

# Classics and Classicists



# Classics and Classicists:

*Selected Essays, 1964-2000*

By

John Glucker

Edited by Amos Edelheit

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Scholars  
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## PREFACE 2018

This is the first collection of articles by John Glucker to appear in print. It contains about one third of the articles published between 1964 and 2000. The articles reprinted in this volume were chosen for a number of reasons. We have attempted to represent the various areas and periods with which John Glucker's publications have dealt over the years – such as ancient Greek and Latin philosophy, Greek and Roman literature and literary history, emendations to Greek and Latin texts, the fate of some ancient texts in the history of the transmission; and the afterlife (nowadays commonly called 'reception') of some of the Greek and Roman classics in the modern West.

On the whole, we hope that the large variety of subjects and themes and the way each of them is presented may give the interested reader some picture of what one Classical scholar in the twentieth century regarded as the legitimate areas and themes for his public contributions to his field/s. One principle which gives these various themes and discussions a unity is the author's obvious preference for the ancient texts as the foundation of any research in these fields, and the treatment of secondary literature in accordance with its closeness or otherwise to them.

We say "the twentieth century", intentionally. John Glucker has continued to publish in the present century, and some of his articles are still to appear in print. But one of our criteria was to make available to present day readers articles which are not easily accessible these days. Thus the latest articles in the present collection were published in the year 2000. Many of the articles were originally published in *Pegasus*, journal of the Department of Classics, University of Exeter. *Pegasus* is now available online, but as a photographic reproduction of the original volumes which were printed, until some years ago, in stencil. It is not available in most university libraries even in the United Kingdom. Other articles were published in periodicals which may be more widely available, but issues from those years may not be on hand in many libraries. More recent publications are more widely available, and some can even be read online – see entry in academia.edu. For the rest, we have included here a bibliography, as full as we could make it, of all of John Glucker's publications reaching down to 2016.

The book is divided into three sections, including articles on Greek, Latin and the afterlife of the Classics. We have tried, wherever possible, to

keep to the chronological order, with a few obvious thematic exceptions. We open and close this collection with two pieces of a somewhat different nature.

The articles are reprinted in their original form, with a very few slight corrections and some additional remarks on their background wherever necessary.

A. E.

J. G.



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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## **A. PARODOS**

GENERAL PAPER:  
LANGUAGE, METRE, LITERATURE.  
SECTION II: LITERATURE

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

*Omnibus quibus moris est talia scribere et praesertim.... but never mind!*

Auctor.

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

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

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

Petronius, according to A.H. Kukulini, wrote a novel of adventure although he himself did not realize that he was the predecessor of Ian Fleming so to speak himself. But Petronius disputes this description of his book when he says at the beginning of the Satyricon (although this is not the real beginning really but only of the part in Fragment which we possess



extant in our textual editions of the text of this Fragment): "non alio genere furiarum declamatores inquietantur" thus defining his literary genre as furious declamation. A.H. Kukulini also says that if Petronius had lived in the 18th century he would have made a better novelist than Balzac, but to this one can only answer that Petronius did not live in the 18th century and therefore Balzac is still a good 18th century novelist.

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

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

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

Candidate's name – John Glucker



## **B. GRAECA**

## A. AESCHYLUS AND THE THIRD ACTOR

A modern historian, faced with the unanimous evidence of old and reliable sources, some of which had access to contemporary documents, as against the solitary statement, made without reference to sources or support by arguments in an anonymous and late compilation written for popular consumption, would bless his good fortune for such a clear and easy choice. Transfer the same situation into the field of Classical scholarship, and all will be changed immediately. The late, anonymous Alexandrian compiler will now acquire a certain aura of authority and respectability. Even if it is not a primary source, one never knows where the compiler derived his information from, and any statement he cares to make should not, we are now told, be dismissed lightly. Sooner or later, the anonymous compiler will find a rescuer who will save him even from this state of suspended grace. We will be told that it is really the late, anonymous compiler who knew his facts and had them from a good source. Those other, earlier sources, will be shown to contradict themselves and each other – a task greatly facilitated by the fact that they were written for ordinary Greek readers, their authors having no idea of the meticulous and almost microscopic scrutiny to which every word of their text was to be subjected by future experts. Where, by a piece of good fortune, a variant reading exists as well, the case seems to be as good as closed, and, before we have had time to see what is happening, we shall see the older sources dismissed or explained away, and the authority of the compiler, and any of the older documents which seems to agree with him, firmly established as historical fact.

If I have been indulging my fantasy for a few moments, it is for good reasons. The case I propose to deal with may bear more than a merely superficial similarity to the situation I have just described. For a long time now, most scholars have dismissed as speculation or error the statement of the anonymous *Vita Aeschyli* (15) about the introduction of the third actor by Aeschylus. This statement had almost all the necessary qualifications. It contradicted the evidence of Aristotle and Dicaearchus, who knew their records, and of most other ancient writers. It gave no name of any source, supplied no arguments – it is just a solitary, anonymous statement against all the rest of the ancient tradition. All one had to do is to explain what could have given rise to such a mistake, and even this had been done by the middle

of the last century.<sup>1</sup> There the matter might have rested in peace, had it not been for the efforts of Professor Gerald F. Else. Thirty years ago,<sup>2</sup> Professor Else first stated in print his conviction that this statement of the anonymous biographer is, after all, correct, and in a brilliant article published six years later,<sup>3</sup> he tried to establish this point by a fresh examination of the available evidence. His arguments fall into two parts, like the plot of a good tragedy according to Aristotle. His δέσις consists of pointing out some of the contradictions – real or apparent – which exist between some of the sources. The solution, the λύσις, is based on the distinction which, Else believes, existed between the terms τραγωδός and ὑποκριτής as long as the poet acted in his own play, and the confusion which ensued when he, in the person of Sophocles, ceased to do so. The result, involving us in a complete περιπέτεια as far as our evaluation of the various pieces of ancient evidence is concerned, has called forth a number of critical reactions.<sup>4</sup> But, while Else's critics have mainly concentrated on his new interpretation of the words τραγωδός and ὑποκριτής, not much that is new has been said in reply to his thorough, and often startling, examination of the sources. Else may well feel that, whatever the validity of his solution, nobody has given a satisfactory answer to the difficulties which called forth that solution; and this may be one reason for the consistency with which his whole theory has been reiterated with more or less conviction in most of his subsequent publications.<sup>5</sup> Of these, only one<sup>6</sup> is an attempt to produce fresh arguments, and most of it is taken up by semantic and etymological discussions. For the

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<sup>1</sup> By Julius Sommerbrodt: see the final section of this article.

<sup>2</sup> 'Aristotle and Satyr-Play I', *TAPA* 70, 1939, pp. 139-157; especially p. 141 and note 8.

<sup>3</sup> 'The Case of the Third Actor', *TAPA* 1945, pp. 1-10. Quotations of Else by page number only in the rest of the present article are references to this publication. Professor Else's other publications, listed in notes 2, 5 and 6, will be designated by short titles.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, Oxford 1953, pp. 131-3; Second edition, revised by John Gould and D. M. Lewis, 1968 (hereafter 'Gould and Lewis'), pp. 130-2. Albin Lesky, 'Hypokrites', *Studi in onore Ugo Enrico Paoli*, Firenze 1956, pp. 469-476.

<sup>5</sup> *Aristotle's Poetics, the Argument*, Cambridge Mass., 1957, pp. 164-8; *The Origins and Early Form of Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge Mass. 1965, p. 96 and note 26; *Aristotle, Poetics, translated with introduction and notes* Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1967, p. 23 and note. 45, 87-8. In the latest of these publications, the relevant passage of the *Poetics* is omitted from the text of the translation, but the reasons given for this in the note do not include the translator's view on the problem of the third actor. See our note 30 below.

<sup>6</sup> 'ΥΠΟΚΡΙΤΗΣ', *Wiener Studien* 72, 1959, pp. 75-107.

rest, the challenge offered to the traditional view in 1945 is merely repeated, and if it has not been seriously answered, this is through no fault of Professor Else himself. In the meantime, his position and authority as an expert in the field have been growing in stature. His *Martin Classical Lectures* were hailed by a distinguished reviewer<sup>7</sup> as 'a book which may well become the standard theory of the origin of Greek tragedy'. In it,<sup>8</sup> as in Else's other publications, his view about the introduction of the third actor is reiterated. The reader is given a fair warning; the theory is called 'my earlier suggestion', and a reference to the original article is duly supplied. But readers are not always as diligent or sceptical as they ought to be. Before the introduction of the third actor by Aeschylus is taken into the secondary and tertiary textbooks on the authority of an established expert, and put at the disposal of beginners and laymen as part of the standard theory, another examination (or shall we call it cross-examination?) of our ancient witnesses may not be amiss.

On the problem of *τραγῳδός* and *ὑποκριτής* little can be added to the excellent discussion of Pickard-Cambridge, as revised and amplified by Gould and Lewis.<sup>9</sup> But it may be of some interest to draw attention to one aspect of Else's procedure. He quotes with approval J. B. O'Connor's famous dissertation,<sup>10</sup> in support of his own statement that 'we know that the competing poets at the Dionysia were called *τραγῳδοί* in the fifth century, and there is good reason to believe that they were so called from the beginning of the contests'.<sup>11</sup> Since he has forgotten to lay before us some other conclusions reached by the same author in the same dissertation, it may be well to mention them briefly:

1. The words *τραγῳδός* and *κωμῳδός* were used only in the plural until the end of the fourth century.<sup>12</sup>
2. 'There seems to be no question that *τραγῳδός* always meant, both in Athens and outside Attica, in agonistic documents, "actor of an old play"'.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Professor T. B. L. Webster in *JHS* 87, 1967, pp. 140-141. For less enthusiastic reviews: D. W. Lucas, *CR* 17, 1, 1967, pp. 70-72; William M. Calder III, *Gnomon* 41, 3, 1969, pp. 229-233.

<sup>8</sup> *Origins and Early Form*, loc. cit. (note 5).

<sup>9</sup> Loc. cit. (note 4).

<sup>10</sup> J.B. O'Connor, *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece*, Chicago 1908.

<sup>11</sup> Else p. 5.

<sup>12</sup> O'Connor, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.