit passages referring 'to the unspeakable vice of the Greeks.'¹⁵ Finally, the suggestion that 4.10 at least might be an early poem points to the idea of Horatian self-expurgation, and the notion that the maturing Horace removed all such elements from his later work (patently absurd in the context of one of Horace's latest poetry-books).

Much the same can be said of the other major Victorian edition of Horace for schools and universities by the Rev. E.C. Wickham, M.A., headmaster, Dean of Lincoln, and son-in-law of W.E. Gladstone, published in two volumes in 1874 and 1891.¹⁶ Here *Epodes* 8 and 12 are again presented in Latin wholly without comment, while 'the unreadable discussion of vices'¹⁷ in *Satires* 1.2 receives no annotation for the last hundred lines, though the full Latin text is given. For the obscenities of both the *Epodes* and the *Satires*, Wickham again urges their early date as an excuse, with the implication again that over-reliance on literary models plays a key role: 'Sat.2 has other signs of date earlier than that of the bulk of the Book. There is the grossness of

tone (never congenial to Horace, but always bearing the look of a concession to a supposed 'operis lex') to be paralleled in some of the earlier *Epodes*,¹⁸ while for the *Epodes* in general '(w)e notice in their style indications which point the same way – occasional harshnesses of construction, a redundancy of epithets, a tendency even in the best poems to poetical commonplace, we may add a grossness of subject and language, which his mature taste would have pruned away'.¹⁹

Wickham's approach to the two pederastic odes of Book 4 is equally instructive. In 4.1 (as for Francis in the eighteenth century) Ligurinus' male gender is effectively obscured; there is no reference to it in the annotations, and the introductory summary of the poem simply says 'I am too old to love, to drink, to play. Yet what am I saying? My heart gives the lie to my words.' 4.10 is glossed in Wickham's introduction to the book as 'a forced tribute to the professions of Book 1',²⁰ and in the annotations and summary we read nothing of the poet's own erotic stance: the summary simply reads 'The day will come, Ligurinus, when your youthful good looks will pass away, and you will repent that you ever gave yourself such airs on the strength of them.' The poem is thus turned into an observation on the prospect of age as an argument for kindness to lovers, a traditional theme,²¹ rather than an expression of personal desire.

These more elaborate views would seem to underlie the similar expurgatory practices of smaller-scale school and university editions of the period; here as in earlier periods editors are not constrained by scholarly expectations of complete texts, and excision re-emerges as a strategy. In the influential Macmillan Classical Series for Colleges and Schools, the brief commentary on the *Epodes* by T.E. Page (1895) contains no introductory material at all and excises 8 and 12, while the edition of the *Odes* by the same scholar (1883) gives almost no comment on *Odes* 4.1 or 4.10, following Wickham closely in obscuring Ligurinus' gender in 4.1 and eliding the poet's desire in 4.10.²² The edition of the *Satires* by A. Palmer (also 1883) prints only lines 1-24 of *Satires* 1.2, remarking that the remaining 110 lines of the poem constitute 'scarcely profitable reading'.²³ In his editions for the Cambridge Pitt Press series, James Gow, ironically D.H. Lawrence's headmaster at Nottingham High School,²⁴ included the *Epodes* but omitted 8 and 12 entirely (without remark), excised *Satires* 1.2.24-134 with the annotation 'The last 110 lines of this Satire are not read';²⁵ and in his comments on the two pederastic odes elided the sexual element, summarising this element in 4.1 as 'all my thoughts are on Ligurinus,' and entitling 4.10 'To Ligurinus, a pretty spoilt boy'.

That such expurgatory practices were not limited to the UK in this period is confirmed by the school edition of the *Odes* and *Epodes* by the headmaster C.W. Nauck, which seems to have been the standard German high-school commentary in the period 1852-1914, going into fourteen editions.²⁶ On *Odes* 4.1, this edition avoids any allusion to pederastic comment, while on 4.10, while glossing the poem 'To a handsome boy' ('An einen schönen Knaben'), it carefully cites parallel passages on the same theme addressed to members of the opposite sex by Tibullus (1.8) and Heine. But it is also in Germany that modern scholarly detachment on issues of obscenity and sexuality begins to develop: the classic German university commentary on Horace by Adolf Kiessling (first published 1884-9, revised by Richard Heinze in its 3rd-7th editions 1893-1930) shows some enlightenment in treating the general features of pederasty on *Odes* 4.1 and 4.10, and of obscene invective in the *Epodes*,

but still holds back from exegetical comment on obscene words and ideas: on *Epod.* 8.5-6 Kiessling-Heinze avoids explication of *natis* and *podex*, while on *Epod.* 12.14-16 it talks not about impotence but about grammar and metre.²⁷

5. Coda: modern scholarship

The limited nature of the development of scholarly detachment towards obscenity in the classic period of German scholarship can be illustrated by the views of Eduard Fraenkel, whose *Horace* (1957) was published in Oxford when the author was in his late sixties, but reflected his youthful cultural formation in pre-1914 Germany. Here we find once more explicit distaste for Horatian obscenity and implicit excusing of it via Greek models in his brief comment on the two obscene *Epodes*: 'Epodes VIII and XII, with all their polish, are repulsive. The obscenity of both language and matter was probably intended to carry on characteristic traits of a certain type of early Greek iambi. In this respect Hipponax has at least as strong a claim to be regarded as Horace's model as has Archilochus. Improper subjects treated in coarse language played also an important part in some branches of Hellenistic poetry.'²⁸ This is Maclean's 'Greek model' defence in a more sophisticated and scholarly form. A similar strategy is used for *Odes* 4.10: 'It has long been seen that not only the general theme of this ode but some of its detail as well derives from a group of Hellenistic epigrams.' In the case of *Satires* 1.2.68-72, the obscenities are quoted but not explicated: an arch footnote on *mutto* (or *muto*, as Fraenkel spells the term)²⁹ veils its meaning in the decent cloak of scholarly and literary learning (p. 82 n. 3): 'See Lucilius 307 with Marx's commentary. For the personification cf. Goethe's "Meister Iste" in the poem *Das Tagebuch*.' A knowledge of German scholarship and poetry is needed to be aware that this is a phallic personification.

Since the 1960s scholars have naturally been more open and explicit about Horace's deployment of 'obscene' themes and language, in harmony with general cultural changes. In the case of first-person statements by the poet, this has been combined with an increasing awareness that we are unlikely to be dealing with unmediated autobiography. But occasionally one feels that all the potentially 'difficult' elements have been edited away in a desire for non-literal interpretation. For example, Michael Putnam's elegant and fruitful reading of *Odes* 4 in the 1980s regards the pederastic odes as purely symbolic and literary, holding that in 4.1 'Ligurinus is very much the speaker-poet's former self'³⁰ and that in 4.10 'Ligurinus and his tale' are 'part of the history of poetry'.³¹ Even some commentaries of the 1990s show some coy tendencies, perhaps because they are at least partly aimed at a school audience. On the two problematic *Epodes*, Alberto Carvarzere says on *Epodes* 8.5 'in the catalogue of the old woman's ugly features we move from the face to the rear; but the move is not sudden, and is in fact prepared for by *hiet*, which transfers to the *turpis podex* the image of an open mouth' (my translation),³² and on *Epodes* 12.15 *ter nocte potes*, 'euphemistic ellipse' (i.e. of the verb of sexual congress).³³ David Mankin, though generally more open, similarly holds fire on explicating obscene terms: on *Epodes* 8.5 we find: 'Both *natis* (S.1.8.47) and *podex* (only here in H., but cognate with *pedo* (S. 1.8.48, 9.70)) seem to be vulgarisms, pointing out low lexical level but not coarse meanings.'

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But in general modern scholars have laudably laid out the whole range of Horatian obscenity. Lindsay Watson's magisterial commentary on the *Epodes* (2003) is clear about the anatomy of *Epodes* 8 and even points out that the poet is not as lexically forthright as he could be (*Epode* 8.5 'aridas natis: scrawny buttocks', 8.6 'notwithstanding its etymology (*pedo*, 'fart'), *podex* is ... not particularly coarse, unlike *culus*').³⁴ Climactic pride of place should go to the two modern translations of the *Epodes* by two seasoned scholars who are masters of Horatian diction and lexical level, which reflect Horatian earthiness in all its true colours. I give the translations of *Epode* 8.5-6 and *Epode* 12.15-16 in the versions of David West (1997, verse) and Niall Rudd (2004, prose):³⁵

your raw and filthy arsehole gaping like a cow's
between your wizened buttocks

Inachia you manage three times a night, but you flop
At the thought of doing me once

and your disgusting anus gapes between your shrivelled buttocks like that of a cow with diarrhea

You can manage her three times a night; with me you're too limp for a single session

6. Conclusion

The history of expurgation in translations and editions of the more colourful poems of Horace is not a surprising trajectory, and (as has already been noted) reflects general societal trends. Nevertheless, some interesting tendencies have been evident. Primary amongst these is concern for young readers: Horace's status as a key school text during the whole of the period 1660-1900 means that his editors and translators have always had to consider whether and how much to edit his more problematic passages; particular attitudes at particular times to obscenity, sex and gender have clearly emerged through the manipulation of Horace's texts, while expurgatory strategies have varied from full and partial excision to euphemistic modification and careful obscurantism, alongside a concern to excuse the poet on grounds of immature work or hyper-Hellenism. The results are usually a good indication of the cultural tendencies of the time, from some Restoration laxity via Georgian and Victorian decorousness to a more open and detached modern approach, returning at last to the full lexical and imaginative range of the original texts.

Notes

1. See Harrison 2009.
2. See Dubinski 2004. For the text see Brome 1666 (and 1671).
3. 'Paraphrase' perhaps indicates less fidelity to the original than Brome's 1666 version. I have been unable to find an identity for 'T.F.'.
4. Not in *OED*, and even in Egan 1823 (no page numbers) defined indirectly as 'The sugar-stick'; turning to that entry we find 'The virile member'.
5. For a contemporary view along these lines see Burnet 1895, I.165-6.
6. For his career see Fagan 2004.

7. E.g. Thackeray in his '*Ad Ministram*', where the anonymous boy of *Odes* 1.38 is clearly changed into the speaker's wife – cf. Harrison 2007, 216-17.
8. For Smart's career see conveniently Williamson 2004.
9. Williamson 1996, xv.
10. Williamson 1996, 6.
11. Harrison 2009.
12. Macleane 1894, 343.
13. Macleane 1894, 217.
14. Macleane 1894, 244.
15. Forster 197, 50.
16. For Wickham's career see Atlay 2004.
17. Wickham 1891, 29.
18. Wickham 1891, 5.
19. Wickham 1874, 326.
20. Wickham 1874, 259.
21. Nisbet and Hubbard 1970, 289-90.
22. Page 1883.
23. Palmer 188, 132.
24. They crossed there in the years 1898-1901; in summer 1901 Lawrence left school at 15 and Gow was appointed Headmaster of Westminster School.
25. Gow 1901, 48.
26. Nauck 1894.
27. Kiessling / Heinze 1930.
28. Fraenkel 1957, 58.
29. Modern editors and lexicographers prefer the orthography *mutto*.
30. Putnam 1986, 45.
31. Putnam 1986, 179.
32. Carvazere 1992, 170: 'nel catalogo delle turpitudini della vecchiaia si passa del volto al posteriore; ma il passaggio non è brusco, anzi preparato da *hiet*, che transfersisce al *turpis podex* l'immagine di una bocca spalancata'.
33. Carvazere 1992, 197: 'ellissi euphemistica'.
34. Watson 2003.
35. West 1997, Rudd 2004.

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Modifying Martial in nineteenth-century Britain¹

T.J. Leary

Dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus (Mart. 11.3.5): such is Martial's popularity (although, as he goes on, it brings no financial reward) that even Britain, at the furthest edge of the Empire, is said to recite his verses. This was in his own day. Later, it seems, it recited some of them, sometimes. In his summary of nineteenth-century Martial scholarship, J.P. Sullivan writes as follows (Sullivan 1991, 304):

British scholarship ... could offer the world only the sanitised school editions of selected epigrams by H.M. Stephenson (1880),² Paley and Stone (1881),³ and Sellar and Ramsay (Edinburgh 1884). All of their introductions allude apologetically to Martial's flattery and those 'epigrams bearing most undisguisedly on the unfashionable vices'. As one (*sic*) editor put it:⁴ 'no writings more imperatively demand censorship'.

Simplification is unavoidable in a general work, but the three editions named by Sullivan merit more than the single paragraph he could give them. I cannot deal with them comprehensively even in this paper and my focus on sexual material means that I do not comment on the many, sometimes very dated views they contain concerning, for example, flattery, patronage and *clientela* and Martial's *persona*/personal biography. There would be little point in doing so anyway: such topics have been amply treated elsewhere.⁵ Instead, I give brief biographies of their editors, all from Establishment backgrounds, survey the contents of their editions, comment generally on the circumstances within which all Victorian editors of Martial had to operate, and then focus on Sellar and Ramsay. The other two works are English school editions⁶ whereas this one, published in Scotland and in a slightly different format, was written specifically as a text book for use by undergraduates at the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow.⁷ This difference means that it can be singled out. Three further considerations suggest themselves. First, the context of Scottish Presbyterianism must have added to the pressures of Victorian moralising. Secondly, the workings of the Scottish educational system meant that some (not all) undergraduates would have been slightly younger than their English counterparts, and although they would still have lived at home so that the universities were not 'in loco parentis', they were possibly considered in greater need of moral shielding; and thirdly, since Ramsay was a keen advocate for the admission of women to the Universities,⁸ those he taught would not have been men only: part-time lectures at university level were given to women by sympathetic professors, although separately,

in Edinburgh from 1867 and Glasgow from 1868 and women were officially admitted to the Scottish universities in 1892.⁹ There was, of course, no bar to women using the other two editions;¹⁰ but the context in which they did so might have been less formal than a university class. My observations bear comparison with some of those in Livingstone and Nisbet 2010 on the Greek Anthology: see especially the final chapter on its Victorian reception.

The editors and their editions

Frederick Apthorp Paley (1815-88)¹¹ was precluded from a Cambridge fellowship by his conversion to Catholicism. From 1847 to 1856 he worked as a private tutor in Catholic families, but from 1860 to 1874, following the partial lifting of the conditions disqualifying dissenters, was able to return to Cambridge as a private undergraduate tutor (he was briefly considered, although not elected, for a fellowship at Peterhouse there in 1876). Since he was without regular salaried employment, however, most of his income derived from writing: he was a prolific author of articles, reviews and school editions of a wide range of authors, both Greek and Latin. While aimed at the classroom, some of these, such as his editions of Aeschylus and Euripides, became the standard works in English.¹²

William Henry Stone (1838-63)¹³ was one of Paley's pupils, whom Paley credits with some of the groundwork for the production of their edition of Martial, although his early death cut short his contribution.¹⁴ This edition contains seventeen pages of preface and introduction, 449 of text and notes, nine of an *index verborum*, a brief heading to each epigram ('to explain the general drift of it') and beneath it 'such notes as will suffice for every purpose of explanation'.¹⁵ These are generally brief and mostly concerned with factual information rather than literary interpretation, although parallels are regularly cited. The edition mainly contains poems from Books 1 to 12: from the *Liber Spectaculorum* (placed at the end) there are eight, from the *Xenia* (Book 13) the first three and from the *Apophoreta* (Book 14) just the first. It contains none of the prose prefaces.

The Revd Henry Major Stephenson (1839-1922)¹⁶ was an Assistant Master at Marlborough and then Vice-Principal of Liverpool College before becoming Head Master of St Peter's School, York in 1872. He left St Peter's for a parish in 1887.¹⁷ He was author of a number of school editions besides that of Martial, for example of Livy and Tacitus. His Martial contains 24 pages of introduction, 165 of text, 264 of notes, two appendices, two pages of additions and corrections, and ten pages of index. His selection contains nothing from the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, some fifteen epigrams from the *Liber Spectaculorum* and a selection from each of Books 1-12 including the prose prefaces to Books 1, 2, 8, 9 and 12. His notes, placed at the end, are again factual rather than interpretative, and again regularly contain parallels. They are introduced, in the case of each epigram and the prefaces to Books 9 and 12, by a few lines of general description and comment.

William Young Sellar (1825-90)¹⁸ was a pupil while at Glasgow (1839-42) of Professor William Ramsay, uncle and predecessor in the Glasgow Chair of Humanity (i.e. Latin) of his co-editor (see below). Having followed the well-trodden path from Glasgow to Balliol College, Oxford, he returned to be Ramsay's assistant from 1851

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to 1853. Thereafter he became Assistant Professor of Greek at St Andrews 1853-9, Professor from 1859 to 1863 and Professor of Humanity at Edinburgh 1863-90. He is described in the *DBC* as 'essentially a popularizer of classical Latin poetry' whose 'views were orthodox',¹⁹ a description which accords with the assessment of him in the *ODNB*: 'A sound though not, in his own judgement, a brilliant, scholar, his appreciation of classical literature was keen and contagious.'²⁰ In fact his work on Augustan literature is still rated, his literary criticism being comparable to that of his younger Oxford contemporary Henry Nettleship.²¹

George Gilbert Ramsay (1839-1921)²² succeeded his uncle as Professor of Humanity at Glasgow in 1863 at the age of 24 and held this position until 1906. Later (1919-21) he was Dean of Faculties. Over the years he taught a vast number of undergraduates, having 649 students in the 1879-80 session. A great defender of the Classics and promoter of Classics teaching in schools, he was the founding President of the Classical Association of Scotland.²³

Sellar and Ramsay contains 37 pages of preface and introduction and 192 pages of text but no notes or index. While shorter than Paley and Stone and Stephenson, the edition contains epigrams from all of Martial's surviving books including a good many of the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*. The prose prefaces to Books 1 and 12 are also included. Although he is cited as an editor, there is no indication of the part Ramsay played in the book's production. Indeed only Sellar's introduction can be specifically ascribed to one or the other. No documents survive regarding the book's publication by James Thin,²⁴ and so the intentions behind its production, as expressed for example in the preface, cannot be checked against external evidence;²⁵ but James Thin published several other teaching texts for the University of Edinburgh and, as its unpretentious title *Extracts from Martial* confirms, it was clearly not meant as a contribution to serious scholarship (and it is not listed in the various biographical notes of its authors). Since Sellar had recently contributed the entry on Martial in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,²⁶ it is possible that it was an opportunistic extension of this article.

Martial as a Victorian school text

Martial specifically excludes his epigrams from use as school texts: *Mart. 8.3.17 scribant ista graves nimium nimiumque severi*.²⁷ His work was of a different tenor. His Victorian editors were fully aware that elements of it nonetheless had considerable potential and appeal in an educational setting. Sellar and Ramsay (iii) note that 'His merits as a writer are undisputed: in his own department of Latin literature – and that a department which brings out in a special way the genius of the Latin language – he is without a rival', and they remark his epigrams' 'fullness and variety of interest, the vivid relation of life and character' (xxi). Paley and Stone (iv) remark on his brilliance of wit and the value of the details he supplies regarding domestic Roman life and Roman topography and praise his admirable poetry and Latinity.²⁸ His literary qualities are also praised by Stephenson (viii-xx). But given the challenges the epigrams presented in the moral climate of the day, and no doubt mindful of their Establishment positions, their view (Paley and Stone, iv) complies with that later expressed by Sellar and Ramsay (xxi) that his 'frequent coarseness' meant that

they could not be admitted, in their entirety, to 'that place in education to which [their qualities] would entitle the greater part of them.' As the latter note in their preface (iii) it was 'impossible to place [Martial's] whole text in the hands of students' and 'unless this most valuable page of Roman literature [was] to be entirely closed to them, selection [became] indispensable'.²⁹

When dealing with collections of epigrams, selection (or deselection) is the obvious method of censorship. Paley and Stone observe (iv) that 'of all authors Martial most readily admits of selection, because each epigram is quite complete in itself' and Sellar and Ramsay comment (iii-iv) that 'fortunately ... [no writings] lend themselves to it more readily, or suffer less from the process: no author needs less to be studied as a whole, nor have omissions any effect in impairing the value of what is retained'; Stephenson (xxiv) merely states that he has tried to make his selection 'fairly representative'. In making these remarks Paley and Stone and Sellar and Ramsay had particularly in mind Martial's friend and younger contemporary Juvenal, whom Ramsay was later to edit for the Loeb series (1918). While he was 'quite as liable to the charge of grossness', even if he was satirising rather than glorying in vice (Paley and Stone, vii and n. 2), there were several Victorian school editions of his work.³⁰ In Juvenal, selection entails the omission of whole satires,³¹ and expurgation proper, by which I mean the omission of 'objectionable' lines within a poem, was the general rule.³² Expurgation was nonetheless sometimes employed in their editions of Martial too. Sellar and Ramsay note (iv) that 'In a few cases the omission of one or two lines has enabled us to admit pieces of general merit, which are thus rendered unobjectionable' and Paley and Stone are closely comparable (iv, footnote): 'Very rarely – perhaps in half-a-dozen instances – we have omitted a line or two from the epigrams given in this series.' Since selection was the main form of censorship practised by Martial's Victorian editors it will receive most of our attention; but their use of expurgation needs brief comment first.

Expurgation in Sellar and Ramsay

Sometimes Sellar and Ramsay's expurgation of lines within epigrams is of little import. For instance the omission of Mart. 3.58.32 *et delicatus opere fruitur eunuchus*³³ takes little away from Martial's catalogue of the attractions of Faustinus' Baian villa. Similarly, the omission of Mart. 5.78.26-28 *nec de Gadibus improbis puellae/ vibrabunt sine fine prurientes/ lascivos docili tremore lumbos*³⁴ does not detract from the description Martial gives of a simple yet wholesome dinner. Occasionally, however, its effect is more marked. The omission of Mart. 3.44.11 *currenti legis et legis cacanti* (from an epigram against a poet who over-zealously inflicts his compositions on others) but retention of the previous line *et stanti legis et legis sedenti* robs the poem of the effect admirably brought out by Shackleton Bailey's Loeb translation (1993): 'You read to me as I stand, you read to me as I sit, you read to me as I run, you read to me as I shit.' More seriously the omission of the concluding couplet to Mart. 3.95 destroys the point and structure of the poem:³⁵

*Nunquam dicis ave, sed reddis, Naevole, semper,
Quod prior et corvus dicere saepe solet.*

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*Cur hoc expectas a me rogo, Naevole, dicas:
Nam puto me melior, Naevole, nec prior es.
Praemia laudato tribuit mihi Caesar uterque
Natorumque dedit iura paterna trium;
Ore legor multo notumque per oppida nomen
Non expectato dat mihi fama rogo.
Est et in hoc aliquid: vidit me Roma tribunum
Et sedeo qua te suscitavit Oceanus.
Quot mihi Caesareo facti sunt munere cives,
Nec famulos totidem suspicor esse tibi.
Sed paedicularis, sed pulchre, Naevole, ceves:
Iam iam tu prior es, Naevole; vincis: ave.*

You never give a greeting, Naevolus, you always return it, something which even a crow often gives first. Tell me, Naevolus, why you expect this from me. For, I think, you are neither a better man than I nor my superior, Naevolus. Both Caesars have given me praises and rewards, and given me the rights of father of three children. I am read by many and although my funeral is not in the offing, fame gives me a name well-known throughout the towns. This too counts for something: Rome has seen me tribune, and I sit where Oceanus turns you out. Through Caesar's gift I have made more citizens than I suspect you have slaves. But you are buggered, Naevolus, and wiggle your backside beautifully. Now indeed you're my superior, Naevolus, you win: my greetings!

Of greatest interest, however, is not what has been omitted or its effect but what has been retained. Thus, for example, Mart. 2.43.13 *grex tuus Iliaco poterat certare cinaedo*³⁶ and 2.86.2 *cinaedum* remain although 3.58.31 was cut. Although 3.44.11 is excised, 3.47.9, referring to the laxative properties of beet, is left in. Mart. 4.64.16 *virgineo cruore* is left in although reference to a virgin's blood appears to suggest deflowering;³⁷ and included too is Mart. 6.70.5 *digitum ... impudicum*, referring to the middle finger. This line is also kept by Paley and Stone whose note compares Mart. 2.28.2, an epigram which in six lines refers directly to vaginal, anal and oral sex, alluding to the passive role in the last two cases, and which they do not print.

Selection in Martial

The assertions that Martial's epigrams lend themselves without damage to selection are more contentious than those making them realised. When asked by the Joint Association of Classical Teachers to prepare a school anthology of the epigrams, Peter Howell proposed instead, because he considered it 'so important to read [Martial's] poems in the books in which he arranged them', an edition of Book V: Howell 1995, iv.³⁸ His reasons for choosing this book in particular were that it is comparatively short, it contains some of Martial's best-known poems and, conveniently for a school text although unusually for Martial, it contains no 'obscene' poems.³⁹ In contrast, Lindsay and Patricia Watson note in the preface to their selection (Watson and Watson 2003, vii) that 'It has been put to us that, in commenting on selected poems, we have overlooked a fundamental aspect of Martial's compositional technique, the structuring of the individual book as an organic whole', but in doing so they are able to concentrate on poems about which they have 'new and interesting things to say' and they also 'see it as part of [their] brief to give a representative sample of Martial's

oeuvre' while not including poems already treated elsewhere. In representing Martial's range they include a number of 'obscene' poems, dealing with, for example, adultery (Watson and Watson 2003, epigrams 42-3, i.e. Mart. 3.85, 6.39), sodomy and oral sex (Watson and Watson 2003, epigrams 45-6, i.e. Mart. 2.89, 9.67), tribadism (Watson and Watson 2003, epigram 50, i.e. Mart. 7.67) and incest (Watson and Watson 2003, epigram 51, i.e. Mart. 12.20).

Martial's epigrams, whatever the nature of their content, are too numerous to read in their entirety in the time allocated for a school or university course.⁴⁰ If one is not to study a single book, and even this is likely to be too much, then selection is unavoidable, and possibly the Watsons' approach is the most honest way of dealing with an intractable problem;⁴¹ but Howell's decision to focus on a single book rather than to anthologise is also an entirely understandable and legitimate option: authorial arrangement aside, it is usual practice in English schools to read (some of) a single book of, say, Virgil's *Aeneid* or Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Nevertheless, the question addressed by both modern editions, that of 'The Book' in Martial and its 'structuring ... as an organic whole', is one that must be considered too with respect to the 'sanitised' editions of Victorian Britain.

The principles governing the ordering and arrangement of Martial Books 1-12 are outlined concisely by Watson and Watson 2003, 29-31; but as examples of the great care the poet took over the ordering of his material I would like to refer especially to the *Xenia* and the *Apophoreta*. In part this is because I have demonstrated the arrangement of these books in great detail in my editions (see Leary 2001, 10-12; 1996, 13-21), but principally because my exploration of the ordering of the *Apophoreta* has been used as a starting point in further discussion of the Roman epigram 'Book'. The setting of the *Apophoreta* is a dinner party held to celebrate the Saturnalia. The first poem sets out very clearly the principles governing the arrangement of the couplets which follow, each one describing a take-away gift. In the collection these gifts are alternated according to their value, whether cheap or expensive; but at the dinner-party they would have been distributed by means of a lottery. Thus Mart. 14.1.5 *divitis alternas et pauperis accipe sortes*⁴² is paradoxical. Barchiesi 2005, 326 notes, in taking up my 'somewhat understated comment' ad loc., that a formal and orderly arrangement appears somewhat at odds with the concept of a lottery, that the book plays on the 'fragility and stability of [its] format'. Martial's reader can either respect and preserve his ordering of the epigrams by reading the book from beginning to end, or he can ignore it entirely by reading randomly, selecting some poems and omitting others or reading later poems before earlier ones, in this way reflecting the up-ending of normal conventions and practices which is sanctioned by the customary licence of the holiday.⁴³ It is clear that Martial fully appreciated that he could not dictate to his readers the manner in which they read his work: witness to this are his regular jokes of how they could omit material or jump about within his books.⁴⁴ It is true that these jokes are shaped by ironic self-depreciation (cf. Howell 2009, 113), but this confirms rather than negates his acceptance that all he could do was give his readers choices, and whatever they chose was legitimate.

Martial's realism in suspecting that his readers might select from and modify his books supports Coleman's suggestion (2006, xxv) that our versions of the *Liber Spectaculorum* may have arisen from a very distant selection (or number of

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selections) from the author's original. She refers to the evidence of the recent 'Milan' papyrus of Posidippus in which a second hand seems to mark out certain epigrams, perhaps just for reading or perhaps anthologising. In discussing this papyrus in relation to Latin literature and the Latin poetry book, Barchiesi 2005, 337 observes of epigram books generally that 'we never know how far and for how long arrangements became canonic, and some of the existing types are clearly the joint work of editors and compilers, of customers and scribes'.⁴⁵ He then focuses on the collections of Catullus, quoting in particular from Hutchinson 2003, 207. Some of this quotation bears repetition:

The papyri suggest that collections of epigrams were easily modified. In principle, authors, later editors, and readers could omit from or add to an existing collection, or compile their own selection from one ... Although there is an important distinction between the very common personal versions and generally circulated texts, it seems doubtful that generally circulated editions of single epigrammatists were always complete works ...

The relevance of this to modern, expurgated editions of Catullus is one that invites exploration at some later stage: selecting there too is the easiest means of censorship.⁴⁶ (Comparison of the editorial and publishing backgrounds to different Catullus and Martial selections would also be interesting.⁴⁷) Here, however, I confine myself to its relevance to Martial both in his own day and in the production of the three editions under examination.

That some of his readers might want to modify their text to omit rude or sexual material is a possibility that Martial addresses specifically in 1.35 (where the context is a complaint that his poems are unsuitable for school use), but all he can do is appeal to his addressee not to castrate his little books since that destroys their appearance and character. He cannot stop him. Earlier, in the prose preface to Book I, he suggests that his disapproving readers might content themselves with the preface alone or even just the title, that is, not read his books at all; but in fact they contain nothing worse than might be seen at the Mimes.⁴⁸ Note especially lines 11ff.:⁴⁹

Lascivam verborum veritatem, id est epigrammaton linguam, excusarem, si meum esset exemplum: sic scribit Catullus, sic Marsus, sic Pedo, sic Gaetulicus, sic quicumque perlegitur. Si quis tamen tam ambitiose tristis est, ut apud illum in nulla pagina latine loqui fas sit, potest epistola vel potius titulo contentus esse. Epigrammata illis scribuntur, qui solent spectare Florales. non intret Cato theatrum meum, aut si intraverit, spectet. Videor mihi meo iure facturus, si epistolam versibus clusero:

*Nosses iocosae dulce cum sacrum Florae
Festosque lusus et licentiam volgi,
Cur in theatrum, Cato severe, venisti?
An ideo tantum veneras, ut exires?*

As for the frank licence of my words, that is to say the language of epigram, I should make an apology if the precedent were of my setting. But this is how Catullus writes, and Marsus, and Pedo, and Gaetulicus, and whoever is read right through. But if any man is so zealous in his austerity that in his presence Latin cannot be spoken on any page, he can be content with my letter or, better, my title. Epigrams are written for those people

who watch Flora's games. Let Cato not come into my theatre; or if he does, let him watch.
I think I shall be acting within my rights if I close this letter with some lines of verse:

Since you knew of the rites dear to jesting Flora,
The festive games and the wantonness of the mob,
Why have you come into the theatre, stern Cato?
Did you come just for this, so you could walk out?

These concluding lines are conveniently explained by Howell 2009, 50-1: by entering the theatre during the *Ludi Florales*, the Festival of the goddess Flora, the younger Cato, who was renowned for his Stoic moralising, so embarrassed the audience that it did not call in the traditional way for the actresses to strip off their clothing. After this was pointed out to him, he left, to great applause; but while Valerius Maximus records this as a testament to Cato's virtue, Martial suggests, since Cato must have been fully aware of the nature of Flora's festival, that he entered the theatre only so that he could make a grand exit.

As with his self-depreciatory jokes about selective reading or his appeal in 1.35 regarding the omission of obscene material, so in this preface Martial cannot dictate to his readers: if they want to read his work or just parts of it, they will. But just as it raises the matter of selective reading in Martial's own day, its inclusion in both Sellar and Ramsay and Stephenson (although not Paley and Stone) also raises questions, not answered by Stephenson's non-committal notes, about their own selections.

Selection in Sellar and Ramsay

Sellar and Ramsay remark (iv) that 'neither [Paley and Stone nor Stephenson] covers exactly the ground we have traced out for ourselves, whether as regards the pieces omitted or those included', but in fact, with the exception of the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, there is very little in their edition which is not in one or other or both of the other two,⁵⁰ although the other editions contain a good many poems which are *not* in Sellar and Ramsay. As to their choice, they say (iv) that they 'have attempted to include everything in the author's comments upon human life, that seemed most worth preserving for its wit, humour, sense or pathos, as well as everything that in a marked degree throws light upon the poet's own life, character and circumstances; upon the social conditions, manners and customs of the day, whether in Rome or in the provinces; upon the history, the literature, and the current literary ideas of the time.' Nonetheless a survey of Book I suggests that their selection is not without artistic arrangement. After the programmatic prose preface, reinforced, following Martial's own practice, by an early poem addressed to the Emperor (4), come several poems (1, 2, 3) concerning Martial's authorship and the book trade; and it is with a similar kind of poem that the selection ends (117; cf. 113). These corresponding poems vary in their stance. Some are self-depreciating (113, 117; cf. 3), but others are not (1, 2). The variation in the poems framing the selection is observed within the collection, whether through metre,⁵¹ poem length⁵² or subject matter, for example funeral laments, the *salutatio*, the *cena*, patronage, flattery, friends, legacy hunting, invective, pet animals. Although the lion and hare cycle, which is so notable in Book I, is omitted,⁵³ within the subjects treated there are several repeated themes. At times,

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too, poems dealing with the same subject are paired, for example 99 and 103, about the stinginess of certain people following a recent increase in wealth. As has been suggested regarding ancient editions of Cicero's correspondence, '[t]he fact that we are not dealing with the design of the author himself does not mean that we are dealing with no design at all'.⁵⁴ In modifying Martial's Book 1 for their sanitised undergraduate selection, the editors have created a 'new' Book I of their own.

The structure and ordering of Sellar and Ramsay's modified Book 1 is paralleled by that of Stephenson: his selection again begins with the prose preface and is framed by poems concerning Martial's authorship (2, 3, 117). Poem 6 is not included because it is part of the lion and hare cycle but because it mentions the Emperor. Poems 12 and 111 cultivate the powerful and wealthy rhetorician Marcus Aquilius Regulus, 18 and 26 (social satire centred on individuals and wine) find balance in 85 and 99 (satirising individuals). Within this frame one again finds repeated themes, for example, plagiarism (52, 53, 56), funeral laments (88, 116) and reference to the life of a client (*cena*: 43; salutation: 70 and 108). There is not as much variation in poem length (the range is two lines to 23), but there is in metre and subject matter.

It is possible that the appearance of such ordering in both editions may have been chance or guided by the original character of the book. An examination of the *Apophoreta* in Sellar and Ramsay's selection suggests, however, that their 'new-book' creation for Book 1 was conscious rather than coincidental (and that this consciousness can be extrapolated to the other books in their edition). Their selection must be assessed in the context of contemporary Martial scholarship. As might have been expected, they follow Schneidewin's 1866 Teubner, the best text then available; but the book is more lacunose than Schneidewin realised and his numbering (followed in the discussion below) has now been rejected.⁵⁵ Also, they do not appreciate the book's Saturnalian nature (although they include poem 1, with its references to the holiday, and the last poem, 223, which particularly marks the end of the Saturnalia).⁵⁶ Instead they note (xxxv) that 'The chief interest of the ... "Apophoreta" is that they serve as a kind of museum of the furniture and ornaments of Roman houses.' Nonetheless they generally adhere to the alternation of epigrams advertised in Mart. 14.1.5. Where they have omitted poems it is sometimes difficult to see connections between those that remain,⁵⁷ but this is generally not disruptive. (There is only one instance where an omission is jarringly noticeable: poem 116 *lagona nivaria* is the first of three poems about the same object. As is Martial's practice in such instances both 117 and 118 bear the title *idem*. By including 117-18 but omitting 116, they place them after the very different 111 *crystallina*.) Elsewhere there are clear signs of ordering, for example by the chiasitic arrangement of subject matter,⁵⁸ the pairing or grouping of related epigrams,⁵⁹ and the linking of epigrams by vocabulary.⁶⁰

If their selection from Book I was made with conscious attention to its artistic arrangement, as seems likely, and sexual or obscene epigrams are excluded, the immediate question is why the prose preface is not, given its references to the traditional licence governing epigrammatic language. It would surely be natural for readers of the preface immediately to look out the rude poems. The same applies to their inclusion of Mart. 1.4.8 *lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba*,⁶¹ omitted by Stephenson but also in Paley and Stone.⁶² Secondly, what is the reader who knows

he is dealing with a selection of the epigrams to make of *perlegitur*: in their edition, Martial *cannot* be read right through. Finally, although they do not use the word 'theatre' directly of Martial's portrayal of contemporary Roman life, is one to believe that Sellar and Ramsay (and Stephenson) were unaware of the implications of the concluding epigram? Did they mean the story of Cato and his 'walking out' in any way to be transferred to them, the moral values of their day and the editorial selection these prompted?

No definite answer to these questions is possible, although the simplest and perhaps most likely is that while the editors thought their selections through, they did not think them through enough. This is perhaps supported by the inconsistencies, anomalies and contradictions introduced through the expurgation of some individual lines but not of others. Carelessness is certainly suggested by Sellar and Ramsay's inclusion of Mart. 14.117 and 118 but not 116; and compare Paley and Stone's cross-reference to Mart. 2.28.2 to illustrate *digitum ... impudicum*. It is possible too that some of their editorial decisions might be due to sheer prejudice and (perhaps wilful) misunderstanding. This is suggested by Paley and Stone's note on Mart. 1.4.8 *vita proba* which they say 'must mean (as Martial was a sensualist of the grossest kind) that his life had not received any censorial notice' before citing Catullus 16.5-6 *nam castum esse decet pium poetam/ ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est*⁶³ but not showing any appreciation that two authors had in common a literary tradition rather than a shared turpitude. Since Sellar and Ramsay supply no notes, however, they cannot be indicted with similar evidence.

Concluding remarks

It is easy to be dismissive of the 'sanitised school editions' of British scholarship in the Victorian era; but their perceived flaws must be balanced by a full consideration of the contemporary social context, their editors' aspirations and the use to which their efforts could be put. In the moral climate of the day, no one could confess to reading Martial, let alone praise him or produce an edition, without also rehearsing and condemning his failings. The ambivalence of the introductions to Paley and Stone and Sellar and Ramsay in both commending and condemning him find a compact parallel in the well-known words of Lord Macaulay:

I have now gone through the first seven books of Martial, and have learned about 360 of the best lines. His merit seems to me to lie, not in wit, but in the rapid succession of vivid images. I wish he were less nauseous. He is as great a beast as Aristophanes. He is certainly a very clever, pleasant writer. Sometimes he runs Catullus himself hard. But, besides his indecency, his servility and his mendicacy disgust me.⁶⁴

Had they not censored Martial's text, Sellar and Ramsay could not have published a Scottish undergraduate edition; and without interference the school editions of Paley and Stone and Stephenson would also have been impossible. Thus the chance of reading and enjoying Martial in class would have been completely denied their pupils. In applying this censorship, their recourse to expurgation proper, although infrequent, interferes with the poet's intentions and design for individual epigrams. At times this might appear insignificant to Martial's meaning and one can perhaps

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concede to it, but at times it destroys the poem's point, and is therefore very clearly wrong. It would probably have been more honest and more satisfactory to omit the whole poem, for while (de)selection, the editors' preferred means of censorship, might distort the poet's original book design, it is sanctioned both by his own expectations and by long-established practice.

Barchiesi (2005, 342) notes in concluding his chapter on the 'perfect book' that there is a contrast between the 'ideal world where authors design, control, and transmit the formal structure of their opus, and the complex real world where editors and customers contribute to book design and mess it up, in a slow-moving collective reform of reading conventions'. To what extent Sellar and Ramsay and the other editors were actively conscious of being part of the process of 'book-modification' is unknowable. It is probable that they were entirely unconscious. But although they do not give a 'full' or even perfectly coherent Martial, they give versions which are in accord with the 'complex real world' in which they found themselves and in this respect are entirely in order.

Of course, Sellar and Ramsay's book-modification activities did not end with the publication of their edition: it is unlikely that they (or Paley and Stone and Stephenson) would have taught every poem in their published selection. Instead they would have selected within their selection; and other users of their book (since one did not have to be an Edinburgh or Glasgow undergraduate to buy it) would have made selections of their own.⁶⁵ This further selection could have been made with a particular class in mind: those passages referring to Martial's 'objectionable' poems which appear in the printed work need not always have been set; and because they do not tie themselves down by writing notes, they could have adapted their comments as well as their selection to the group they were teaching. While it is conceivable that Sellar and Ramsay deliberately targeted classes in this way, it is certain that, just as Martial could not dictate how his readers used his books, they could not dictate how their (and others') students used theirs. Some may have read as little as possible and others might have gleefully noticed the 'flaws,' read further to find more, and gone beyond the selected edition before them. The recent republication of this edition⁶⁶ suggests both that they were successful in conveying their own enjoyment of Martial and that it continues to play a role in the process of reading, re-reading and recasting the poet.

Barchiesi's 'complex real world' prompts one final observation. A hesitancy continues even today to include sexual material in school set text reading lists, as is indicated by the last time Martial was examined at A Level in 2005-6;⁶⁷ but there are new constraints, imposed, for example, by the modern concern with political correctness.⁶⁸ For instance Sellar and Ramsay include Mart. 14.213 *parma* with its dwarf gladiator, a poem which might not appear today in a school set text prescription, and which, if used as 'extra reading' might prudently be prefaced with a full contextual exposition. It is salutary to ponder what sort of editions of Martial today's scholars would produce if they were to be transported back to the late nineteenth century.⁶⁹

**Appendix: Epigrams in Sellar and Ramsay which are also in
Paley and Stone and/or Stephenson**

Key: Sellar and Ramsay; *Paley and Stone*; **Stephenson**;
Paley and Stone and Stephenson

Spec.: 1, 2, 3, 21(=24), 22(=26), 28(=34), 29(=31), 33

Book 1: *Praef.*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20, 26, 27, 32, 39, 40, 41, 43, 49, 52,
53, 54, 55, 61, 66, 70, 76, 79, 85, 86, 88, 89, 103, 107, 108, 113, 116, 117

Book 2: 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 18, 19, 27, 29, 37, 38, 41, 43, 44, 55, 57, 64, 69, 71, 77,
86, 88, 90, 102

Book 3: 2, 4, 7, 12, 14, 16, 20, 22, 36, 38, 44, 46, 47, 50, 52, 58, 59, 60, 63, 67, 95

Book 4: 2, 8, 13, 14, 19, 25, 26, 29, 30, 37, 39, 40, 44, 46, 49, 51, 53, 55, 57, 61, 64, 66, 68,
77, 78, 83, 85, 86, 88, 89

Book 5: 1, 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 34, 35, 37, 42, 50, 56, 58,
73, 78, 80, 84

Book 6: 8, 11, 13, 19, 24, 27, 28, 29, 32, 43, 50, 61, 63, 70, 77, 78, 80, 82, 85, 86, 92

Book 7: 6, 8, 9, 12, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 37, 39, 40, 44, 47, 48, 51, 53, 61,
63, 64, 72, 73, 76, 85, 86, 88, 90, 93, 97, 98, 99

Book 8: 3, 6, 18, 27, 28, 30, 32, 33, 38, 43, 44, 45, 48, 50, 51, 55, 56, 59, 61, 66, 67, 68,
70, 76

Book 9: *Praef.*, 3, 11, 13, 18, 22, 26, 28, 30, 35, 46, 50, 52, 54, 59, 60, 61, 68, 70, 73, 74,
76, 77, 81, 90, 97, 99, 100

Book 10: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 32, 35, 37, 41, 43, 44, 46,
47, 48, 49, 51, 58, 61, 62, 65, 70, 72, 76, 78, 82, 87, 92, 93, 96, 103, 104

Book 11: 1, 3, 6, 13, 18, 24, 31, 41, 42, 44, 48, 49, 52, 53, 56, 80, 84, 90

Book 12: *Praef.*, 3, 4, 6, 8, 17, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 37, 44, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51,
57, 63, 67, 68, 72, 82, 87, 88, 94, 98

Book 13: 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 28, 31, 36, 39, 40, 43, 46, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55,
58, 60, 61, 62, 65, 72, 75, 79, 82, 87, 88, 91, 92, 101, 104, 105, 107, 109, 110, 111,
112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127

Book 14: 1, 1a + 2(=2), 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25,
26, 27, 28, 34, 36, 37, 38, 41, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 56, 61, 62, 63, 64,
65, 68, 71, 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 95, 96, 99, 101, 103, 104, 108, 109,
110, 111, 117, 118, 120, 121, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 135, 136, 137,
138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 146, 148, 155, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 167, 168, 169,
182, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 198, 200, 208, 209, 213,
216, 217, 219, 220, 222, 223

Notes

1. My thanks to those who have commented on the successive drafts of this paper, and especially Professor Stephen Harrison and Dr Christopher Stray. I am grateful too to the librarians of the Bodleian Library in Oxford and of Balliol, Keble and Worcester Colleges.

2. I have not been able to consult the first edition of this work (Macmillan, 1880) but have worked from later reprints.

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3. This should read 1868; cf. Sullivan's bibliography.
4. Sellar and Ramsay, iii.
5. See, for example, Sullivan 1991 with his bibliography, Howell 2009.
6. Cf. Paley and Stone, iii: 'an edition ... as might be found suitable both for school reading and general use'. Stephenson does not identify his intended readership specifically, but he was a serving Headmaster at the time of publication: see below.
7. Sellar and Ramsay iii; cf. the edition's sub-title.
8. Ramsay's niece Agnata Frances Ramsay came top in the examination for Part 1 of the Cambridge Classical Tripos in 1887, ahead of the likes of Walter Headlam: *DBC* s.vv. Ramsay, Agnata Frances [Christopher Stray].
9. See Anderson 1989, 255 and 275.
10. The flyleaf of my copy of Paley and Stone is inscribed 'Beatrix Egerton – June 1869'.
11. MA St John's College Cantab. LLD Aberdeen *honoris causa*.
12. For Paley, see *ACII* 1953 s.vv. Paley, Frederick Apthorp, *DBC* s.vv. Paley, Frederick Apthorp [Christopher Collard], *ODNB* s.vv. Paley, Frederick Apthorp [Christopher Collard].
13. BA Trinity College Cantab. (Browne Scholar 1861).
14. Paley and Stone iii. For Stone, see *ACII* 1954 s.vv. Stone, William Henry (second entry).
15. Paley and Stone v.
16. MA Christ's College Cantab. (Fellow 1864-7).
17. See *ACII* 1954 s.vv. Stephenson, Henry Major.
18. MA Glasgow MA Balliol College, Oxford (Snell Exhibitioner and Balliol Scholarship), Fellow of Oriel 1848-52.
19. *DBC* s.vv. Sellar, William Young [Michael Morris].
20. *ODNB* s.vv. Sellar, William Young [Andrew Lang, revised M.C. Curthoys]. An appreciation of Sellar by Lewis Campbell appeared in *CR* 9 (1890): 428-30.
21. See Harrison 2007, 109.
22. MA Trinity College, Oxford.
23. For biographical information, see *DBC* s.vv. Ramsay, George Gilbert [Michael Morris].
24. My thanks to David McClay (personal communication 13 May 2010) of the National Library of Scotland whose Archives now house the James Thin papers.
25. Contrast the documentation regarding C.J. Fordyce's bowdlerised *Catullus* (Oxford 1961) in the Oxford University Press Archives and the discussion possible in the light of this: see Henderson 2006, 70-110.
26. 9th edition (1883), volume XV.
27. 'Let the excessively serious and excessively grim write those.'
28. The previously prominent position of verse composition in the school curriculum came under attack in the later Victorian period (cf. Stray 1998, 73) and only Paley and Stone cite it (viii), and then defensively, as a reason for reading Martial: 'If Latin verse-writing is to hold its place ... no model can be found superior in elegance and versatility'. The exercise was generally loathed, however (cf. Clarke 1959, 92-3), and this would have conflicted with any popularising motives.
29. It may be due to its particular, Scottish background that, of the three Victorian editions, Sellar and Ramsay is the most censorious. This charges Martial with 'wanting dignity of character' and with indifference 'to the moral influences by which human life is elevated and purified' (xxi), continuing (xxiii) that 'Although much the greater number of his epigrams ... might ... be read with pleasure by any kind of educated reader, there is a considerable residuum which can be read by scarcely any class with any feelings except those of extreme repugnance.'
30. Paley and Stone, vii report 'at least a dozen good school editions', but this exaggerates. A.J. Maclean (1857) and H. Prior (1862) appear in the Whittaker list at the back of Paley and Stone. They were followed by E.G. Hardy (London 1883; 2nd edn 1891) and J.D. Duff (Cambridge 1898). Overshadowing all was J.E.B. Mayor (Cambridge 1853).
31. Thus and in line with common practice Hardy op. cit. omits Satires 2, 6 and 9. Ramsay includes these in his Loeb, in keeping with the series' practice, but tones down or omits lines in his translation: viii.
32. In Satire 1, for example, Hardy op. cit. omits lines 37-41, 55-7, 84 and 131. These

omissions are made without comment although they are evident from the line-numbering of his text.

33. 'and the soft eunuch delights in work'.

34. 'nor shall girls from wanton Gades, endlessly itching, pulsate their lascivious loins with practised quivering'.

35. The text is from Sellar and Ramsay, supplemented from Schneidewin's 1866 Teubner, the text they followed; cf. below.

36. 'your waiters might vie with the catamite from Ilium' [i.e. Ganymede].

37. Sexual import aside, one wonders how Sellar and Ramsay understood these words which appear out of keeping with the epigram's content, and textual corruption has accordingly been suspected.

38. Cf. Howell 2009, 54: '[Selection] makes it impossible to appreciate [Martial's] skill in arranging his books, and some clever tricks go by the board.'

39. The absence of obscene poems is out of respect for Domitian (who had assumed the perpetual censorship in 85), to spare his blushes and perhaps secure his favour; cf. Howell's introductory note (2009, 64-5) to Mart. 5.2.

40. Henderson 2006, 108 makes a similar observation regarding Catullus when discussing how Fordyce's edition might be used.

41. My general opinion of Watson and Watson 2003 nonetheless remains much the same as that expressed in my review in *The Journal of Classics Teaching*, 1 (Spring 2004): 57, that, while at times very good, it is uneven and lacks focus and cohesion.

42. 'Receive by lottery the alternated presents of rich and poor men.'

43. Spisak 2007, 93, gives a convenient description of the celebrations at the Saturnalia.

44. Cf. Mart. 10.1.4 *fac tibi me quam cupis ipse brevem* ('Make me as short as you yourself want'); 13.3.7-8 *addita per titulos sua nomina rebus habebis: / praetereas, si quid non facit ad stomachum* ('You will find added to the objects by means of lemmata their names: if anything is not to your taste you can pass over it'). Note also Mart. 1.3: once his book has left his hands Martial can no longer protect it. The question of who 'owned' Martial's epigrams once they had been sold and what this means is explored by Fitzgerald 2007, especially in ch. 2.

45. Cf. Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 153: 'Cephalas' *Anthology* is ... the end product of a millennium of endlessly repeated sifting, sorting, selection and exclusion ... Each poem has been chosen, chosen, and chosen again by successive compilers.'

46. In the case of Fordyce's 1961 edition, such censorship had more than a moralistic recommendation in that scrapping the 32 'offensive' poems was an easy way of shortening his ever-expanding MS; cf. Henderson 2006, 98. See also Trimble's chapter in this volume.

47. The use of Mynors' *Catullus Oxford Classical Text* (1958) for Fordyce's edition might seem comparable with that of selections from Lindsay's *Martial OCT* (1903), published as a separate, 'reduced' *OCT* (the only instance of this), for a school commentary (Bridge and Lake 1906-8). See, however, Henderson 2006, 77. (Bridge and Lake occasionally tacitly alter Lindsay's text so as to make it 'unobjectionable'. Thus they change Mart. 2.89.5 *fellas* to *vomis* and omit Mart. 2.48.5-6.) My thanks here to Dr Stray for scans of Bridge and Lake's notes in the Oxford University Press Archives.

48. Of course, selections might be made to omit non-sexual material, as was the case, in reaction to Victorian moralising, with the translations of Martial included in the privately printed *Index Expurgatorius of Martial Literally Translated, Comprising All the Epigrams hitherto Omitted by English Translators* (1868): see Sullivan 1991, 305; cf. Howell 2009, 116, who observes that the translations are sometimes more obscene than the originals. Howell also cites some modern selections betraying a specifically pederastic interest. Hutchinson 2003, 217 and n. 43, observes that surviving papyri indicate that whole books of wittily insulting or 'scoptic' epigrams were in circulation and popular.

49. The text is from Sellar and Ramsay.

50. Just 30 epigrams out of 351. See the Appendix to this chapter, p. 138 above.

51. Most of the poems are in elegiacs, but there is a fair sprinkling of hendecasyllables; and there are several in scazons (*Praef.*, 10, 66, 113), one in hexameters (1.53), and two which alternate iambic trimeters and dimeters (49, 61).

7. Modifying Martial in nineteenth-century Britain

52. Ranging from couplets (1.16, 32, 40) to 1.49, Martial's second longest poem at 42 lines. (Only Mart. 3.58 is longer: 51 lines.)
53. Mart. 1.6, 14, 22, 48, 51, 60, 104.
54. See Beard 2002, 123-4.
55. See e.g. Leary 1996, 18-19.
56. See Leary 1996, 292-3. In general, see Barchiesi 2005, 327ff., citing Citroni 1980 and Fowler 1995.
57. For example 28 *umbella* and 34 *falx*, 71 *muscarium bubulum* and 77 *cavea eborea*, and 90 *mensa acerna*, 92 *quinquepedal* and 95 *phiala aurea caelata*.
58. 17 *tabula lusoria*, 19 *theca libraria*, 20 *calculi*, 21 *graphiarium*.
59. 198 *catella Gallicana* and 200 *canis vertragus*.
60. 68 *copta Rhodia* [sic] (note *percute*, line 1) and 71 *muscarium bubulum* (note *verbere*, line 1)
61. 'My page is wanton, but my life is pure'; cf. Mart. 7.51, also included, which refers to Martial's *lasciva ... carmina*.
62. So too, those reading the censorious judgements of Sellar and Ramsay's Introduction would want at once to see what the writers were referring to.
63. 'For the sacred poet ought to be chaste himself, his little verses needn't be.' (Although referring their readers to Catullus 16, they do not cite its beginning: *pedicabo ego vos et irrumabo*, etc.: 'I'll bugger you and make you suck')
64. Perhaps must conveniently found in Sullivan 1991, 304; but see also Trevelyan 1932, 372. Interestingly, Macaulay alludes in a letter to Thomas Flower Ellis to Mart. 3.45.10-11 in threatening to inflict his own compositions on him 'stanti, sedenti, cacanti, etc. etc.' (see Pinney 1982, 191 and 122). As observed above, line 11 is one of those omitted by Sellar and Ramsay.
65. Comparable 'sub-selection' is evidenced in my copies of both Paley and Stone and Stephenson, where there are short lists of poem numbers in the flyleaf of the former while several poems are ticked or dated in the latter.
66. In 2008 by SSM Books International.
67. The epigrams selected did contain the *delicatus ... eunuchus* at Mart. 3.58.32 omitted by Sellar and Ramsay but otherwise nothing stronger than the passing allusion to homosexuality at 12.18.22-3. (The other epigrams were: 1.1, 2, 86, 117; 2.11, 18, 26, 27; 3.38; 5.10, 34, 39, 56; 6.63, 82; 7.61; 8.61; 9.68; 10.43, 74; 11.39; 12.31, 68.)
68. Hence for instance the deep uneasiness felt by Gideon Nisbet concerning the 'queerbashing' and misogyny in the scoptic of Lucillius and Nicarchus: Nisbet 2008, 10ff.
69. Cf. Livingstone and Nisbet 2010, 158: 'what we do with epigram ... will seem odd in a hundred years time.'

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Catullus and ‘comment in English’: the tradition of the expurgated commentary before Fordyce

Gail Trimble

... a few poems which do not lend themselves to comment in English have been omitted.
(Fordyce 1961, v)

The now infamous words ... are the last echo of centuries of embarrassment, swelling frequently to outrage, at Catullan obscenity. (Fitzgerald 1995, 59-60)

The ‘few poems’ omitted from Fordyce’s much-used and still valuable commentary on Catullus number 32 out of (roughly) 113:¹ the above half-sentence from his preface is notorious among classicists. As Fitzgerald’s remark demonstrates, there is also a widespread perception that Fordyce’s edition stood at the end of a long tradition of expurgating Catullus, and that after Fordyce, from the 1960s onwards, ‘comment’ on and translation of Catullan obscenity became easier and more common. The story behind Fordyce’s own omissions has been told in intriguing detail by Henderson, who shows that, rather than being pressurised by ‘headmasters and headmistresses’ at a late stage,² Fordyce had always been concerned about the obscene poems and inclined towards omission.³ The subject of this chapter, however, will be the tradition of which, according to Fitzgerald, Fordyce represents ‘the last echo’. I shall look at ‘comment in English’ on Catullus from its beginnings up to 1961, investigating publications in which the text of Catullus, complete or not, in Latin and/or in translation, is accompanied by an English commentary or notes.

The different elements contained in books of this kind may be subject to expurgation in a variety of ways: the Latin text of Catullus can itself be cut down, and a translation is frequently expurgated or expurgatory. But the widespread notion that Fordyce’s is an ‘expurgated commentary’⁴ suggests that expurgation may also occur in the comments themselves. The activity of commentary, of discussing and explaining the details of a text, point by point, is central to Classics: I shall examine how commentary may negotiate those details of Catullus’ text which have often seemed just as difficult to write ‘about’ as to translate.

Catullus, commentary and the obscene

Catullus represents a particularly interesting case study for a simultaneous examination of two scholarly practices: commentary-writing and expurgation. Three central dynamics of commentary are especially relevant.⁵

The first is the tendency of commentary to valorise its text, defending its canonical, classic status.⁶ Catullus is undoubtedly a classic. Yet his status as such has been seriously threatened by his obscenity:⁷ his explicit sexual and scatological references and vocabulary, and also the homosexual theme of his poems about the boy Juventius. It is Catullus' obscenity that has tended to be expurgated – omitted, disguised or explained away. But where it is not, and sometimes even where it is, obscenity may lead a commentator to disparage the text, creating a tension with the assumption of classic status created by the fact that a commentary is being written on this text at all. Maintaining the valorising stance in the face of obscenity requires special strategies.⁸

Secondly, the Catullan corpus is typical of texts that acquire commentaries in being a classic whose full meaning is no longer entirely self-evident: the 'cultural distance' between Catullus and the readers for whom the commentaries are written means that parts of the text require explanation.⁹ We might imagine a task-list of difficult passages for the commentator to explain, including mythical references, allusions to contemporary figures and customs, and rare or ambiguous Latin words. But in the case of Catullus such a list would frequently overlap with a list of those parts of the text that have tended to be subject to expurgation: a catalogue of obscene words, lines and whole poems running through the corpus from Flavius' *latera ecfututa* ('fucked-out sides') in poem 6 to Mentula as a *mentula magna minax* ('big threatening dick') in poem 115. After all, characters requiring identification in the commentary might include Juventius (especially since poem 24 appears to allude to his family) and Mentula (the reader needs to be told that this word for penis is being used as a name for Mamurra, who appears under his own name elsewhere). A commentator who typically explains abbreviated references to ancient customs must deal with the 'radishes and mullets' of poem 15: Catullus is threatening to push them up Aurelius' anus, the traditional punishment for adultery.¹⁰ Obscene vocabulary is often, precisely, unfamiliar vocabulary, and a reader faced with it might well look to a commentator for help.

This brings us to a third typical dynamic of commentary. In its traditional 'note form,' commentary tends to split up the text, 'atomising' or 'morselising' it into little bits,¹¹ often the short lemmata from the text appearing at the head of each note. Frequently, this seems to reduce the text to a list of problems to be solved. Yet if 'morselising' commentary is perceived as burdening the reader with inessential details, getting in the way of the reader's understanding of the real point of the text, it is precisely in the case of an author like Catullus that such a perception is most likely to provoke a reaction, and an attempt to write commentary of a different kind. Despite his 'Alexandrian' learning and his immersion in a very specific Roman context, Catullus has often been seen as a passionate, accessible lyric poet full of 'direct appeal'. Catullus was the author at stake when Quinn 1968 asserted that previous commentators had been 'misguided' in their focus on disconnected details,

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and that 'the commentator's task' is really to help the reader make overall sense of each poem:¹² but similar ideas are seen much earlier, including in the preface to *The Adventures of Catullus* (Anon. 1707), not a commentary but the first book-length work in English to have Catullus as its subject and to include English translations from his text.¹³ The anonymous author laments 'the want of Skill, in most of those, that have undertaken to explain the Gallant Poets of Antiquity. They give us long and tiresome Dissertations upon every Verse ... they content themselves, with explaining certain ambiguous Expressions, and that but baldly enough'¹⁴ Like many of his successors, this reader of Catullus believes that the morselising commentator obstructs the reader's view not only of what is essential about each poem, in Quinn's terms, but of what is essential about Catullus himself and makes him worth reading. Many commentators, including many before Quinn, do in fact attempt to explain the essential point of each poem in an introductory note, and almost all are concerned with their reader's overall impression of Catullus.¹⁵ Yet obscenity again interacts with this conflict between details and whole in a paradoxical way. It is now recognised that obscenity is frequently essential to the overall point of a Catullan poem, rather than something incidental and removable;¹⁶ and moreover, that obscenity is a central dynamic in Catullus' work as a whole.¹⁷ In an expurgated edition, a poem may be presented with obscene lines omitted to suggest that it has a different and more acceptable 'overall point'; obscene poems may be apologised for or left without comment in order to present an expurgated overall view of Catullus. But the commentator who is less concerned with the 'overall point', and instead treats the text as a list of problems requiring discrete explanations, may in fact be at liberty to print and comment on more of its obscenity.

English commentaries on Catullus up to 1961

The first commentaries on Catullus were written in the Renaissance by continental Europeans, predominantly in Italy.¹⁸ Commentators such as Parthenius in the fifteenth century and Muretus, Statius and Scaliger in the sixteenth printed unexpurgated texts: attempting to establish the complete, correct text was of course one of their main concerns. Moreover, although Catullus' obscenity was not unproblematic for these writers,¹⁹ it was discussed in their notes, written in Latin for other scholars and students, with considerably greater frankness than in the later English tradition. The same is true of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century commentaries, again written in Latin by continental scholars: they included the first commentary and indeed the first text of Catullus to be printed in England, that of the Dutchman Isaac Voss (1684). In later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe an important form of commentary was the *variorum*, which collected the notes of 'various' earlier scholars, and a belated spur of this tradition is represented in England by the early nineteenth-century Delphin Classics, a reissue by the London publisher A.J. Valpy of a series originally edited for the French Dauphin in the late seventeenth century.²⁰ Valpy's Delphin Catullus of 1822 includes among its *variorum* notes discussions of obscene points from the Renaissance and post-Renaissance scholarly tradition, again in Latin. 'Comment in English', however, begins alongside the first complete English translation of Catullus.²¹ Nott 1795 (published anonymously) includes the complete

text with facing-page verse translations and English notes. Some are attributed in *variorum* style to the earlier commentators from whose work they are translated, but most are Nott's own.²² The tradition of the English commentary on Catullus had begun.

English editions of Catullus from 1795 to the late 1950s may be categorised according to their intended readership.²³ First, those for professionals. British and American scholars produced critical editions of the complete text, usually accompanied by an *apparatus criticus* and/or by textual notes or prolegomena: such publications included Ellis 1867, Postgate 1889, Palmer 1896, the Teubner text of Merrill (1923) and the Oxford Classical Texts of Ellis (1904) and Mynors (1958). Ellis 1876, however, was the only full-scale scholarly commentary in English.²⁴ Ellis' monumental commentary includes lengthy introductory matter and notes on every poem, and was intended to represent the height of British scholarship on Catullus: but it can omit or downplay the obscene in many of the same ways as commentaries intended for a less exalted readership.

The second category contains commentaries for students. In Britain, the standard form in this period is the 'school edition', with an 'expurgated' or more typically 'selected' text.²⁵ The first British school editions of Catullus, produced in the 1820s and 30s for Eton and Harrow,²⁶ contained the text alone, but later examples include introductory material and a commentary. This tradition again begins at Eton with Cookesley 1845,²⁷ and includes Wratislaw and Sutton 1869, Simpson 1879 (in the well-known 'red Macmillan' series), Macnaghten and Ramsay 1899, Macmillan 1920, and Kinchin Smith and Melliush 1942. These commentaries are strongly protective of their readers: expurgatory techniques in both text and notes tend much more towards outright deception of the reader than in commentaries written for adults. Accordingly, the American 'college editions' of Merrill 1893 and McDaniel 1931 have a slightly different approach: they include the complete text,²⁸ but their comments use strategies typical of 'adult' commentaries when dealing with the obscene. These 'educational' editions are the most reprinted of the three categories, in some cases for decades after their original publication,²⁹ and will have been read intensively, if not always with enjoyment. Their presentation of Catullus will have been influential on a large proportion of those people in English-speaking countries who read his poetry at all.³⁰

The largest category in terms of number of separate publications, however, is that of commented editions for 'general readers'. Since the early eighteenth century British publishers had brought out Latin editions of Catullus presumably intended for general readers as well as scholars, especially when they placed a high value on presentation.³¹ This tradition continued in the period under consideration with Owen 1893, Postgate 1893-4 and Ellis 1911.³² Like major critical editions, these are all unexpurgated. I have found one Latin text with commentary aimed at general readers, Stuttaford 1909.³³ Stuttaford too prints the complete text, using his commentary to manage obscenity. However, from Nott onwards, the most typical form of commented edition in this category, in both Britain and America, includes both notes and an English translation, with or without the Latin text. Many translations of Catullus were also published without notes,³⁴ but there seems to have been a widespread assumption that the general reader needed at least some explanatory help. As well as explaining

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details, however, notes in these commentaries are often appreciatory, commenting on the exquisite nature of (some of) the poems, or comparing other poetry in ancient and modern languages.

Many of these translated and commented editions for general readers present themselves as essentially complete, with titles such as *The Poems of Catullus*. In fact, this group contains both editions that actually include every poem³⁵ – even if the translations or notes corresponding to some poems are euphemistic, lacunose or (where the Latin text is present) missing altogether – and those that omit ‘some’ or ‘a few’ obscene poems, usually to about the same extent as Fordyce does. Nott is among the former, along with Kelly 1854, Cranstoun 1867, Burton and Smithers 1894, Stuttaford 1912, Hiley 1929, Lindsay 1948 and Copley 1957; among the latter are Lamb 1821, Macnaghten 1925, Martin 1861 and Hart-Davies 1879. All of these at least notionally ‘complete’ editions, however, should be distinguished from those that are explicitly selections, a group including Tremenheere 1897, Levett 1905 and Symons-Jeune 1923.

Taken as a whole, this category of editions for general readers represents over a century and a half of the English-speaking amateur’s experience of Catullus, and demonstrates a range of attitudes to obscenity and its expurgation. There is some historical development. Nott, writing in an eighteenth-century aristocratic milieu of relative sexual freedom, expurgates less than Lamb in 1821;³⁶ from Lamb until well into the twentieth century, it is generally accepted that some expurgation, whether of text, translation or commentary, is necessary. From the 1920s onwards translated editions appear which generally avoid disguising Catullus’ obscene content, but still tone down much of the vocabulary;³⁷ only with Swanson 1959 do we see the level of English obscenity that has since become standard.³⁸ However, this development is not as linear as it might initially seem. Nott’s frankness drew criticism at the time.³⁹ During the long period in which expurgation was standard, the nature and extent of the practice varied widely, nor is there a simple distinction between mainstream editions and those printed for private circulation. Some limited editions are particularly explicit (Burton and Smithers 1894, Hiley 1929, Lindsay 1929),⁴⁰ yet these too expurgate in idiosyncratic ways, and there are several examples both of less expurgated mass-market editions (notably Kelly and Cranstoun)⁴¹ and highly expurgated private publications (Fleay).

The text for comment

All the commentaries under consideration also present a text, in Latin, English or both.⁴² As we have seen, where the Latin text was published alone or with only textual notes during this period, it was printed unexpurgated. Apparently, the obscene poems were safe with those who could read them in the original, but could be trusted not to talk *about* them in English. This dynamic is reflected in those editions which include the complete Latin text, but expurgate the translation (where present) and the commentary: these include Nott, Merrill and McDaniel, as well as Stuttaford’s two editions of 1909 and 1912. Fordyce, too, initially envisaged that he would print the whole text, but have no comment on some of the poems.⁴³ However, most editions that included a translation and/or a commentary *did* make omissions from the text.

The easiest way to expurgate the text of Catullus is to omit whole poems. While this omission is usually acknowledged in the edition's title or preface, it is possible for the presentation of the text to disguise its extent. In particular, an editor must decide whether to keep the traditional numeration of the poems, so that the reader can easily count those missing, or to replace it with his own numbers or perhaps simply with titles (as for instance in Lamb 1821). If the poems are rearranged from their traditional order,⁴⁴ it is even harder to see the extent of omission, whether the original numbers are present or not.⁴⁵ And the matter is further complicated by the fact that Catullus' messy text had for centuries been printed in an illogically numbered way.⁴⁶ Many 'complete' texts in this period, as today, are missing poems numbered 18-20,⁴⁷ and the presence of fragmentary poems, sometimes numbered '2b', '14b', etc., hardly encourages a reader's respect for the traditional system.

Similar issues affect the editor who decides to expurgate certain lines from poems he has otherwise chosen to print. An omission at the end of a poem may pass unnoticed: poem 39, on Egnatius' white teeth, comes to an unacknowledged stop at line 16 in many school editions,⁴⁸ before the explanation that Egnatius brushes his teeth with urine. But where lines are omitted from the middle of a poem, the original line numbers will usually give the game away,⁴⁹ although relatively few editors mark omissions in the text with dots or asterisks. Again, however, the untidy state of Catullus' transmitted text may disguise the expurgator's work. Poem 61 very frequently undergoes partial expurgation: editors want to include it as a charming celebration of marriage, but as well as references to marital sex and possible infidelity, it contains a substantial passage on the husband's now abandoned boy concubine (lines 119-48). Some or all of these lines are omitted from many editions, both for school pupils and general readers. But 61 is also genuinely lacunose, with several lines missing from the transmitted text at two points: these too may be indicated with dots or stars, sometimes the same as those used to mark expurgation.⁵⁰ And because of the editorial history of these lacunae, it is possible to print *two* contradictory sets of line numbers (one usually in brackets) from line 80 onwards. Where this happens alongside expurgation of certain lines, as in Simpson 1879, it takes a careful reader to work out what has really happened to the text.

I have found two editors who manage to expurgate single words. In Hubbard 1836, the first and last lines of poem 36, which read simply *Annales Volusi*, are obviously too short: the correct text is *annales Volusi, cacata carta*, 'Volusius' *Annals*, shat-upon sheets'. Rather than leaving such a gap, Macnaghten actually makes expurgatory replacements in the Latin text.⁵¹ He first does so in Macnaghten and Ramsay 1899, a school edition, remarking in the preface (vii) that the editors have 'saved' a poem for the selection 'by venturing to alter a word of the original'. In poem 25, the opening address to Thallus, *cinaede Thalle* (a *cinaedus* being a man who takes the passive role in homosexual sex) is duly replaced by *O Thalle, Thalle*.⁵² In his later edition with translation (1925), presumably for general readers, Macnaghten uses the same technique on two more poems. In poem 58, *glubit*, 'peels', used in a rather mysterious sense of Lesbia's sexual services to her clients, becomes *captat*, 'snares'. And in the homosexual poem 48 the vocative *Iuventi*, 'Juventius', is replaced with *puella*, 'girl'.⁵³ These changes to the Latin text give Macnaghten's 1925 English versions the same accuracy as he has claimed for his other translations.⁵⁴ But they also look like a strange

parody of scholarly conjecture. One of the typical activities of the textual critic is to 'alter a word' of the transmitted text, especially in the case of a badly corrupted author like Catullus.

There are two main contexts in which expurgation of the text for comment is common. The first is the school edition. Although school commentaries from Cookesley onwards call themselves 'selected', many in fact look less like 'taster' selections and more like expurgated editions, following the traditional order of the poems but omitting any that are obscene.⁵⁵ 'Selection', then, is a code for expurgation, as are expressions such as 'suitable for school reading'.⁵⁶ Immature readers, unlike educated adults, cannot be trusted to read and understand the Latin text and then to ignore parts of it. They will be construing the Latin slowly and in detail, not skipping over some sections with the help of a euphemistic English translation. It is much safer for an editor simply to omit from the Latin text anything that might cause embarrassment for a teacher who might be asked about its exact meaning; and in this period it clearly also seemed more appropriate to pretend that this great Roman poet had not written anything obscene. Even to call an edition 'expurgated' implies that he did.

On the other hand, we have seen that there was no problem in principle with printing a complete Latin text for adult amateurs. Expurgation of a text for this audience occurs only when that text appears either in parallel Latin and English or in English alone. Clearly the impossibility of printing English obscenity must have affected the editors' decisions. But fear of prosecution, or even of bad reviews, is admitted as a motivating factor only very occasionally and obliquely (Cranstoun uses the word 'inexpedient').⁵⁷ Much more typically, an editor will claim to have omitted those poems or lines which are either unpleasant to read or simply bad.⁵⁸ The editor assumes that his readers know, whether from reading it in Latin or otherwise, that some of Catullus' poetry is obscene: but he also assumes that they are now choosing to read Catullus for enjoyment, and that they would enjoy themselves much less if they encountered the disgusting poems which the editor therefore omits. Unlike school editions, then, translated editions for general readers tend to explain their reasons for inclusion and exclusion. But as their main criterion becomes simply 'quality', expurgation and selection may again become very blurred. Symons-Jeune 1923 writes in his introduction that, having left out 'the coarser poems', he has 'taken advantage of [the process of selection] to leave out poems that are not of much interest' (viii); but he has already stated (vii) that in his judgement 'the coarser poems' are themselves of inferior quality. Moreover, such attempts to produce the kind of Catullus that the editor would like to see sometimes lead to a thoroughgoing reordering of the poems, often on supposedly 'chronological' principles, particularly where the 'story' of Catullus and Lesbia is concerned.⁵⁹ By reordering of this kind, the editor further alters the text of Catullus in order to influence a reader's response to it: this too is perhaps a kind of expurgation.⁶⁰

Finally, let us look at how commentary works with an expurgated text. Usually, of course, there will be no notes on a poem that is not there, although the commentary in Kelly 1854 does explain cases where a poem has been omitted from the 'literal' prose translation but included only in euphemistic English verse. A note on one poem may also cross-refer to other poems not present in that edition, drawing a

reader's attention both to their existence and to their expurgation: Harrington 1914 prints only the least obscene (116) of the poems about the incestuous Gellius, but his note includes a 'cf.' to all the others. Where only part of a poem is missing, the commentary may either ignore this too, or acknowledge it with a disparaging comment. So most school commentaries simply pass over their cuts to poem 61, while editions for general readers may remark that they have 'left out several stanzas which are not very pleasant reading' (Symons-Jeune). A commentary may tend towards the 'morselising' where the text on which it comments peters out in expurgation. But a commentary concerned to give an 'overall' account of a poem can also mislead the reader in the case of an expurgated text. All the school editions which stop poem 39 after line 16 state that the poem's epigrammatic 'point' is that contained in the new 'final' line, 'nothing is more stupid than a stupid grin'. Cookesley 1845 follows his Eton predecessor (Anon. 1825) in omitting from poem 63 the crucial lines (5-7) in which the poem's central character, Attis, performs its central action, castrating himself, and his commentary, too, omits the castration from its summary. Yet, just as Macnaghten's translations accurately reflect his expurgated texts,⁶¹ these notes provide accurate commentary on the text that has been printed.

Translation and commentary

Much work has been done on the history of English translations of Catullus,⁶² and on the particular difficulties of translating his obscenity.⁶³ I shall therefore look only briefly at expurgatory techniques used in the translation itself, before moving on to investigate how translation and commentary may work together to expurgate or otherwise manage the obscene.⁶⁴

During the period when printing English obscenity was impossible, translators could choose between two principles. They could either include all the poems and expurgate in translation,⁶⁵ or translate accurately without 'paraphrase' and be forced to omit.⁶⁶ The translation itself might expurgate using various kinds of omission and substitution. We have seen that whole passages might be left out: where the translation accompanies a facing-page Latin text, the English versions of some poems look suspiciously short if they are in prose, as in Cornish's Loeb of 1912,⁶⁷ or have obvious gaps if they are in roughly line-for-line verse, as in Stuttaford's edition of the same year. Single-word gaps appear in Burton's translations (Burton and Smithers 1894): in poem 16 the threats of anal and oral rape (*pedicabo ego uos et irrumabo*) become 'I'll ... you twain and ...', the dots representing posthumous censorship by Burton's widow.⁶⁸ But omission of occasional words is common enough in translations which do not leave gaps. Non-translation of a different type appears when the name *Mentula* remains as 'Mentula', rendering incomprehensible the poems which play on its meaning 'penis', or when Smithers (Burton and Smithers 1894) uses Latinate coinages such as 'paedicate and irrumate'. Euphemism of various kinds is the most common method of all.⁶⁹ It may involve the use of words with the same literal meaning as the Latin, but a less obscene register (Lindsay 1948 has 'your rear ... won't function ten times in a year' for 23.19-20, where *culus* and *cacas* would be more appropriately translated 'arse' and 'shit'), or, very commonly, words with a vaguely similar rhetorical purpose but a different meaning (the *irrumator praetor* of

10.12-13 becomes a 'knave' or 'blackguard' praetor in Cranstoun 1867, Hart-Davies 1879). Other specific obscenities are generalised in the same way, as when references to sex become 'kiss' or 'love'.⁷⁰ And this strategy is carried to its logical conclusion when a poem such as 16 is represented by a 'paraphrase' or 'imitation' retaining little beyond its basic point that a poet's life may be chaste while his poetry need not be.⁷¹

Until the mid-twentieth century, then, it was impossible to print an English translation of Catullus that was both complete and literal. But was it easier to print a complete translation or a complete commentary? In some contexts, it seems to have been more difficult to talk 'about' the text than to translate it: although Cranstoun translates poem 63 quite literally, his commentary is as squeamish as Cookesley's,⁷² discussing the poem's events over several pages without mentioning Attis' self-castration. Poems which might be included in euphemistic translations tend to be omitted from school editions precisely because a detailed commentary would be expected.⁷³ However, Stuttaford's two editions of 1909 and 1912 suggest a different answer to the question. The first, without a translation, uses many of the strategies of expurgation available to a commentator, but does explain most obscenities.⁷⁴ But in the later edition, Stuttaford's English translation is both incomplete and much less explicit than his earlier notes.⁷⁵ The notes themselves have been compressed from 89 to 26 pages, losing many of the obscene points. In the 1912 preface Stuttaford explains (vii) that reviewers of his previous book had 'complained that I had annotated several poems that it would have been better to have left unexplained'. Referring to 'an editor's duties ... in such cases', Stuttaford implies that he disagrees. But he immediately continues, 'There is, of course, a wide difference between annotating a poem and translating it ... many of the poems of Catullus are not fit to be put into English.' The case of Stuttaford, then, supports my initial suggestion that the 'morselising' commentator, explaining only isolated points, might find obscenity easier to deal with.⁷⁶

Notes may be used to comment on the nature of the translation, especially where it paraphrases obscenity. This is common in Lamb 1821, Kelly 1854 and Levett 1905, whose notes in such cases combine apology for the translation's lack of accuracy with moral vilification of the original. The problematic content will be referred to very vaguely as something 'gross' that 'could not be endured in English':⁷⁷ what cannot be translated literally cannot be discussed frankly either. Yet such notes create a tension with the translation's expurgation-by-paraphrase by ensuring, perhaps with a slightly titillating effect, that the reader knows that expurgation has taken place.⁷⁸ Sometimes, however, translation and commentary together make a more genuine attempt to mislead: this is above all the case where Juventius is involved, and translations are disguising his gender. In Lamb's translations of poems 48 and 99 Catullus' love-object is explicitly female, and here Lamb's notes do *not* acknowledge that the translations are other than literal. Levett, who rearranges the poems, places 48 and 99 together within his section on Lesbia: his note apologising for this begins promisingly 'This and the following poem are not addressed to Lesbia ...', but continues '... but to another lady'. Even Nott, while admitting in his introductory 'Life of Catullus' the existence of 'his minion Juventius' (xix), and printing the unexpurgated Latin text, avoids gendered words in his translations, preferring 'favourite'. In his notes on poems 48 and 99 he appears to give the game away, saying that while he would rather pretend that the

two poems are addressed to a woman, they actually have 'the same reference' as 24; yet in both translation and notes, poem 24 (as well as poems 15 and 21) ignores any question of gender. A Latinless reader might give up the chase in confusion.

Fragments of translation sometimes appear within the commentary proper. Where the text is in Latin only, unfamiliar words may be given English 'glosses', and in school editions, an expurgatory gloss can hurry the pupil quickly over an obscenity, preventing him from asking his teacher for explanation. Since grammar matters for this readership, school glosses often mirror the accident or syntax of the Latin: Simpson 1879 offers 'a little naught' for 10.3 *scortillum* ('a little whore'), catching the diminutive, while both Macnaghten and Ramsay 1899 and Kinchin Smith and Melliush 1942 gloss 11.20 *ilia rumpens* ('breaking the groins') as 'breaking the hearts' (their readers may know *rumpere*).⁷⁹ A different kind of translation within commentary, meanwhile, is used by Kelly 1854 to supplement translations that are euphemistic or missing: as well as referring the reader to the verse paraphrases at the back of the book, Kelly's notes frequently contain alternative translations into other modern languages, whether literary French or Italian slang.⁸⁰ Here, again, commentary begins to unravel the expurgatory work of the translation: even the reader who does not understand the other languages will learn that something in the original has been toned down or omitted in the English.

The foreign language which most commonly appears in these commentaries is Latin. A commentator may simply start writing in Latin to discuss obscenities: predictably, this technique is most common in Ellis 1876, written for classical scholars. Ellis even includes the occasional gloss in euphemistic Greek.⁸¹ Other commentators who assume some knowledge of Latin in their readers, however, use it to quote explanations of obscenities from earlier, entirely Latin commentaries.⁸² Nott, who usually translates such comments, sometimes leaves them in Latin when obscenity is involved (for instance on poem 97), while Stuttaford 1909 makes extensive use of Renaissance commentators, especially Guarinus, quoting them in the original to explain the majority of obscenities, but in Latin. Finally, Catullus' Latin may itself appear in the notes to translations which do not otherwise print the Latin text (especially Kelly 1854, Cranstoun 1867). Like Kelly's French and Italian, this gives the reader another chance to understand the obscene meaning. Cranstoun's translation of poem 39, for example, refers only to 'a queer lotion' and 'the odious brine' where Catullus has *quod quisque minxit*, 'what each one has pissed'; but his note states that Celtiberians like Egnatius 'had recourse to a most singular cosmetic', then quotes Catullus' lines 17-19. The appearance of Latin, then, within 'comment in English', is expurgatory only if the reader cannot understand or at least guess at its meaning.

A commentator's strategies of expurgation

We have now looked at expurgation in the text and in the translation, and at some of the typical features of commentary on an expurgated passage of Latin or English. There remains the case where an obscene text has been printed without omission or euphemism. Can the strategies used by the commentary on such a text be understood as forms of 'expurgation'?

The answer to this question will depend in part on whether the idea of an

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'expurgated commentary' is a valid one. It seems to presuppose some sort of hypothetical 'complete' commentary, from which an 'expurgated' version will have made omissions. But it is surely impossible for even the longest commentary to be 'complete' in the sense of 'exhaustive', while it could be argued that any commentary is best understood as an *addition* to the text. However, experience suggests that, in practice, a reader does have some idea of when a commentary is 'expurgated'. This is partly determined by the conventions of the genre, which arguably include a requirement that the commentary should start at the beginning of the text and proceed in parallel with it to the end, while having at least something to say on most of what happens in the middle. But it will also depend on the expectations created by any individual commentary as the reader works through it. Among other things, the reader of a commentary on Catullus will quickly form an opinion on whether to expect notes on every poem, and whether to expect that each poem will have a note about its 'overall point' as well as a series of the 'morselising' notes on details requiring explanation which, as we have established, are the stuff of commentary.⁸³

The overall impression that a commentary creates of its typical density and consistency will affect whether we should understand as 'expurgation' the most basic way in which a commentary can react to obscenity: by not commenting on it. A skimpy commentary with no comment on many of the poems will not seem as obviously expurgated as Cranstoun 1867, which has extensive notes on all Catullus' 'long poems' (61-8) except for the obscene 67. Cranstoun also deals with many obscene poems by omitting his usual introductory comment on the poem's general situation and proceeding straight to a disconnected series of parallel passages.⁸⁴ A commentary may also explicitly say that there is nothing to say about a certain poem or detail. Prosopographical cases are common: many commentaries begin their notes on such problematic poems as 6, 33 or 97 by stating that the Flavius, Vibennius or Aemilius referred to is 'unknown'. This implies that what really matters about such a poem is the identification of the addressee, and that since he cannot be identified, the commentator has fulfilled his duty by saying so. In a rather similar way, commentators often distract their readers with a series of 'morselising' notes on the other elements of a poem which contains obscenities, while avoiding comment on the obscenity itself. Nott is very interested in the identification of the 'Syrian' perfume at 6.8, and on 10.12 explains a praetor's legal function while ignoring the adjacent word *irrumator*.⁸⁵ While encouraging the reader to focus on the inoffensive aspects of the poem, this technique also fills up space, preventing the commentary from looking obviously thin. The introductory note to the whole poem may also be misleading. Here is Ellis 1876 on poem 15: 'Catullus recommends the young Juventius to the protection of his friend Aurelius, warning him not to betray the confidence thus placed in him by any undue familiarity.' This does not clearly imply a sexual relationship between Catullus and Juventius, obvious in the poem, but neither does it rule it out. However, Ellis goes on to say that '[i]t was customary to recommend youths or children of tender years to the protection of friends or relations', with examples from Cicero; while this fact is clearly relevant as background to the rather different situation in the poem, Ellis' presentation of it could make it look like a straightforward parallel.

These techniques could be called strategies of avoidance: there are also strategies of confrontation, used when the commentator admits the presence of obscenity

in the text. The commentator may, of course, explain the literal meaning: but as frank explanations in English would involve English obscenity, at least of content if not vocabulary, they are as scarce in this period as frank English translations.⁸⁶ As we have seen, commentators may use Latin instead, especially the Latin of their predecessors.⁸⁷ They may also note the presence of an obscene meaning without actually stating it: Stuttaford 1909 comments on 74.2 *delicias* (here simply 'sex') that '[t]he word is used in its lowest sense.' But far more commonly, commentators explain the obscene by means of one of their most characteristic activities:⁸⁸ offering parallels from other ancient texts. On one level, this is just another way of explaining in Latin (or Greek) instead of English. A commentator may even avoid using any language at all beyond abbreviations, as in Merrill 1893 on 15.18-19: 'On this punishment for adultery cf. C. I. L. IV. 1261; Arist. *Nub.* 1083; Hor. *Sat.* I. 2. 133; Juv. 10. 317.'⁸⁹ But citing parallels may also help to defuse a potentially problematic detail by associating it with more respectable authors: on poem 63, commentators are even able to give Biblical references for self-mutilation.⁹⁰ However, when the parallels provided are from authors just as notoriously obscene as Catullus, the commentator may achieve (deliberately or accidentally) the opposite effect. When Catullus' erection in poem 32 is compared to Martial 11.16.5 *o quotiens rigida pulsabis pallia uena*,⁹¹ as in Nott, Kelly and Cranstoun, the (Latinate) reader is provided with additional obscenity besides what Catullus' text already contains – especially in these editors' expurgated translations.

Explanation by parallels, then, while it admits the presence of the obscene, is an expurgatory strategy insofar as it suggests that Catullus is somehow less personally responsible for what also appears in other ancient writers.⁹² Moreover, parallels often excuse the commentator from having to make further comment. But in some cases of obscenity commentators seem to have thought that confrontational comment was unavoidable. One possible strategy here is condemnation of the text as morally and aesthetically 'bad'. We have seen cases where such a judgement is used to justify a poem's exclusion from the text,⁹³ but its application to a poem that *has* been included or translated⁹⁴ produces a strange effect: where, in the standard paradigm, a commentary ought to 'valorise' its text and help the reader towards a deeper involvement with it, here it belittles it and pushes the reader away.⁹⁵ We may hear that a poem is a 'stupid epigram' or 'unredeemed by any flavour of wit' (Stuttaford 1909 on 115, Hart-Davies 1879 on 23); or simply that it is 'dull' or not 'interesting' (Copley 1957 on 56, Ellis 1876 on 6). Comments which do their best to discourage us from even reading the poem ought, I think, to be understood as attempting some kind of expurgation. Again, however, backfiring is possible, as when Merrill's combination of condemnation with avoidance produced his most memorable note:⁹⁶ 'Contents, execrable. Date, indeterminable. Metre, Phalacean.'

Alternatively, a commentator may defend an obscene poem. The reader is sometimes told that a poem would be good if we could ignore its obscenity (Nott on 48 and 99), or that the obscenity is an 'experiment' (Copley on 67) or results from the force of Catullus' democratic spirit (Cranstoun on 28). The most common approach, however, seen above all in notes on poem 16,⁹⁷ is to claim that Catullus 'does not mean' his obscene threats, that the words are not used 'literally'. So the notes on 16.1 in Nott, Kelly, Ellis, Merrill, Burton and Smithers, Levett and Stuttaford 1909; with

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the exception of Stuttaford, who explains *irrumare* (in Latin) on 10.12, none of these commentators has made it clear (in commentary or translation) what the 'literal' meaning actually is. Expurgation in such cases involves not excising the words, but cleansing them of their meaning.⁹⁸

A final example brings us back to the question whether a commentary is best modelled as simply shadowing the text, or as adding to it. At some points the literal meaning of Catullus' text is innocent enough, but some readers have seen an additional, obscene metaphorical meaning: the most famous case is Lesbia's sparrow (poems 2 and 3) and the possibility, discussed since the Renaissance and still controversial,⁹⁹ that it might somehow 'stand for' Catullus' penis. Most of the commentaries I have been considering do not mention this interpretation: whether we decide that this omission counts as expurgation must, it seems to me, depend on our own judgement as to whether the obscene meaning is present in the text – or indeed whether the meaning of a text is partially or wholly constructed by its interpreters. Meanwhile, Nott, Lamb and Ellis do raise the possibility, but they mention it euphemistically ('a *double entendre*', 'a libidinous vein of pleasantry') and Nott and Lamb argue that it is unlikely. This closing down of a possible meaning might be expurgatory if the reader of one of these commentaries already had it in mind. But if the reader did not, then the commentary has added to the obscenity of the text rather than reducing it.

Conclusion

Expurgation is pervasive in English editions of Catullus before Fordyce. In many different but interrelated forms, it operates in the text, in the translation and especially in the commentary. Frequently it looks to the edition's audience: school pupils must not be exposed to anything 'unsuitable', and cultivated appreciators of poetry ought not to be confronted with anything unnecessarily disgusting, at least without an apologetic explanation. But expurgation is also, very often, concerned with respect for the author. This may seem surprising: certainly we also find a series of editors, beginning with Nott, arguing that in order to represent Catullus 'fairly' (Nott 1795, xi), without 'mutilating' or even 'castrating' him (Cranstoun 1867, v, Smithers in Burton and Smithers 1894, xv), the editor ought to expurgate as little as possible.¹⁰⁰ However, many editors who do expurgate are just as concerned for Catullus' reputation. In the frequently biographical introductions to their editions, these editors, whether they are addressing students or general readers, praise both the exceptional genius of Catullus 'the poet' and the appealing character of Catullus 'the man',¹⁰¹ who was capable of a sincerity in love and friendship that saved him from being a 'mere voluptuary' (Martin 1861, xvii), and who lived in times with different 'manners', so that he should not be judged as readers would judge a contemporary who said such things in English. Concerned that the image given in their introductions should not be spoilt by anything the reader might encounter in the text, these editors defend it by ensuring – whether by omission, euphemism or defensive comment – that the reader is spared anything 'unworthy' of Catullus.

Fordyce's statement that some poems 'do not lend themselves to comment in English' can be read as a historical as much as an absolute judgement, since many of the poems he omits *had* not often lent themselves to such comment. His decision to

follow those of his predecessors who had expurgated from both text and commentary was the result of many factors in his own career.¹⁰² But it should also be seen in the light of the particular tradition that I have just outlined, that of expurgation employed to guide readers to what the editor believes is a true estimation of Catullus' worth. Fordyce's introduction may not offer a Victorian defence of the poet's 'moral character', but his editorial practice is in accordance with the attitude he had displayed in a review of McDaniel's college edition almost thirty years earlier:

Mr. McDaniel includes all the poems ... One may doubt the wisdom of this decision ... without expressing any opinion on the question of 'bowdlerising' on 'moral' grounds, one may urge that most of the trivial pieces which are generally omitted are unworthy of Catullus. The usual selections do in fact include all on which his claim to be a great poet rests: so far as the other pieces are concerned, he is not a poet at all.¹⁰³

Notes

1. Catullus' poems are traditionally numbered from 1 to 116, but without any poems 18, 19 or 20, while several poems may be either fragmentary or composite: cf. below, p. 148 and nn. 46-7.

2. Thomson 1997, 59 n. 79.

3. Henderson 2006, 70-110: cf. also above, pp. 155-6.

4. The phrase is used by Fordyce himself in a letter to Oxford University Press (Henderson 2006, 81), although, of the techniques discussed in this chapter, his edition is most notable for its expurgation of the text.

5. What follows draws generally on some of the central themes of Most 1999 and Gibson and Kraus 2002. Commentary is also part of the paratext (the term used by O'Sullivan: 2009a and 2009b): cf. Genette 1997, 319-43 on 'notes'.

6. 'Valorising': Ma 1994, 76.

7. For Catullus as a 'surreptitious classic' on the edge of the canon, see Roberts 2008.

8. See below on 'A commentator's strategies of expurgation'.

9. Cf. O'Sullivan 2009a, 76.

10. Both a means of inflicting pain (the mullet was probably barbed, and the 'radish' a larger root vegetable) and a substitute for anal rape, reasserting sexual superiority over the adulterer. The practice is attested in various Greek and Latin texts: cf. Merrill's note, quoted on p. 154.

11. 'Atomistic': Ma 1994, 75. 'Morselisation': Goldhill 1999, 411-18. Goldhill's article discusses the history of this dynamic in nineteenth- and twentieth-century commentary.

12. Quinn was obviously reacting to Fordyce: Henderson 2006, 74-6. Quinn's own commentary on Catullus: Quinn 1970.

13. A translation of Lachapelle 1680, it is a historical romance about Catullus' life, including translations of 46 poems. See Gaisser 2001, 62-8, Gaisser 2009, 201-3. The format of selected poems in 'chronological' order linked by prose narrative reappears in the nineteenth century with *The Lesbia of Catullus* (Tremenheere 1897) and *The Story of Catullus* (Macnaghten 1899), while historical novels with Catullus as their subject are fairly common throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. See Wiseman 1985, 221-4, 233-41, Ziolkowski 2007, 425-9 and add *Counting the Stars* (Dunmore 2008).

14. 'Author's Preface' (unpaginated).

15. Cf. p. 155.

16. See esp. Vandiver 2007b, 532 on poem 16.

17. Lateiner 1977; Selden 1992; Fitzgerald 1995, 59-86.

18. Gaisser 1993: 78-108, 146-92.

19. See esp. Gaisser 1993, 170-2 on Statius in Counter-Reformation Rome.

20. The original Delphin Catullus was Silvius 1685. For background to Valpy see McKitterick 2007.

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21. Besides *The Adventures of Catullus*, there had been earlier translations of individual poems: n. 62.
22. As Nott remarks in his preface (x).
23. The following sketch is selective: for further examples see the standard bibliographies, Harrauer 1979 and Holoka 1985.
24. Cf. Levens 1954, 358.
25. See p. 149.
26. Anon. 1825, Anon. 1839.
27. Macnaghten, Ramsay and Cornish (cf. esp. nn. 51, 67) were also Eton masters. All appear in Dewey 1995a and 1995b as members of the minority aesthetic liberal tradition at Eton and specifically as followers of William Johnson Cory: Cookesley was perhaps a forerunner.
28. Hubbard 1836, intended for 'schools and colleges', prints an expurgated selection, as does Bristed 1849, an adaptation of Cookesley 1845 for 'American students'. Harrington 1914 is a 'college textbook' of elegiac poetry which includes selections from Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid.
29. Especially Simpson, still being reprinted in 1959, and Merrill, reprinted with a new foreword in 1951.
30. Cf. Gaisser 2001, xxxviii 'Every American who read Catullus in college in the 1950s and '60s remembers Merrill's famous note on *Carmen* 32'. For the note see p. 154.
31. Beginning with Anon. 1702, a large, elegantly printed edition with *variae lectiones* (textual notes).
32. Postgate and Ellis reprint their earlier critical texts in fine compendium editions. Owen's illustrated edition contains his own text and some textual notes.
33. Stuttaford 1909, v: 'It is for that class whose Latin has become "rusty," in consequence of the exigencies of a professional or business occupation.'
34. Mentioned below: Fleay 1864 (selected), Cornish 1904 (with textual notes), Cornish 1912 (the Loeb, also addressed to scholars), Wright 1926, Lindsay 1929, Swanson 1959 (also for college students).
35. Ignoring 18-20 (see nn. 1, 47) and the very short fragments derived from the secondary tradition.
36. Venuti 1995, 81-98.
37. Wright 1926, Hiley 1929, both Lindsay's editions, Copley 1957.
38. 'Piss' in poem 67, 'cunt' in 97, 'ass' for *culus*; 'fuck', however, only at 29.13 'bifuckated'.
39. Venuti 1995, 91-2.
40. Roberts 2008, 300, Gaisser 2009, 210-11.
41. Kelly (the Bohn series): O'Sullivan 2009b. Cranstoun: Wiseman 1985, 216-17.
42. The only exception is Ellis 1876, which accompanies his critical edition (Ellis 1867).
43. Henderson 2006, 80-8.
44. See p. 149.
45. One would have to work quite carefully through the contents page of Martin 1861, the only place in the edition where poem numbers are given, to work out what had been omitted before rearrangement.
46. Cf. n. 1. and see Butrica 2007.
47. Muretus attributed these poems to Catullus and inserted them into his text (1554). They were removed by Lachmann 1829, but the numbering had become canonical. Gaisser 1993, 165-7.
48. Hubbard 1836, Cookesley 1845, Macnaghten and Ramsay 1899, Kinchin Smith and Melliush 1942; also Fleay 1864, Macnaghten 1925.
49. Very few editors renumber the lines as Cookesley 1845 does.
50. As in Wratislaw and Sutton 1869.
51. Macnaghten's life and career, and his various versions of Catullus: Wiseman 1985, 219-21, O'Sullivan 2009a, 81-4. Cf. the reminiscence quoted in Dewey 1995b, 20-1.
52. The poem is also missing lines 3 and 5 in both Macnaghten and Ramsay and Macnaghten 1925; this goes unacknowledged.
53. Macnaghten had a history with this appealing but homosexual kiss-poem. He had

translated it, without vocative, in *The Story of Catullus* (1899) alongside the Lesbia kiss-poems 5 and 7, calling it 'an earlier poem, not addressed to Lesbia'. It appears in Macnaghten and Ramsay 1899, with the original vocative *Iuuenti* but with minimal comment ('Probably an early poem. Cf. vii. on the same subject'), but was replaced in the 1908 second edition by poem 29.

54. O'Sullivan 2009a, 83.

55. Particularly true of Cookesley 1845, Simpson 1879, Macnaghten and Ramsay 1899. The tendency throws light on Fordyce's anxiety that his *Catullus* should not be assimilated to such editions by being called a 'selection' (Henderson 2006, 82).

56. Simpson 1879, v.

57. Cranstoun 1867, vi.

58. Or, according to Fleay 1864, iii, not poetry at all: 'These versions comprise only the poetry of Catullus.'

59. For the wide influence of the reconstruction of Catullus' biography in Schwabe 1862 see Wiseman 1985, 217, Wray 2001, 2-3, Skinner 2007b, 2. Cf. also n. 13.

60. It may depend on whether we believe, as many of these editors did not, that the transmitted order shows any traces of authorial arrangement: see conveniently Skinner 2007c, Butrica 2007, 23-4.

61. See p. 148.

62. McPeck 1939 is the classic study of Catullus' presence in English literature to the early eighteenth century. On translations from all periods see Gaisser 2001, Vandiver 2007b.

63. Roberts 2008, O'Sullivan 2009a; Lefevere 1984 on poem 32, Vandiver 2007a on poem 11.

64. Cf. O'Sullivan 2009a and 2009b on translation and paratext.

65. So notably Nott 1795, Cranstoun 1867, Burton and Smithers 1894, Wright 1926, Hiley 1929.

66. E.g. Martin 1861, xxx: 'The present translator has therefore omitted all those poems which could not be reproduced with only the slightest modifications.'

67. In Cornish 1904 the Latin text had been expurgated to match. On the 1912 Loeb and its expurgatory practice see Lawton (this volume).

68. Smithers in Burton and Smithers 1894, xvii, Brodie 1967, 320-1.

69. For another typology of euphemisms see Roberts 2008, 295-9.

70. E.g. poem 37 in Cranstoun 1867 and Copley 1957.

71. E.g. Lamb 1821, Levett 1905.

72. See p. 150.

73. Cf. p. 149.

74. Cf. pp. 152, 154-5 and n. 86.

75. 1909 glosses such as 'battered strumpet' (41.1) do not become part of the 1912 translation.

76. See p. 145.

77. Lamb 1821 on poems 32, 61.

78. Cf. p. 152 and n. 80, on notes containing alternative translations.

79. The word *ilia* is not particularly obscene, but does have a precise physical reference to part of the lower abdomen (Adams 1982: 50-1).

80. See in detail O'Sullivan 2009a, 86-91, 2009b, 118-25.

81. E.g. on 28.10.

82. Cf. pp. 145-6.

83. See pp. 144-5.

84. Cf. p. 154.

85. Cf. pp. 150-1

86. Some rare exceptions in Burton and Smithers 1894 and Stuttaford 1909. Both manage to use the word 'masturbation' to explain 58.5 *glubit*. Burton and Smithers' was a limited edition; cf. p. 151, on reactions to Stuttaford.

87. See p. 152.

88. See esp. Gibson 2002.

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89. Cf. p. 144.
90. Wratishaw and Sutton 1869 on 63.5; Macnaghten and Ramsay 1899 on 63 init.; Macnaghten 1925 on 63.5.
91. 'Oh how often you will strike your clothes with stiff member' – but none of these commentaries translates.
92. This is sometimes explicit: on poem 39, Kelly 1854 and Cranstoun 1867 cite Diodorus Siculus to show that the use of urine as toothpaste by Celtiberians 'is not a malicious invention of the angry poets' (Kelly).
93. See p. 149.
94. Cf. p. 151.
95. See p. 144.
96. On poem 32: cf. n. 30.
97. See p. 150.
98. On the sense in which the literal meaning of these words does matter, see Vandiver 2007b (n. 16).
99. Hooper 1985, Thomas 1993, Gaisser 1993, index s.v. *passer*.
100. Cf. also Wright 1926, vii, Hiley 1929, xv-xvi.
101. Cf. Gaisser 2002 on 'picturing Catullus'.
102. Cf. n. 3.
103. Fordyce 1933, 175. Cf. n. 58.

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‘From out the schoolboy’s vision’: expurgation and the young reader

James Morwood

In a famous passage from his *Don Juan*, Byron describes his youthful hero’s education (Canto 1, stanza 40):

The languages, especially the dead,
The sciences, and most of all the abstruse,
The arts, at least all such as could be said
To be the most remote from common use,
In all these he was much and deeply read:
But not a page of anything that’s loose,
Or hints continuation of the species,
Was ever suffer’d, lest he should grow vicious.

Steering the youth away from all references to sex could have presented problems when it came to his studies in classical literature. Accordingly (Canto 1, stanzas 44-5):

Juan was taught from out the best edition,
Expurgated by learned men, who place
Judiciously, from out the schoolboy’s vision,
The grosser parts; but, fearful to deface
Too much their modest bard by this omission,
And pitying sore his mutilated case,
They only add them all in an appendix,
Which saves, in fact, the trouble of an index;

For there we have them all ‘at one fell swoop,’
Instead of being scatter’d through the pages;
They stand forth marshal’d in a handsome troop,
To meet the ingenuous youth of future ages,
Till some less rigid editor shall stoop
To call them back into their separate cages,
Instead of standing staring all together,
Like garden gods – and not so decent either.

It seems likely that Byron is referring to the Delphin Classics, the famous edition of the Latin classics prepared *in usum serenissimi Delphini* (for the use of the most serene

Dauphin, i.e. the heir to the crown of France). (The Latin for Dauphin is *delphinus*. Shakespeare calls him 'the Dolphin'.) This was initially supervised by Pierre-Daniel Huet¹ from 1670 to 1680 when he was working with Jacques Bossuet, tutor to the Dauphin Louis, the son of Louis XIV, who was to predecease his father in 1711. The series does exactly what Byron describes. It makes copious expurgations in the main body of the text but places the passages excised in an annotated section at the end of the book. Presumably the idea was that the teacher could literally cut the offending nuggets out before handing the book to the student. The Delphin Classics edition had a far wider readership than the heir to the French throne. Since its notes are all in Latin, it could be widely used in schools throughout Europe. Indeed, Byron may have used the series as a boy at Harrow School, which he attended between 1801 and 1805,² though the set of Delphin Classics at present in the school Classics library dates from later.³ If he did, he will have shared the experience with countless others. The Delphin Classics are thus a convenient launching pad for a discussion of expurgation in school texts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Byron comments in *Don Juan*, stanza 42 that 'Catullus scarcely has a decent poem', and it is with the first Delphin edition of that poet by Philippe Dubois (P. Silvius) (Paris, 1685) that we shall begin. Interestingly enough, in its main body it contains vastly more of Catullus than does C.J. Fordyce's notorious Oxford edition of 1961;⁴ Dubois relegates not a single complete poem to his *Versus Obscoeni Resecti* (cut obscene verses) section⁵ while Fordyce simply cuts 32 of them. Since the latter's edition is intended 'for general school and university use', it may look as if the youth of 1961 should be viewed as considerably less chalcenous than their predecessors of 1685. However, the Delphin edition saves itself the need to excise any complete poems by making cuts in the body of the text. These range from one word (e.g. *irrumator*, 10.12) to six lines (97.7-12). With Fordyce it's all or nothing. Displaying commendable honesty, Dubois marks these omissions with asterisks in his main text. Thus the students are directed to a rich seam of obscenity and, if they can get hold of an unrazored copy, they are, as Byron aptly remarks, saved the trouble of an index.

The occasional disappointment will lie in store for the prurient youth. Yes, he will light upon passages featuring fucking, buggery and *fellatio* aplenty, the last involving the staining of the lips white with semen (80);⁶ but what is he to think when he discovers that the omission in 13.4 is *candida puella*: is it really so shocking that a pretty girl should be present at a dinner party? However, generally speaking the cut passages do retain the power to startle, even to appal – which was presumably Catullus' aim in penning them. Indeed, the electric charge they carry is the very reason why (as we now see) they are a vital part of the poems from which they have been excised.

Fordyce notoriously declared that in his edition 'a few poems which do not lend themselves to comment in English have been omitted'. And while it has to be said that Dubois has found plenty to say about the lines in his *Versus Obscoeni*, he has used Latin for the purpose. Still, his Latin is anything but impenetrable: we certainly do not encounter 'the decent obscurity' which Gibbon identified in a learned language.⁷ On *irrumator* in 10.12 he notes: 'est ... *irrumare* virilia ad libidinem in os praebere, qui vero recipit, fellare dicitur; unde & fellator & *irrumator*, fellatrix & *irrumatrix*'⁸ (*irrumare* is to present the male member to the mouth for sexual purposes; the one

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who receives it is said to fellate; whence the words *fellator* and *irrumator* and *fellatrix* and *irrumatrix* (the last two are the feminine forms of the first two)). At 17.18, Dubois explains *nec se sublevat ex sua parte* (and he doesn't raise himself for his part) with 'Ipse permittit illam moveri, nec se movet vicissim supra illam crissantem' (He himself allows her to move, and he doesn't move himself in turn above her as she moves).⁹

As for 28.9-10 (*O Memmi bene me, ac diu supinum / Tota ista trabe lentus irrumasti*), he paraphrases the lines, with a possibly over-imaginative gloss on *lentus*: 'O Memmi, tu *lentus* in seminis emissione bene ac diu me *supinum* irrumasti tota ista trabe, pene tuo, ac membro magno & instar trabis' (O Memmius, as I lay on my back, you gave it to me in the mouth¹⁰ well and truly and for a long time, being slow in your ejaculation of semen, with the whole of that beam of yours, your penis, and your big and beam-like member). Just in case his readers haven't got the message, he adds helpfully, 'Per circumlocutionem enim de membro illius loquitur' (For by circumlocution he is talking about his member). We meet with similar perhaps otiose spelling out at *Novem continuas fututiones* (nine continuous fuckings) (32.8) which Dubois glosses, 'Novem sine ulla intermissione coitus' (nine coitions without any break). On the final line of the poem (*Pertundo tunicam palliumque* – I bore a hole through my tunic and cloak) he comments, 'Tanta est tentigo,¹¹ ut non modo interiorem, sed etiam exteriorem percutiam vestem' (So big is my erection that I bang not only my underwear but my outside garment too).¹² And does he tell us rather more than we need to know when he informs us at 56.6 that *trusantem* is 'Frequentativum a *trudo*, id est, per vim impellentem videlicet virile intra genitalia puellae' (frequentative form of *trudo*, i.e. driving the male member forcefully inside the genitals of a girl)? (He could in fact be mistaken: *trusantem* may mean 'wanking' (cf. Martial 11.46.3, Adams 1982, 145-6, 146 n.1).) The literal-mindedness on display here can seem at times decidedly limiting, undermining the shock effect with an excess of factual detail – as too at 94.1, where Dubois comments, 'Hoc est, per se sperma effundit, & iisdem verbis id ita esse affirmat' (That is to say, it pours out sperm of its own accord, and in the same words it affirms that that is the case).

But enough! I have, I hope, quoted sufficiently to show that the prurient schoolboy would find it eminently worthwhile to track down the pages supposedly banished from out his vision. Dubois has aimed to do as much justice to his *Versus Obscoeni Resecti* as to the rest of the poet's oeuvre. Yet I must make it clear that he establishes in a delightful (until it becomes embarrassingly courtly) hendecasyllable Latin preface how much he and, as he claims, the Dauphin appreciate the love interest, poetic skill, urbane wit, elegance, humour and pungency to be found in Catullus, 'the good Catullus, the father of humour and wit'. Here, at the end of the seventeenth century, we find a moral severity (in excising the passages deemed unsuitable for the young from the main body of the text) operating hand in hand with a lively appreciation of poetic excellence, and by and large it is only over the last fifty years that editors have very evidently come to value the latter aptitude. Indeed, in English language scholarship, we had to wait until the very end of the twentieth century to encounter an edition of Catullus that is wonderfully responsive to the poetry and at the same time not only refuses to expurgate but deals with the poet's obscenity with a complete lack of embarrassment. This is John Godwin's Aris and Phillips edition of

1999.¹³ I think that it is an important book. The obscenities have been liberated from the gulag and restored to their contexts. Godwin translates 32.8 as 'nine continuous fuckifications' and his note on 94.2 includes the following: 'Adams (29) discusses the possibility of the phrase being a sexual *double entendre* (first suggested by Buchheit *Hermes* 90 (1962) 254f.) with *olla* implying the *cunnus* and *olera* the penis but decides that the evidence is not sufficient to justify this reading.' Scholarly, frank and here even joining Adams in dismissing the sexual reading, Godwin's commentary is sufficiently adult to deal assuredly and illuminatingly with the poet's at times juvenile graffito-style outpourings.

For a prose Delphin Classic edition, I have gone for the *Metamorphoses* in the Apuleius volume edited by Julianus Floridus and published in Paris in 1688. The printer has prefaced the 'Obscoena' section with the words shown in facsimile on p. 167 opposite, with my translation below.

Here we have a clear manifesto: the young must be protected from such obscenity. The passages banished to the appendix are those one might expect, often overlapping with the passages printed in Latin but not translated in the 1915 Adlington/Gaselee Loeb of the *Metamorphoses* (by contrast J.A. Hanson's 1989 Loeb grapples with everything). Floridus does not on the whole share Dubois' passion for detailed explanation. One exception to this is his note on the well-endowed young rustic who is abused by the Syrian priests in 8.29. Here he comments on the description of the young man as *imi ventris bene praeparatum* (well furnished in the groin): '*Pulchre pensilia peculiatum*' (handsomely endowed with genitals). Lampridius in Heliogabulum *bene vasatum dixit* (with reference to Heliogabalus, Lampridius said 'with a very large sexual organ'). Petronius, *Habebat inguinum pondus tam grande, ut ipsum hominem laciniam fascini crederes ...* (His sexual organs were so heavy that you would believe that the man himself was an appendage to his penis). For those interested in Latin expressions for 'well-hung', this is indeed a useful collation! Oddly enough, they are not to be found in the massive 1985 Groningen edition of Book 8 by Hijmans Jr, van der Paardt, Schmidt, Settels, Wesseling & Westerdorp Boerma. Nor is Floridus' quotation from Beroaldus on the priests' illicit lust (*inlicitae libidinis*): 'Posticae,¹⁵ praeposticae, infanda, qua vir virum init (of the unspeakable kind where a man enters another from behind).' Generally Floridus handles his *Obscoena* with some discretion – or perhaps the text does not call for commentary in the same way that Catullus does. However, the first note of all, on *Steterunt & membra quae jacebant ante* (and the member which was previously flaccid stood up) (2.7 Beroaldus again), is surely *de trop*: 'Honestis verbis genitalia sibi arrecta fuisse designat' ('In respectable language [*sic*] he points out that his genitals had been aroused'); however, his quotation from Pricaeus on the *glabellum foeminal* which Fotis covers with her rosy palm is helpful (2.17): 'intellige muliebre pudendum, quod Fotis meretricio more depilaverat (understand the female genitals which Fotis had depilated after the custom of a prostitute)'; in the Groningen edition of Book 2 dating from 2001, D. van Mal-Maeder rises splendidly to the occasion here with a riveting note.¹⁶ Floridus even quotes the almost certainly un-Apuleian *spurcum additamentum* (filthy addition)¹⁷ to the scene of the *matrona*'s lovemaking with Lucius as ass at 10.21. He gives it, in Latin of course, in a footnote to his *Obscoena*. Zimmerman's translation goes:

O B S C O E N A
EX APULBIANO TEXTU RESECTA
ET AD CALCEM REJECTA.
TYPOGRAPHUS LECTORI.

PLURIMA erant in lepidissima *Asini Metamorphose* adeo obscenè, adeo nudis & dominantibus nominibus scripta, ut legere ea sine verecundia nemo, nisi inverecundus, aut adversus pruritus omnes libidinis etate ac sapientia munitus posset. Indignissima ergo quæ Augustissimo Principi, & sub ejus auspiciis, teneræ ac pudicæ juventuti traderentur in manus. Merito itaque à reliquo corpore avulsa. No tamen à maturiore Lectore aliquid in hac editione desiderari posset, huc ad operis calcem rejecta sunt: quemadmodum & quæ in *Apologia* parùm castè scripta occurrerunt. Quibus omnibus, & paginae lineæque, à quâ singula avulsa sunt, numerum præfixi, ut ad sua quæque loca facilioris intelligentiæ causâ referri possent: & notulis ex Beroaldo, Priceo, Elmenhorstio, aliisque, petitis, si quæ obscuriora visa sunt, illustranda curavi.

OBSCENITIES
CUT FROM THE TEXT OF APULEIUS
AND RELEGATED TO THE END.
THE PRINTER TO THE READER.

There were very many things in the most delightful *Metamorphosis* of the Ass (that were) written so obscenely and with such plain and unvarnished words¹⁴ that nobody could read them without feeling ashamed unless he was shameless or fortified against all the itchings of lust by his age and wisdom. Therefore they were very unworthy to be handed over to a most august Prince, and, under his auspices, to tender and chaste young people. And so they have deservedly been torn out from the rest of the body (of Apuleius' work). However, so that nothing could be found wanting in this edition by the more mature reader, they have been relegated here to the end of the work: likewise also those bits which, written with insufficient modesty, cropped up in the *Apology*. I have prefaced all of these with the number of both the page and the line from which each has been removed, so that each of them can be referred to their context for the sake of easier understanding. And I have seen that, if any of them appeared rather obscure, they should be illuminated by notes which I have gathered from Beroaldus, Priceaus, Elmenhorstius and others.

And, by Hercules, she cleansed my round scrotum, my balls, with perfumed wine and rosewater of Chios. And then with her fingers, thumb, forefinger, middle finger, ring finger and little finger, she withdrew the foreskin, and cleared the shaft of my penis of the plentiful whitish dirt. And when the beautiful woman arrived very soon at the top of my penis from my testicles, braying and lifting my teeth toward the sky, I got, through the regular friction, an erection of the penis, and while it moved up and down I often touched her belly with it. She as well, when she saw what came out of my penis among her perfumes, declared that that small delay, during which she had ordered our love-nest to be prepared, had been for her the orbit of a year.

In indignant Latin Floridus remarks, 'Even we are prevented by modesty and piety from staining our hands with such filth or from misdirecting our labour most vilely in expurgating these things.' As a result the persistent and adventurous schoolboy might be able to access pornographic writing that is not even by Apuleius! I have quoted this passage partly to confirm Byron's view of the nature of the material relegated to the end and to demonstrate the scholarly zeal of the editor's completism as well as his (assumed?) horror at reproducing such straightforward pornography.

Another reason for quoting the *spurcum additamentum* is to suggest how comparatively innocent and comic Apuleius' own bawdy is. The love affair with Fotis is entertainingly celebratory and ebullient; the coupling of woman and ass is handled with a lively humour that keeps it well clear of real-life bestiality; even the scene where the priests abuse the strapping young man is rendered funny by the extreme indignation of the ass witnessing it. The novel loses a key ingredient if the licentious parts are omitted. To put the more louche passages in an appendix dubbed *Obscoena* drains them of their humorous and (at times) festive life. We need more editors, both for sixth-formers and for adults, who are attuned to the wave-length of their classical author in the manner of van Mal-Maeder and Zimmerman.

We now fast-forward to 1968 and to the work that changed everything for classical texts. This was Kenneth Dover's edition of Aristophanes, *Clouds* (Oxford). In his Preface (viii-ix) Dover offered a manifesto for his explicitness in matters sexual:

Many jokes in Aristophanes depend on a fairly detailed knowledge of the physiology and psychology of sex. I have explained these jokes much more plainly than has been the custom hitherto. One reason for this is that, whatever may have been the case in the last century, it is obvious nowadays that most of those old enough to study Aristophanes already have a sound factual knowledge of the main line and branch lines of sexual behaviour. A more important reason is my own inability to understand (except in the sense in which one understands a purely historical or anthropological problem) how it could ever have been believed that it was morally objectionable to foster adolescents' appreciation of the more light-hearted aspects of sex but at the same time unobjectionable to acquaint them with the grossest political dishonesties of the orators.¹⁸

To this surely unexceptionable statement one might add that 'nowadays' older school children are not unlikely to be sexually active, in many cases decidedly more so than their teachers.

The reception of the sexual element in Dover's edition was on the whole decidedly depressing. He had sown the wind and reaped the whirlwind. The lurid interest of schoolboys – in view of the censorship that confronted them elsewhere in their

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classical studies – was predictable.¹⁹ James Davidson, looking back to 1980 when he was reading *Clouds* in this edition at school, remarked, 'At the age of sixteen, it has to be said, the merits of Dover's comparison of manuscripts did not rate high. We judged textbooks differently. Dover's notes might not include enough translations of the difficult bits, but this was more than made up for by their sexual explicitness.'²⁰ Quoting the editor's support for fostering adolescents' appreciation of the more light-hearted aspects of sex, Davidson adds, 'We thoroughly agreed.' He goes on to talk about the two notes which 'in particular grabbed our spotty attention, and we waited to ambush our teacher with a prolonged scholarly discussion of the matter.' These were the notes at 538 and the notorious 977.²¹ What was less predictable than schoolboy prurience was the reaction of the supposedly adult world. Sir Kenneth Dover found himself dubbed 'Dirty Ken', and this seedy sobriquet clung to him. Disgracefully, *The Daily Telegraph* in its obituary for him (8 March 2010) referred to him as 'slave to an urge to demonstrate his emancipation from bourgeois constraints' and 'the victim of an adolescent desire to shock.'²² The obituary soon settles down and gives us an excellent assessment of a remarkable man,²³ noting that his 'passion for honesty, especially on sexual matters, was to inform Dover's career and cause him considerable trouble. Because his commentary on Aristophanes' *Clouds* (1968) was the first to go into detail about the physiology and psychology of the play's sexual jokes, it was greeted frostily in many quarters, as if it demonstrated that Dover was some kind of pervert.' In the sixties Chaucer, Shakespeare and Marlowe were being studied in schools in unexpurgated editions. It is a sorry reflection that when Dover set out to enable this situation for Greek literature, he should have been so hopelessly misunderstood.²⁴ After all, it was in 1963 – we have it on the authority of the poet Philip Larkin – that sexual intercourse had begun. But *finem lauda*. The essential fact of the matter is that he did succeed in breaking down the barriers of prudery for the classics.²⁵ *Fidelio*-like, he flung open the prison gates. The coy Latinisms of Quinn's *Catullus* (see n. 7) which appeared two years later soon became a thing of the past, and this we owe to Dover.

It seems likely that much of the hostility that Dover met with was due to the embarrassment that classics teachers felt at mediating such material for their students. Yet at the time English teachers found themselves able to grapple with such passages in examination set books as the following:

And sodeynly anon this Damyan
Gan pullen up the smok, and in he throng.

Chaucer, *Merchant's Tale*, 1140-1

the bawdy hand of the dial is now upon the prick of noon.

Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, 2.3.104-5

... the wren goes to't, and the small gilded fly
Does lecher in my sight. Let copulation thrive ...
Behold yon simp'ring dame,
Whose face between her forks presages snow,
That minces virtue, and does shake the head
To hear of pleasure's name.
The fitchew nor the soiled horse goes to't

With a more riotous appetite. Down from the waist
They're centaurs, though women all above.

Shakespeare, *King Lear*, 4.5.111-12, 116-22

Are classics teachers made of less stern stuff than their English colleagues? Certainly not all of them. To a request in 1957 from Oxford University Press to say whether she wanted Fordyce to publish all of Catullus' poems or a selection, Miss Cynthia A.M. Noakes, the Head Mistress of Leeds Girls' High School, replied robustly along these lines: no worries; if girls ever get as far as Catullus, let alone a monster *Catullus*, they're plenty old enough; and girls are sensible.²⁶ Yet, in 1989, when the London University Latin A Level Set Books Sub-Committee published its Catullus prescription for the next few years and had the temerity to include poems 15 (*commendo tibi me ac meos amores*), 16 (*pedicabo ego vos et irrumabo*) and 25 (*cinaede Thalle*), a number of concerned letters arrived and the media got to hear about it. Michael Clive, the London Board's classical subjects officer, was interviewed in London's *Evening Standard* as well as on the radio, Bernard Levin wrote about the matter in *The Times* (20 March 1989), and *The Guardian* (17 March) declared, 'Maintaining the ability to shock across 2000 years is quite an achievement. But the poet Catullus has pulled it off again'²⁷ And even eighteen years later, at a session at the Classical Association's Annual Conference in Birmingham in 2007,²⁸ I felt impelled to exhort classics teachers not to seek refuge in silence but to find ways of putting across such material. Those present appeared sympathetic to what I was saying, with the exception of a school teacher and a Cambridge don who felt that teaching Catullus' pederastic poems at school was likely to lead to trouble with parents. Again, I invoke Shakespeare as a touchstone: the sexually active heroine of *Romeo and Juliet* is a mere thirteen ('She hath not seen the change of fourteen years' – 1.2.9). Has any parent ever complained about the study of this play? To parallel Dover's rhetoric about sex and oratory above, is it more shocking in Catullus 10²⁹ that Memmius should be called an *irrumator* or that he should be called an *irrumator* because he didn't allow the poet to come home richer by fleecing the provincials?

Even if some Classics teachers are still constrained by embarrassment, there is finally at least a good chance that schoolchildren can now be allowed access to the full range of what ancient poetry and prose have to say. Of course, the sniggers will not be altogether silenced. This is in part because the sexual experience is a fertile field for comedy. Yet by seeing what the authors wrote about it in its proper context, students can also celebrate the joyous and life-affirming aspects so exhilaratingly communicated, say, at the start of Lucretius 1.

There is, however, one thing that must be said for the Puritan scholars. At least they were shockable, and a Swiftian *saeva indignatio* is surely a valid response to much in Catullus and Juvenal, for example. It is vital that in our permissive age we do not lose the ability to respond in this way. Yet by relegating the 'obscene' passages to the back of the book or by simply excising them we only evade the problem. By allowing them to stay where the authors put them, we and our students have the opportunity to respond honestly, to be shocked where shock is due, to join in celebration where that is appropriate, and to snigger where sniggers are called for. We are permitted to appreciate the full range of human experience, and that is one of the most important

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things that literature can do for us. As Dryden remarked of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, here is God's plenty.

Notes

1. Huet (1630-1721) was a French churchman and a notable classical and scientific scholar. One of his many publications, his *Treatise on the Origin of Romances* (1670), is the first world history of fiction.

2. Tyerman 2000, 157-66.

3. Harrow School possesses four school books certainly used by the poet there, Aeschylus, *Prometheus* and Euripides, *Hecuba*, *Hippolytus* and *Medea*. The books are marked ('paved') with some translations of individual words and the *Hecuba* is inscribed in Byron's hand: 'Porson's Edition of Hecuba the bequest of Byron to the Monitors Library prior to his leaving Harrow, Tuesday December 4th AD 1804.' Byron in fact returned to Harrow in February 1805. On these books, see Dover 1988, 292-4.

4. See Henderson 2006, ch. 3 ('Fordycing Catullus – And Against'). Fordyce had no objection to printing all the poems but was content not to comment on the 'unpleasant' ones (p. 81). For further discussion of Fordyce's expurgations see Trimble's chapter in this volume.

5. Poem 94 is there only because Dubois treats it as the second half of 93.

6. John Godwin remarks well of this poem, 'Catullus has managed to create a poem of high obscenity without ever using an obscene word to do so, his invective all the more effective for the restraint of its language' (Godwin 1999, 196).

7. It is interesting to find an editor in 1970 slipping into Latin. On 16.1, Kenneth Quinn comments: 'Literally, *pedicare* = *mentulam in podicem inserere* and *irrumare* = *mentulam in os inserere*' (*pedicare* = to insert the penis into the anus; *irrumare* = to insert the penis into the mouth). On Quinn, Henderson 2006 observes (p. 79), ending with a quotation from L. Curran's review in the *American Journal of Classical Philology* (1975 96, p. 314): 'a review of Quinn's "complete" Catullus for the age of post-prudery (1970) is just bound to conclude, of its selective, patchy, discriminatory handling of different sexual and scatological scenarios: "Such teaching raises serious questions of moral and intellectual honesty. ... The health of classics depends on a fully candid approach to such an author."'

8. Even if it is in Latin, this is decidedly more helpful than the definitions in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1968-1982): *irrumatio* is defined as 'The action of an *irrumator*', *irrumator* as 'One who submits to *fellatio*', and *irrumo* as 'To practise *irrumatio* on'. If you seek for the lemma *fellatio* to help you out, you will not find it. (It doesn't occur in classical Latin, but then why print it in italics as if a lemma could be found?)

9. *Cris(s)o* 'indicated the motion of the female in intercourse' (Adams 1982, 136). R. Ellis, in his fine Oxford edition of 1876, remarks of *se sublevat* 'sens. obscen.' and quotes (in Greek) from Ar. *Lysist.* 937. Fordyce silet; so too (surprisingly) Godwin. See Morgan 2010, 34-40 for a lively and sexually unconstrained discussion of why Catullus 17 is in the Priapean metre, a metrical form that embodies the ethos of the supremely masculine, ithyphallic god.

10. At the conference at which most of the papers in this book were delivered, we were assured that the modern American term for this activity is 'Clintonize'.

11. 'Immoderate sexual tumescence' (*OLD*).

12. He adds an interesting and helpful quotation from Arnobius 4.7 on the goddess Pertunda '*quae in cubiculis praesto est virginalem scrobem* [vagina – Adams 1982, 86] *effodientibus maritis*' (who is in place in bedrooms for husbands digging a virgin's vagina).

13. Thomson's splendid 1997 edition is, of course, complete, but it does strike me as pussyfooting around in sexual matters. However, his observation on the long-standing obscene interpretation of the word 'sparrow' (as meaning 'penis') in 2 and 3 (pp. 202-3) is a model of its kind, even if the expression *membrum virile* does not come up till his penultimate line. (Dubois is silent on this interpretation.)

14. *dominantibus nominibus*: Horace uses the expression *dominantia nomina* at AP 234 of the 'proper' (in the sense of apt) words for things as distinct 'from words which were

metaphorical, imported, obsolete, or otherwise unusual' (Rudd 1989, nn. 234-5). For such 'proper' plain speaking compare Chaucer in the General Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*, 725-9:

But first I pray you, of your curteisye,
That ye narete it not my vileynye,
Thogh that I pleylnly speke in this matere,
To telle yow hir wordes and hir chere;
Ne thogh I speke hir wordes *propely*. (my italics)

15. anus (Adams 1982, 115).

16. Quoting some lines from Gautier, which include this stanza:

Ô douce barbe féminine
Que l'Art toujours voulut raser
Sur ta soie annelée et fine
Reçois mes vers comme un baiser!

17. Appendix 2 in M. Zimmerman (ed.) *Apuleius Madaurensis*, Book 10 (Groningen, 2000). It seems to be a medieval addition. Boccaccio copied the fragment in the margin of his autograph of the *Met*.

18. Compare Dover in his Preface to *Greek Homosexuality* (Dover 1978, p. viii): 'I am fortunate in not experiencing moral shock or disgust at any genital act whatsoever, provided that it is welcome and agreeable to all the participants.'

19. Dover produced a school edition of the play in which the introduction and the commentary were reduced. However, aside from brief cuts in notes 630 and 671, there is no reduction in the explicit writing about sex.

20. Davidson 2007, 110.

21. Dover 1978, 125 n. 1 admitted that his theory about Cowper's secretion was far-fetched.

22. In fairness it should be said that this comment relates to Dover's autobiography, *Marginal Comment* (London, 1994) but it is characteristic of the response to his *Clouds* and the subsequent *Greek Homosexuality*. Stephen Halliwell informed us in a lecture on the scholar to the Hellenic Society (4.4.2011) that Dover regretted that his most famous book was the last title; he would have preferred to be remembered for *Greek Word Order*.

23. The bulk of the obituary, i.e. what comes after its shameful start, was by Peter Jones. Jones followed it up with a fine tribute in the *Spectator* (13 March 2010), in which he trenchantly observes, 'The fact that [Dover's *Clouds*] was the finest commentary ever produced on every aspect of a comedy featuring the controversial figure of Socrates seemed to pass people by.'

24. W.W. Merry's school edition of the play (Oxford, 1879), which was still in print in 1955, appears ridiculously hygienised and impoverished by comparison.

25. A remark of Strepsiades, excised by Merry, even found its way into a beginners' Greek course (*Reading Greek* (Cambridge, 1978)) for which Dover wrote the admirable Foreword. It is a version of l.734: τὸ πῆος ἔχω ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ (I am holding my prick in my right hand). Both the Foreword and the Greek are preserved in the second edition of 2007.

26. Henderson 2006, 86: I have given his summary. Partly because of Byron's use of the word 'schoolboy', this chapter has concentrated on boys' education. The story of expurgation and the female sex remains to be told. I am grateful to Stephen Anderson for showing me *Sallust, Catiline* ('for use in schools') by Charles Merivale, the Dean of Ely (London, 1870). 'In two or three places,' says the Dean in his Introduction (p. xix), 'I have ventured to omit a gross expression; a course which for my own part I could wish to see more extensively adopted in an age when the reading of Latin is becoming almost as common among women of polished education as in the good old times of Jane Grey and Elizabeth.'

27. Clive's solution was to tell schools that no translation or literary analysis of the 'wilder' poems would be required in the exam, though candidates could refer to them in their essay. The matter is discussed in 'Catullus hits the headlines', a lively piece by Cathy Mercer (forthcoming).

28. Organised by Ronnie Ancona and Judith Hallett. At a panel organised by the former at the American Classical League Institute at the University of New Hampshire the following year, I gained the impression that American teachers tend to be rather less embarrassed by it

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all than their British counterparts (though this doubtless depends in part on the locality they work in). In a review of a new book on A.E. Housman, William M. Calder III remarks (*CR* 61.1 (2011), 321), 'In 2010 it is a scandal that we are denied discussion of [his homosexuality]. The English regularly sweep the most troublesome and hence most interesting aspect of his personal life under the carpet.'

29. Included in Fordyce's edition, but the commentary has nothing at all to say about the word *irrumator*.

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For the gentleman and the scholar: sexual and scatological references in the Loeb Classical Library

Philip Lawton

The *Loeb Classical Library* (henceforth *LCL*) was founded in 1911, printing texts and translations in 'handy books of a size that would fit in a gentleman's pocket' (Harvard University Press n.d.). James Loeb included in the earliest volumes of the *LCL* 'A Word About Its Purpose and Its Scope':

To make the beauty and learning, the philosophy and wit of the great writers of ancient Greece and Rome once more accessible by means of translations that are in themselves real pieces of literature, a thing to be read for the pure joy of it, and not dull transcripts of ideas that suggest in every line the existence of a finer original form from which the average reader is shut out, and to place side by side with these translations the best critical texts of the original works, is the task I have set myself. (Harvard University Press n.d.)

Other journals announced features of the Loeb which are well-known today: the whole of each author, a biographical introduction in each set, and the text and translation on opposite pages.¹

The aim of the *LCL* was to print classical texts with translation, thereby making the originals more accessible. However, some of the volumes that were printed treated the text in a way which did not increase its accessibility; i.e. it is not always possible to work out what the text means (or, 'access' it) by reading the facing translation.

This is a study of the translation strategies within the *LCL* which did *not* aid accessibility:

1. Obfuscation
2. Excision and non-translation
3. Retranslation

I also address the questions of what the terms 'average reader' and 'best critical text' meant to the *LCL* in the early years of its foundation, as well as considering the success of the *LCL* in its stated aim of accessibility. A list of the Loeb texts consulted, often in

their earliest editions, appears at the end of this chapter. These earliest editions were compared with later editions of the same *LCL* translation, newer *LCL* translations and translations from other publishers.

Obfuscation

Obfuscation – which means euphemisation or deliberate mis-translation – is by far the most common means which translators for the *LCL* appear to have employed in dealing with passages of an offensive nature: these include references to bodily functions, excreta, body parts, and sexual intercourse (both hetero- and homosexual). Obfuscation takes many forms and varies widely in what the translator hopes to avoid and with what it is replaced. The examples are arranged to draw out similarities and comparisons between their translators' strategies.

(I) Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, tr. William Adlington
(1566, revised by S. Gaselee, 1915)

When the *LCL* was founded, the press announcements made it clear that, aside from engaging the best scholars in the Anglophone world to produce new translations for the series, 'standard' translations, where available or suitable, would also be used.² In this case Gaselee revised the translation, almost 350 years old, for Loeb, 'bring[ing] it into greater harmony with the Latin according to modern ideas of translation'.³ It is not clear whether these 'ideas of translation' are Gaselee's own, the *LCL*'s or those of the times. Gaselee notes that he made changes begrudgingly, but admits that 'a greater degree of accuracy than Adlington ever attained is necessary to the plan of the present series'.⁴

In some places where editing is apparent, the degree of accuracy which Gaselee attains is scarcely higher than Adlington's. Comparisons with reprints of the original publication of Adlington's text point to a number of areas where Gaselee's intervention has softened, rather than focused, the force of not only the original Latin, but also Adlington's sixteenth-century translation. To take an example:

His editis abeunt: remoto grabatulo varicus super faciem meam residentes vesicam exonerant, quoad me urinae spurcissimae madore perluerunt.

After these words they left him; and both of them squatted over my face, discharging their bladders until they had drenched me in the liquid of their filthy urine.

Metamorphoses 1.13 (tr. Hanson, 1989)

is translated by Adlington as:

This being sayd, the one of them moved and turned up by my bed, and then they strid over mee, and clapped their buttocks upon my face, and all beipsed mee till I was wringing wet.⁵

Yet Gaselee modestly prints:

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This being said, they moved and turned up my bed, and then they strode over me and staled upon me till I was wringing wet.⁶

A number of forces can be seen at work here: the first being that Gaselee has modernised Adlington's spelling and grammar; secondly, he has corrected Adlington's translation of *remoto grabatulo*; thirdly, he has *removed or replaced* certain words, these words being 'buttocks' and 'bepissed'. No word for 'buttocks' appears in the original, so Gaselee is exercising good editing practice here, but the replacement of 'bepissed' with 'staled upon' serves only the purpose of avoiding one word, and providing another whose main usage refers to urination by horses or cattle, and not humans.⁷ To choose a word that requires a reader to consult a dictionary creates a new barrier between the reader and the original – quite contrary to the stated accessibility aims of the *LCL*. Neither author has translated *vesicam* 'bladder' or *urinae spurcissimae* 'most foul urine', although Adlington comes close. This avoidance of the word 'pisse' crops up also at 1.14 where Adlington's 'wringing wet with piss' becomes Gaselee's 'wringing wet with filth'. The word used in the Latin – *lotio* – has only one citation in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, and is translated as 'urine'; Apuleius repeats the word for emphasis, discernible in Adlington, but becoming in Gaselee's translation an expansion on 1.13 instead.

Another subject suffers under Gaselee's hand at 3.20: though it is an improvement on Adlington's omission, Gaselee does not do all he could to translate *Fotis puerile obtulit corollarium* – referring to the girl's submission, having satisfied her lover vaginally, to anal penetration. The Loeb prints 'Fotis giving me all that she might and more': this at least hints at activity in the text, without specifying the nature of the intercourse. Obfuscation in translating Apuleius serves to soften offensive terms referring to human bodily functions and to obscure references to anal sex. These very minor omissions and euphemisms are the simplest form of obfuscation, but have a distinct impact on the flavour of the text conveyed.

(II) Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, tr. Benjamin Bickley Rogers (reprinted in the *LCL*, 1924) (Fig. 10.1)

When Rogers published his edition of *Thesmophoriazusae* in 1904, as part of his complete Aristophanes, his translation did not take its more usual place facing the Greek text, above a commentary, but was relegated to the back between the text/commentary and the *apparatus criticus*. In his preface, Gilbert Murray explained that although Rogers' translation, composed seemingly from memory (with 'no copy of Aristophanes at hand'),⁸ is full of 'inversions and omissions and even contradictions',⁹ they were not corrected on discovery because Rogers 'was an artist fully as much as a scholar'.¹⁰ This outlook is in harmony with James Loeb's stated aim about his Library: 'To make the beauty and learning, the philosophy and wit of the great writers of ancient Greece and Rome once more accessible by means of translations that are in themselves real pieces of literature.'¹¹

Since Rogers admits that 'even whole speeches have been omitted, transposed, or added',¹² we can assume that the *LCL* editors rearranged and adjusted the translation

ARISTOPHANES

- γυναικόφωτος, ἀπαλός, εὐπρεπὴς ἰδεῖν.
 ΑΓ. Εὐριπίδης—
 ΕΤ. τί ἔστιν;
 ΑΓ. ἐποίησάς ποτε,
 “χαίρεις ὄρων φῶς, πατέρα δ’ οὐ χαίρειν
 δοκεῖς;
 ΕΤ. ἔγωγε.
 ΑΓ. μὴ νυν ἐλπίσης τὸ σὸν κακὸν 195
 ἡμᾶς ὑφέξειν. καὶ γὰρ ἂν μανοίμεθ’ ἄν.
 ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ὁ γε σὸν ἔστιν οἰκείως φέρε.
 τὰς συμφορὰς γὰρ οὐχὶ τοῖς τεχνάσμασιν
 φέρειν δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς παθήμασιν.
 ΜΝ. καὶ μὴν σύ γ’, ὦ κατάπυγον, εὐρύπρωκτος εἶ 200
 οὐ τοῖς λόγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς παθήμασιν.
 ΕΤ. τί δ’ ἔστιν ὅτι δέδοικας ἐλθεῖν αὐτόσε;
 ΑΓ. κάκιον ἀπολοίμην ἂν ἢ σύ.
 ΕΤ. πῶς;
 ΑΓ. ὅπως;
 δοκῶν γυναικῶν ἔργα νυκτερεῖσια
 κλέπτειν, ὑφαρπάζειν τε θήλειαν Κύπριν. 205
 ΜΝ. ἰδοὺ γε κλέπτειν· νῆ Δία βινεῖσθαι μὲν οὖν.
 ἀτὰρ ἢ πρόφασίς γε νῆ Δί’ εἰκότως ἔχει.
 ΕΤ. τί οὖν; ποιήσεις ταῦτα;
 ΑΓ. μὴ δόκει γε σύ.
 ΕΤ. ὦ τρισκακοδαίμων, ὥς ἀπόλωλ’ Εὐριπίδης.
 ΜΝ. ὦ φίλτατ’, ὦ κηδεστά, μὴ σαυτὸν προδώς. 210
 ΕΤ. πῶς οὖν ποιήσω δῆτα;
 ΜΝ. τοῦτον μὲν μακρὰ
 κλαίειν κέλευ’, ἐμοὶ δ’ ὅ τι βούλει χρῶ λαβῶν.

* a From *Alcestis*, 691. “The question is put by Phères to his son Admetus, who expects his father to die as a substitute
 148

THE THESMOPHORIAZUSAE, 192–212

- A fair complexion, pretty, smooth, and soft.
 ΑΓ. Euripides!
 ΕΥ. Yes.
 ΑΓ. Wasn't it you who wrote
 YOU VALUE LIFE; DO YOU THINK YOUR FATHER
 DOESN'T? a
 ΕΥ. It was: what then?
 ΑΓ. Expect not me to bear
 Your burdens; that were foolishness indeed.
 Each man must bear his sorrows for himself.
 And troubles, when they come, must needs be met
 By manful acts,^b and not by shifty tricks.
 ΜΝ. Aye, true for you, your wicked ways are shown
 By sinful acts, and not by words alone.^c
 ΕΥ. But tell me really why you fear to go.
 ΑΓ. They'd serve me worse than you.
 ΕΥ. How so?
 ΑΓ. How so?
 I'm too much like a woman, and they'd think
 That I was come to poach on their preserves.^d
 ΜΝ. Well, I must say that's not a bad excuse.
 ΕΥ. Then won't you really help?
 ΑΓ. I really won't.
 ΕΥ. Thrice luckless I! Euripides is done for!
 ΜΝ. O friend! O cousin! don't lose heart like this.
 ΕΥ. Whatever can I do?
 ΜΝ. Bid him go hang!
 See, here am I; deal with me as you please.
 for himself”: R. See C. 1415. There is probably much of
 Euripides in Agathon's next speech.
^b Lit. “by endurance,” with a hint at the pathetic vice.
^c Enimvero tu, impudice, latiore culum habes, non
 dicendo sed patiendo.
^d ΑΓ. Quia viderer mulierum opera nocturna furari, et
 surripere muliebrem Venerem. ΜΝ. Vah, furari! immo vero
 paedicari.

Fig. 10.1. Aristophanes: obfuscation in *Thesmophoriazusae*, with footnotes
 providing an accurate translation in Latin (B.B. Rogers 1924, 148-9).

10. For the gentleman and the scholar

to fit the ‘best critical text’¹³ published on the verso. Where Rogers departs from the text because of style, rather than a wish to conceal any aspect of its contents, footnotes provide a literal translation, rather than interfere with the in-line ‘literature’. When Rogers omits a passage – more common in *Lysistrata* (published in the same volume), but noted at lines 635-48 of *Thesmophoriazusae* – a translation is provided in line with the text. If Rogers has omitted an *offensive* passage, there are footnotes supplying an accurate rendering of the text, in which obscenities etc., are translated and printed. While this would suggest an attempt to acquaint the motivated reader with the original’s content, the language into which this material has been translated is not English, but Latin. Hence, for:

EY[ΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ]: οὐχ ἑώρακας πώποτε;

MN[ΗΣΙΛΟΚΧΟΣ]: μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐτοί γ', ὥστε κάμει γ' εἰδέναι.

EY: καὶ μὴν βεβίηκας σύ γ' ἄλλ' οὐκ οἶσθ' ἴσως.

Thesmophoriazusae 33-5

we have:

EU(RIPIDES). Don't you know him really?

MN(ESILOCHUS). No. (Thinks again) No, I don't; at least I don't remember.

EU. (severely) I fear there's much you don't remember, sir.^b

The ^b on the verso (p. 135) directs us to the bottom of the recto (p. 134) where we find the note ^b ‘Atqui paedicasti tu eum: sed non noveras fortasse.’ Line 35 is rendered in its proper place by Jeffrey Henderson, in his 2000 translation for Loeb, as ‘Well, you must have fucked him, though you might not know it’, which bears little or no resemblance to Rogers’ original published line, retained by the Loeb editor of 1924.

We find in Aristophanes an adaptation of the form of obfuscation noted in Apuleius: the facing translation is not a euphemism, but a deliberate innocuous invention, and an accurate translation is given in another classical language, only accessible to the classically trained (in general, and on either side of the Atlantic, this would mean an educated male).

(III) Catullus; tr. F.W. Cornish (1913, rev. 1950)

Catullus also appears in the section on ‘Excision’, but here we are concerned with the seventeen poems that Cornish, instead of translating, printed in paraphrases by W.H.D. Rouse.¹⁴ Cornish does not explain his reasons, but washes his hands of the matter: his introduction states that he ‘is not responsible for the following poems, in whole or in part.’¹⁵ It is not clear whether he supports the moral position of Rouse, would have preferred no translation at all, or wanted to say more than he was allowed. However, as Cornish mistranslates elsewhere without admitting it, it is worth asking whether we are supposed to extend whichever understanding we have chosen to these instances, too. Characteristic of Cornish’s unadmitted omissions are examples in poems like number 54, where *peditum* ‘farting’, is not evident in the translation, and in number 59, where *fellat* ‘he sucks off’ goes untranslated.

EPODON LIBER

VIII

ROGARE longo putidam te saeculo,
 vires quid enervet meas,
 cum sit tibi dens ater et rugis vetus
 frontem senectus exaret,
 hietque turpis inter aridas natis
 podex velut crudae bovis!
 sed incitat me pectus et mammae putres,
 equina quales ubera,
 venterque mollis et femur tumentibus
 exile suris additum. 10
 esto beata, funus atque imagines
 ducant triumphales tuum.
 nec sit marita, quae rotundioribus
 onusta bacis ambulet.
 quid quod libelli Stoici inter Sericos
 iacere pulvillos amant?
 inlitterati num minus nervi rigent,
 minusve languet fascinum?
 quod ut superbo provocas ab inguine
 ore adlaborandum est tibi. 20

EPODON LIBER

XII

Quid tibi vis, mulier nigris dignissima barris?
 munera cur mihi quidve tabellas
 mittis, nec firmo iuveni neque naris obesae?
 namque sagacius unus odoror,
 polypus an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis,
 quam canis acer, ubi lateat sus.
 qui sudor vietis et quam malus undique membris
 crescit odor, cum pene soluto
 indomitam properat rabiem sedare, neque illi
 iam manet umida creta colorque 10
 stercore fucatus crocodili, iamque subando
 tenta cubilia tectaque rumpit.
 vel mea cum saevis agitat fastidia verbis:
 "Inachia langues minus ac me;
 Inachiam ter nocte potes, mihi semper ad unum
 mollis opus. pereat male, quae te
 Lesbia quaerenti taurum monstravit inertem,
 cum mihi Cous adesset Amyntas,
 cuius in indomito constantior inguine nervos,
 quam nova collibus arbor inhaeret. 20
 muricibus Tyriis iteratae vellera lanae
 cui properabantur? tibi nempè,
 ne foret aequales inter conviva, magis quem
 diligeret mulier sua quam te.
 o ego non felix, quam tu fugis, ut pavet acres
 agna lupos capreaeque leones!"

Fig. 10.2. Horace: the excision of *Epodes* 8 and 12 – they are printed together, towards the back of the volume (C.E. Bennett 1914, 416-17).

10. For the gentleman and the scholar

Obfuscation can involve mistranslating words or whole passages. Latin poetry and prose, with its references to sexual acts (vaginal, anal and oral), body parts and bodily functions, suffers at the hand of the Loeb editors, by euphemisation and omission. This obfuscation is sometimes admitted: it is possible that the translators, in dealing with poetry, tampering with perceived beauty, felt the need to absolve themselves through confession.

Greek verse works contain concepts that might appear repellent to an early Loeb editor: homosexuality and effeminacy, nudity, sex, scatological references and so on; these themes are concealed in the translation which is printed facing the text, and admission of their existence is made available only to motivated readers who have already had a classical education. This suggests that there is a belief among the *LCL* editors that someone who understands Latin has the sort of mind that can cope with such themes without being corrupted by them.

Excision and non-translation

Excision and non-translation are similar strategies, but should not be confused. Excision comes in two forms: the stronger form involves not printing offensive material in any language, while the weaker form involves printing that material in the original, but transposing it out of its expected place to another location in the volume. Non-translation retains the standard order of the text, while making the decision to omit a version in any language other than the original. I have found no examples of material transposed *and* translated.

In his preface to the satires of Juvenal and Persius, Ramsay states that 'it is one of the principles of this series to print the originals as a whole'.¹⁶ That the Loeb editors, whatever their feelings (or the legal restrictions) concerning the translations, wanted their books to contain a full, scholarly edition of the text is borne out in an announcement of the foundation of the *LCL* which says that '[the] whole of each author is to be given'.¹⁷

(I) Horace, *Odes* and *Epodes*, tr. C.E. Bennett, 1914 (rev. 1927) (Fig. 10.2)

Woodman's 1915 review of this volume notes that the 'translation is complete except *Epodes* 8 and 12, of which the text is printed at the end'.¹⁸ These *Epodes* have commonly fallen victim to the censor's knife – Shorey and Laing's edition of the *Odes* and *Epodes* omits both of these, as well as *Epode* 11.¹⁹ *Epodes* 8 and 12 are both addressed to ugly old women; they contain many 'dirty words' (*Epode* 8: *podex* 'arsehole', *inguine* 'crotch'; *Epode* 12: *stercore* 'shit') but it is the intention as well as the text which might be considered offensive: the descriptions of the women, the way they look and smell, and the conditions of their bodies are all described in what might be, for some, excruciating detail.

This volume is an example of the weaker form of excision. The offending poems are taken out of their correct place, and printed right at the back, before the index of proper names. Whether this was the choice of the translator or the choice of the editors would never have been clear if not for an unobtrusive notice, printed opposite the title page of the *Odes*, after the introduction, which reads, verbatim:

GAI VALERI CATVLLI LIBER

XXXII

AMABO, mea dulcis Ipsithilla,
meae deliciae, mei lepores,
iube ad te veniam meridiatum.
et si iusseris, illud adiuvato,
nequis liminis obseret tabellam,
neu tibi lubeat foras abire.
sed domi mancas paresque nobis
novem continuas fututiones.
verum, siquid ages, statim iubeto:
nam pransus iaceo, et satur supinus
pertundo tunicamque palliumque. 10

XXXIII

O FVRVM optime balneariorum
Vibenni pater et cinaede fili,
nam dextra pater inquinatiore,
culo filius est voraciore:
cur non exilium malasque in oras
itis, quandoquidem patris rapinae
notae sunt populo, et nates pilosas,
fili, non potes asse venditare.

XXXIV

DIANA sumus in fide
puellae et pueri integri:
[Dianam pueri integri]
puellaeque canamus.
o Latonia, maximi
magna progenies Iovis,

THE POEMS OF CATULLUS XXXII-XXXIV

XXXII

I ENTREAT you, my sweet Ipsithilla, my darling, my
charmer, bid me to come and rest at noonday with
you. And if you do bid me, grant me this kindness
too, that no one may bar the panel of your threshold,
nor you yourself have a fancy to go away, but stay at
home. . . . But if you will at all, then bid me come
at once. . . .

XXXIII

CLEVEREST of all clothes-stealers at the baths, father
Vibennius and you his profligate son, . . . off with
you into banishment and the dismal regions, since
the father's plunderings are known to all the
world. . . .

XXXIV

Diana

WE girls and chaste boys are lieges of Diana. Diana
let us sing, chaste boys and girls. O child of Latona,
great offspring of greatest Jove, whom thy mother

Fig. 10.3. Catullus: non-translation in Catullus' poetry (F.W. Cornish 1950, 38-9).

10. For the gentleman and the scholar

*Professor Bennett's version is printed here at his special wish exactly as he passed it for press, although in a few instances the Editors are unable to agree with his point of view.*²⁰

Without more information, it is impossible to say, but I don't fear to venture that the Editors felt Bennett was being a bit too careful, forcing them to print a translation of Horace that is not complete. However, this is the only such notice I came across, and because of the wide variety of evasive translation strategies employed across the series, we cannot know for certain how the Editors would have preferred things.

(II) Ovid, *Heroides* and *Amores*, tr. Grant Showerman, 1921

In Showerman's preface 'In Appreciation of the *Amores*', he admits that he 'has felt obliged to omit one poem entire, and to omit or disguise a few verses in other poems where ... a faithful rendering might offend the sensibilities of the reader.'²¹ Such admissions of guilt are not unknown (cf. Horace: *Odes* and *Epodes*), but he could have said more; for example, he could have told us which poem he 'felt obliged to omit' – this omission was probably not because of pressure from the editors, but is pressed by his own moral compass, or that of society. Showerman does tell us, at least, that it is because of the nature of the poetry ('the literature of love'²²) that he has exercised his moral judgement to alter those passages which 'here and there display offences against even a liberal taste.'²³

The poem excised (strong form – the poem is not printed anywhere in the volume, in Latin or English) is *Amores* 3.7, a lament on a specific instance of impotence, and contains no overtly 'dirty' words (apart perhaps from *inguinis* 'loins'). The offending member is referred to often, and even addressed by the female involved, but by neither name nor pronoun. It is the subject and object of verbs, but so elliptically that in the second edition of 1977 when G.P. Goold revised Showerman's edition and provided a translation for the poem, he felt the need to supply the word 'it' whenever it was mentioned. Also, there are brief mentions of touching and coaxing. In this case, it is purely the intent of a poem rather than its vocabulary which can cause its excision.

(III) Catullus, tr. F.W. Cornish, 1913 (rev. 1950) (Fig. 10.3)

This study attempts, generally, to make the point that the Loeb's, while striving to be scholarly, ultimately fail in their attempt because of the state of some of their translations; however, a far worse sin of scholarship is apparent in this volume – corruption of the textual tradition. Cornish, a school-teacher, may have felt more strongly about protecting the innocence of youth than about high scholarship.

Poem 16 is presented as 'a fragment' (pp. 22-3), six lines long, and followed by an ellipsis. The first two lines (difficult to translate anyway, containing the word *irrumabo*, an active word for oral sex, 'face-fuck', perhaps?²⁴) are omitted in the translation, which therefore records only lines 3-6 of the original poem. I use the word 'original' because Poem 16 has, in every scholarly edition, fourteen lines. Cornish has fragmented the poem, without telling us that 'he was responsible for the fragmentation.'²⁵ There is no scholarly reason for this – Cornish certainly doesn't

provide one; earlier editions of the *Carmina* retain all fourteen lines, so it cannot even be argued that the lines hadn't been discovered at the time of publication.

There are a number of reasons why Cornish would print lines 1-6 in Latin. First, he *must* retain the opening lines, despite their content, because they appear in indices in both the Loeb and other editions and translations, to remove them would create 'new' opening lines, and the deceit would be all the more easily discovered. Secondly, the poem is most famous for lines 5 and 6, in which Catullus states that 'The poet can't be chaste enough / but verse is made of different stuff'²⁶ – that is to say, while a poet must remain pure, his poems need not. In fact, the rest of the poem is merely an expansion of this theme, suggesting (among other things) that a poem is only any good if it can arouse even the desires of old men. There are, therefore, no reasons to not print the rest of the poem: the language is not offensive, the content no more so than any other love poem in the corpus (kissing is mentioned, as is arousal). The deliberate fragmentation, and therefore excision, of most of the poem remains one of the most puzzling strategies adopted by a Loeb translator to his subject matter, and has possibly contributed quite heavily to the view of Loeb as unscholarly.

Cornish's prudish nature abounds throughout the rest of the Catullan poems: here and there, words, phrases or lines are replaced in translation with an ellipsis – which in the explanation of signs means 'Passages omitted'.²⁷ Examples include Poem 32, where being ready for nine consecutive copulations is not given in English as a condition of the female's staying home; in Poem 33, neither the *culo voraciore* 'greedier arse' nor the *nates pilosas* 'hairy buttocks' of the son see the light of day in translation. Generally, references to sexual acts, and body parts that might take a role in sexual intercourse, are omitted in translation. While the type of content avoided is similar to that encountered in treatments of Ovid or Horace, the strategy differs: instead of a whole poem being excised, certain concepts are not present in the translation – i.e. non-translation is taking place. The effect is not greatly different in this case, because nothing takes the place of the missing material, except an ellipsis. Another approach to non-translation will be dealt with below (see (V) Petronius, Suetonius).

(IV) Juvenal, tr. G.G. Ramsay, 1918 (rev. 1940)

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Ramsay states in the preface to his edition of Juvenal that 'as it is one of the principles of this series to print the originals as a whole, *Sats* ii., vi. and ix., so often omitted by translators, are included with the rest'.²⁸ I have shown above that not every translator is so assiduous in adhering to that aim,²⁹ and I show below that Ramsay, while doing us the honour of obeying the 'letter of the law', nonetheless fails to adhere to the spirit.

In Ramsay's edition, each Satire is given a summary in the front of the book; some, particularly that for Satire 6 (a kind of 'catalogue of women'), run to pages, concomitant with length. The summary of Satire 9 is worth quoting in full. 'The 9th Satire deals with a disgusting offence, one of the main sources of corruption in the ancient world'. Satire 9 is about a client who must fulfil the 'husbandly duties' of his (homosexual) patron, which include having sex with the wife, and even fathering children. The client is also apparently taking the active role in a sexual

10. For the gentleman and the scholar

relationship with the patron. Most of the Satire is the client's complaints of boredom and exhaustion, and his requests for an aphrodisiac. This is clearly subject matter that was considered offensive. Ramsay's summary of the Satire is not particularly at issue, since it does not form part of his translation strategy. There are omissions (not always signified by ellipses), for example: at lines 33-7 (of which the sense is, 'When you're down on your luck, what use is a big cock?') and at 43-4 (an apostrophising complaint to the patron: 'Is it easy to drive a big cock into your bowels and meet yesterday's dinner?'³⁰). These passages contain words like *penem* 'penis', and *κίναϊδος* 'pathic (n.)', which could have been the grounds for non-translation; other 'offensive' lines/phrases are obfuscated (e.g. lines 45-6).

Ramsay's strategy when approaching Satire 6 is slightly different. The poem contains the so-called 'O' lines,³¹ interpolated between lines 365 and 366, which, Leviticus-style, explain the ritual uncleanness of sexually-submissive males, and describe steps to be taken in dealing with them, including the requirement that cups used by such people be smashed, lest moral contamination spread through their use. Ramsay discusses the discovery of these lines, as well as acknowledging the use in translation of a paraphrase by A.E. Housman. It is less than subtle, then, that that part of the poem is not included in the equivalent summary for the poem. Lines 366-78, which concern the carelessness with which women treat money, are not only left out of the summary, but also left out of translation. A student would find it jarring, to say to least, when trying to reconcile the left- and right-hand pages at the break, which is not signposted. It remains unclear why such innocent lines go untranslated (and unsummarised), seemingly at the expense of lines which, dealing with more explicit matters, discovered late and accompanied only by a paraphrase, seem to be a much more likely candidate for transposition to another part of the volume.³²

(V) Petronius, *Satyricon*, tr. Michael Heseltine, 1913 (Fig. 10.4);
Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, tr. J.C. Rolfe, 1913

From the first Loeb edition of Petronius in 1913, until the revision in 1930, swathes of text were left untranslated, running sometimes to four or six pages.³³ We have seen above that excision is quite common, and that Latin text printed by itself is not foreign to the Loeb – however, in printing a novel (however fragmentary), it is hardly conceivable that whole sections could be lifted out of the text and printed elsewhere in the volume. The text, in Heseltine's edition, remains printed on the left-hand side in as continuous an arrangement as possible. This leaves the question of what to print on the right-hand page – the solution appears to have been to print the Latin again. This results in an amusing and confusing view for the reader opening his volume to pp. 170-1, for example, which are practically identical (save for paratextual material, like page numbers): the bulk of each page is taken up with the same text, section (§) 86 and the beginning of §87. The passage is the story Eumolpus tells of his sexual relationship with a young male charge of his, in Asia.

Other untranslated passages concern such subjects as catamites (§21), 'underage' heterosexual sex (§§23-6), a young man with a very large penis (§92), impotence and addresses to the offending parts (§132).³⁴ The language is often explicit, relating to

TITUS PETRONIUS ARBITER

86 ac me voto exsolvi. Proxima nocte cum idem liceret, mutavi optionem et 'si hunc' inquam 'tractavero improba manu, et ille non senserit, gallos gallinaceos pugnacissimos duos donabo patienti.' Ad hoc votum ephebus ultro se admovit et, puto, vereri coepit, ne ego obdormiscerem. Indulsi ergo sollicito, totoque corpore citra summam voluptatem me ingurgitavi. Deinde ut dies venit, attuli gaudenti quicquid promiseram. Ut tertia nox licentiam dedit, consurrexi . . . ad aurem male dormientis 'dii' inquam 'immortales, si ego huic dormienti abstulero coitum plenum et optabilem, pro hac felicitate cras puero asturconem Macedonicum optimum donabo, cum hac tamen exceptione, si ille non senserit.' Nunquam altiore somno ephebus obdormivit. Itaque primum implevi lactentibus papillis manus, mox basio inhaesi, deinde in unum omnia vota coniunxi. Mane sedere in cubiculo coepit atque expectare consuetudinem meam. Scis quanto facilius sit, columbas gallosque gallinaceos emere quam asturconem, et praeter hoc etiam timebam, ne tam grande munus suspectam faceret humanitatem meam. Ego aliquot horis spatiatum in hospitium reverti nihilque aliud quam puerum basiavi. At ille circumspiciens ut cervicem meam iunxit amplexu, 'rogo' inquit 'domine, ubi est asturco?' . . .

87 Cum ob hanc offensam praeclusissem mihi aditum, quem feceram, iterum ad licentiam redii. Interpositis enim paucis diebus, cum similis casus nos in eandem fortunam rettulisset, ut intellexi stertere patrem, rogare coepi ephebum, ut reverteretur in gratiam mecum, id est ut pateretur satis fieri sibi, et cetera quae libido distenta dictat. At ille plane iratus nihil aliud dicebat nisi hoc: "aut dormi, aut ego iam dicam patri." Nihil est tam arduum, quod non improbitas

SATYRICON

ac me voto exsolvi. Proxima nocte cum idem liceret, 86 mutavi optionem et 'si hunc' inquam 'tractavero improba manu, et ille non senserit, gallos gallinaceos pugnacissimos duos donabo patienti.' Ad hoc votum ephebus ultro se admovit et, puto, vereri coepit, ne ego obdormiscerem. Indulsi ergo sollicito, totoque corpore citra summam voluptatem me ingurgitavi. Deinde ut dies venit, attuli gaudenti quicquid promiseram. Ut tertia nox licentiam dedit, consurrexi . . . ad aurem male dormientis 'dii' inquam 'immortales, si ego huic dormienti abstulero coitum plenum et optabilem, pro hac felicitate cras puero asturconem Macedonicum optimum donabo, cum hac tamen exceptione, si ille non senserit.' Nunquam altiore somno ephebus obdormivit. Itaque primum implevi lactentibus papillis manus, mox basio inhaesi, deinde in unum omnia vota coniunxi. Mane sedere in cubiculo coepit atque expectare consuetudinem meam. Scis quanto facilius sit, columbas gallosque gallinaceos emere quam asturconem, et praeter hoc etiam timebam, ne tam grande munus suspectam faceret humanitatem meam. Ego aliquot horis spatiatum in hospitium reverti nihilque aliud quam puerum basiavi. At ille circumspiciens ut cervicem meam iunxit amplexu, 'rogo' inquit 'domine, ubi est asturco?' . . .

Cum ob hanc offensam praeclusissem mihi aditum, 87 quem feceram, iterum ad licentiam redii. Interpositis enim paucis diebus, cum similis casus nos in eandem fortunam rettulisset, ut intellexi stertere patrem, rogare coepi ephebum, ut reverteretur in gratiam mecum, id est ut pateretur satis fieri sibi, et cetera quae libido distenta dictat. At ille plane iratus nihil aliud dicebat nisi hoc: "aut dormi, aut ego iam dicam patri." Nihil est tam arduum, quod non improbitas

Fig. 10.4. Petronius: non-translation in the Satyricon. Only the headers and page number differ from the presentation of the text, and the 'facing translation' (M. Heseltine 1913, 170-1).

10. For the gentleman and the scholar

specific body parts, actions, or representations thereof: *clunibus* 'buttocks', *ano* 'arsehole', *scorteum fascinum* 'leather phallus' (a dildo). We can therefore assume that all these subjects and words were considered offensive in or around 1913.

However, other printings of Petronian translations available around the same time are less whitewashing in their approach. Consider the Abbey Classics 1923 reprint of William Burnaby's 1694 translation: section 138. The original reads:

Profert Oenothæa scorteum fascinum, quod ut oleo et minuto pipere atque urticae trito circumdedit semine, paulatim coepere inserere ano meo ...

Translated:

Oenothæa held up a leather dildo which she oiled, and covered with small peppers and crushed nettle seeds, and began to push up my arsehole, inch by inch.³⁵

Heseltine renders the whole in Latin (again), but Barnaby, who sometimes leaves Latin in his translation, which does not face a text, prints:

When drawing out a Leathern Ensign of Priapus, She dipt it in a medley of Oyl, small pepper, and the bruised seed of Nettles, paulatim coepit inserere ano meo.

Which at least gives an idea of the props involved in this scene, even if it doesn't translate the action following. Once again, that has been left in the 'decent obscurity of Latin'.³⁶

Up to this point, the volumes considered have all been those of fiction, prose or poetry, but even History is susceptible: In Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, sections 43 and 44 of the life of Tiberius are treated in exactly the same way as we have seen Petronius dealt with, above – and are printed in Latin, twice. The sections detail some of the behaviour of the emperor Tiberius which was seen at the time of writing, and apparently at the time of translation, as repellent. Examples of this apparently disgusting behaviour concern: anal orgies, deviant prostitutes, salacious paintings and sculpture, pornographic writings, training little boys ('Tiddlers') to go between his thighs and nibble, etc. during swimming, putting suckling babies to his penis as though to a breast, and the rape of (male) ritual attendants. Clearly from 1913 to 1951 (the first revision), the translators or editors of the Loeb Suetonius agreed with him, when he wrote at the beginning of section 44, that Tiberius' behaviour was such that *vix ut referri audirive, nedum credi fas sit*.³⁷

Material concerning genital or sexual body parts, sexual practices (including heterosexual and homosexual relationships, dildos and aphrodisiacs, the addressing of body parts), and even sexual conditions (such as impotence) was subjected to evasive translation strategies. It could be lifted out of context, and printed elsewhere in a volume, not printed at all, or printed in line with the rest of the text, but without any equivalent translation. This non-translation could be identified by ellipses, or in some cases by the printing of the original text, again, in place of any translation.

Both excision and non-translation are drastic strategies when applied to translation, perhaps reserved for the most offensive material. The material need not contain specifically or explicitly offensive words, but need only be offensive in character. Most

GREEK ANTHOLOGY

ταύτην εἴ τις ἐδειξεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τότε ἐν Ἰδῇ,
τὰς τρεῖς ἂν ταύτης προκατέκρινε θεάς.

208.—ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ

Εὐτυχές, οὐ φθονέω, βιβλίδιον· ἡ γὰρ σ' ἀναγνούς
παῖς τις ἀναβλήψει, πρὸς τὰ γένηα τιθείς·
ἢ τρυφεροῖς σφίγξει περὶ χεῖλεσιν, ἢ κατὰ μηρῶν
εἰλήσει δροσερῶν, ὧ μακαριστότατον·
πολλάκι φοιτήσεις ὑποκόλπιον, ἢ παρὰ δίφρους 5
βληθὲν τοιμήσεις κείμενα θυγείν ἀφόβως.
πολλὰ δ' ἐν ἡρεμῇ προλαλήσεις· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν,
χαρτάριον, δέομαι, πυκνότερόν τι λάλει.

209.—ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ

Μήτε λίην στυγνὸς παρακέκλισο, μήτε κατηφής,
Δίφιλε, μηδ' εἴης παιδίον ἐξ ἀγέλης.
ἔστω που προύνικα φιλήματα, καὶ τὰ πρὸ ἔργων
παίγνια, πληκτισμοί, κνίσμα, φίλημα,¹ λόγος.

210.—ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ

Τρεῖς ἀρίθμει τοὺς πάντας ὑπὲρ λέχος, ὧν δύο δρῶσιν,
καὶ δύο πάσχουσιν. θαῦμα δοκῶ τι λέγειν.
καὶ μὴν οὐ ψεύδος· δυσὶν εἰς μέσσοις γὰρ ὑπουργεῖ
τέρπων ἐξόπιθεν, πρόσθε δὲ τερπόμενος.

211.—ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ

Εἰ μὲν ἔφους ἀμύητος ἀκμὴν ὑπὲρ οὗ σ' ἔτι πείθω,
ὀρθῶς ἂν δέλοσαις, δειγνὸν ἴσως δοκέων.

¹ I conjecture κνίσματα βλέμμα and render so.

STRATO'S *MUSA PUERILIS*

If someone had shown it to Paris then in Ida, he
would have pronounced the three goddesses to be
less fair than it.

208.—BY THE SAME

HAPPY little book,¹ I grudge it thee not; some
boy reading thee will rub thee, holding thee under
his chin, or press thee against his delicate lips, or
will roll thee up resting on his tender thighs, O most
blessed of books. Often shalt thou betake thee into
his bosom, or, tossed down on his chair, shalt dare to
touch² without fear, and thou shalt talk much before
him all alone with him; but I supplicate thee, little
book, speak something not unoften on my behalf.

209.—BY THE SAME

LIE not by me with so sour a face and so dejected,
Diphilus, and be not a boy of the common herd.
Put a little wantonness into your kisses and the pre-
liminaries, toying, touching, scratching, your look
and your words.

210.—BY THE SAME

TRES numera cunctos in lecto, quorum duo faciunt
et duo patiuntur. Miraculum quoddam videor nar-
rare. Tamen non falsum; unus enim medius duobus
inservit, delectans post, ante vero delectatus.

211.—BY THE SAME

If you were still uninitiated in the matter about
which I go on trying to persuade you, you would be
right in being afraid, thinking it is perhaps some-

¹ In the form of a roll, of course; this explains several of
the phrases. ² *Ille tangere*.

Fig. 10.5. The Greek Anthology: retranslation to Latin in the *Musa Puerilis*. Poem
210 concerns the sexual activities of three males (W.R. Paton 1918, vol. 4, 388-9).

importantly for this and future studies, from the notice in Bennett's edition of Horace, we have seen that excision, while tolerated by the Loeb editors, was perhaps frowned upon, and therefore applied only in extreme cases of indelicate subject matter.

Retranslation

Retranslation is the printing of an in-line translation that is not in English, the target language of the *LCL* and therefore the language into which we expect the Greek or Latin texts to be translated. That this strategy takes a precarious position when held up to the *LCL*'s aim to 'make ... the great writers of Greece and Rome ... accessible by means of translations'³⁸ can hardly be doubted. It is not surprising, therefore, that it is found so rarely.

(I) Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, tr. S. Gaselee, 1917

The second book of this work of prose fiction (today called a 'novel', but a genre for which the Greeks apparently had no technical term) ends with a long discussion comparing sex with women to sex with boys.³⁹ The translator, Gaselee, whose modesty we see at work also in his edition of Apuleius for the *LCL*, puts the last section and a half (37.6-38) into Latin. The protagonists' description of the female orgasm, and the metaphor comparing the kisses of boys to nectar crystallised into lips, are lost to the Latinless. Whatever bad language might be present, and it is scarce, it is clear that the subject of the discussion is contentious. A lengthy footnote at the beginning (§35.1, pp. 122-3) gives a good impression of Gaselee's concerns:

Clitophon shewed a very proper spirit in waiting for Leucippe's absence before propounding this *dubbio amoroso*. Anthony Hodges in his translation (1638) omits the whole passage from here to the end of the book, and della Croce [1544 or 1554] omits some and softens down some of the rest: of the two, I have followed della Croce's example rather than that of Hodges.⁴⁰

Luigi Annibale della Croce's translations that appeared in part at Lyon (1544) and in full at Basel (1554) were in Latin, but comparisons with reprints of the Basel version show that Gaselee's Latin was, if not his own, then at least not by della Croce. What Gaselee means when he says he 'softens down' the passage is not clear: if he means that the translation he prints is not an accurately explicit reflection of the Greek text, then he is perhaps being doubly safe; if, however, he means 'printing a version of the text in Latin instead of English', I believe he is stretching the idea.

(II) Greek Anthology, vol. 4 (Books X-XII), tr. W.R. Paton, 1918 (Fig. 10.5)

Poetry, too, can be subjected to this treatment. In this collection of epigrams, individual poems are translated into Latin, not English, particularly from book 12, the *Musa Puerilis* ('poetry about boys'). One example, epigram 210, by Strato, presents a riddle:

Τρεῖς ἀρίθμει τοὺς πάντας ὑπὲρ λέχος, ὧν δύο δρώσιν,
καὶ δύο πάσχουσιν. θαῦμα δοκῶ τι λέγειν.
καὶ μὴν οὐ ψεῦδος· δυσὶν εἰς μέσσος γὰρ ὑπουργεῖ
τέρπων ἐξόπιθεν, πρόσθε δὲ τερπόμενος.

The main thrust is that three men are in a bed, but there are two men taking an active sexual role, and two men being passive. The 'solution' being that Man 2 is in the middle, between Man 3 (who he is penetrating), and Man 1 (by whom he is being penetrated). Already-euphemistic words⁴¹ appear in this particular poem – Man 2 is described in the final lines as 'giving joy behind, getting joy in front'⁴² – and so it is the subject that is being considered repellent, not the language.

Poem	Subject	Any rude words
3	Types of boys' penises	
7	Girls don't have arseholes, or anything to fondle	Σφιγκτήρ 'arsehole'
210	Homosexual threesome	
216	Address to a poorly performing penis ⁴³	
225	Don't have sex in the morning	
232	Address to a poorly performing penis ⁴⁴	
238	Puppies in their exuberance equally fuck and are fucked	
240	Old age withers the genitals; knowledge of sodomy does not grant opportunity of it	πέος 'penis', ὄρχεις 'testicles', πυγίζεῖν 'to sodomise'
243	Sodomy has left author diseased, but better than impotence	πυγίζεῖν 'to sodomise'
245	Sodomy is an invention of civilisation; fucking only women is bestial	βιβεῖ 'he fucks'

All the epigrams from book 12 rendered in Latin are given in the table with brief notes (outlining their subject matter and the presence of any obviously rude words). Four of the ten poems contain rude words,⁴⁵ and all of them contain ideas that were offensive to Paton, at least. On the other hand, Poem 133, which contains a line later translated as 'I kissed the tender-fleshed boy',⁴⁶ and Poem 145, in which appears the word παιδοπηλαί 'lovers of lads'⁴⁷ are both translated into English, despite the obvious homosexuality. This blurs a suggestion of simple homophobia we might make on why some poems are rendered in Latin, and others permitted to remain.

Paton's brief introduction⁴⁸ to the *Musa Puerilis* throws some light on his views of the subject matter and even individual authors. Referring to the pederastic relationships common in ancient Greece, he says that 'these homosexual attachments ... were not then regarded as disgraceful,' implying, though, that they were regarded as disgraceful at the time of translation. He also claims that, far from being loving relationships, they were instead 'rather a matter of fashion than of passion.' Paton goes on to imply that because of the loveless nature of the relationships, the poetry developing from them is necessarily of lower quality than that derived from heterosexual relationships, being 'somewhat devoid of soul and at times disfigured

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by a coarseness foreign to [Meleager's] gentle spirit'. His view on Strato concludes his introduction to book 12:

Strato himself is frankly homosexual. He writes good and at times pretty verse, but he is, as a rule, quite *terre à terre* and sometimes very gross.

Paton's introduction betrays a bias against homosexuality and homosexual relationships which might help to explain the severe treatment of some of the poems, but does not explain exactly why certain poems were translated into English and others into Latin.

(III) Martial, *Epigrams* (2 vols), tr. Walter C.A. Ker, 1920 (Fig. 10.6)

Greek texts are sometimes translated into Latin, but there arises a problem for the translator if the text is already in Latin. To what language can he turn? Ker, in translating Martial's so-called obscene epigrams, found a solution by printing the facing translation in Italian.⁴⁹

Ker did not need to explain in his introduction why certain epigrams had been dealt with in this way – the knowledge of the obscene epigrams on the part of the reader was assumed. So common were expurgated editions of various kinds that there is a precedent for his strategy: Ker begins the translation section of his bibliography by mentioning the prose translation published in Bohn's 'Classical Library' (published in 1860), the English translations by Bohn and others, 'the obscene epigrams being, however, in Graglia's Italian'.⁵⁰ In the list of translations, Graglia's editions of 1782 and 1791 are included, along with the explanatory note: 'whose versions of the obscene epigrams have been utilized in the following work'. That is to say, he follows a precedent *exactly*, going so far as to use the same Italian translation as a predecessor.⁵¹

A translator working for the LCL had a third recourse open to him, if he did not want to obfuscate or excise: he could retain the text in place, and print a translation in a language other than the expected target language of English. The languages used sometimes had a historical precedent, as in the case of earlier translations of Achilles Tatius and Martial. But Latin as a target language for translation of objectionable material from Greek has a number of possible excuses:

1. A student or scholar of Greek authors, using the Loeb for its edition of the text, could have been presumed to have Greek, and thus not be Latinless either, so a translation into Latin would have been almost as useful as a translation in English, while still achieving the exclusion of those amateurs and students who might have neither.
2. As another classical language, those who had Latin might have been seen as possessing the sort of 'mature mind' that could handle such material without being corrupted by it.
3. Students, using the Loeb to *learn* Greek, might be presumed to have had more Latin than Greek, and a translation in Latin would be helpful to them, too, if not as accessible as one in English.

THE EPIGRAMS OF MARTIAL

Briseis multum quamvis aversa iaceret,
Acacidae propior levis amicus erat. 10
parce tuis igitur dare mascula nomina rebus
teque puta cunnos, uxor, habere duos.

XLIV

ORBUS es et locuples et Bruto consule natus:
esse tibi veras credis amicitias?
sunt verae, sed quas iuvenis, quas pauper habebas.
qui novus est, mortem diligit ille tuam.

XLV

INTRASTI quotiens inscriptae liminâ cellae,
seu puer adrisit sive puella tibi,
contentus non es foribus veloque seraque,
secretumque iubes grandius esse tibi: 5
oblinitur minimae si qua est suspicio rimae
punctaque lasciva quae terebrantur acu.
nemo est tam teneri tam sollicitique pudoris
qui vel pedicat, Canthare, vel futuit.

XLVI

IAM nisi per somnum non arrigis et tibi, Maevi,
incipit in medios meiere verpa pedes,
truditur et digitis pannucea mentula lassis
nec levat extinctum sollicitata caput.
quid miseros frustra cunnos culosque lacessis? 5
summa petas: illic mentula vivit anus.

¹ i.e. you are incredibly old: cf. x. xxxix. 1.

BOOK XI. XLIII-XLVI

giacesse molto avversa, l'imberbe amico era più con-
tiguo ad Eacide. Contieniti dunque di dar nomi
mascolini alle cose tue, ed immaginati, O moglie,
d'aver due c—ni!

XLIV

You are childless and rich and were born in the
consulship of Brutus:¹ do you imagine you have
true friendships? True friendships there are, but
those you possessed when young, those when poor.
The new friend is one who has an affection for
your death.

XLV

WHENEVER you have passed the threshold of a
placarded cubicle, whether it be a boy or a girl who
has smiled on you, you are not satisfied with a door
and a curtain and a bolt, and you require that
greater secrecy should be provided for you. If
there be any suspicion of the smallest chink it is
plastered up, as also the eyelets that are bored by
a mischievous needle. No one is of a modesty so
tender and so anxious, Cantharus, who is either
a — or a —.²

XLVI

Di già non arrigi che in sogno, ed il tuo pene, O
Mevio, incomincia pisciarti fra i piedi, e la corrugata
mentola è provocata dalle stanche dita, ne sollicitata
rizza l'estinto capo. A che inutilmente importuni i
poveri c—ni e culi? Va in alto: colà una vecchiaia
mentola vive.

² i.e. whose tastes are not abnormal.

Fig. 10.6. Martial: retranslation to Italian of some epigrams from Book 11. Epigram 45 shows non-translation: the last line should be 'who is either a fucker of men or of women' (W.C.A. Ker 1920, vol. 2, 270-1).

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If these reasons were indeed applied – my suggestion of them is purely speculative – then the first two at least imply two audiences, each of which thought of very differently by the publishers: the first is composed of scholars, who would be able to use a non-English translation, and who, therefore ‘deserve’ to be able to understand the text; and the second is composed of amateurs, or younger students, who are using the *LCL* primarily for its translation (whether to aid reading the text, or learning the classical language) and who, it seems, could not be trusted with an exact representation of the contents of the original.

That the *LCL* volumes were produced with at least these two audiences in mind is also suggested by the *LCL*’s aim ‘to make the work of classical authors accessible to as many readers as possible.’⁵² Since this work is dedicated to interpreting the word ‘accessible’, here, I will conclude this chapter by drawing attention only to the concept of ‘as many readers as possible’.

Conclusion

Throughout this study, I have shown that a wide range of material was considered offensive either by the editors or by the translators of the *LCL* in the first third of the twentieth century. *LCL* translators employed various translation strategies to evade this material which, rather than make the text more accessible, provided barriers to understanding. Announcements make it clear that the *LCL* had an intended audience that included not only scholars and students, but also amateurs and those wishing to learn Latin and Greek; and some translation strategies seem specifically designed to exclude all but the Classically-educated male (the ‘gentleman’ of the quotation on p. 175) from fully accessing the text. This gentleman, it was assumed, could cope with the material without being corrupted.

Since their first publication, previously evasive translations have become more accurate, and frank, due to the *LCL* either revising old translations (Cornish’s Catullus), or providing new ones (Henderson’s Aristophanes). This chapter shows that ‘translation’, for the *LCL*, could mean deliberately mistranslating, *not* translating, or translating into an unexpected, non-target, language. This is a much broader definition than we might like to gain from a study of a series which aims at the highest scholarly standards. However, as we take ever firmer hold of the twenty-first century, it seems, thankfully, that we are leaving all that behind.

Notes

1. Editors 1912, 146.
2. Editors 1912, 145.
3. Gaselee 1915, ix.
4. Gaselee 1915, ix.
5. Adlington 1922, 24-5.
6. Gaselee 1915, 25.
7. ‘stale, v.’ *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd edn 1989. Online version: *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. <http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50235887>, accessed 10 February 2008.
8. Rogers 1904, 135.
9. Murray 1904, v – Murray places these words in quotation marks, but it is not clear if or whom he is quoting.

10. Ibid.
11. James Loeb, in Harvard University Press n.d.
12. Rogers 1904, 135.
13. James Loeb, in Harvard University Press n.d.
14. The poems are numbers 15, 21, 37, 49, 71, 74, 78, 79, 80, 89, 94, 97, 100, and 110-13.
15. W.H.D. Rouse, a general editor, may well have replaced the poems with his paraphrases against Showerman's will (the phrasing in the introduction suggests the translator was less than pleased about the situation).
16. Ramsay 1918, viii.
17. Editors 1912, 146.
18. Woodman 1915, 468.
19. Shorey 1898 (rev. with Laing, 1910). <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/9646>, accessed 6 March 2008. For earlier similar treatments see Harrison's chapter in this volume.
20. Anon. 1914, n.p. (xx).
21. Showerman 1921, 317.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Tr. 'I'll snag you and gag you' Swanson 1959, 17, in Winter 1973. See also Richlin 1981.
25. Winter 1973, 249.
26. Tr. Lindsay 1948 in Winter 1973, 258.
27. Cornish 1913, n.p.
28. Ramsay 1918, viii.
29. See the discussion of Catullus 16, here and in Winter 1973.
30. Tr. Braund 2004.
31. Named after the Bodleian (i.e. *Oxoniense*) manuscript in which they were found, as recently as 1895.
32. If it had been treated this way, it would be the only example of transposition accompanied by translation.
33. In 1930, a new preface by the Editors announced that 'passages which were left untranslated in earlier editions are now given in English; these are based upon the old translation of Wilson.' Wilson's translation dates from 1698 (Heseltine 1930, vii).
34. Cf. the discussion of Ovid, *Amores* 3.7 on pp. 16-17.
35. Original translation by this author.
36. Heseltine 1913, xvi.
37. 'one can hardly bear to tell or be told, let alone believe' (tr. from the 1951 revision).
38. Harvard University Press, n.d.
39. '[The] two gentlemen, having struck up an acquaintance with a fellow passenger, a young Alexandrian named Menelaus, beguile the voyage by discussing with their new friend the all-engrossing subject of love, the remarks on which at last take so antiplatonic a tone, that we can only hope Leucippe was out of hearing.' Anon [Frederick Holme], Review of Clitophon and Leucippe, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 55, no. 339, January 1844: 33-44.
40. Gaselee 1917, 122-3; according to a footnote in another translation, Hodges' printed 'So at last we fell in a large discourse concerning the dignity of their sex, which I list not here to set down' (Winkler 1989, 205). Winkler also claims that one or more translators performed 'radical surgery' and changed the sexes (presumably of the boys, to women), but does not give references.
41. μέσσοις 'middle', also in the sense of genitals/anus, which are in the middle of the body, and ὑπουργεῖ 'service (v.)' are both euphemistic terms whose general sense would not be in doubt (Henderson 1991, 156 and 160, respectively).
42. Paton 1918 (rev. 1971), 389 – Paton having died in 1921, the epigrams were probably restored to English by E.H. Warmington, the general editor at the time, whose work can be recognised by the use of the word 'poker' for 'penis', according to current General Editor, Jeffrey Henderson (correspondence).
43. Compare treatment of Ovid, *Amores* 3.7.
44. Modestly, the penis is addressed as ἀνώνυμον 'unnamed thing'.

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45. Poem 6, not listed here because it is mainly translated into English, prints *podex* as an explanation for the Greek term 'ἡρώκτορς' left in the translation.

46. Paton 1918 (rev. 1971), 351.

47. *Ibid.*, 357.

48. Paton 1918, 280-1 – from which all the following quotations are taken.

49. At least, this is his strategy for epigrams which are wholly pornographic: isolated rude words in epigrams that are otherwise non-obscene (particularly, translations of *cunnius* 'cunt', *cinaedus* 'pathic' and *fellator* 'cock-sucker', etc.) are replaced with blanks. It is common to find, even in the Italian translations, 'c—ni': comparison with the Italian in the Loeb and Bohn editions suggests that is what Graglia printed originally.

50. Ker 1920, xx.

51. Ker has chosen not to follow the precedent of the 'Delphin *Martial*' (Amsterdam, 1701), which published the obscene epigrams as an appendix. It is worth pointing out that each editor will have made different value judgments about which epigrams are obscene and how to deal with them. Retention of Latin, collection in an appendix, and retranslation are only three methods employed.

52. Harvard University Press n.d.

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How to fillet a Penguin

Robert Crowe

Expurgation is never truly synonymous with deletion and it certainly is not so in the case of a translation. The translator is perhaps for once at an advantage, because in translation one can purge a text without reducing it (physically, at least). What causes grave concern in Latin or Greek can be played with until it behaves in its new language. So 'it' does not have to disappear at all, because what you are purging, as a translator, is aspects of the content, not form. This is of course simplistic; but, whereas a textual editor will be forced either (a) to reproduce, or (b) to strike through (unless some ingenious emendation can be made), translation is under no comparable obligation to respect the form or the letter. Depending on whether or not one wants to reserve the term 'expurgation' for a very specific use, in which case I suppose it does not belong in discussions of translation at all, it seems that translators have a broader range of tools in their bowdlerisatory belts. A translator can add all manner of amendments and alterations to the more drastic measures of emendation, excision and omission.

Primarily, this chapter will trace the fragmentary history of one book and its contexts, Paul Turner's translation of Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, published by Penguin in 1956 and revised for reissue in 1968.¹ However, some prefatory remarks are warranted about the Penguin Classics and obscene material generally. It should be remembered that policy, insofar as there was a policy at all, was variable and pliant. The long period spanned by the editorial stints of E.V. Rieu (1945-1964) and Betty Radice (1964-1985) unsurprisingly defies simple statements of fact. The variety and number of works translated and the relatively free rein granted to translators meant that there were almost as many ways of handling rude bits as there were rude bits to be handled. However, there are broadly three discernible methods of coping with 'difficult' material, sometimes observable operating alone, more often in combination with one another. The catch-all capaciousness of their definitions should indicate that these are by no means unusual phenomena, and certainly not techniques particular to Penguin. First, there is the destructive: rank omission, 'pure' expurgation, an outright refusal to translate, treating parts of the Greek or Latin text as if they were invisible. The second is reductive, though not necessarily physically: euphemism, or mitigation, subtler manoeuvres in the interests of propriety. Lastly, there is occasionally a constructive factor, most commonly at play as compensation for the deployment of one or both of the first two strategies: this is the augmentation of the negative evaluation, or dysphemism, the 'reverse of euphemism'.²

Peter Green, translator of Juvenal and Ovid for the series, recalls an anecdote which illustrates that obscenity and how to treat it were cause for anxiety to Penguin:

I was first commissioned, in 1957, to translate Juvenal, and Dr E. V. Rieu, the series' founder and guardian, asked me in a discreetly lowered voice, after a good lunch at the Athenaeum: 'Now, my boy, what are we going to do about the smut?' ('Translate it', I answered, and, since my progress was slow enough to catch the revolution of the Sixties, I not only did that, but got it published without trouble.)³

E.V. Rieu, 'the series' founder and guardian' – this is a significant turn of phrase for the purposes of talking about expurgation, since Rieu seems to have been a man whose view of the Classics, not unusually given his age and background – born 1887, St Paul's and Balliol – was, to some extent, one of enduring 'Golden' texts. While the law insisted he protect the public (from depravity and corruption), equally he was responsible for the reputation of the Classics, that they be conveyed as fully as possible and with their status intact. While they must be translated (and it was his conviction that they should be by each generation), equally they must not be sullied by their contact with grimy modernity: the Classics must always be top drawer, but never top shelf.⁴

When Allen Lane, the founder of Penguin Books, was asked during the *Lady Chatterley's Lover* trial at the back end of 1960, 'Why in fact did you take the view that you should not publish an expurgated edition?' he replied 'Because it is against our principle. We would not publish a book in an emasculated form. We would only publish it if we were doing what we stated we were doing, that is selling the book as written by the author.'⁵ So over all discussion of obscenity and what to do with it hangs a tension: on the one hand, Lane's position, shared by Rieu, committed to giving popular audiences all the classics have; and on the other, Rieu's discomfort at how this kind of honesty in translation might manifest itself. This is analogous to what Deborah Roberts calls 'a kind of double tact', displayed in 'not only concern for the sensibilities or moral well-being of the readership but also concern for the status of the text. Those translators who either excise the obscene or obfuscate its presence seek to defend and protect their authors as well as to spare their audience's sensibilities.'⁶ The question '*What are we going to do about the smut?*' shows that within certain bounds, there was room for negotiation; further, that there was no set policy, again with one or two riders. Rieu, in a profile in *The Times*, is recorded as declaring that 'four letter words are barred', and indeed the evidence shows that this precept was not ignored during his tenure.⁷ It is worth noting that during his time at the helm Rieu managed to avoid publishing the more obviously naughty texts. Apuleius and bits of Suetonius are probably the only eyebrow-raisers during his twenty years in charge, and both were skilfully fangled by Robert Graves, whose techniques are, in the main, a subject for another day. One example, however, concerning his *Golden Ass* of 1950, might prove useful. It is unusual in that here the author shows us where he feels the line lies, in terms of obscenity, rather than leaving us to make vague inferences from how the translation plays out.

A.S.B. Glover, a Penguin director, editorial generalist, and 'one of the most extraordinary men to grace a publisher's office',⁸ wrote a note to Rieu saying that in his opinion Graves had handled the smut in his new translation of the *Golden Ass*

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quite skilfully, neither bowdlerizing it nor making it more important than it is [...] As is always the case with such work, a risk exists that if a 'common informer' made a fuss it might be the subject of proceedings: but either to omit the doubtful passages, or to leave them in the original, would be to spoil the job. Few of our readers read much Latin!⁹

And, very likely, still less Greek. Graves includes as an appendix to the *Golden Ass* a treatment of a similar narrative by the Greek satirist Lucian of Samosata. He states that he will stop 'at the point where his [Lucian's] sexual humour becomes offensively crude'.¹⁰ This passage is only selected and quoted as illustrative of the style and content of one of Apuleius' sources, so to talk of omitting obscenity is not quite pertinent, but we can use this as a sort of barometer for the limits of what Graves (and Penguin Books) thought unacceptable. The comparatively stilted prose is suggestive of strenuous attempts to keep things above belt and board. The last lines Graves gives are:

... Palaestra was busy at the stove preparing our supper and I at once addressed her: 'Lovely Palaestra, how prettily you bend and wriggle your hips as you stir the pot. Your sinuous motions send a shiver down my spine. He'll be a lucky man whom you allow to stick his fingers into your stew ...'¹¹

Is the point at which things become 'offensively crude' 'stick his fingers into your stew' or somewhere buried in the ellipsis which follows? Palaestra continues the sexual/cookery metaphor, claiming that Lucius will be badly burned if he touches it (her 'stew'). If anything, it seems Graves breaks off because the innuendo is quite monotonous, rather than increasingly distasteful, and his proposal 'stew' (which is inferred from the mention of the pan (*têi khutrai*) rather than the faintly gnomic *makarios hostis entautha enebapsato* – 'happy the man who dips himself in there'), creates a rather icky idiom to justify his own promise of something that is 'offensively crude' (considerably cruder than the Greek, perhaps).

Graves' version of the equivalent Apuleian passage (*Metamorphoses* 2.7) no doubt flavoured his translation of Lucian, for in the Latin there is mention made of the food in question.

'Quam pulchre quamque festive' inquam 'Photis mea, ollulam istam cum natibus intorques! Quam mellitum pulmentum apparas! Felix et certius beatus cui permiseris illuc digitum intingere.'

runs as follows:

'Dear Fotis,' I said, 'how daintily, how charmingly you stir that casserole: I love watching you wriggle your hips. And what a wonderful cook you are! The man whom you allow to poke his finger into your little casserole is the luckiest fellow alive.'¹²

We might wonder about the coyness of 'hips' for *natibus*, 'buttocks'. Graves also, characteristically, enlarges, adding 'That sort of stew would tickle the most jaded palate', a line which Michael Grant removed at the earliest opportunity.¹³

Crucially, Allen Lane promised to back Graves should the matter become a legal one, even offering to remove the standard libel and obscenity liability clause from

Graves' contract. It was no idle promise: the law did intervene, but not in the UK. The *Golden Ass* faced trouble in Australia, where it was detained on entry to the country as a suspect package. After a short period of popular dissent, including a press headline censuring the officials' 'Golden Asininity', it was permitted entry and promptly sold out.¹⁴ It also received the indignity of a ban in Ireland, whose officials rubber-stamped the prohibition by an order of 12 May 1950. The Oifig Chinsireacht Fhoilseachán (Office of Censorship of Publications) informed Penguin by post on 18 May 1950 that the publication of the book planned for the following day would not go ahead on account of its being adjudged 'indecent or obscene'.

When the time came for Graves to return a similar obscenity-related favour, he rather disappointed his masters by refusing to support the case for the publication of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, not because of 'its alleged pornography', but because

D.H. Lawrence, even at his purest, is the writer I least like of any of my contemporaries and I won't have a book of his on my shelves; can't explain it, some antipathetic element, I suppose. Of course, I'm not the public.¹⁵

The first volume of Aristophanes (*Frogs*, *Wasps*, *The Poet and the Woman*, translated by David Barrett), which was commissioned in 1954, pointedly did not come out until Radice took over a decade later and that only after summit meetings at Rieu's Highgate residence to discuss certain tricky sections in *Thesmophoriasuzae*.¹⁶ Indeed the near simultaneity of Radice's arrival in 1964 and the belated entrance of Aristophanes in smart new black covers that very same year is rather telling.¹⁷ But one text which did cause the old man trouble was Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, translated by Paul Turner and published in 1956.

In January 1956, the final draft of Turner's translation went to the printers, who presently announced that they were 'shocked' and wondered if they were alone in feeling so. Significantly, it was only after this third party objection that Penguin sought a legal opinion. Michael Rubinstein, the firm's regular solicitor, was engaged to examine and report on the manuscript. Turner accordingly made amends and the work was sent back to Penguin's learned friends. Rubinstein insisted that two passages still represented a 'substantial risk' and required 'further modification', but met with a firm refusal and polite thanks for this additional counsel. Left with the alternatives of no further revision or complete omission, Penguin opted not to play safe.¹⁸ As before, faced with an understandably tentative translator, the founder of the company identified himself as the man with whom the buck stopped:

Sir Allen Lane, who is presumably the man who will go to prison if we are prosecuted, quite agrees with this course so we shall go ahead with the book as it now stands with your recent typed modifications.¹⁹

Examples of what was and was not acceptable over time and the methods used to deal with it can be found in Turner's translation, its reworking and the correspondence that circulated throughout the process. A revision was mooted and begun in 1966.²⁰ The revised edition was released in 1968 and the newly-restored 'dirty' passages show up more clearly that in fact originally the text had been subjected to some decorous acts of surgery.

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Part of the trouble was cryptically described by Rieu, according to Turner some years later, as being something to do with 'the goats, my dear'. In 1968, Turner reiterated his opinion of the book's purity, explaining that twelve years previously he

merely had to 'doctor' a few sentences on pages 80-82, and some more on pp102-3 [...] I certainly do hope that the new edition can be unexpurgated, as you suggest. It is a profoundly innocent and respectable book!²¹

Be that as it may, we shall see that *Daphnis and Chloe* stands as an example of a text in the Penguin Classics series which was at one point specifically expurgated, in the sense that in addition to 'doctoring', occasionally parts of the Greek text were ignored and not translated at all, removed rather than re-jigged (not to say that doctoring does not occasionally involve amputations).

In 1956, Turner had looked forward to taking pride in his no-holds-barred edition, but once he was warned about the legal threat he was forced to alter his translation. He was cautious to insist that it not now be presented as complete:

By the way, I hope you have not used the word 'unexpurgated' which I included in my suggestions for the blurb, which I sent to you last summer. It will not now be the right epithet.²²

There is no converse suggestion that the book carry an honesty certificate, declaring its 'expurgated' nature. It is not hard to see why that would be an unattractive option for publishers, but the decision not to be entirely candid had its consequences, as we shall see later.

The archival correspondence is fascinating and often weirdly risqué in its own right. In a slightly inappropriate exchange regarding the manipulation of the 'homosexual' material there is surely too much talk of 'offending passages' for coincidence. The fraught debate between editor, lawyer and publisher over the 'two paragraphs at the bottom' is probably the clincher. Were such discussions beneath them? It would be patronising to say it was inadvertent, and naïve to claim this publishing house badinage was entirely innocent. The odd, tense blend of prep-school humour and the spectre of punitive action suggests at least something of just how uncomfortable a situation this was. Some of the mixed tone is caught in a letter from Glover to Turner which begins (in 1956) 'As you know there has been discussion of possible legal trouble over some of the passages in your translation of DAPHNIS AND CHLOE'. It ends:

Dr Rieu asks me to send you his love with the letter, but I am a little reluctant to do this in view of the nature of the correspondence and the fact that although Sir David Maxwell Fyfe has left us we still have a Home Secretary and I should not at all like to get six months for acting as a go-between! Perhaps, however, the love that Dr Rieu is sending you is just Christian benevolence – I hope so.²³

Despite the dimly juvenile humour, there was of course a very serious point to all the knockabout. This was 1956, homosexuality still very much illegal and to remain so until 1967. Although the previous home secretary, Maxwell Fyfe (authoritarian Conservative, rampantly homophobic, keen capital punisher), had been replaced with

a tamer beast, Gwilym Lloyd George, there was still some disquiet, understandably given the nature of the material under scrutiny at Penguin. As Home Secretary, Maxwell Fyfe had refused clemency to the teenaged Derek Bentley (who had been convicted, in contentious circumstances, of the murder of a policeman, and was hanged on 28 January 1953). During his term, prosecutions for sodomy and gross indecency rose steeply, at the same time as record numbers of books were banned and their disseminators prosecuted. These included not only the straightforwardly pornographic. Works by Defoe, Flaubert and Sartre were destroyed.²⁴

The sense of unease was fuelled by the professional legal view: Michael Rubinstein wrote to Penguin on 30 January 1956 to lay out in detail his problems with Turner's text:

There is inevitably a risk of proceedings for publication of obscene libels, even though with a change of Home Secretary there seems to have been a change of policy necessarily of unpredictable duration, which appears to reduce the risk for the present. At the same time, as I have advised in relation to previous books in this series which have been sent to me to read, the Authorities would probably be more reluctant to prosecute in the case of a Classic than in the case of some 'modern novels'. However, where a Classic has been translated, it is obviously open to the translator to use more or less discretion in the translation of passages which might be deemed obscene, and it could be said that for this reason there is a clear responsibility on the Publisher to arrange for the revision of the translations, where-ever required, to eradicate obscenity.²⁵

Here it seems that even where the wrong kind of loves were on the line, the very same thing that Rieu is trying to protect and convey to readers, i.e. the work's classic status (we should note Rubinstein's pointed use of a capital 'C'), will also most likely save it from the clutches of litigation.

Unfortunately, the editor and the lawyer seem to have different views on what constitutes translation. From the point of view of the latter, further 'eradication' of the obscenity would leave a reader with something which is not a translation worth the name. When considering translation, although it is rarely seen as a creative activity on a par with writing which is not translation, the lawyer's view is that creating the rude words or words relating to obscene deeds could easily be seen as gratuitous, so any culpability will rest with translator and publisher (while credit, incidentally, will revert to the 'original' author). Lawrence, e.g., 'really' wrote '****', '****', '****' etc. So the problem with the modern English novel is perceived as both immediately more serious and less soluble. There were no excuses for translators.

Some of the detailed criticisms and annotations made by Rubinstein are reproduced below. His verdict was described by Rieu, writing to Glover, as 'over-cautious', and the Editor goes on to note that

many of his passages are given in Thornley's English in the Loeb, not in Latin, and if we took R. really seriously throughout we would have to cut out both Gnathon & Lycaenion and might as well not publish the book.²⁶

Turner was dismayed, and a little baffled, explaining that

In 1657, under a Puritan government, Thornley published a literal translation of Daphnis

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and Chloe and called it 'A pleasant romance for Young Ladies'. We haven't made much progress in 300 years!²⁷

Rieu forwarded him Rubinstein's letter, overlaid now with his own pencilled ruminations (some of which are here reproduced in square brackets):

102: The reference to Gnathon as a homosexual and the paragraph beginning on that page in particular and ending at the top of Page 103. [? p. 81 & blood EVR passage on p. 82. And isn't this blood referred to later?]²⁸

Further reference to Gnathon (pages 106, 107 and 109) are relatively harmless except in the context of the passages referred to on pages 102 and 103. [[underlines 'harmless'] 'Still. Modify if you can. I don't think the whole presentation of Gnathon can be cut out.']

[...]

The other passages which I have considered in particular are:

Page 50: I do not myself consider that this is capable of corrupting, although it also might be read out in Court if there were a prosecution based upon other passages.

['Nor do I. Damn it all! Look at Graham Greene's filthy book: - The Quiet American!']

The scene of nature to which similar remarks apply, and the story about Lycaenion on pages 81-82 and the final sentence on page 122 ['Good heavens! Why?'] all or any of which, as they stand, might well have been classed as obscene during the campaign some months ago.²⁹

Let us fast-forward to 1968 – suggestive date. While Paris rioted and Prague sprang, Penguin's contribution to the sense of anti-establishmentism was to release its new version of *Daphnis and Chloe*, 'Unexpurgated', a fact uniquely commemorated not only in a note at the end of the introduction but also on the copyright page. The pride in wearing its unexpurgatedness on its sleeve, for want of a more bibliographically accurate term, was tempered by at least one disgruntled complainer who quite rightly pointed out that if this was an unexpurgated version, why was the previous, implicitly expurgated text not marked out as being so. Whether this was 'misleading and immoral' as the correspondent claimed is a matter of opinion, but there is no doubt that the overweening paratextual pride of the 1968 revision 'outed' its forerunner for the mildly fraudulent effort that it was. The author, a doctor of dental biochemistry at the University of Sheffield, wrote (on 12 December 1968)

Dear Sirs,

You published in 1968 a translation of *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus. This translation is purported to be unexpurgated.

In 1956 you also published a translation which is expurgated, however, nowhere does it say in the copy I have that this is the case.

This is misleading and immoral, many publishers issue works in abridged or expurgated form without saying so, but for a publisher of your standing to do so is very disturbing. What is your policy regarding works translated from other languages where few people are able to check with the original? Works written in English are a different problem, re. *Lady Chatterley*, where your policy is to be recommended.

Julia Vellacott, at that time internal editor of the Classics (and daughter of Philip, translator of Greek drama for the series) issued Penguin's *mea culpa* on 6 January:

I am sorry that this should be so; it is definitely our policy to indicate all expurgated books, so this must simply have been an oversight.

The editorial files certainly suggest, by the sheer volume of discussion, and the number of people privy to the fact of the expurgations, that this 'oversight' was deliberate. Anyway, the rude parts had been re-inserted – cue some more epistolary jesting.

It is only by committing this act of time-travel that we can really see what sorts of thing Penguin Books saw fit to veto in the first edition. It is unfortunate that we must deal only with imprecise, generic, 'sorts', because the actual thing, i.e. Turner's original typescript, containing the passages at which printers had gasped and which were cut, had been lost by Penguin (a not uncommon fate) and he had not kept a copy. In November 1966 it was decided he be paid £50 to create new versions of the lacunae and altered sections. In fact, the passages which I will go on to deal with are the very two sections that had caused Michael Rubinstein to implore Penguin to re-revise before printing in 1956.

One particularly notable omission is the early edition's difficulty in coming to terms with the issue of love felt by men for other men or boys. The character Gnathon is one such man, and at 4.11 he is described as φύσει παιδεραστής ὢν, 'being by nature a [however one wishes to translate παιδεραστής]. In 1956 this entire phrase is omitted, the passage reading:

‘Ο δὲ Γνάθων [...] οὐ παρέργως εἶδε τὸν Δάφνιν τὰ δῶρα κομίσαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσει παιδεραστής ὢν καὶ κάλλος οἶον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως εὐρῶν ἐπιθέσθαι διέγνων τῷ Δάφνιδι καὶ πείσειν ᾤετο ῥαδίως ὥς αἰπόλον.

Gnathon [...] had not failed to observe Daphnis closely when he brought the presents. He had never seen such a beautiful boy before, even in the city, so he determined to make advances to him, thinking it would be quite easy to talk Daphnis round as he was only a goatherd.³⁰

It is something shocking to consider that Rubinstein had been forced to advise that this be cut further, even to the point of total omission. It is hard to imagine, but it must be accepted, that printing this constituted risk-taking.³¹ Rubinstein had pointed out that even *references* to homosexuality, let alone endorsements of it or descriptions of sexual activity involving people of the same sex, had been particularly censured in recent times:

... in the last campaign against the publication of obscene libels, especially hostile attention was given to the publication of references to homosexuality.

Thus Penguin were not willing to risk this harmless participial clause; in 1956, it was still adjudged to be a love that could not write its name. In 1968, the offending phrase was (re)introduced and the last part, concerning Daphnis' suggestibility, coloured in. We find out how Turner had wanted to translate *paiderastes*. Or do we? He had

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lost the originals. Tantalising though it may be, we mustn't give in to believing that this is what Turner actually wrote in 1956, despite the frequent reference to passages' being 'restored' as though they were available for such an action. We can consider whether, since things are sufficiently different a decade later that the passages no longer need to be expurgated, Turner may wish to translate the controversial sections afresh. Time had passed, memory is imperfect, and even if it weren't, there is every reason to suppose the translator was able to bring new insights to the old problem. A decade after his first attempt, he came up with

Gnathon [...] had not failed to observe Daphnis closely when he brought the presents. Having homosexual tastes, he found Daphnis more attractive than anything he had seen in the town, so he decided to make advances, thinking that a goatherd should be quite easy to seduce.³²

The movement away from a void to an attempt to render is to be taken as some sort of progress, but 'homosexual tastes' perhaps misleadingly avoids the need to specify the (approximate) age of the males towards whom the 'homosexual tastes' are directed. It is not clear from the correspondence whether this is coyness on translator's or editor's side in not wanting to allude to paedophilic desire, or a more general elision of same sex love of other men with the love of boys. The reversion of 'city' to 'town' (for πόλεως) in the 1968 edition is a very gentle reminder that we should be wary of assuming that later will always mean ruder or more suggestive. Turner could have made this alteration for reasons of euphony or supposed historical accuracy (the archive does not reveal). It might be as simple as that, but it does seem to be in need of explanation. It is not impossible that he wished to seem to be earning his £50, but we might speculate that if he was subtly suggesting the corruptive vice connotative of 'city' as opposed to 'town', the later and more explicit version may have rendered that hint's impact redundant.

It was not just homosexual activity that terrified the publishers. Another coldspot is found in section 3.14: finally, my dears, the goats:

Εἶτα οὐχ ὀρᾷς ὦ Δάφνι' τὰς αἰγὰς καὶ τοὺς τράγους καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς καὶ τὰς οἷς ὀρθοὶ μὲν ἐκεῖνοι δρῶσιν ὀρθαὶ δὲ ἐκεῖναι πάσχουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐπιπηδήσαντες αἱ δὲ κατανωτισάμεναι; Σὺ δέ με ἀξιοῖς συγκατακλινῆναι καὶ ταῦτα γυμνῆν;

which in 1956 read:

But Daphnis, haven't you noticed that the sheep and goats stay standing up? Yet you want me to lie down without any clothes on.³³

This scene is poorly lit. The specificity of male and female animals is ignored, as are the actions of δρῶσιν and πάσχουσιν. The οἱ μὲν ... αἱ δὲ climax is omitted wholesale, doubtless because the explicitness of ἐπιπηδάω (leap upon) and κατανωτίζομαι (carry on one's back) would leave a reader in no doubt as to what was going on. Despite the 'doing' word in the Greek, δρῶσιν, the expurgated edition opts for the feeble 'stay'; this pushes euphemism to the limit, wilful mistranslation as a form of expurgation? It has the advantage of avoiding the charge of refusing to render some portion of the text.

But by 1968, looser times saw tighter translation:

But Daphnis, haven't you noticed that the rams and the he-goats do it standing up, and the ewes and the she-goats have it done to them standing up? The males jump on top of the females from behind. Yet you want me to lie down without any clothes on ...³⁴

The sheep and goats' gender is clarified – the scene more vividly described by separating male ovines and caprines from female. The pure omission is also rectified. We saw that doing 'it' was inadmissible in 1956, so we should hardly be surprised that doing it 'from behind' was not going to be allowed. In 1968, this is reintroduced. This movement from an airbrushed 'scene of nature' to a slightly more explicit version is quite typical, and another example can be found in the section Rubinstein flagged concerning Lycaenion, and the education of Daphnis.

when the moment came she raised him up into the right position and showed him what he had been trying so long to discover. Then she left Nature to teach Daphnis the rest.³⁵

The unadulterated text reads quite differently, beginning with the addition of the words 'and when she felt him get big and ready for action' in lieu of the plain 'when the moment came,' and continuing

she raised him up from where he lay on his side, slipped her body under his, and deftly guided him into the passage that he had been trying so long to find. After that she made no special efforts; for Nature herself taught Daphnis all that remained to be done.³⁶

To attempt to understand why these de- and then re-sexualisations occurred, it is necessary to consider some of the context in which translation and revision appeared. It so happens that Turner's two versions lie at either end of a period in which there were profound shifts, at Penguin and in the 'world' at large (significantly in the law, and likewise, though more vaguely, in society). The archival evidence, inescapably messy and incomplete, suggests an atmosphere of mild panic below stairs in the run-up to the publication of the first edition. The jocundity of some of the exchanges does not cover the fact that, even though it was derided, the legal threat was taken seriously, and that it was a very grave thing indeed to jeopardise not only the immediate future of the book (which could face destruction if a prosecution proved successful) but also the liberty of those involved in its production, publication and distribution. A parallel to the tense atmosphere and the weak humour required to render it tolerable can be found in an anecdote about the filming of the 1961 film, *Victim* (dir. Basil Dearden), starring Dirk Bogarde as a closeted barrister who fights to uncover blackmailers threatening to expose young gay men. Bogarde is reported to have said

The set was closed to all visitors, the Press firmly forbidden, and the whole project was treated, at the beginning, with all the false reverence, dignity and respect usually accorded to the Crucifixion or Queen Victoria. Fortunately this nonsense was brought to a swift end by one of the chippies yelling out, 'Watch yer arse, Charlie!' to a bending companion, and we settled down to work as if it was any other film.³⁷

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The film has been seen as contributing to a liberalisation of attitudes towards homosexuality, the same attitudes that played some part in the complex mixture of social changes that helped to make possible the revisions to *Daphnis and Chloe*.

The story of *Daphnis and Chloe* demonstrates the intricate way in which decisions were collectively taken. These typically involved several persons – authors, editors, publishers (we have seen that Allen Lane made himself a part of the process by his willingness to go to court if necessary – the first edition in 1956 stands three years before the Obscene Publications Act, sponsored by Roy Jenkins) – with their own prejudices and under pressure from various personal, professional and societal concerns. The responsibility to re-issue and re-insert expurgated passages was largely Radice's, in conjunction with senior editors who had to be persuaded that Turner's translation was worth returning to print. It had sold out its run of 30,000 in 1961 after five middling-to-unspectacular years in the bookshops. By the time its revamp was mooted it had been unavailable for five years. One of those who needed to be on board, Tony Godwin, Chief Editor at Penguin at the time the revision was commissioned, is worth mentioning. His arrival and influence from 1960 onwards coincided with and instigated various more or less radical changes. It was his approval that was required for the new book, and this was done partly by appeal to the opportunity to exploit one of his innovations, the black livery for the Classics series, with accompanying photography. This was the same covering which dismayed Rieu, with whom Godwin ('Tony the Twerp') enjoyed a difficult relationship before the old man retired in 1964, somewhat prematurely. Godwin's career symbolises the alteration that Penguin underwent during the 1960s, but also signals the limit of the revolution, or at least that there was still a limit. After several bright years, he was dismissed in 1967, when Allen Lane took issue with a lewdly humorous book which Godwin continued to support, *Massacre*, by the French cartoonist Siné.³⁸

During the twelve years between editions, a new editor had come to the fore. Betty Radice, who took over from Rieu and maintained the classical wing of Penguin's translations until her death in 1985, can be regarded as having overseen, if not directly encouraged, the increase in crude language in translations of classical literature. Untangling her decisions from a gradual and more wide-reaching cultural liberalisation of thinking about rude words is not possible. Whether the Chatterley trial or the change of incumbent editor could be seen as a turning point in the handling of the obscenity question is debatable and it would be fairer to see each as both cause and symptom of the slowly creeping increase in quantity and vehemence of obscene material in Penguin Classics. The Chatterley affair was undoubtedly significant in showing that under the right circumstances rude words (at least) could be printed without fear of successful prosecution. The two editors were a generation apart and although they had worked successfully in harness (Radice was Rieu's assistant from 1959) they came from 'different worlds' and thus held different views on what was permissible.³⁹ For Radice, there would be no dogma about swearwords, and a general desire to give translators their head (a luxury which the law now afforded). In fact, in the process of soliciting the corrections to the expurgated text, she pointed out to Turner that

I have never even gone further than pointing out a few of the nastiest short poems in Catullus to know if they are permissible, however nasty.⁴⁰

At the same time, she was eager that the Classics, as a group, should not be 'cheapened', is recorded advising against excessive colloquialism in the case of a slangy draft of Theognis, and drew the line at the notion of four-letter words in a translation of Epictetus that never came to pass. She was also forced to cancel a contract with none other than Paul Turner, whose translation of some of Ovid's erotic poetry she considered 'as a finished product to my (and other) eyes a thoroughly vulgarized job we shall only print over my dead body'.⁴¹ Some of the problems Radice found in Turner's effort are preserved in a copy of the letter she wrote him to tell him that the book was off: recommending that it would be for the best, and that his literary reputation (in addition to Longus he had translated Lucian and More's *Utopia*) would be preserved, she explained

Your Ovid simply would not fit into this series. You will remember that L.P. Wilkinson says that those who hope to find pornography in the *Ars Amatoria* will be disappointed, but it seemed to us all that you were trying to popularize the book by making it sensational and 'contemporary', and the result was far from amusing. I leave you to the report for details, only instancing your page in the introduction on masturbation, which was thought by us all to be quite irrelevant and extremely disagreeable.⁴²

It would be wrong to claim that the Chatterley affair, or the change of editor, on their own or together, were sufficient to create the right conditions for a newly updated translation. There were many other factors, all of which were accompanied by, and involved in, what Peter Green had called the 'revolution of the Sixties'. True, the legal precedent was vitally important, and it is seen as an early impetus for the cultural relaxation that the 1960s have come to signify. But it is not enough on its own to explain the change of tack. It was understood that, far from opening a floodgate, the onus was on publishers to be responsible with their newly-won freedom, and they would do well to remember that the main change in the law was the defence of the public good, something not to be abused by attempting to publish the trivially smutty. The concluding words of their own counsel, Mr Gerald (later Lord) Gardiner, seem to have had a lasting resonance:

There is one thing about which I want to be quite plain, because in my submission it is of some importance not only that you (the jury) should realize this but that everybody should realize it. It is this: that no one should think that if the use of these words for this special purpose, by this particular author, in this particular book, is legitimate, it will follow that these words can be used by any scribbler writing any kind of novel.⁴³

Now the Classics, crucially, weren't 'any kind of novel', and most of the translators would disdain to be called 'scribblers'; but the outcome of the Chatterley trial was indeed not taken as *carte blanche* for a riot of obscene publications. As C.H. Rolph, the compiler of Penguin Books' account of the affair, said: 'we have been warned'.⁴⁴ A Penguin Classic entitled *A Collection of Priapic Verse* was not immediately rushed out in celebration of the victory for free expression. Changes were real, but they would come slowly.

The messy evidence is not, in one sense, misleading: the *Daphnis and Chloe* narrative materialises from three distinct sources: first, the two speciously neat and tidy editions themselves; second, the infinitely lacunose archival material; third, the contemporary

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background, some version of history. This creates a complex and inevitably incomplete picture. It shows several aspects of behind-the-scenes extemporisation which could be seen as representative of Penguin's flexible strategies for managing expurgation. Reasons for omitting, expurgating, amending, etc., did not lie at the whim of a single participant, although we have seen that personal points of view are irremediably relevant. What is perhaps striking is the number of individual views aired and heard. The collaborative quality of Penguin Classics productions is predictably occluded by their slick presentation. With effort, such mystifications can be dissolved. A full(er) understanding of what is going on in books, and more precisely *why*, cannot be achieved without dogged enquiry into the shadowy world of a publication's genesis, and a serious attempt to come to terms with the world into which the book is delivered. Hopefully, this chapter hints at the possibilities of such a synthesising approach, and the exploratory, probing fun that can be had by adopting it.

[I would like to thank the editors; the AHRC, sponsors of the Penguin Archive Project; Penguin Books, specifically Joanna Prior who allowed me to use the archival materials; Ika Willis; William Radice for permission to quote from his mother's papers; above all, those who facilitated my archival research in Bristol, namely the Penguin Archivist Rachel Hassall, and in Special Collections, Hannah Lowery and Michael Richardson; and the Rev. Dr A.W.H. Bunch.]

Notes

1. The information for this narrative comes largely from editorial correspondence contained in the Penguin Editorial Archive, which is held in the University of Bristol Special Collections.

2. Roberts 2008, 306. This is *rare*. Examples are easiest to spot in Aristophanes, where one untranslatable bawdy joke is substituted with a piece of less-obviously justifiable rudeness somewhere nearby. The strategy of compensation can be seen in Alan Sommerstein's translation of *Knights* 45 (1978: 47) while, for a purer dysphemism, cf. Barrett's version of *Birds* 141 (1978: 160).

3. Green 1987, 105.

4. Cf. Rieu 1946.

5. Rolph 1961, 142-3. The question was posed by defence counsel Jeremy Hutchinson. Lane chose not to mention the 'mildly trimmed' *Daphnis and Chloe* which he had put out four years earlier, one of the tiny minority of reduced publications to date (cf. Lewis 2006, 330).

6. Roberts 2008, 281.

7. *The Times*, 8 January 1964.

8. Lewis 2006, 237.

9. Undated handwritten internal memo, mid-to-late 1949.

10. Graves 1950, 295.

11. Graves 1950, 298. Unsurprisingly, Michael Grant's revised edition of Graves' translation does away with this idiosyncratic appendix.

12. Graves 1950, 52.

13. Graves 1990, 23.

14. The Australian episode is documented in the self-reflexive publication, *Penguin's Progress* 12 (1950): 15.

15. 20 August 1960. Graves went on to allow Penguin to quote him to the effect that 'descriptions of the sexual act' had been approved in many modern books, not to mention in 'my own translation of Apuleius: GOLDEN ASS'.

16. 'I managed to get B. and B.R. to meet at my house for a discussion of his second play, the

very smutty *Thesmophoriazousae*. The discussion was both hilarious & fruitful, and left Betty and me deeply impressed with Barrett's genius as a translator.' E.V. Rieu to David Duguid, 27 July 1962.

17. At least equally of Barrett's struggles with the monumental task and of Rieu's hesitancy over releasing a controversial translation into the public domain. Plautus, too, had to wait for the change of editors – E.F. Watling's *The Rope and Other Plays* was published in 1964.

18. 'I must admit that I can't quite see how the passages could be modified any further and still claim to be translations at all' (A.S.B. Glover to E.V. Rieu 16 February 1956).

19. A.S.B. Glover to Paul Turner, 23 February 1956.

20. Giles Gordon (then internal editor in charge of Penguin Classics) to Betty Radice, 15 November 1966.

21. Paul Turner to Betty Radice, 8 October 1966. He in fact had a little more to do than these principal sections.

22. Paul Turner to A.S.B. Glover, 7 February 1956.

23. A.S.B. Glover to Paul Turner, 3 February 1956.

24. Lewis 2006, 316-17. Maxwell Fyfe is famously said to have declared that 'I am not going down in history as the man who made sodomy legal', although in the end he did and he has. He helped set up the Wolfenden Report which recommended in September 1957 the decriminalisation of homosexual activity. Later, he became Lord Chancellor (Lord Kilmuir) under Harold Macmillan and helped draw up the European Convention on Human Rights (cf. Stewart 2000).

25. Rubinstein – 'Miss Philips', 30 January 1956.

26. i.e. George Thornley's *Loeb*, published by Heinemann in 1916, revised by J.M. Edmonds.

27. Paul Turner to A.S.B. Glover, 7 February 1956. The following day, by return Glover assured Turner that 'one of the younger female members of our staff' was the 'most passionate defender of an unexpurgated text', claiming that Penguin, at any rate, had 'not gone back in the last 300 years'.

28. Rieu's marginalia repeatedly evince worries over the word 'blood', though it is not something that disturbed the ultra-cautious solicitor.

29. The 'final sentence on page 122' is something of a conundrum. All of Rubinstein's references correspond to page numbers in the published text, in which page 122 is a blank before the brief series of annotations to the text.

30. Turner 1956, 102.

31. Hard to imagine, perhaps, but only the complacent could feel that it reflects an attitude whose traces have entirely disappeared. A reminder at the time of writing: the Opera North production, *Beached*, has been aborted because of a scene in which a character makes reference to his homosexuality (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2011/jul/04/opera-beached-pulled-school-protests>).

32. Turner 1968, 102.

33. Turner 1956, 78.

34. Turner 1968, 78.

35. Turner 1956, 81.

36. Turner 1968, 81.

37. <http://www.tcm.com/this-month/article/159646%7C0/Victim.html> (accessed 28 June 2011). The movie's controversial use of the word 'homosexual', which got it banned in America, in the light of Turner's emendation of 1968 ('homosexual tastes'), is an interesting but not here pursuable comparison.

38. Cf. Lewis 2006, 358-69.

39. Despite this, Rieu and Radice were in agreement, at least in the case of *Daphnis and Chloe*. So we ought not to see the handover of editorial reins as decisive. Indeed, among many other factors, the comparative embarrassment of a book in which shameful parts had been covered up is noteworthy, especially given the nature of what Penguin had published in the meantime: 'I know EVR always thought it [expurgating *Daphnis and Chloe*] was quite ridiculous and it is even more so now, when we have brought out a complete Petronius and Catullus and have Juvenal in the press' (Betty Radice to Paul Turner, 4 October 1966).

10. For the gentleman and the scholar

40. Radice to Paul Turner, 4 October 1966. She is referring to Peter Whigham's translation, *The Poems of Catullus*, whose obscenity I hope to treat at length elsewhere. One remark worth making here is that it contains markedly fouler language, including the first use of the word 'cunt' in the series (Whigham 1966, 209, translating C.97.8). This is inconceivable before the Chatterley trial, legally and in the sense that Rieu would not have permitted it. The translation as a whole, however, is no evidence for Penguin's going towards the stark opposite of prudery.

41. Betty Radice to Peter Green, 8 February 1967.

42. Betty Radice to Paul Turner, 7 March 1967. Alas, both the report and Turner's submission are lost. A prose translation by Paul Turner of the *Ars Amatoria* and *Remediae Amoris* was published in 1968: *Ovid: The Technique of Love and The Remedies for Love* (Panther, London).

43. Rolph 1961: 250.

44. Ibid.

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Afterword

Concealment Concealed

Deborah H. Roberts

Robert Crowe's account of the two Penguin editions of Paul Turner's *Daphnis and Chloe* includes two stories of readers' responses, one a response to the translation and the other a response to its presentation. When Turner's original version went to press, in 1956, the printers were shocked, and after some consideration (and legal advice) Turner was asked to modify the offending passages; he did so, but asked that the word 'unexpurgated' be removed from the blurb he had originally proposed (Crowe pp. 201-2). Twelve years later, in 1968, Penguin was finally willing and able to publish an edition that could honestly be identified as unexpurgated. An indignant reader protested that only now, given this identification, had he realised that the previous edition had been expurgated; he declared the suppression of this fact 'misleading and immoral' (Crowe p. 203). Whether or not the omitted identification was (as Penguin claimed, but Crowe doubts) an oversight, this sequence of events nicely evokes a recurrent theme in this collection of essays: the degree to which expurgation – a practice aimed at the concealment or removal by various means of objectionable content – is itself concealed.

The essays in this volume are chiefly concerned with expurgated editions, translations, and commentaries from the early modern period to the 1950s (though Ewen Bowie takes us back to antiquity, and Gideon Nisbet comments on Byzantine censorship) and in particular with the expurgation of the obscene.¹ This is not surprising; the era immediately preceding our own (roughly speaking, 1800-1960) saw an intensification in the English-speaking world of social taboos against the public expression of the sexual and scatological and of legal constraints on such expression. As a result, expurgation was both widespread and presumed as the norm.² These taboos and constraints are to some extent still with us: we tend to define our current practices against them, and (as several of these essays note) they continue to hold partial sway in some contexts.

There are, of course, other objects of expurgation than the sexual and scatological. As Gideon Nisbet demonstrates in his chapter on Greek epigram, editors may carry out a variety of kinds of exclusion, inclusion and categorisation in order to give readers what they take to be an essence or ideal, and David Butterfield reminds us that Lucretius was long considered problematic as much for his attacks on religion as for his treatment of sex in book IV. But Butterfield's account of the reception of the *De Rerum Natura* points to an important difference between the two forbidden

topics. Where religion is concerned, however dangerous the view expressed, some have argued that it is good for readers to be exposed to error in order that they may be confirmed in their understanding of the truth (Butterfield pp. 100, 104); as one eighteenth-century editor of Lucretius suggests, even the 'Weak and Illiterate' can be taught 'how to use [such books] without danger' (Butterfield pp. 106-7). No such argument seems to have been made about the varieties of sexual and scatological language that were until recently the primary object of expurgation.³ We find instead a widespread (though not universal)⁴ view that young or uneducated readers must be completely kept away from certain texts: certain of Horace's poems mustn't 'fall into the hands of young persons', and it is 'impossible to place [Martial's] whole text in the hands of students' (Harrison p. 109, Leary p. 130). Victorian editions of Horace for schools describe the last part of Satires 1.2 not only as 'scarcely profitable reading', but also (in a kind of conflation of undesirability with impossibility) as 'unreadable' (Harrison pp. 120, 121). The older and better educated, though less at risk, will be offended or disgusted (or perhaps in the case of teachers, as Gail Trimble suggests, embarrassed) at having to deal with such things; parts of Ovid's *Amores* 'display offences against even a liberal taste', Juvenal's ninth satire concerns 'a disgusting offence', and Herodas' *Mimiamb* 6 is 'an ugly subject' (Trimble p. 149, Lawton pp. 183, 184, Orrells p. 60). Even opponents of expurgation like Paley may take the view that parts of Aristophanes' plays are 'not fit for school reading' (no problem, since students will never be asked to read the lines in question) and that 'no well-regulated mind will dwell on them with delight' (Ruffell p. 43).

Given a prevailing assumption that such things as (to use Philip Lawton's list) 'bodily functions, excreta, body parts, and sexual intercourse (both heterosexual and homosexual)' (Lawton p. 176) offend against either morality or good taste,⁵ the response seems generally to be avoidance, suppression, or condemnation rather than the kind of direct engagement undertaken by some editors of Lucretius. This looks to the question I have in mind: where expurgation is the norm, to what extent will it be openly practised? It might be supposed that in an era where it is widely thought desirable to avoid the public representation of the obscene, editors would as a general rule reassure potential readers by acknowledging what they have done. And this is often the case.⁶ But the fact that obscenity should not be openly displayed may also suggest that it should not be openly suppressed, since such suppression acknowledges the presence of forbidden material in the author (thus potentially detracting from the author's standing) and makes it in some sense available to the reader's imagination.⁷ I want here to consider some of the varieties of concealed or disguised expurgation as they emerge from the essays in this volume, first looking at the ways in which expurgation (in effacing the obscene) may seek to cover its traces in text, commentary, or translation, and then briefly noting some instances in which (with or without any overt declaration of intent) the concealment of the obscene reveals the presence of the obscene and thus underscores the act of expurgation.

As the story of Turner's *Daphnis and Chloe* shows, even as late as the 1950s a book that was not represented as expurgated might in fact be expurgated. As Trimble notes about editions of Catullus, 'from Lamb (1821) until well into the twentieth century, it is generally accepted that some expurgation, whether of text,

translation, or commentary, is necessary' (Trimble p. 147). In an era when an editor might describe something as 'omitted for obvious reasons'⁸ or declare of Horace *Satires* 1.2, 'the last 110 lines of this Satire are not read' (Harrison p. 121), it could readily be assumed that it was the unexpurgated edition that was the marked case and required a label. The reader, then, can't always be sure whether an unlabelled edition is expurgated or not. As Trimble points out, this is especially likely to happen with school texts, where in general 'expurgatory techniques tend much more to outright deception of the reader', and which often employ coded expressions like 'suitable for school reading' (Trimble pp. 146, 149). We also find selection regularly functioning as an undeclared mode of expurgation both in publications and in school and university curricula. Where students (or the general public) are unlikely to read the entire corpus of an author or a genre, preference can be given to those poems, plays, or portions of a larger work less likely to corrupt or embarrass. Readers have thus often encountered Aristophanes, Catullus, Martial, and Greek lyric poetry and epigram in selections that disguised (with no acknowledgment) the presence or proportion of obscenity or erotic content (Ruffell p. 38, Trimble pp. 146, 149, Leary pp. 129-30, Bowie *passim*, Nisbet *passim*, and cf. Butterfield p. 109).

Throughout the period here in question, Greek and Latin originals are less likely to be expurgated than translations, but texts for students constitute a frequent exception, and here too expurgation may be invisible, at least to those (including the presumed audience) with no prior knowledge of the author. The Delphin editions, which famously relegated obscene material to an appendix, might mark the place of missing lines and passages with asterisks (Morwood p. 164), and in other texts gaps in the line numbers (or faulty metre, or a certain lack of sense or sequence) reveal some omission. But if there are no line numbers, or if the line numbers have been revised, or if the text is itself in poor shape, or if what has been excised comes at the end, the reader may be ignorant of any change (Ruffell pp. 33, 36, Trimble p. 148, Leary pp. 130, 136).⁹ The most egregious example of concealed expurgation occurs not in a school edition but in Cornish's Loeb edition of Catullus, with its bizarre misrepresentation of a portion of Catullus 16 as 'a fragment' (Lawton pp. 183-4). Finally, although actual alterations of the text are relatively rare, they may be similarly imperceptible to the unprepared. Macnaghten and Ramsay acknowledge in the introduction to their school edition of Catullus that they have 'saved' a poem by 'venturing to alter a word of the original' (Trimble p. 148); but they don't tell their readers that the poem in question is Catullus 25 or note the change in their commentary on the poem.¹⁰

Trimble raises the question of whether the idea of an 'expurgated commentary' is a valid one, since 'it seems to presuppose some sort of hypothetical "complete" commentary from which an "expurgated" version will have made omissions' (Trimble pp. 152-3). But she goes on to suggest several ways in which a commentary may be said to expurgate: by avoiding any mention of the obscene, by explaining it in Latin, or by offering parallels in place of explanation. Such expurgation may be explicit ('The coarseness of this satire leads to the omission of an outline'),¹¹ but there seem also to be several different ways in which commentaries may conceal the fact of expurgation. They may disguise their omissions by suggesting that there is nothing to say, by commenting scantily on random particulars, or by offering an

overall reading of a passage that ignores any problematic elements (Trimble pp. 153-4). They may also, like selected editions, conceal their expurgatory purpose by disguising it as something else – for example (as in Stephen Harrison's examples from editions of Horace) a dismissal of the poem in question as early, conventional, obscure, or otherwise inferior. Such remarks may not completely efface the presence of the obscene and thus of expurgation, but they complicate the object of censure and obscure the motive for evasion (Harrison pp. 120-1, cf. Trimble p. 154).

Expurgation is, of course, most easily disguised when it is in the hands of a translator. The translator is under the greatest social and legal obligation to expurgate, since translation is most broadly accessible to the public, but at the same time, as Crowe observes, in contrast with an editor of the text 'the translator is under no comparable obligation to respect form or letter' (Crowe pp. 197, 202).¹² Expurgation accomplished by means of mistranslation or what Lawton calls 'deliberate innocuous invention' can be represented as loose translation (Lawton p. 179), and unless the translator acknowledges such changes (and some do) a reader unacquainted with the author (or the author's reputation) will be left in ignorance not only of what was in the text but of the fact that it has been modified to a particular end.

In the instances I have been describing, editors and translators seek not only to conceal obscenity but also to conceal the fact of expurgation, or at least to disguise it as something else and obscure its operation. This double suppression is, of course, only one aspect of the complex dynamic of suppression and revelation involved in expurgation.¹³ Some euphemisms render both obscenity and (therefore) euphemism invisible; others hint at the presence of obscenity and call attention to themselves by the use either of suggestive language ('Fotis giving me all she might and more', Lawton p. 177) or of condemnatory language that seems somewhat out of keeping with the author's own tone ('Translate, if at all, "infamous profligates" ', Ruffell p. 39). And as has often been noted, some practices designed to conceal obscenity from those who lack Latin and Greek simultaneously reveal its exact extent and location. As soon as the telltale Latin – or, in the case of Martial, Italian – appears instead of English on the facing page of a Loeb edition or suddenly intrudes into the text of a translation, we know exactly where to look for the obscene or erotic.¹⁴ A footnote in Latin where others are in English can play the same role (Lawton p. 179), as can the use of asterisks (Morwood p. 164). What about the expurgation of texts that themselves partially conceal their own obscenity – that is, by deploying innuendo? Some editors of Aristophanes leave double entendres in place; others excise them, either (as Ruffell suggests) because they have 'a keener eye for obscenity' or because they are unwilling 'to trust that innuendo could be read innocently by the innocent' (Ruffell p. 36). If, however, the excision is detected, it will reveal obscenity where it might have gone unsuspected. Commentators may have the impulse to intervene on behalf of the innocent in favour of an innocent reading, but as Trimble notes, the few commentators in this period who take the trouble to deny (even in roundabout language) the interpretation of the sparrow as penis in Catullus 2 and 3 raise a possibility that may never have occurred to the reader. Orrells describes a particularly complex relationship between innuendo in a text and innuendo in its commentator, describing how Headlam deals by indirection with the 'open secret' of female sexuality in Herodas' *Mimiamb* 5 (Orrells p. 68); in a kind of simultaneous

enactment and inversion of concealment, he at once displays and negates his own act of expurgation (in leaving the Greek word for dildo untranslated) by referring readers to the work of Richard Burton, who not only dealt openly with all forms of sexuality but was also a self-proclaimed opponent of expurgation (Orrells pp. 64-5).¹⁵

Times have changed. Even texts designed for students include and explain passages that would once have been omitted or passed over in silence, and do so in language that would once have been unpublishable. Translations render obscenity not only with equivalent obscenity but even, sometimes, with enhanced obscenity (Crowe p. 197).¹⁶ We can, theoretically at least, both write and teach the formerly 'unreadable' without embarrassment. And in reaction to our predecessors we seek to make visible not only the object of expurgation but also (as in this collection) the practice of expurgation, analysing its varieties and passing on famous stories: Cornish's 'fragment' of Catullus 16, Merrill's note on Catullus 32 (Lawton pp. 183-4, Trimble p. 154). But as the essays in this collection also make clear, times have not altogether changed in recent decades. The selection of texts read in schools still tends to avoid the explicitly sexual, and where this is not so, parents may still raise objections (Ruffell pp. 25-6, 38, 47, Harrison pp. 122-3, Leary pp. 131-2, 137, Morwood pp. 165-6, 170).¹⁷ Certain topics remain problematic though for somewhat different reasons; Crowe points out that in Turner's (unexpurgated) second edition the *paidierastes* Gnathon is not a lover of boys but someone who has 'homosexual tastes', and Bowie notes the omission from a recent scholarly selection of Greek lyric of a fragment that portrays young girls in an erotic light (Crowe p. 204, Bowie p. 21).¹⁸ Finally, Tim Leary remarks on the presence of 'new constraints', remarking that a poem of Martial's about a 'dwarf gladiator' might now either be omitted from school reading or else 'if used as "extra reading" might prudently be prefaced with a full contextual exposition' (Leary p. 137).

As Leary's example suggests, it is often stereotypes and epithets that are the object of censorship or expurgation in the present day, at least in some parts of the world. Some see the presence of such language not as a reason for expurgation but as an opportunity to educate the reader – particularly the young reader – about prejudice and hatred, rather as it was once thought that Lucretius could be used to educate readers about false religious views. But where there is expurgation, it may as in the past be either explicit, as in the case of Alan Gribben's new edition of *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*, or covert, as in the current Puffin edition of E. Nesbit's *The Enchanted Castle*, which silently rids the text of the same racial epithet that has caused problems for Twain's novels.¹⁹ Our concerns for readers have changed, but we may still face the same sorts of choices in response to these concerns as our predecessors, and it is worth looking closely both at what they say about these choices and at where they remain silent. Our own choices are, moreover, inevitably a reflection of the process Nisbet describes, of a selective recreation of texts and of eras as we understand them or want them to be; an attentive reading of our predecessors may remind us that our acts of categorisation and exclusion in what we publish, comment on, or translate, themselves constitute a form of expurgation.

Notes

1. On the issue of definitions of the obscene, see Roberts 2008, 279 and works cited there.
2. See Boyer 1968, Perrin 1969, F.F. Lewis 1976, T. Lewis 2003, Bassnett and France 2006, 52-5.
3. There are still those who believe that the discourse of sexuality cannot in any good sense be educational but will tend to corrupt even in an educational context; hence the resistance in some quarters to sex education in schools.
4. For a sceptical position, see Francis Byrne's introduction to his translation of *The Golden Ass*. Byrne avoids questioning the concern for 'young persons' outright, but his language makes clear what he thinks of it: 'Books which describe life as it really is should be kept altogether from any young persons, whom it may be deemed desirable to keep in ignorance of the part played by sexual desire in the general scheme of life' (Byrne 1905, xxxviii).
5. In his essay, 'The translators of *The Thousand and One Nights*', J.L. Borges contrasts Lane's 'Puritan' objection to and effacement of obscenity with Galland's 'discretions ... inspired by decorum, not morality' (Borges 2004, 95-6). The contrast between decorum and morality as grounds for expurgation and the relationship between the moral and the aesthetic in this connection (see Nisbet p. 76) deserve further exploration.
6. See Perrin 1969 for instances both of open reassurance (as in *The English Drama Purified*) and of unacknowledged expurgation (as in 'The New Hudson Shakespeare').
7. On the expurgator's concern for the author's reputation see Trimble p. 155, Roberts 2008, 282-4. Cf. on an analogous concern for the proper representation of the 'spiritual essence' of ancient Greece Nisbet pp. 77, 84.
8. Owen 1924, ix.
9. When I was first reading Horace's *Satires* an older student stopped by my table in the library and asked if I was surprised that *Satire* 1.2 was so much shorter than the others. Yes, I replied. It's not, he informed me, instilling in me a useful caution for the future.
10. Macnaghten and Ramsay 2008, ad loc. They do reveal (by retaining the original line numbers) that they have omitted two lines in the same poem.
11. Rolfe 1931, 6.
12. On the concern aroused by the accessibility of translations to a wider public see Roberts 2008, 285-6.
13. In one famous instance, what was concealed was the true identity of the expurgator; see on Harriet Bowdler's role in her brother's expurgated Shakespeare Perrin 1969, ch. 3.
14. On translation into languages other than English see Lawton pp. 189-93, cf. Roberts 2008, 292-5.
15. On Burton's version of (and notes for) *The Thousand Nights and One Night* see Borges 2004; cf. Burton on his translation of Catullus, Burton and Smithers 1894, ix.
16. See on this phenomenon Roberts 2008, 306 and works cited there.
17. During a recent discussion of Elizabeth Vandiver's essay 'Translating Catullus' in the *Blackwell Companion to Catullus* (Vandiver 2007), several secondary school teachers noted that they would be unable to assign it to their classes because of the language used in discussing the translation of Catullus' obscenities.
18. Cf. Walsh's comment on modern readers' likely distaste for paedophilia and scopophilia in the preface to his translation of Petronius (Walsh 1996, vii).
19. Twain 2011, Nesbit 1994.

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