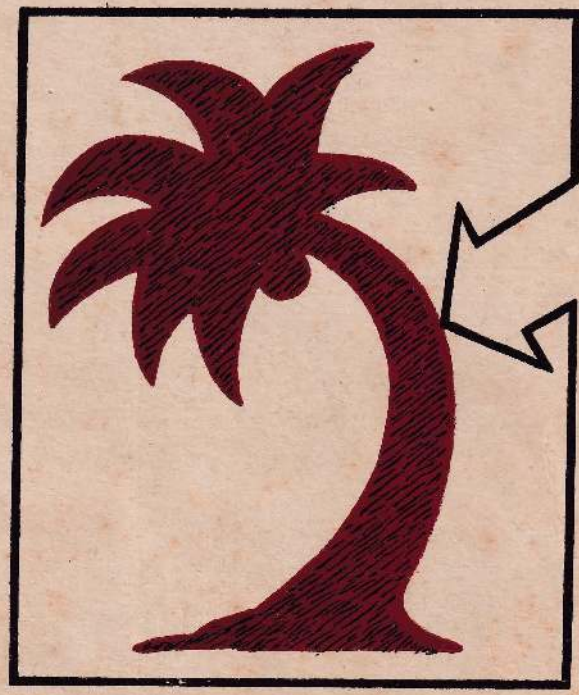


PALMA



THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF CEYLON

James S. Mentzer

04960

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PALMA***CORRIGENDA***

- p 51 l 7 from bottom for *supervacuuous* read *supervacuus*
p 61 l 6 from bottom for *circumcasura* read *circumcaesura*
p 93 l 18 for *moral* read *mortal*
p 127 ll 20 & 22 for *Sophocles* read *Socrates*

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THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF CEYLON

Founded 27th September 1935

Editor

The publication of PALMA was being planned to synchronize with the 36th birthday anniversary of the Classical Association of Ceylon when our country's peace began to be shattered, and every nook on earth rang with our tale of woe.

quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?

We have made our way through untold hazards—

per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum.

While in the scrambling and unquiet time we bear up and live for a happier day, PALMA has struggled upward and increased its natural strength, and is in substance a homage to the founder of the Association Professor S. Whiteley who was also its first Secretary and Treasurer. While mentioning our plan of a special number of our Bulletin to him, we invited him to suggest a title for it and he sent us some bright ideas, one of them being PALMA, which, he has said,

“appeals most to me not for the many reasons—classical, local, etc—that might be mentioned but quite absurdly for a *sors Gelliana* that came my way yesterday. In *Noctes Atticae* (the favourite bedtime book of Stubbs who was Governor in Ceylon) Aulus Gellius (3.6.3) says ‘*propterea inquit Plutarchus in certaminibus palmam signum esse placuit victoriae, quoniam ingenium ligni eiusmodi est, ut urgentibus opprimentibusque non cedat.*’”

We have had no hesitation in seizing upon the *sors Gelliana* as a very appropriate title, for natural strength is needed to resist the pressures of the growing forces of barbarism in our midst.

In our Bulletin No 6 (January 1969) we wrote:—

“Our Association, born in days when wits were fresh and clear, reached its 33rd birthday on 27th September 1968. All other associations *eiusdem generis* have perished. Not even a jonquil has sprung amid the glancing showers from the turf that covers their ashes. In these times when vapours weep their burthen to the ground in profusion, it is not indecorous to admit that we made no attempt to celebrate the birthday. Today we have neither a mellow vintage nor a Sabine cask. We had to banish all thoughts of Massie coeval with the consulate of Manlius even though stern Cato's heart had been warmed over and over again by the juice. Instead we have been content to place our trust in Jove and say *quid sit futurum cras, fuge quaerere*. The least we can do today in affectionate memory is to print in this Bulletin the *Inaugural Minute* made by Professor Whiteley when he delivered the infant Association with his own hands. *res ipsa loquitur*. In a letter to us from Durban he has said: ‘Year after year when the *Proceedings* of the Classical Association reach me, I marvel afresh at the skill and affection you have all lavished on the frail infant born, as you remind me, 33 years ago.’ Our records refer to three addresses he gave to

the Association: *Ancient Athens and modern Ceylon; Ancient culture and modern barbarism; Noises off—some sound effects in Virgil.* We assure him that the young man of 33 does try to maintain not only the *aequa mens* but also the dignity and the traditions he established. If Durban keels should touch our shores again, we shall remember to invite Professor Whiteley to join us as we dip our noses deep in the brimming beaker."

Professor Whiteley's Inaugural Minute

"At a meeting held on September 27th 1935 at the Chief Justice's House and presided over by Sir Philip Macdonell it was resolved that a Classical Association of Ceylon should be formed. On the proposal of Mr O. L. de Kretser seconded by Mr C. W. Amerasinghe the following officers were nominated: *President*, Sir Philip Macdonell. *Vice-President*, Mr R. Marrs, C.I.E. *Committee*, Rev. R. S. de Saram, Mr A. E. Keuneman, Rev. Fr. Lejeune, O.M.I., Mr L. H. W. Sampson, Rev. R. W. Stopford. *Hon. Treasurer and Secretary* Mr S. Whiteley. It was decided that the adoption of the Rules printed below should also be recommended to the first General Meeting.

A Classical Association may be expected to draw its members chiefly from two kinds of people, those who in their leisure read the Classics for enjoyment and those who, as students or teachers, are compelled willy nilly to spend much of their working time struggling with the difficulties of Greek particles or Latin syntax. For obvious reasons it should be good for members of these groups to mix; no true cricketer need be told the value of intercourse, at the nets or in the pavilion, between Gentlemen and Players. Even if a Classical Association did no more than maintain an atmosphere of enthusiasm, in which all who are in any way interested in the Classics might meet and talk over their common concern, it would justify itself. It need hardly be said that keenness for the Western Classics does not imply disrespect for any of the languages of the country. On the contrary it is the aim of a sound classical education, not to produce cheap would-be Aristotles or Platos, but to enable each student to enjoy a mental life that is valuable for its own sake, that is, to be a genuine person, to realise himself in his own language, whether that be English, Singhalese or Tamil. In the history of Western civilisation since the first flowering of the Greek genius there have been two notable outbursts of intellectual activity. The first produced Roman literature, the second the European Renaissance; the stimulus of both came from contact with the Greeks. Is it fantastic to suggest that a revival of national culture might well begin with a study of the Classics of Greece and Rome conducted, not in the mean peddling spirit of the gerund-grinder, but in the bold piratical mood of Shakespeare, eager to enrich himself with the spoils of the ancient world, or of the freebooters of the same period who filled their holds with Spanish treasure?

There is a further reason for the existence of a Classical Association of Ceylon. At present every citizen of this country, whether he likes it or not, is taking part in a political experiment. It is plainly important that at any rate a few people should study in their historical context the Greek political ideas which are the ultimate source and justification of the present constitution. Nor would it be a bad thing if that sense of a common good, the spirit of fair play and compromise, the readiness to rule and be ruled by turns, which were recognised by intelligent observers as the very basis of Greek democracy, could spread throughout the country. Indeed

unless such sentiments prevail, government, that is, the means of decent civilised life, not only in Ceylon but throughout the world may well collapse.

One of the difficulties of speaking about the Classics is that it is impossible to speak soberly without seeming to be guilty of the wildest extravagance. It is hard to avoid a rather shrill evangelical note that irritates even believers and infuriates heretics. But there is no need to appeal to such grand notions as National Renaissance or the Common Good. Lovers of postage stamps do not waste their breath in talking about the ultimate justification of postage stamps; they assemble together because they are all keen on stamp-collecting. Dog-fanciers do not prate about an Ideal Borzoi laid up in a heavenly Cruft's; they are glad to meet one another because they are fond of dogs. In the same way members of a Classical Association need offer no more solemn reason for wanting to get together than a common hobby. The only requisite for membership is a conviction that the Classics must continue to play an important part in any scheme of education which is designed to teach rather how to live than how to make a living. It cannot be too strongly insisted that intending members will not be asked to be familiar with the wilder irregularities of Greek verbs; it is enough that they should be of the opinion that the best products of Western civilisation are not the sewing machine or gramophone but the ideas, the achievements in art and systematic thought in which it had its source."

The above Minute is followed by (a) a programme of work including talks by the Classics Dept of University College for senior forms of schools; (b) a reference to some of the benefits derived from affiliation to the English CA; (c) the Rules. Special reference is made to Rule 16 giving the CA power to enter into relations with other bodies having like objects with its own on terms approved by the committee. Cyclostyled copies of the Minute and Rules have been sent to members during the last few years. On 1st March 1966 we enlarged item (b) by including benefits which have accrued since the Minute was written and made brief mention of what our CA provides.

Since our Association is affiliated to the Classical Association of England there are several benefits which accrue from such affiliation. The following are some of them. Today all members of the Joint Association of Classical Teachers (JACT) are also members of the CA of England, the full annual subscription being £3.15—*levis est impensa*, since the advantages include periodical JACT Bulletins and the annual journal *Didaskalos*, annual issues of *Proceedings* of the CA containing *inter alia* the Presidential Address for the year, reports from the Branches and Allied Associations (including ours, see Appendix I). Members also receive the Orbilian Society's Latin newspaper *Acta Diurna* and its *Newsletter* published 3 times a year, and the privileges of the Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching (ARLT) which provides a journal *Latin Teaching*. The Classical Association of Ceylon now provides from time to time, apart from talks and addresses by members and visitors, a Bulletin twice a year, a Classical Variety, a Classical Quiz for schools, an annual All-Island Schools Essay Competition in English on classical topics.

Prof Whiteley was Professor of Classics at the Ceylon University College and later at the University of Ceylon from 1928 to 1942. A brief note (alas! too brief) in the minutes of 7th August 1942 records the appreciation of the services rendered by the Professor to the Association. The President (E. L. Bradby) had described him as an embodiment of *humanitas plus sal* plus

gelos asbestos. After he left Ceylon for South Africa, he was in Colombo for a few hours on 19th February 1968 on his way from Tokyo to Durban. In referring to this visit we said in our Bulletin No 5: "Though we have never had the privilege of meeting the Professor, we have reason to believe that the gods have bestowed on him their best gift—modesty." His father, a Yorkshireman, had sent him to Giggleswick school where he was from 1907 to July 1915. After one term at The Queen's College, Oxford, he put on khaki and till January 1919 he was a signaller with the 79th Heavy Artillery Brigade of the RGA and spent just over two years in the BEF in France and Belgium. He was thus, "in the day when heaven was falling," a member of the "Army of Mercenaries" which, as A. E. Housman has recorded, "saved the sum of things for pay." Released in 1919 he went back to Oxford and took Mods in '20 and Greats in '22. Such details as we have been able to gather may tempt our readers to draw a parallel between him and Aeschylus who fought at Marathon rather than Horace whose military experience at Philippi was designedly brief.

In the course of a recent reply to a letter we had written to the Professor, he has said:

"Of course people matter more for education (at least mine) than places and institutions and no account of my upbringing should fail to mention Miss Jenny Wilman who in Standard Two of Settle School rapped me over the hand with a knobby stick for talking to the girl who sat next to me; H. M. F. Hammond of whom I've spoken to you with admiration more than once already; another Cantab, R. N. Douglas, headmaster of Giggleswick, a precise scholar but, like his better-known brother (?cousin) J. W. H. T. (Johnny won't hit today) Douglas, a stonewaller not a slasher; T. W. Allen, the editor of the O. C. T. Homer, and John Bell, later H.M. of St Paul's School, who were my tutors for Mods; and E. M. Walker, the historian, and H. J. Paton, the philosopher, my tutors for Greats.

After a brief holiday in Germany with my elder brother—the eldest son of the family had died of wounds just before the armistice and my mother in the epidemic of 'flu in '19—in the summer of '22 and a year's schoolmastering—at Christ College, Brecon and King William's College, I.O.M.—I was a lecturer in Classics at Rhodes University College in Grahamstown, South Africa. There I met my wife, a South African of English descent, who had lately come from St Hugh's College, Oxford, to teach English under Professor A. S. Kidd. In July '28 she and I returned to Oxford for a year of further study. But this plan had to be dropped when I was appointed to the chair of Classics in Ceylon University College (as it then was). In July 1942 I came back to South Africa to join my wife and two children, both born in Ceylon, whom I'd left in Cape Town in the alarms of '40. For six weeks, at the request of the S.A.B.C., I gave a weekly broadcast to schoolchildren on (can you believe it?) *World Affairs*. But in October '42 I was glad to become again a VIth Form Classical Master—this time at St John's College, Johannesburg, where the common-room was temporarily full of similar *evocati*. From January '46 to December '56 I was back at Rhodes and from January '57 onwards at Howard College in the University of Natal. And here I still am, not since last December teaching but kindly allowed to share a room in which I can keep my books and quietly play with my card-index—a pastime as absorbing (and as useless) as the X-words that keep me busy at home when I am not reading thrillers passed on by my wife. It pleases me to think of myself as one of those hardworked mules that I read about this morning in Plutarch's *Cato*. When they had built the Hecatompedon the Athenians turned them loose to feed freely. 'One of these came to offer its service and ran along with the teams which drew the wagons up to the Acropolis as if it would incite and encourage them to draw more stoutly.' (Dryden-Clough)".

Though at the time of the foundation of our Association Greek and Latin had been subjects in the school curriculum for more than a century during the British occupation of Ceylon and English classicists had been principals and members of the staff of our secondary schools from time to time, there had never been a Classical Association in Ceylon before 1935. The question has been sometimes asked why no one before Prof Whiteley had formed the idea. The best answer we think is to be gathered from a parallel taken from Lucian's traveller who has narrated a story of his visit to Hades where he had the advantage of conversing with Homer from whom he asked the question *why* he began the *Iliad* with the wrath of Achilles. Homer replied he had no exquisite reason: it just came into his head that way!

During his 'fourteen happy years' in this fairest isle, all isles excelling, Professor Whiteley had ample opportunities of discovering the extent to which classical studies had influenced the undergraduates. It is reasonable to presume he had weighed his assessment of them before forming an Association, an act of faith which would not only fulfil its avowed objects but go some way towards rescuing (to use the phrase in the *Inaugural Minute*) the 'gerund-grinder' from his environment in order to guide him to the Elysian fields where the meadows breathe an ampler air and the eye beholds another sun and starlight. It was indeed right that the founder was smitten with a passion to show the way to such a region (as Heracles did to Dionysus) after the places of punishment had been travelled.

When our Association was born nearly 13 years before Ceylon gained political independence, Greek and Latin studies were flourishing in our secondary schools and in course of time became to many a delight at home and comrades of the night. They had no enemy, not even winter and rough weather. What might have been rhetorical commonplaces at school came home to many after long years and, in the words of Newman, pierced them with their sad earnestness and vivid exactness. If things had not been so, the dirge would have been sung. Higher education through an English secondary school (the Colombo Academy) appears to have been started by the British government about the year 1835, forty years after British rule began. Among the subjects taught were Logic, Elements of English Law (Blackstone's Commentaries), Principles of Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Sinhalese, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The medium of instruction was English. Of these subjects, only Sinhalese, Latin and Greek have survived in the schools. Greek has almost perished. Latin is in poor health *aegrescitque medendo*. On grounds of relevancy we do not set out in this context the pros and cons of our general educational problems. But it is pertinent to point out that the old system of education had this to its credit: far from dividing our multi-racial communities on language and other issues, it welded them into one compact community preserving at the same time their individuality. There were no race or language prejudices. One could then say with the author of *Religio Medici*:

"I am of a constitution so general that it consorts and sympathiseth with all things. I have no antipathy, or rather Idiosyncrasie, in dyet, humour, air, any thing . . . I feel not in my self those common Antipathies that I can discover in others: those National repugnances do not touch me, nor do I behold with prejudice the French, Italian, Spaniard, or Dutch: but where I find their actions in balance with my Countrymen's, I honour, love, and embrace them in the same degree. I was born in the eighth Climate, but seem for to be framed and constellated unto all."

But the introduction of three different media of instruction into our schools in 1945—Sinhala, Tamil, English—operative on a racial basis which is itself illogically designed (see Appendix II) has brought with it not only a blight on classical studies and a denigration of English which is very much in demand, but a deplorable division of pupils into separate racial groups. This isolation begun in school persists through life in various forms and does not make for amity.

How can the bird that is born for joy
Sit in a cage and sing?

Today a child has no right to be taught in school in the language he speaks at home or the language he understands best, nor has a parent the absolute right to educate his child in a school of his choice. And yet side by side with such tyranny the common law acknowledges the right of the parent to choose the kind of education his child should have. The question arises whether the acknowledged rights of the parent could be treated as suspended, superseded or lost by reason of such parochial directions as the Ministry of Education issues from time to time. Education as we have it takes away from our young men and women that cosmopolitan character which they need. Yet in spite of the tyrannies in our educational set-up, academic separation caused by the medium of instruction sometimes becomes a unifying force later, and English is by no means an impediment to the marriage of true minds. Corroborative evidence is provided by this delightful advertisement (to take but one example) in *The Ceylon Observer* of 8th August 1971:—

“Father seeks a marriage partner for (*English medium*) Graduate son 36 years, non-smoker, tectotaller holding a responsible post under Government possesses a motor car house and properties. MP 735, c/o Observer Magazine.”

In the final selection the advertiser might have considered the view expressed by the Chorus in *Prometheus Vincit*:

Sage was the man, ay, sage in sooth,
Who in his thought first weighed this truth,
And then in pithy phrase express'd:
“That wedlock in one's own degree is best.”
That not where wealth saps manly worth,
Nor where pride boasts its lofty birth,
Should son of toil repair in marriage quest.

We have learnt that in ancient times men had discovered the secret that emperors could be made elsewhere than at Rome. It is quite plain that there are more cogent reasons today than ever before why our Association should continue to be vigorous in order to keep together the fraying threads of our society by means of a common culture which (to adapt the exhortation of King Henry V to his men) could

Be copy now to men of grosser blood
And teach them how to war.

When our friend Professor L. J. D. Richardson (*longa tenaxque fides*) prepared his *Jubilee Address* (1954) on *The Classical Association—The First Fifty Years*, he had only “the dry bones of Minute Books and *Proceedings* to work on.” It is not a formal history as he has himself remarked. Nor is our narrative. Prof Richardson has stated that after 1914 affiliation did not

involve any fee or subscription. Sister Associations, he says, have been called at various times "adjunct", "nascent", "incorporated", "affederated", "affiliated" and "allied" Associations. And he has referred to the "most friendly and profitable relations" with various overseas Associations including ours. We have only Minute Books, and Bulletins of recent origin (1966). The editor's membership dates only from 1948. As eloquently remarked by Professor Richardson:

"To have to defend an inherited discipline has two virtues. It makes articulate the reasons for what otherwise may be a blindly accepted tradition, and it fosters a healthy self-criticism and a spirit of reform from within. These are positive gains."

During the last 15 years our 'inherited discipline' did not appear at various critical stages to have any greater power of survival than the life-interest of an average Kandyan widow, but it still lives. To make appropriate use of the common legacy of past history and distribute it in terms of performance—*hoc opus, hic labor est*. It must be said that many of our outstanding men even today had been bred in the classics.

The objects of our Association are identical with those of the parent Association except for a few changes made to suit local conditions. These objects are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, that is, Latin and Greek, and in particular

- (a) To impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to a place in the national scheme of education.
- (b) To improve the practice of classical teaching by free discussion on its scope and methods.
- (c) To encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries.
- (d) To create opportunities for friendly intercourse and co-operation among all lovers of classical learning in this country, and to support as opportunities may arise the work of organizations with like objects elsewhere.

Simple as these objects may appear, it has been no easy task to carry them out after Ceylon became politically independent. It is only too well known that political independence has bred politicians who for the purpose of advertising their own brand of politics have sown seeds of hatred of cultures which are not indigenous. We are not aware that any politician in our midst has been led to say: *homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto*. Someone has remarked that demonocracy and not democracy seems to be the right description for our country now. There is no other name till revenges are forgot and the hater hates no more. The scruples of politicians have been in evidence beyond reasonable doubt at various points of time in world history. In the *Birds* of Aristophanes two Athenians searched for the birds with whose help they intended to build a new city between heaven and earth with no politicians, no tribunals, no slanderers. In his introduction to *Kenilworth* Sir Walter Scott refers to the alarming degree of violence to which a politician was prone by quoting from a play erroneously ascribed to Shakespeare:

"The only way to charm a woman's tongue
Is, break her neck—a politician did it."

From the time of the foundation the Minutes give full and lively accounts of some of the activities of the Association. Our Bulletin, started only in 1966, has carried information not only about our own classical activities and educational problems but also about those of other countries. In our country where the meaning of education varies substantially with each new

government that comes into power, we consider it a part of our duty to assert ourselves *pro aris et focis* and to do something more than just hint a fault and hesitate dislike. Appendices III and IV are excerpts from the Bulletins. We firmly believe that we have done right in presenting through our Bulletins a true picture of the conditions in which classical studies have to struggle in our midst. That struggle has been acute from 1957. Without such a picture our Classical Association might be no more than a *lucus a non lucendo*. To dim the light is to blur the picture. A black dress sewn with luminous spangles had inspired the lines

One shade the more, one ray the less,
Had half impaired the nameless grace

which were written about the wife of a Governor of Ceylon.

The reports of activities (for summaries taken from our Minutes and *Proceedings of the Classical Association* (British) from 1936 see Appendix I) reflect our attempts to achieve the objects of the Association and keep it alive. There is a complete blackout covering the period 1945-1947, except for one meeting in March 1945. *ignavae crimina desidia*e are difficult to defend. In more recent times it is regrettable there have been brief periods of aberration when sometimes the Minutes were not written or were imperfectly kept.

In the early days of the Association the Colombo YMCA organized a series of lectures on *The Ancient Greeks* through Prof Whiteley and the public took a great interest in them. In recent times it was realized by the Association that talks and lectures on classical topics and conferences of teachers were insufficient to keep the classics alive. Though members of the Association had offered to give talks on classical topics to schools, only a very few had availed themselves of this offer. The Association thereupon decided to interest not merely the teachers but the school-children by making a direct approach to them and organized a programme which, we are happy to say, has become popular. A Classical Variety and Quiz took place for the first time in 1965. The Variety consisted mainly of readings from the literature of Greece and Rome in English translations. A Latin Reading Competition for schools was held for the first time in 1968. An all-island English Essay Competition on classical topics for schools was begun in 1969. It has become a great success in spite of the low standard of English in the schools. There were 29 boys and 22 girls who competed from several schools. In 1970 there were 33 boys and 24 girls, and 21 boys and 37 girls in 1971. (See Appendix VII for a selection of prize-winning essays). Each year the Association girds itself to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield, and make the young see the great Achilles whom we knew. At the AGM in 1969 Rule 3 was amended by increasing the number of committee members (besides the office-bearers) from 5 to 7 to enable increased representation of school-teachers on the committee. Today there are 4 vice-principals on the committee, 3 of them being women.

An event of some significance was the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Association in 1960. Several talks on classical topics were broadcast by members on the National Service of Radio Ceylon, and a dinner, with the Chief Justice as the chief guest, took place, (see Appendix I under 1961). Some of our newspaper articles (see Appendix VIII) have been a part of the campaign to further the objects of the Association by impressing upon public opinion the claim of classical studies to a place in the national scheme of education.

One of the most important contributions to the survival of the classics in Ceylon consists in the translation of classical authors and of English books on classical subjects into Sinhala. This activity has been referred to in the *Proceedings* (1970), (see Appendix I). It is a tribute to the classical cause that most of the translators are not members of our Association. Our Bulletins have listed their works from time to time. It is only now that village schools which have taught only Sinhala have an opportunity of gaining a knowledge of Greek and Roman mythology and literature. (See Appendix V for a list of publications on classical topics in Sinhala). Our Bulletins have printed some translations of Sophocles, Horace and Catullus into Sinhala verse by our Joint Secretary Mr V. L. Wirasinha. His pioneer work in giving such versions may be likened to that of Gavin Douglas:

"in a barbarous age
He gave rude Scotland Virgil's page".

Appreciations of our Bulletins have appeared periodically in *Proceedings*, *Jact* Bulletins, *Mamucium*, *Euphrosyne*, *Akroterion*, and other journals.

"Paint me as I am", said Oliver Cromwell while sitting to Sir Peter Lely. "If you leave out the scars and wrinkles. I will not pay you a shilling." We do not leave out scars and wrinkles; but such blemishes as appear to have sometimes daubed our Association were not put on it by conditions of war or anxiety or remorse as in the case of Cromwell. In 1968 when the National Council of Higher Education (NCHE) decided to amalgamate Western Classics with the Department of English at our university to form a new department of English and Western Classical Culture under one professor, the Professor of English, our Association protested vehemently. The protest was printed in full by *The Times of Ceylon* on 16th December 1968. The memorandum pointed out *inter alia* the impracticable nature of the decision to amalgamate two entirely different disciplines, that classical studies were concerned with the tap-roots of Greek and Roman civilization, a subject outside the scope and competence of the Department of English, that the decision was illegal. (See Appendix III for further information). After this Grand Remonstrance the Department of Western Classics at the university has been permitted to continue as a separate department. Not for its depreciation of that discipline (to help the economy!) but on other grounds the NCHE has been suspended. No Goddess of Elogy let fall her hair.

There had indeed been earlier attempts to throttle the classics. The first appears to have been by Governor MacCallum in 1909 (see Appendix III). More than one Commission appointed in recent times by the government has brandished the sword. We refer to one. A Commission of three, with Prof Joseph Needham FRS as Chairman, was appointed for the purpose of inquiring into and reporting on *inter alia* the aims and objects of university education in Ceylon and the courses of study in the University. The Commission's Report (Sessional Paper xxiii of 1959) relating to Greek and Latin studies stated (paragraph 198):

"That while it would be undesirable that there should be no representation in the University of Greek and Latin studies, the number of students specialising in them is likely to be so small in the coming years that in principle this field could be taken charge of by a Sub-Department in the hands of a Reader."

No useful purpose is served by our comments on the subtle and evasive character of the paragraph but we must point out that the entire Report was severely criticized by the third member of the Commission as a fraudulent document to which he refused to set his signature. It has been well said that "fraud is not a thing that can stand even when robed in a judgment." But the damage had been done. The tainted Report appears to have been a convenient guide to others looking for such subterfuges.

After the stoppage of the carnage contemplated by the NCHE on the Western Classics at the university, there was a minor threat, also in 1968, this time from within, to cut the veins of the Association and infuse other blood. One of our members, choosing a title which gave no clue to the topic on which he was to descant, addressed a meeting of the Association advocating its transformation into a body devoted to the study of other cultures as well. For this purpose he suggested a number of changes including a change of name for the Association. He prophesied an early death for it if his recommendation were not adopted. The theme might have found some relevance in an Aristophanic setting. The members present expressed strong views that they would rather die a classical death, remembering perhaps that even Calchas had met with a soothsayer superior to himself. In a broadcast talk during the Silver Jubilee celebrations, the President D. G. L. Misso pointed out that the local name *Western Classics* given to the literatures of Greece and Rome—a differentiation suggested by the points of the compass—was far from accurate, even if convenient.

In 1970 the committee had occasion to deprecate the hubris of a classics examiner who had protested violently against a teacher's comments on his question paper as an unwarranted ease of *numen laesum*. The committee was of the view that examination questions, like justice, must be allowed to suffer the scrutiny and respectful, even though outspoken, comments of ordinary men.

After being acquainted with such strange bedfellows we had a noteworthy success in 1970 with the Department of Education when we persuaded it to approve *Greek and Roman Civilization* in English translations as a subject alternative to Greek and Latin at the GCE (O) Level Examination. The syllabus for the first examination (December 1972) was published in our Bulletin No 10. This approval of the subject in English translation (no suitable books are available yet in Sinhala) has not only abated the rigour of the battle with linguistics but has helped through English (which is a compulsory second language) to stem the fierce barbarian tide with less effort.

Prof Richardson in his *Jubilee Address* has remarked that "the Association never had a home" for nearly 50 years and there was at last "the prospect of greater security for our records, and, I may also add, of an abatement of the domestic disharmony caused by having one's house furnished more and more with Classical Association files." We have seen a living likeness in the Professor's house where even the stairway was lined (harmoniously) with books, books, books. We do not know of any Professor in our midst who breaks his fast with Aristotle, dines with Tully, drinks tea at Helicon, sups with Seneca. In the early years of our Association a room in a school or in the university building had been obtained for our meetings. In recent times for committee meetings the legal maxim *ubi uxor ibi domus* has been followed with advan-

tage and on each occasion the flag of hospitality has been freely hoisted. For other meetings we had to endure being stung and pursued by the gadfly till 1961 when the British Council brought balm to our wounds. We wrote the following paragraph in Bulletin No 5 (July 1968):

“Mr R. K. Brady, our President 1966-67, left Ceylon in March this year. He had been the British Council Representative in Ceylon for nearly ten years. From the time he joined the Association he gave every encouragement and assistance which enabled us to hold our meetings regularly in the British Council premises. He thus gave us a local habitation of which we were sorely in need. He bore the cost of producing the first three Bulletins and provided the prizes for the Latin Crossword Puzzles and the Quiz every time. He advertised our programmes in the press and in the British Council and did a great deal of secretarial work himself to stop many a hole to keep the wind away. No man could have done more. We shall always remember him with feelings of great gratitude.”

Later he arranged for our meetings to be held at the British High Commission cinema hall.

As we have remarked before, our annals are short and simple like those of the poor. Only a few of the papers read to the Association have been printed. It was not till 1951 that copies of the papers were obtained and kept as records. But many of them disappeared during the periods of aberration already mentioned. The circulation of typed copies of minutes of meetings among the committee members begun in 1968 by the Joint Secretary Mr V. L. Wirasinha is not only a time-saving measure at meetings but gives an enduring picture of the work in hand.

There are interesting ingredients in the composition of the Association. The law has been conspicuous throughout. If there was one thing more than another which the Greeks in their political concepts respected and the Romans almost perfected it was the law. It does not appear to be a mere coincidence that the Chief Justice was chosen to be our first President. It is noteworthy that the first President of the Classical Association of England was the Master of the Rolls, and the second and third were also men highly distinguished by the law. Shortly after the foundation of our Association, two of the founding members became judges of the Supreme Court. The membership today is 180. A fourth of this number represents the law in all its forms—judges as well as lawyers. The proportion of Supreme Court judges who are members is two-thirds of the Bench. The Administrative (formerly Civil) Service, the medical and teaching professions, the mercantile sector, the Diplomatic Service as well as other walks of life are well represented. It is heartening to note that a few schoolboys have recently become life members. According to the statistics published in *Proceedings* (1970) we have the largest number of members among Allied Associations. We top all Branch Associations even in England except the London Branch. But numbers without strength are of no avail.

The rule fixing an annual subscription of one rupee has long been a dead letter. The life membership fee of Rs 10/- is the only source of subsistence. In our Bulletin No 5 (July 1968) we referred to the generosity of a few members and said that, since the devaluation of the classics and the rupee, the Association has been rich in the wealth of despair. No sooner had we made this announcement than the President received from the founder a very substantial donation. We wrote in our next Bulletin: “While our country is mortgaged to foreign powers almost beyond redemption, this is the first time that any association of private individuals in our democracy has received foreign aid in £-s.-d.” We hope members will be pleased to make even a *donatio*

mortis causa. It will be acceptable in spite of its ambulatory and revocable nature.

The Ministry of Education has announced its intention to abolish in two or three years the GCE examination and replace it with something else which is to be called the National Certificate of Education. In that event it might not be considered 'national' to have Greek or Roman studies in the school curriculum. The time has certainly come to ask

Sailor, what of the debt we owe you?

Now is the hour at last to pay,

Now in the stricken field to show you

What is the spirit you guard today.

Now as we reach the end of this narrative our memory seems to echo like a chorus-ending from Euripides what Landor's Aesop had to say to Rhodope:

Laodameia died; Helen died; Leda, the beloved of Jupiter, went before. It is better to repose in the earth betimes than to sit up late; better, than to cling pertinaciously to what we feel crumbling under us, and to protract an inevitable fall. We may enjoy the present while we are insensible of infirmity and decay; but the present, like a note in music, is nothing but as it appertains to what is past and what is to come. There are no fields of amaranth on this side of the grave; there are no voices, O Rhodope, that are not soon mute, however tuneful; there is no name, with whatever emphasis of passionate love repeated, of which the echo is not faint at last.

East and West*

THE RT HON VISCOUNT SOULBURY
Governor-General of Ceylon
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When Rudyard Kipling wrote that "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet," meaning presumably that Eastern and Western peoples never had understood and never would understand each other, he coined one of those flashy generalizations that do a lot of mischief.

His dictum is demonstrably inaccurate as a matter of history and as a forecast of the future has been falsified daily by subsequent events. It is one of those plausible slogans of which Arthur Balfour once said—"that part which is true is trite and that which is not trite is not true."

Of course mountain barriers, seas, climate, language, religion serve to differentiate one people from another, wherever they may live, but today, as a result of the aeroplane, wireless and countless other scientific discoveries, the contacts between East and West have become infinitely more intimate than Kipling could ever have dreamed of. And as a matter of fact, ever since the dawn of history, considering the distances and physical obstacles involved, the intercourse between Oriental and Occidental races has been remarkably close. Almost every year fresh evidence of cultural affinities between them are brought to light and I can imagine no more fascinating field of research for the historian.

Here are one or two examples. To an amateur student, like myself, of the history and literature of ancient Greece, it is most interesting to find that Herodotus, the father of history, has narrated as actual events, almost contemporaneous with the period during which he wrote, certain episodes described in the Jātaka stories, and has substituted the names of historical characters for the beasts and birds of those delightful tales.

For instance he tells the story of Cleisthenes, the despot of Sicyon, and how that potentate had a daughter for whom he desired to find the best man amongst the Greeks as a husband. Cleisthenes issued a proclamation summoning all who considered themselves to be suitable sons-in-law to come to Sicyon and compete in various athletic contests. There was a very satisfactory response and the most eligible young men from Italy, Ionia, the Peloponnese, Athens and elsewhere presented themselves as suitors. Herodotus tells us that Cleisthenes kept them at his court for a year, making trial of their manly virtues and dispositions, training and temper, and during the whole period entertained them magnificently. At the end of it the most favoured competitor was an Athenian by name Hippocleides, and when the appointed day came for Cleisthenes to announce the name of the winner a great feast was given and the

* *The New Lanka* Vol 1 No 1 October 1949 now defunct. By courtesy of Mrs G. L. Cooray.

suitors competed in music and speeches for the entertainment of the company. There also seems to have been a good deal of drinking, and Hippocleides attracted the attention of everybody. He called for a flute to play a dance measure and danced to it, and it so befell, says Herodotus, that "he pleased himself in his dancing, but Cleisthenes looked on the whole matter with suspicion." In the light of what followed that is not surprising, for Hippocleides proceeded to order a table to be brought in and then danced upon it, first Laconian figures and then Attic, and finally planted his head on the table and gesticulated with his legs. This last extravagance proved too much for his prospective father-in-law who exclaimed, "You have danced your marriage away," to which Hippocleides replied in words that became proverbial throughout Greece *Ou phrontis Hippocleidei*—"Hippocleides doesn't care". Another husband was found for the lady. (*Herodotus VI*, 126-130).

Now let us turn to the *Jātaka* story (*Nacca Jātaka*). The King of the birds, the Golden Mallard, had a lovely young daughter to whom he promised any boon she might ask. So she asked to be allowed to choose a husband for herself. Like Cleisthenes of Sicyon, the Golden Mallard summoned all the birds in the country of the Himalayas and they flocked together on a great plateau of rock. The King bade his daughter choose a husband; she reviewed the crowd, saw the peacock and chose him. Carried away by his good fortune, the peacock spread his wings and began to dance most indecorously. The King of the birds was greatly incensed by this immodest performance, refused to give his daughter in marriage to the peacock and married her to a young Mallard, her cousin.

There is another and perhaps better known *Jātaka* story which found its way into the pages of Herodotus.

Three men ploughing on the outskirts of a forest were mistaken for robbers disguised as husbandmen and carried off as prisoners to the King. While they were in prison there came to the King's palace a woman who pleaded for their lives. On being asked what relations the three prisoners were to her she said one was her husband, one her brother, and one her son. "To mark my favour," said the King, "I will give you one of the three; which will you take"? "Sire," said the woman, "if I live I can get another husband and another son; but as my parents are dead I can never get another brother. So give me my brother, Sire." Pleased with the reply the King set all three men at liberty. (*Ucchanga Jātaka*).

This story reappears in Herodotus as follows—A Persian nobleman by name Intaphernes was suspected by King Darcios of plotting an insurrection. The King seized him and his sons and relations and put them in prison for execution. The wife of Intaphernes came to the palace and wept and Darcios was moved to pity and offered to save from death any one of her relations whom she might choose. She chose her brother, and the King being surprised at this selection enquired why she preferred to leave her husband and children to die and chose her brother to survive, "seeing that he is surely less near to thee in blood than thy children and less dear to thee than thy husband". The woman made answer "Oh King, I might, if heaven willed, have another husband and other children if I should lose these; but another brother I could by no means have, seeing that my father and mother are no longer alive." Darcios was so well pleased by this reply that he released not only the woman's brother but the eldest of her sons. The others he slew. (*Herodotus III*, 118-119).

Incidentally there are some lines in the *Antigone* of Sophocles written a few years later

than the history of Herodotus, which repeat the same theme in much the same form. They are, however, quite out of keeping with the dignity and pathos of the rest of the passage and most scholars regard them as an interpolation.

Herodotus wrote his history about the middle of the 5th century B.C.; the Jātaka stories must be a great deal older. According to Professor Rawlinson¹ these stories had crept into the narrative of Herodotus through Persia, but that does not fully explain how Herodotus came to incorporate them as factual events in the lives of characters in Greek and Persian history. Perhaps he has given us versions of tales that had already become Western legends. They may have been derived from a common source even more ancient than the Jātakas and be evidence of an ancestry shared by Indian and Greek civilizations. If so, they are a pleasant reminder for peoples who have drifted away from each other during the passage of time that in days long past they enjoyed a common childhood.

1. *Intercourse between India and the Western World* p 25.

Some Greek satirical epigrams

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The short poem in elegiac metre—the commonest form of what is generally ‘epigram’ in Greek literature—was relatively seldom used for comic or satirical poetry before the first century A.D. There is one of this sort in Simonides, a mock-epitaph for the detestable Timocreon:

‘After much eating, drinking, speaking ill.
Of people, I, Timocreon, lie still’.

Callimachus has an amusing piece, translated below. There are a few (some of them very good) among the epigrams of the first century B.C. and the earlier part of the first century A.D. by authors represented in the Garland of Philip, an anthology of epigrams composed between c. 90 B.C. and c. 40 A.D. But the heyday of the Greek satirical epigram extends from the middle of the first century A.D. up to some indefinable time in the second century. Thereafter there is nothing much of this kind before Palladas a couple of centuries later.

The bulk of the extant comic and satirical epigrams are preserved in the eleventh Book of the Palatine Anthology, a manuscript of the late tenth century. The principal source for these epigrams in Book Eleven was a much earlier anthology (second century A.D., probably) in which the authors were arranged in alphabetical order. A few of these authors’ epigrams are scattered over other Books of the Palatine Anthology.

Far the largest contribution (125 epigrams) is that of Lucillius, a lively and amusing writer, more or less contemporary with the Emperor Nero; next are Nicarchus (39 epigrams), Lucianus (35), and Ammianus (29). We know the names of seven other authors who were included in the early anthology; these all together contribute less than 20 epigrams to the Palatine Anthology.

The objects of satire are very various: prize-fighters, priests, doctors, athletes, poets, school-masters, philosophers, misers, thieves, fortune-tellers, singers, actors, painters, barbers, gluttons, cowards, libertines; less pardonably, ugly or deformed persons. The satire is never bitter, and seldom seems spiteful. The intention is to ridicule, not to censure; the aim of these authors is simply to make you laugh.

They are clever writers. They allow themselves a certain freedom in metrical technique, in vocabulary, and in style, beyond what had long been established by convention. There is quite a lot to be learnt from them about Roman society (not of the highest circles) in their times. The great Roman epigrammatist, Martial, must have known a number of them, especially Lucillius, practically by heart.

They have for some time been generally neglected. I am rather fond of them, and for my own amusement (which may not be universally shared) I offer a few specimens, in translation, of the satirical humour of the Greek.

- ἦ ῥ' ὑπὸ σοὶ Χαρίδας ἀναπαύεται; — εἰ τὸν Ἀρίμμα
τοῦ Κυρηναίου παῖδα λέγεις, ὑπ' ἐμοί.
— ὦ Χαρίδα, τί τὰ νέρθε; — πολὺ σκότος. — αἱ δ' ἄνοδοι τί;
— ψεῦδος. — ὁ δὲ Πλούτων; — μῦθος. — ἀπωλόμεθα.
— οὔτος ἐμὸς λόγος ὕμιν ἀληθινός· εἰ δὲ τὸν ἠδὺν
βούλῃ, Πελλαίου βοῦς μέγας εἰν Ἀΐδηι.

Callimachus *Anth. Pal.* 7.524

DIALOGUE WITH THE DEAD

Is there a ghost below there ?—‘ I am one ’.
What is it like in Hades ?—‘ Dark as hell ’.
The resurrection..... ?—‘ Hasn't yet begun ’.
But, then the Devil..... ? ‘ No such person ’.—Well !
‘ That is the dark side of the picture, so
To comfort you,—the cost of living's low ’.

* * *

χρυσὸν ἀνὴρ εὐρῶν ἔλιπεν βρόχον· αὐτὰρ ὁ χρυσὸν
ὄν λίπεν οὐχ εὐρῶν ἤψεν ὄν εὖρε βρόχον.

Statyllius Flaccus *Anth. Pal.* 9.44

THE SUICIDES

The suicide, finding a purse,
Left a noose
Lying loose
On the ground.

The unfortunate victim of theft,
Not finding the purse which he left,
Had a use
For the noose
Which he found.

* * *

δυσκῶφωι δύσκωφος ἐκρίνετο, καὶ πολλὸ μᾶλλον
 ἦν ὁ κριτῆς τούτων τῶν δύο κωφότερος.
 ὧν ὁ μὲν ἀντέλεγεν τὸ ἐνοίκιον αὐτὸν ὀφείλειν
 μηνῶν πένθ', ὁ δ' ἔφη νυκτὸς ἀληλεκένοι.
 ἐμβλέψας δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ κριτῆς λέγει, 'ἐς τί μάχεσθε;
 μήτηρ ἔσθ' ὑμῶν. ἀμφοτέροι τρέφετέ'.

Nicarchus *Anth. Pal.* 11.251

THE LAWSUIT

The plaintiff was deaf as can be,
 The prisoner deafer than he;
 His Worship, however,
 Was notably deafer,
 Oh, easily worst of the three.
 The plaintiff began: 'It's a crime;
 He won't pay his debt, not a dime'.
 The other replied:
 'It's clear he has lied;
 My office was shut at the time'.
 The judge at the pair took a peep:
 'This case doesn't go very deep;
 The woman's your mother,
 So you and your brother
 Must settle the cost of her keep'.

* * *

νυκτικόραξ αἶδει θανατηφόρον· ἀλλ' ὅταν αἴση
 Δημόφιλος, θνήσκει καὐτὸς ὁ νυκτικόραξ.

Nicarchus *Anth. Pal.* 11.186

SONGSTER OF ILL OMEN

When ravens sing, a soul to Heaven flies:
 And then *thou* singest, and the raven dies.

* * *

πέντε μετ' ἄλλων Χάρμος ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι δολιχεύων,
 θαῦμα μὲν, ἀλλ' ὄντως ἕβδομος ἐξέπεσεν.
 ἐξ ὄντων, τάχ' ἐρεῖς, πῶς ἕβδομος; εἷς φίλος αὐτοῦ
 'θάρσει, Χάρμε' λέγων ἦλθεν ἐν ἱματίωι.
 ἕβδομος οὖν οὕτω παραγίνεται. εἰ δ' ἔτι πέντε
 εἶχε φίλους, ἦλθ' ἄν, Ζωίλε, δωδέκατος.

Nicarchus *Anth. Pal.* 11.82

ALSO RAN

There were six runners in the race,
 Yet Charmus won the seventh place.
 You don't believe it? Kindly note.—
 His best friend, in an overcoat,
 Trotted beside him, very slow,
 Shouting 'Stick it!' and 'Bravo!'
 Now grant him two such other men:
 Charmus will come in Number Ten.

* * *

τοῦ λιθίνου Διὸς ἐχθὲς ὁ κλινικὸς ἤψατο Μάρκος.
 καὶ λίθος ὦν, καὶ Ζεὺς, σήμερον ἐκφέρεται.

Nicarchus *Anth. Pal.* 11.113

THE SURGEON AND THE STATUE

Of Zeus there stood a marble bust;
 My doctor chanced to touch it, just.
 Oh, very well, you say,
 What was the sequel?—Being Zeus,
 And being marble, was no use;
 Its funeral is today.

* * *

ἰηγήρ τις ἐμοὶ τὸν ἕον φίλον υἷον ἔπεμψεν
 ὥστε μαθεῖν παρ' ἐμοὶ ταῦτα τὰ γραμματικά.
 ὡς δὲ τὸ 'μῆριν ἄειδε' καὶ 'ἄλγεα μυρί' ἔθηκεν,
 ἔγνω, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τοῖσδ' ἀκόλουθον ἔπος,
 'πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν',
 οὐκέτι μιν πέμπει πρὸς με μαθησόμενον.
 ἀλλὰ μ' ἰδὼν ὁ πατήρ, 'σοὶ μὲν χάρις' εἶπεν 'ἑταῖρε,
 αὐτὰρ ὁ παῖς παρ' ἐμοὶ ταῦτα μαθεῖν δύναται.
 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ πολλὰς ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαπτω,
 καὶ πρὸς τοῦτ' οὐδὲν γραμματικῶν δέομαι'.

Lucian Anth. Pal. 11.401

THE DOCTOR'S SON LEAVES SCHOOL

The doctor's son was sent me to be taught
 The works of Homer. Very soon the lad
 Learnt 'Sing the Wrath' and 'Myriad-woes it brought';
 And then the third line of the Iliad:—

'Full many a soul to Hades forth it sped'.—
 No more the doctor sent his son to me.
 One day I met him: 'Much obliged', he said,
 'The lad can learn it in the surgery.

Why go to college? Speeding souls to Hades,
 Forsooth; what else d'you think his father's trade is?'

* * *

τῶι πατρί μου τὸν ἀδελφὸν οἱ ἀστρολόγοι μακρόγηρων
 πάντες ἔμαντεύσανθ' ὡς ἀφ' ἐνὸς στόματος
 ἀλλ' Ἐρμόκλειδης αὐτὸν μόνος εἶπε πρόμοιρον,
 εἶπε δ' ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἔσω νεκρὸν ἐκοπτόμεθα.

Lucillius Anth. Pal. 11.159

THE TRUE FORTUNE-TELLER

'To ripe old age', the fortune-tellers cried,
 'This lad shall live', in unison sublime;
 One only waited till the infant died,
 Then wisely nodded, 'Knew it all the time'.

* * *

τὰς τρίχας, ὦ Νίκυλλα, τινὲς βάπτειν σε λέγουσιν,
ἄς σὺ μελαινοτάτας ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐπρίω.

Lucillius *Anth. Pal.* 11.68

A FALSE RUMOUR

I notice a trend to decry
The dark of your hair as a dye:
Which is very unfair,
Since the wig that you wear
Is the finest that money can buy.

* * *

οὐ δέχεται Μάρκον τὸν ῥήτορα νεκρὸν ὁ Πλούτων,
εἰπὼν 'ἀρκείτω Κέρβερος ὧδε κύων'.

Lucillius *Anth. Pal.* 11.143

NO PLACE FOR MARCUS IN HADES

The corpse of Marcus was rejected: why ?
'The situation', Pluto said, 'is filled;
We have a hound already. Re-apply
If Cerberus should happen to be killed'.

* * *

κῆν με φάγηις ἐπὶ ρίζαν, ὅμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω
ὄσσον ἐπισπείσαι σοί, τράγε, θυομένωι.

Euēnus *Anth. Pal.* 9.75

THE VINE AND THE GOAT

Though you eat me to the root,
I shall bear sufficient fruit
For the priest to pour libation
On the day of celebration,
When there's cutting of the throats
Of goats.

* * *

εἶη σοι κατὰ γῆς κούφη κόνις, οἰκτρὲ Νέαρχε, —
ὄφρα σε ῥηιδίως ἐξερύσῃσι κύνες.

Ammianus *Anth. Pal.* 11.226

EPITAPH FOR NEARCHUS

O Earth, rest lightly on Nearchus, please,—
That dogs may reach his bones with greater ease.

* * *

οὐκ ἐθέλουσα Τύχη σε προήγαγεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα δείξει
ὡς ὅτι μέχρις σοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν δύναται.

Anonymous *Anth. Pal.* 9.530

JACK IN OFFICE

God made you great: but be not proud thereof:
It neither shows your merit, nor His love.
Reflect, and see it in its proper sense,—
The final proof of his omnipotence.

* * *

γραμματικοῦ θυγάτηρ ἔτεκεν φιλότῃ μιγείσα
παιδίου ἀρσενικόν, θηλυκόν, οὐδέτερον.

Palladas *Anth. Pal.* 9.489

FAMILY OF A GRAMMARIAN

Three babes adorned the daughter of a tutor:
One masculine, one feminine, one neuter.



The family in conflict¹

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Lucius Junius Brutus, the legendary founder of the Roman Republic and consul in 509 B.C., had his own sons put to death when they were detected plotting to restore Tarquin to his lost throne. Here was a man faced with a conflict of loyalties, on the one hand loyalty to the state which he was largely responsible for founding, and on the other loyalty towards members of his immediate family. In his case loyalty to the state was preferred, but would anything else be expected of a Roman aristocrat? What did an ancient Greek do when the interests of members of his family clashed with the interests of the group of families which made up each Greek polis? Turning from the Romans to Greek mythology, one thinks of the Agamemnon who chose to sacrifice his daughter Iphigeneia, so that the Greeks might sail from Aulis to Troy. Was this a decision comparable to that of Brutus? But we must also take into account Sophocles' *Antigone*, the sister who buried her brother, thereby defying the orders of Creon, king of Thebes. And the example of *Antigone* suggests a second type of conflict, and this time a conflict within the family itself. The quarrel between *Antigone* and Creon was a quarrel between niece and uncle, and that niece was betrothed to Creon's son, who, before the play ends, makes an unsuccessful attempt on his father's life. *Antigone* is only too ready to die for the sake of her brother Polyneices, and critics indeed have spoken of the heroine's death-wish. Yet she treats her sister Ismene, to say the least, harshly, while the two brothers Polyneices and Eteocles carried their mutual hostility to the length of killing one another. Clearly the type of conflict possible within the family may present us with a complicated picture, and the same is no less true of the type of conflict which could arise between the individual family and the collection of families we call the state. But enough has now been said to introduce my subject. It is time we considered actual cases to see how far and where our investigations will lead.

If you ask an average student what is the meaning of Sophocles' *Antigone*, he or she is likely to answer that here we have a perennial theme of European drama, the conflict between the individual citizen and his moral conscience and the state and political expediency. But can *Antigone's* dilemma really have been the same as the dilemma of the Frenchman in the early forties of this century who had to reach a personal decision whether to join De Gaulle in Britain or to accept the terms of the armistice signed between the Vichy government and the Nazi conquerors of France? Now I am perfectly willing to accept the proposition that individual citizens and the state could and often were at variance in classical Greece. How else are we to

1. This paper was originally read in February 1971 at one of a series of seminars on the Greek family organized by the Greek Department of the University of Birmingham.

explain the many occasions when oligarchs betrayed their city to Sparta or, for that matter, democrats betrayed their city to Athens? How else are we to explain the career of a character like Alcibiades, one moment an Athenian general, the next moment passing vital military intelligence on to the Spartans, and then, not much later, back in command at Athens? But what I am reluctant to accept is the idea that these shifts in loyalty have anything to do with morality or moral principles. All this simply boils down to the struggle to secure personal power and its companion, personal prestige.² It is better to be in power though a member of a quisling government than to see one's political opponents supreme. Being depicted as the conventional tyrant type, Creon is suspicious and instinctively assumes conspiracy when his orders are challenged by Antigone; but it is impossible for a woman to achieve personal prestige through political power, for politics are a sphere of activity not open to a woman, and Antigone has no thought of supplanting Creon as ruler of Thebes.

What loyalty, then, higher than her loyalty to the state does Antigone acknowledge when she persists in her efforts to bury Polyneices? Is she inspired by religious belief? Is she prompted by private conscience? If you join me in denying these two possibilities, yet another explanation of her actions must be advanced, and my suggestion is that she is motivated by her loyalty to a family struck down by a whole succession of horrifying disasters—nothing binds a family more tightly together than experience of disaster, for ranks close when trouble occurs. It appears to me to be typically Greek that loyalty towards a sibling may have precedence over loyalty to the state, whereas it does not seem to me to be typical of the fifth-century Greek that 'conscience', whether it is rooted in religious or humanitarian feelings, should have such influence. Early in the tragedy Antigone is asked by Ismene, 'Do you really propose to bury Polyneices when the city has forbidden it?' (verse 44), and her sister replies, 'My brother I shall certainly bury; I shall not be caught betraying him' (verses 45-46). Creon's attitude, of course, is very different: 'Whosoever reckons that a *philos*', he says, 'has a greater claim upon him than his native land has, this man I rate of no account' (verses 182-83). There is a notorious passage in the *Antigone*, actually verses 905-12, when Antigone says she would not have done what she did for a child or a husband, because she could get more children or another husband, whereas, her parents both being dead, another brother is denied her. However perverse we regard such an argument, and critics have discussed the passage endlessly, the evidence collected from popular songs by Kakridis has shown quite conclusively that this preference for a brother and the argument deployed to justify it are both intelligible and also acceptable to a Greek.³ We may be baffled, we may be embarrassed by Antigone's statement, but a Greek would not be, and the *Antigone*, after all, is a play written by a Greek for an audience of Greeks. I believe that the conflict between Antigone and Creon is basically a conflict between loyalty to the family and loyalty to the state. The Greeks were keenly aware of the likelihood of such a conflict; the Spartan state and Plato in the organization of the *Republic* made special provisions designed to eliminate the excessive influence of family ties.

Antigone preferred family loyalty. Could she afford this preference because she was a woman? I am thinking at this point of Agamemnon's willingness to sacrifice Iphigeneia, but

2. Compare Alcibiades' defence of his actions as recorded by Thucydides vi. 89 ff., and especially his definition of the *philopolis* in chapter 92.

3. J. Th. Kakridis, *Homeric Researches* (Lund, 1949), pp. 152 ff.

Clytemnestra's reaction to the decision. Aeschylus' treatment of the theme is so well known that I prefer to discuss the play Euripides devoted to the same subject, the *Iphigeneia in Aulis*. It is absolutely late Euripidean in character, and that means that it is superb but complex. The enduring impression a reader will carry away is one of the uncertainty of human affairs and behaviour; everybody in the play, or, to be accurate, nearly everybody in the play keeps changing their mind. The play is set at Aulis and it opens with Agamemnon in the process of changing his mind. He relates how, when Calchas first broke the news that Iphigeneia must die if the Greeks were to sail to Troy, his first thought was to disband the army, but he was then persuaded by Menelaus and wrote home asking Clytemnestra to send Iphigeneia to Aulis ostensibly as the bride of Achilles (verses 94 ff.). Now he writes a second letter cancelling this instruction, but his messenger is intercepted by Menelaus, who has no scruple about reading his brother's correspondence. The result is no surprise, a furious altercation between the sons of Atreus. Menelaus (verses 337 ff.) claims that Agamemnon was possessed by an overwhelming desire to command the Greek forces, exhibiting a warm cordiality and courting favour shamelessly until he actually became commander and then his manner changed and it changed for the worse. The detention of the expedition at Aulis left Agamemnon in a fine state of panic and frustration, and, when Calchas spoke, he was only too glad to comply. But, though his decision to sacrifice his daughter was freely reached, now he is reversing that decision. In his reply (verses 378 ff.) Agamemnon tells his brother that he ought to have kept a sharper eye on Helen, he is besotted with Helen and the whole expedition is crazy. He will not kill his children, he says, and will not do what is unlaw and unjust to his own flesh and blood because of Helen.

Exit Menelaus: enter a messenger announcing the arrival of Iphigeneia and someone not expected, Clytemnestra. The messenger also describes the mounting excitement of the army which suspects something grand is in the offing. Only a handful so far know of the false marriage—poor Achilles, for example, is completely in the dark about the entire scheme. Just when everything seems inevitable Menelaus bursts in once more, this time to say that he has thought the matter over and sees Agamemnon's point of view (verses 480 ff.)—don't place my interests, he says, above your own; I can find another wife; am I to win Helen but lose a brother, exchanging good for bad, that's the last thing I should have done (verses 487-88). Menelaus has not finished yet but continues: I'm touched by your sadness and Iphigeneia's plight; we're kinsmen; I've changed my mind and I've changed it because of my love for my brother. Unfortunately the intervention is too late, for the army is assembled, Calchas is in a position to broadcast the prophecy to the troops as can Odysseus who also knows etc. etc., and this part of the play draws to its close with the emotional and touching reunion of Agamemnon and Iphigeneia and an unsuccessful attempt by Agamemnon to persuade Clytemnestra to return home (verses 631 ff.).

The truth next comes out and does so swiftly: Clytemnestra and Achilles meet and talk at cross-purposes, since the latter knows nothing of his impending marriage, and a messenger adds the final touches to the story (verses 801 ff.). A raging Achilles promises to save Iphigeneia, but not because he objects to the sacrifice. Indeed he says he would not have refused to serve the common interest (verses 965-67); what he cannot tolerate is the use of his name without permission. Agamemnon meets his family again and is exposed to a savage onslaught from his wife (verses 1106 ff.). Iphigeneia implores her father and even the baby Orestes is held up

a speechless suppliant (verse 1245). All Agamemnon can do is to refer to the army waiting to set sail. Alone Achilles is opposed to the sacrifice and his reason is injured pride. It is Iphigeneia who resolves the problem, and this she does by another of those bewildering changes of mind. Although she had previously said it is better to live *kakōs* than to die *kalōs* (verse 1252), now she proclaims she is ready to die for Greece (verses 1368 ff.); her own death, it appears, is a slight return for the honour of setting Greece free from barbarian threat. This final twist to the plot leaves the reader gasping, but then this play does have everything—a father and daughter who feel deeply towards one another, though the father acquiesces in the daughter's death, a pair of brothers who can squabble one moment but see the other's point of view the next, a highly protective, not to say possessive, mother, and a warrior prepared to take on the world. A father's passion for high command is matched by a daughter's readiness to surrender her life in the interests of a very large 'family', the collective body of the Greeks.

Having examined some at least of the evidence, we are now in a position to risk a couple of generalizations. Reading the *Antigone* confirmed a vague impression I had already formed, the feeling that it is siblings of the same sex who quarrel and siblings of the opposite sex who cherish a mutual affection. Thus Antigone and Ismene, and Polyneices and Eteocles quarrel, but Antigone and Polyneices are devoted to one another. If my impression represents a valid and an acceptable rule of life, why should it be so? One can think of particular reasons: the man of honour is concerned, above all else, to protect his womenfolk, and so a brother will be emotionally attached to his sister. The male is admired but a girl counts for little in the eyes of the Greek, and an Antigone or her like will be conditioned to idolize her brother, whom she may well have looked after when he was a small child.⁴ These and other reasons perhaps explain why siblings of the opposite sex cherish a mutual affection, but they do not account for the quarrels between siblings of the same sex. It was while I was examining the argument between Agamemnon and Menelaus in the *Iphigeneia in Aulis* that I hit upon a solution which may or may not be acceptable. Division of labour characterizes the Greek world, and a division of function also applies in the case of the totality of men and the totality of women. In other words, Greek men were expected to live one kind of life and to exemplify one set of values, and women to live another, and a very different, kind of life involving another, and again a very different, set of values. Such a difference of function means that it is impossible for a man and a woman, a brother and a sister, to compete, one against the other, and it is the existence of competition, whatever form the competitive element may assume, which causes siblings of the same sex to quarrel, a very obvious example being provided by the political ambitions of Polyneices and Eteocles. Let me make one last point before I attempt my second generalization. Creon in the *Antigone* does not like being opposed, especially when his adversary is a member of his own family, and especially when his adversary is a woman. The clash between uncle and niece is a type of competition between man and woman, and it is clear that in Creon's opinion this is an unnatural situation. Does not Aeschylus also exploit the same idea in his portrayal of Clytemnestra in the first play of the *Oresteia* trilogy?

I must hurry on to the second generalization. Antigone opts for family loyalty, but Agamem-

4. Compare A. L. Maraschini, *The Study of an Italian Village* (Paris and the Hague, 1968), pp. 179 ff. The village whose inhabitants are studied is one of nine in the Salentine peninsula or heel of the boot of Italy where a Greek dialect is still spoken.

non sacrifices Iphigeneia. Dare I suggest that a woman will usually prefer the interests of the family but a man the general good? If this is a valid rule, it must again relate to the different functions of woman and man. Woman's life is centred on the home—like a Greek house with its interior courtyard and few external windows, the woman looks 'inwards', and to her the family and its members are of paramount importance. A man has a public as well as a private life, and in his pursuit of prestige he must not neglect the former and occasionally the family will be second best.

Rather than press my case I want to look at a further text, and this time a non-mythological text. Panic appears to have broken out at Athens in 415 B.C. when the Athenians were on the point of launching a colossal armament against Sicily. Statues were mutilated and the Eleusinian Mysteries profaned; an oligarchy plot was suspected and citizens were arrested and thrown into jail, one of these being the orator-politician Andocides. By turning informer, however, Andocides was able to effect his release. Many years later, in 400 or 399, Andocides found himself in court, facing charges which caused him to recount the events of 415. We, of course, possess the text of the speech for the defence, Andocides' *On the Mysteries*. Now there is no need for us to bother with the exact charge laid against the orator, the details of his defence or the question of his complicity in whatever plot, if any, was being hatched in 415. But I should like to single out some passages in his speech.

Andocides seems to have given evidence against others, and no one cares much for an informer. Think of what happens to sycophants in Aristophanes' comedies. The sixth speech ascribed to Lysias is entitled *Against Andocides*, and its author (it can hardly be Lysias himself) attacks Andocides for having turned informer, for implicating his own relatives and friends, for purchasing his own life by selling those of others (23-24 and 43-45). It would appear from the *On the Mysteries* that the prosecution was more explicit and also much more dangerous in that it denounced Andocides for having informed against his own father—'a charge, I think, the most terrible (*deinotaton*) and the most sacrilegious (*anosiotaton*) of all' (19). The accusation naturally is rejected.

Later Andocides goes into greater detail, explaining that he gave information not to destroy but to save members of his own family. The dangers to which they were exposed, although innocent, justified his naming the real criminals (48 ff.). In fact when he became an informer he was not only protecting members of his family—he was also serving Athens, for he was influenced by a double concern, a regard for his relatives and friends and a regard for the city as a whole (56). 'By telling the truth', he claims, 'I was saving myself, I was saving my father and my other relatives, and I was setting the city free from fear and the greatest misfortunes.' The price paid was the dispatch into exile of four men, and all four were guilty (59). Here is a case, then, where, if Andocides is to be trusted, the interests of family and state coincide, and one reinforces the other.

Towards the end of the speech we learn that Andocides is the only member of his family to survive (146). He turns this sad fact to his immediate advantage, asking 'Who can plead for me? My father? He's dead. My brothers? I have none. My children? As yet they do not exist. You act as my father, my brothers, my children' (148-49). The jurymen, therefore, a group as cross-representative of the citizens of Athens as any could hope to be, are invited to plead with

themselves for Andocides' life and to save it, and, inasmuch as family and jurymen are identified, so city and family, the macrocosm and the microcosm if you like, are identified.

On the Mysteries dates from 400 or 399 B.C. The latter year is the dramatic date of Plato's dialogue the *Crito*. In this dialogue some friends of Socrates visit him while in prison awaiting execution and try to persuade him to escape. Socrates answers their arguments by imagining a conversation between himself and the personified Laws of the state (50a). The Laws claim Socrates as their offspring and slave and demand the privileges of a father and master, against whom retaliation is not permitted (50e-51a). They go on: Are you so clever that you don't appreciate that your native land—*patris*—is something more precious than a mother, father and all your ancestors as well; it is something more venerable and more holy and is held in greater honour by gods and intelligent men—it is not holy to do violence to a mother or father, and still much less is it holy to do violence to your native land (51a-c). One can imagine a Creon heartily endorsing sentiments like these, asserting as they do the superiority of the state to the family, and the argument which follows would be equally attractive, since it stresses the force of the contractual obligation which a citizen incurs when he decides to remain a citizen.

More could be said, but Andocides and Plato have been mentioned for a particular reason. Language is meaningful, and when the state is presented as a kind of large-scale family, conferring privileges and imposing obligations, we are made to realize that we were perhaps wrong in initially defining two types of conflict, conflict between the family and the state and conflict within the basic family. The conflict between the member of a family and the state may be presented as much as a quarrel within the family as is a quarrel between siblings. Mythology mirrors real life, and drama is most effective when it exploits tensions inherent in contemporary society. Oratory and philosophical writings bring us face to face with actual situations and living personalities. It is by combining evidence from a variety of sources that we may hope to achieve a fuller understanding.

Fair Amoret

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Fair Amoret is gone astray;
Pursue and seek her, ev'ry lover;
I'll tell the signs, by which you may
The wand'ring Shepherdess discover.

Coquet and Coy at once her Air,
Both study'd, tho' both seem neglected;
Careless she is with artful Care,
Affecting to seem unaffected.

With Skill her Eyes dart ev'ry Glance,
Yet change so soon you'd ne'er suspect 'em;
For she'd persuade they wound by chance,
Tho' certain Aim and Art direct 'em.

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

CONGREVE

Fugit, iö, fugit formosa puella Cytheris.
eia age, quisquis amas! i pete, quisquis amas!
sed te signa prius—non est mora longa—docebo
lucida, cognosci quis fugitiva queat.
lasciva est specie, tamen ut pudibunda rubescat,
arte duplex, quamvis ars in utroque latet;
omne opus impendit quo non operosa putetur,
et simulat semper se simulare nihil.
callida dat volnus visus utcunque retorquet;—
haud mora, mutavit, nec voluisse putes;
persuadebit enim data volnera lædere casu;
tu ne crede tamen: cum nocet, arte nocet.
ipsa sui faulrix quicquid se iactat habentem,
altera si quis habet, damnat et odit idem;
invida sic mores aliarum illudero gaudet,
quos tamen illudit non videt esse suos.

The teaching of Classics in England Some recent developments

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Before embarking upon my theme, may I offer my congratulations to the Classical Association of Ceylon on its thirty-sixth birthday and say how privileged I feel to be invited by my friend Mr L. W. de Silva to contribute an article to this very special number of your Bulletin. My classical colleagues in HM Inspectorate over here and I have very much enjoyed these Bulletins of yours which he has so kindly sent to me and which bear such eloquent testimony to the vigorous support you give to the cause of classics in Ceylon. I wish I could match the occasion by essaying in Latin verse some lofty theme and "the Muse invoked, sit down to write", but I have read Mr de Silva's Elegiac Versions and have no wish to play Marsyas to his Apollo! Indeed, since I hover on the verge of retirement, I might reasonably have quoted Horace in reply to his invitation—

Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
peccet ad extremum ridendus

On the other hand I am now not too badly placed for a meditative retrospect over the last decade or so, and I gather that the problems we meet in this country and our attempted solutions, our experiments with materials and techniques of presentation are of interest to our classical confrères in Ceylon. Hence my title.

Let me begin with the rather gloomy admission that in terms of numbers of pupils involved in learning Latin and Greek in the schools, we have lost ground in the latter part of the Sixties. The relevant statistics are those of candidates at Ordinary and Advanced levels in the examination for the General Certificate of Education: the peak years at Ordinary level were for Latin, 1963 (55424 candidates), for Greek 1962 (2766); at Advanced level for Latin, 1965 (7901), for Greek 1961 (1478). But by 1969, the corresponding figures were 43973, 2031; 5577, 893. The figures for Ancient History at Advanced level have, however, remained remarkably steady over the four years 1966-1969—1092, 1143, 1162, 1106; and there has been, for the Certificate of Secondary Education Latin papers, the sort of dazzling percentage increase that one might expect from tiny beginnings—from 20 in 1965 to 252 in 1969. All one can say about the over-all statistical picture is that, if it gives no cause for satisfaction or complacency, it at least shows that a very considerable number of pupils in our schools are still studying Latin; and although the number of those studying Greek is small, they have always constituted something of a corps d'élite and a pass rate of over 90% at Advanced level indicates the very high quality of their performance.

This numerical decline in popularity, which has to be recorded as a development of a nega-

tive kind, is attributable to a variety of causes: secondary reorganisation on comprehensive lines, which has sometimes meant the shortening or disappearance of Latin courses: internal organisation and the competing claims of other subjects with more apparent social and commercial relevance: the fact that an examination qualification in Latin is no longer a requisite for entry to universities as it used to be and, for some faculties, still is. Again some educationists have an antipathy to the classics. It may possibly arise from memories of youthful Latin lessons that seem in recollection to have been little more than a grammarian's funeral, and last century and in the first quarter of this, much of our classical teaching had, to put it mildly, a heavily linguistic bias. Byron, in the fourth Canto of *Childe Harold*, speaks of the "drill'd dull lesson", "the fix'd inveteracy wrought" on his mind and his continued abhorrence of "what it then detested". We may still have to contend with some fix'd inveteracies, now largely undeserved. So often this kind of opponent of the classics seems to be tilting at windmills of his own imagining, for in all sorts of ways teachers of classics, in recent years and particularly in the 1960's, have been striving to set their house in order. They have realised that they are in a competitive situation and that they must present their goods as attractively as possible, which in some respects need mean little more than not concealing the inherent attractions of the classics. And so we have seen one attempt after another to make classical teaching in all its aspects as effective as possible and to excise the dead wood of needless pedantry. Should you be saying to yourselves "Dic age frigoribus quare novus incipit annus Qui melius per ver incipiendus erat", let us turn from the winter of our discontent to the spring-time of innovation and experiment, and enumerate and briefly describe a few of these attempts.

The most important experiment taking place in the classical field at the moment is the Cambridge School Classics Project, financed initially by the Nuffield Foundation, with contributions later from the Department of Education and Science, and given a local habitation and a name by the University of Cambridge. The nature and the purpose of the Project are by now so widely known that I need say no more than that the Project has two components, one linguistic, the other non-linguistic. The first aims at imparting with the least possible expenditure of time and effort the ability to read Latin with confidence, fluency and enjoyment, at the same time conveying some knowledge of Roman civilisation in the widest sense of the words. The other component has been concerned with producing materials designed to reinforce the kind of foundation course in classical studies upon which the linguistic course might be presumed to rest.

The materials for the linguistic course were tested from 1967 to 1970 initially by over 3500 pupils in 74 schools, but the Project exercised a sort of Pied Piper effect and finally something like 5400 pupils in 106 schools, including one in New York, were participating in the experiment. Last summer 159 pupils from eight of the schools took the General Certificate examination with Ordinary level papers specially set by one of the eight Examining Boards in accordance with the usual practice where curricular experiments are involved which could not be fairly tested by examination of the conventional type. A 72% pass rate was achieved, but clearly the sample is far too small to allow any firm conclusions to be drawn from it and the most that could honestly be said is that the omens it provided were encouraging. This summer a vastly greater number of candidates will take the examination and then we shall be nearer to evaluating how far the

Project has succeeded in its aims. Even then it will be premature to say that the testing process has been satisfactorily completed; we shall have to wait and see how these pupils tackle their reading of difficult and demanding literature at Sixth Form level and at university.

But many teachers of classics over here are very much hoping for the Project's success. After all, if it is accepted that the short-term objective in studying the Latin language is to be able to read the literature in order to find out what the Romans thought, said and did, as described in their own words, and that the long-term aim is to arrive at some understanding of Roman civilisation and its continuing influence, then the heart of the Cambridge Project may be said to be in the right place. In schools where the project material is being used, one meets with a positive incandescence of enthusiasm from pupils and teachers alike, from headmasters and headmistresses, and, by report, from parents in the background ("if only we had been taught Latin like that!"). At the end of the first Unit, Stage XII, Vesuvius erupts and brings down the curtain dramatically on the first phase of the work, wiping out all but two of the persons of the drama. Very effective. Too effective, perhaps, since some of the pupils, the girls especially, had become so attached to the household of the Pompeian banker Caecilius that they were distressed to the point of tears by this bereavement. And if this is not to recapture humanity in antiquity, I do not know what is.

The second element in the Cambridge project has been an attempt to provide attractive material for use in a course in classical studies taught entirely through English; this might serve either as a foundation course in its own right upon which to rest subsequent linguistic study or as part of an inter-disciplinary arrangement. So far the materials provided—in folders containing work cards, information sheets and illustrative material of various kinds—cover the first year's work only and are exclusively Hellenic in content: they depend upon a story technique, and they exploit the perennial appeal of the great myths and legends to fire the imagination and widen the experience of the young. If the course could be extended to a second year, it might well turn to Rome, and it might then be found necessary to change from a story to—say—a topic approach, more appropriate to the growing maturity of the pupils. The interesting point to notice is that the course is intended to (and often does) give rise to creative and re-creative activities of all kinds, writing in prose and verse, painting, modelling, costume-making and so on. A film of the Siege of Troy made by more than a hundred twelve-year old boys at a comprehensive school which uses the Cambridge material was shown to the participants in the recent Colloquium at Canterbury and it was acclaimed as a remarkable achievement. It showed in the composition of some of its shots and sequences, entirely the work of the boys, a real sense of cinema and even its occasional incongruities had a refreshingly youthful quality.

If the time for Latin has been reduced and yet a more liberal approach to the subject is being attempted, quite clearly some element or elements of the course as traditionally conceived must either have been cut out or reduced in status. There is indeed much less interest nowadays in the technicalities of grammar memorised in isolation from a context. It is being increasingly realised that words have interest and significance only as members of a group—the clause, the sentence, the paragraph. You might almost say that the reign of 'supellex' and 'glis' is over or at least in its twilight. The controversy about composition, which in the early 1960's had the retentionists and the abolitionists as hotly engaged as the little-endians and the big-endians in *Gulliver's Travels*, seems to have been resolved—predictably—in compromise. Composition

has ceased to be obligatory for a pass in examination at nearly all levels and has become an option, alternative usually to a difficult passage of Greek or Latin with comments required on such things as style, content and syntax. Examining bodies are still experimenting with alternatives which will not aim at testing precisely the same aptitudes as composition but which will be of comparable difficulty and certainly far from being a soft option. If composition retains an optional status, it can still be practised by pupils with a flair for it and used as a teaching technique if so desired. But sheer lack of time and the central importance of wide reading have combined to dethrone composition from its former regal eminence.

The application to the reading of Greek and Latin texts of the principles of "practical literary criticism", associated in the field of English literature with the name of I A Richards, has long been implicitly practised by good teachers of sixth form classics. But the publication in 1965 of a small but seminal book on the subject by two Harrow schoolmasters, coupled with the presence of questions on style and on the relation of form to content in the alternatives to prose composition, have recently brought the technique very much to the fore. It involves the occasional leisurely study in depth of, for example, a chorus, an ode or an oratorical *tour de force* or the comparing and contrasting of apparently similar passages or of translations of the same passage; the sort of thing that only the pressure of time and the need to cover a lot of ground rapidly have always made it difficult to embody in the day-to-day reading of texts. If this particular trend means that boys and girls will read their Greek and Latin with deeper understanding and enhanced appreciation, it is to be welcomed. But as a recent Department of Education and Science pamphlet ("Classics in the Curriculum") puts it: "It would be a pity, however, if this exercise were to be detached from the general reading programme and treated as a drill in which the enjoyment of reading could be spoilt by the known necessity of expressing some critical opinion afterwards."

One tendency I think I can detect as I look back over the last decade or two is the growing importance attached to the uttering aloud of the Greek and Latin we are reading with our pupils. Obviously this is an important factor in critical appreciation. What would you say of the would-be critic of Virgil who had seen the text but never heard its music? Would it not be rather like claiming to know Mozart's Don Giovanni, having read only the libretto? Professor W B Stanford, in "The Sound of Greek", complains that we are obsessed with what he calls eye-philology to the detriment of ear-philology. But it might not be over-optimistic to plead that we are less guilty than we were, and the value of reading the Greek and Latin aloud, with due attention to stress and quantity, is much more widely accepted than it was—if only, to put it at its lowest, as another avenue into the memory. The exponents of the direct method have always placed their emphasis on the spoken word, and the prose and verse reading competitions for schools, sponsored by the Classical Association with the help of the Virgil and the Horatian Societies, have also done much to attune our ears to the sound of Greek and Latin.

To my mind one of the most valuable developments in the classical field has been the foundation in 1962 of the Joint Association of Classical Teachers, usually referred to as "JACT". Membership at the beginning of February 1971 was 2149, and since this includes friends like yourselves from overseas, it is difficult to say what proportion of the classical teachers of this country this represents; possibly about half, at the roughest of rough estimates. As you know, it publishes a termly bulletin, which gives an admirably comprehensive account of pretty well

everything happening on the classical front—conferences, lectures, performances of plays, courses, new books, visual aids and so on. Nothing seems to slip through its net. Its annual journal, *Didaskalos*, is too well-known and too well established to need description here, and in any case its title clearly indicates its concern with pedagogic theory and techniques. JACT also sponsors conferences, which almost always have some constructive sequel. Two ancient history conferences, for example, held some years ago, were followed by the formation of what proved to be a remarkably energetic working party, which produced syllabus and model examination papers, adopted later on an experimental basis by the Oxford and Cambridge Examining Board. This has given a different emphasis and, in the view of many, an added interest to ancient history teaching in the Sixth Form. (Some of the principal features are shorter, less superficially treated, outline periods; more weight given to the social, literary and artistic aspects of the civilisations of Greece and Rome and less to military and political history; and more reliance upon primary sources, read, if necessary, in translation since the crib, at least at this level, has become respectable).

The foundation of JACT has had some other results. So often the teachers of one or both of the classical languages are the sole representatives of their subject in a school, and in the past they have tended to be cut off from their kind and to have no one who could, literally and metaphorically, speak the same language. Membership of a flourishing subject association does much to banish the sense of loneliness. Other derivative but more local associations of classical teachers have sprung up, some affiliated to JACT, other independent; so that we now have a bewildering variety of rhyming sodalities, such as LACT (for London), BACT (for Birmingham) and, sinister only in sound, SACT (for Sussex). LACT has done some brilliant work in producing, among other things, some first-rate collections of source material which it calls LACTORs, invaluable for courses in non-linguistic classical studies or in ancient history or, indeed, for classical teaching generally.

Again under the aegis of JACT, in the last three summers and to be repeated this year there have been "crash" courses in Greek, with up to 80 participants, lasting in the first year ten days but later extended to a fortnight, and intended for beginners or near-beginners who may want to study Greek in Sixth Form or at university. At a time when Greek is tending to be started later and later in the school course, often deferred to the sixth form, or squeezed out altogether and left to the universities, more and more of which are providing courses for beginners in Greek, it is reassuring to see how effective these summer schools have been in arousing enthusiasm and in establishing a reading skill. By the end of the fortnight, the absolute beginners have been tackling Plato's *Apology* and *Odyssey* Book IX. It shows what can be done, given a high degree of motivation and some linguistic experience and maturity in the pupils, teaching of high quality and a concentration upon developing the ability to read Greek with confidence and with understanding to the exclusion of translation from English into Greek and of grammatical technicalities. There are evening lectures in Greek literature and civilisation, but undoubtedly these courses, which are now almost embarrassingly well supported, are intensive and demanding. Even so, I must confess, I would not have believed it possible to achieve so much in so short a time had I not been thus given proof positive.

I had intended to mention the aids now so plentifully available to the teacher of classics, the spate of superbly illustrated books, the excellent radio and television programmes provided

by BBC and ITV, the films and film-strips. I would have liked to describe at some length the educational cruises which are a comparatively new feature of the scene—in the last 18 months the shipping company running them has enabled 26,000 of our school children to see the major Mediterranean classical sites. (In earlier days the Parthenon often meant no more than the rather depressing sepia-tinted photograph hung askew and far above eye-level on the wall of the sixth-form room; now to so many children it has become the unforgettable reality. An analogous difference would be that between actually seeing those miraculous frescoes high on the rock face at Sigiriya and being confronted with a black-and-white photograph of them). But this is turning into a “*verbosa et grandis epistula*” and it is high time to say “*Claudite iam rivos, pueri; sat prata biberunt*”. I hope I have said enough to show that teachers of classics in this country have worked wonders in recent years to set their defences in order. We have been witnessing a ferment of reforming zeal. It is unthinkable that a citadel so defended could ever fall.

Greek and Roman contacts with Ceylon*

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"There is no island in the world, Great Britain not excepted, that has attracted the attention of authors in so many distant ages and so many different countries, as Ceylon. There is no nation in the ancient or modern times possessed of a language and a literature, the writers of which have not at some time made it their theme. Its aspect, its religion, its antiquities and productions, have been described as well by classic Greeks, as well by those of the Lower Empire; by the Romans; by the writers of China, Burmah, India and Kashmir; by the geographers of Arabia and Persia; by the Mediaeval voyagers of Italy and France; by the annalists of Portugal and Spain; by the merchant adventurers of Holland, and by the topographers and travellers of Great Britain." So wrote Sir Emerson Tennent in the introduction to his famous work on Ceylon (*Ceylon* by Tennent Vol I, p xxiii). As our present interest is in Greek and Roman contacts with Ceylon, we shall confine ourselves to these two great Western nations.

Greece consisted of several City-states, which sometimes federated for war or for peace. Its physical features show how its ridged headland, broken by a great sea rift, and how the heights of Olympus, Ossa and Pelion, and those of Euboea and the island chain beyond, and how again Epirus and Peloponnesus, gave the land its mountain barriers. But finally it was the sea that decided the fate of the people; they were fairly driven to seek their outlet and their defence on its waters; and the decisive factor was the Aegean sea, which became, in a sense, the fluid axis of Greek conquest, commerce and colonial life.

Although the Trojan and the Persian wars brought them into contact with the Near East, its people, their manners and customs, their wealth and commerce, the ancient Greeks, till even a comparatively late period in their history, possessed little, if any, real knowledge of India. They imagined it to be an Eastern Ethiopia, which stretched away to the uttermost verge of the world. Thus, for instance, Homer (10th century B.C.) wrote in his *Odyssey*: "Poseidon, however, was now gone on a visit to the distant Ethiopians, the farthest outposts of mankind, half of whom live where the Sun goes down, and half where he rises." (*Odyssey*, I, 23, 24; *Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography*, p. I). Herodotus (5th century B.C.) speaks of Eastern Ethiopians, but distinguishes them from the Indians. "Eastward of India" he says, "lies a desert of sand; indeed of all inhabitants of Asia of whom we have any reliable information, the Indians are the most easterly—beyond them the country is uninhabitable desert . . . Their country is a

* A paper read to the Classical Association of Ceylon in 1960 enlarged and published in *The Ceylon Historical Journal* vol 10. Reproduced by permission of the author.

long way from Persia towards the south." (*The Histories* by Herodotus, Bk. 3, pp 216, 217). A little later, Ktesias, who lived for many years in Persia as private physician of Artaxerxes Mnemon, gathered material and wrote a book on India, the first work on the subject in the Greek language. But, from the fragments which are extant, it is clear that his information was not altogether first-hand, and that he accepted a great deal of fable as facts.

It was left to the followers of Alexander to give to the Western world for the first time fairly accurate accounts of the country and its inhabitants. The great conqueror, it is well known, carried scientific men with him to chronicle his achievements and describe the countries to which he might carry his arms. Some of his officers were also men of literary culture, who could wield their pen as well as their sword. Hence, the expedition produced quite a crop of narratives and memoirs relating to India, such as those of Bactro, Diogenetos, Nearchus, Onesikritos Aristobulos, Kallisthenes and others. These works are all lost, but their substance is to be found condensed in Strabo, Pliny and Arrian.

Subsequent to these writers were others, who made considerable additions to the stock of information regarding India, among whom may be mentioned Deimachos, who resided a long time at Palibothra (or Pataliputra, modern Patna), whither he had been sent on an embassy by Seleukos to Allitrochades or Amithrocades, who was none other than Bindusara, called Amitragatha, the "slayer of foes", the father of Asoka. (cf. *An Advanced History of India*, p 102). Seleukos was Alexander's general, who, after his master's death, ruled over the territory from the Mediterranean to the Indus.

Another important writer was Megasthenes, who being sent about 302 B.C. by Seleukos, then on the threshold of his career, on an embassy to Sandrakottos (or Chandragupta, the predecessor of Bindusara), whose capital was Palibothra (Patna), gathered information, kept diaries and wrote a work on India of such acknowledged worth that it formed the principal source whence subsequent authors drew their accounts of the country. This work, which appears to have been called TA INDIKA, no longer exists. But it has been so often quoted by ancient writers that Dr E. A. Schwanbeck of Bonn, with great industry, has collected all the fragments that have been preserved, and published the collection in 1846. So, we have now a valuable portion of Megasthenes' work. Dr Schwanbeck's compilation was translated into English by J. W. Mc Crindle and published in 1877, under the title *Ancient India*, from which are taken the following quotations:

"Taprobane" says Megasthenes, "is separated from the mainland by a river; the inhabitants are called Palaioanoi and their country is more productive of gold and large pearls than India . . . Taprobane is separated from India by a river flowing between: for one part of it abounds with wild beasts and elephants much larger than India breeds, and man claims the other part . . . In the sea . . . they say there is a very large island, of which, I hear, the name is Taprobane. From what I can learn, it appears to be a very long and mountainous island, having a length of 7,000 stadia and a breadth of 5,000. It has not, however, any cities, but only villages, of which the number amounts to 750. The houses in which the inhabitants lodge themselves are made of wood and sometimes also of reeds . . . It has also herds of elephants which are there very numerous and of the largest size. These island elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland, and in appearance larger, and may be pronounced to be in every possible way more intelligent. The islanders export them to the mainland opposite in boats, which they construct expressly for the traffic

from wood supplied by the thickets of the island, and they dispose of their cargoes to the king of Kalingai." (*Ancient India*, pp 62, 63, 169-173).

With this, there is a good deal of mariners' tales about sea monsters and dolphins and magic herbs.

Many an ancient writer exaggerated the size of the island owing to the lack of sufficient data about its exact position and distance from India. The days taken for navigation were considered the basis for calculating distances. Even Ptolemy in A.D. 150, made Taprobane as big as *cis Ganges*, the whole of India to the South of the Ganges. (rf. *Ceylon* by Tennent, Vol I, pp 8, 9; *Atlas*, p 5).

Palaigonoi may either be a descriptive term for ancient people, the aborigines, (from Greek *palaios*=ancient, and *gonos*=race), or a Hellenized form of an Indian proper name. In any case, it has here to do with some people who lived in Ceylon before the 3rd century B.C. (rf. *Ancient India*, p 62). Mudaliyar Rasanayagam maintains that "Palaigonoi (sic) is undoubtedly a corruption of Palai Nagoi (Tamil Palaya Nagar, ancient Nagas)" (*Ancient Jaffna*, p 105). But, one wonders whether it is not better to take it as a straightforward Greek word, meaning the old population or aborigines, as the new Aryan settlers would have called their predecessors, just as they called the descendants of Kuveni the *Pulinda*, the barbarous tribes. (rf. *Mahavamsa*, VII, 68; *History of Ceylon*, pp 101, 105).

Tennent, on the authority of Aelian, a Greek writer on natural history in the 3rd century A.D., and Cosmos Indicopleustes, a well known Christian traveller of the 6th, states that "from time immemorial . . . the export of elephants from Ceylon to India has been going on without interruption from the period of the first Punic war" (*Ceylon* Vol 2 p 272). Megasthenes refers to a much earlier stage in the traffic. Kalinga, with which Ceylon carried on the traffic in elephants, was on the east coast of India, stretching from the Vaitarani in Orissa to the neighbourhood of the Godavari. (rf. *An Advanced History of India*, p 56).

Alexandria in Egypt founded in the 4th century B.C. by Alexander the Great, became in time not only a great trade centre but also a powerful influence of Hellenistic culture. Under the Ptolemies, there was built up there a famous library, which brought together a formidable collection of books. When Julius Caesar captured the city, a good part of this library perished by flames. Seneca says that during the wars 40,000 volumes were destroyed by accident. But Aulus Gellius (about 117-180) assures us that in his time the number of volumes in it amounted to nearly 70,000. Domitian himself sent thither scribes to copy out some of the volumes. (Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, Domitian, XX).

At the fall of the 1st century B.C., Strabo the Greek geographer (about 63 B.C.-24 A.D.) worked at Alexandria, amassing a great deal of information which brought him under the influence of Eratosthenes (274-194 B.C.), Poseidonius (about 130-50 B.C.) and Polybius (about 201-120 B.C.): all of them Greek writers. He has something to say about Taprobane:

"Let us then transport ourselves to the land opposite the Cinnamon Country, (i.e. the large area of Africa to the south of the Gulf of Aden), and lying to the east under the same parallel of latitude; we shall there find the country named Taprobane. This Taprobane is universally believed to be a large island situated in the high seas, and lying to the south, opposite India. Its length in the direction of Ethiopia is above 5,000 stadia, as they say. There are brought from thence to the Indian markets ivory, tortoise-shells and other wares in large quantities." (Bk. 2, ch. 1, pt. 14 in C.L.R. 3rd Series, Vol I, pp 114 ff).

"They inform us that the island called Taprobana is much to the south of India, but that it is nevertheless inhabited, and is situated opposite to the island of the Egyptians and the Cinnamon Country, as the temperature of their atmospheres is similar" (ib. ch. 5, pt. 14).

"the parallel of the Cinnamon Country on the one side (the East) passes a little south of Taprobana, or perhaps over the most southern extremity, and on the other side (the West) over the most southern part of Libya" (ib. pt. 35).

"Taprobana is said to be an island lying out at sea, distant from the most southerly parts of India, which are opposite the Koriaki, seven days' sail towards the south. Its length is about 8,000 stadia in the direction of Ethiopia. It produces elephants." (Bk. 15, ch. I, pt. 14).

Many of the ancient geographers exaggerated the size of Taprobane, by doubling its length. Africa was considered much shorter southwards than it really is, and Taprobane was made to point towards Africa. Much of this confusion arose because their informants were mariners or sea-faring traders, who calculated distances by the time taken to navigate. Strabo was not unaware of the possibility of such an error, for he says:

"Onesicritus, for example, says of Taprobane, that its magnitude is 5,000 stadia, without distinction of length and breadth, and it is distant twenty days' sail from the continent, but it was a voyage performed with difficulty and danger by vessels with sails ill-constructed, and built with prows at each end, but without holds and keels; that there are other islands between this and India, but that Taprobane lies furthest to the south; that there are found in the sea, about the island, animals of the cetaceous kind, in form like oxen, horses, and other land-animals." (ib. pt. 15).

Greek contacts with Ceylon are very slight, if any at all. Two Greek coins have been found in Ceylon, although the site is not known. One is of Acarnania, Leucas (about B.C. 350-250) with the head of Apollo on the obverse and prow of a galley on the reverse; the other, of Seleukos IV (about B.C. 187-175) with diademed head on the obverse, and the legend BASILEOS SELEUKOU on the reverse. This does not, however, yield any evidence that the Greeks were in Ceylon. (cf. *Ceylon Coins and Currency* by Codrington, p 49). As the *Milindaprasnaya*, the Sinhalese translation of the Pali *Milindapanha* has held an honoured place in the Buddhist literature of Ceylon, it may not be out of place to point out here its Greek connection, real or legendary. It is said to be the record of a controversy between King Milinda or Menandros, the seventh and last but one of the kings who succeeded Demetrios, the Greco-Bactrian ruler of Kashmir, and Nagasena, a learned Buddhist monk. Menandros or Menander, had his capital at Sagala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab) was a Greek (Yonaka) and came to meet Nagasena with 500 *yonnu*. (cf. *Milindaprasnaya* pp 2, 3, 7). "It has been justly said" remarks Mrs Rhys Davids, "that there are no *patent* traces of Greek influence in the book, even in the king's first mental attitude. But that influence may have been telling on the Indian mind more as a solvent than in a constructive way." (*The Milinda Questions*, p 21).

"In the latter half of the first century A.D. an anonymous Roman subject from Egypt, sailed the Red Sea, the Arabian and the Indian Ocean in merchant ships, and, for the instruction of his kind, set down in unscholastic Greek a factual and remarkable account of the busy trafficking of those parts. His book, the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, is a social and geographical landmark of the first order." (*Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers* by Wheeler, ch. 8, p 138). *Periplus* in Greek means a sailing round, or account of a coasting voyage; and *Erythre Thalassa* means the Erythrean Sea, literally the Red Sea, but in fact our Indian Ocean, with the adjacent

Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea. The author begins by describing the ports of the Red Sea (in the modern sense), then the Persian Gulf, the Indo-Pakistan coast and the Western coast of India. Musiris (identified with Cranganore), Nelycynda (not identified) and Cape Comari (evidently Cape Comorin) are noted. Ceylon is referred to as "the island of Palaesimundu, called by the ancients Taprobane", but was clearly unknown to him. Other Indian ports which receive the author's attention are Camara (probably Kaveri of Kaveripattanam), Poduke (Puduchcheri or Pondichchery) and Sopatana (Sopattinam of Tamil literature, modern Markanam). The *Periplus* ends with a picturesque description of Mongoloid traders. (rf. *ib.* ch. 8, *passim*).

A little earlier than the *Periplus*, an important discovery was made which rendered navigation in the Indian seas quicker and more sure; this was the prevalence of the monsoons. "Hippalus" says the *Periplus*, "was the pilot who, by observing the location of the ports and the condition of the sea, first discovered how to lay his course straight across the ocean." Without his discovery, or at least his popularization of the monsoons as a dependable aid to deep-sea voyaging, regular trade with India would have been impossible. He lived some very considerable time before the third quarter of the first century A.D. In fact, after this discovery, knowledge about India and Ceylon and their commercial possibilities greatly increased. This is seen in the works of Pliny and subsequent writers of Rome. (rf. *ib.* ch. 10).

Gaius Plinius Secundus, the "elder Pliny", was born in Como in Cis-Alpine Gaul in A.D. 24. During the reign of Claudius he served in Germany, but returned to Rome in A.D. 52 to devote himself to the study of Greek and Roman literature. After amassing a great amount of information, he wrote his "Natural History" about the year A.D. 69. This work was based on facts gathered by him from 146 Latin authors and 327 other authors. He left to his nephew, Pliny, the Younger, 160 Volumes of extracts. His death took place in A.D. 79, during the great eruption of Vesuvius (rf. *Lives of the Caesars*, TITUS, p 475). In his *Natural History*, Bk. VI, ch. 22, he gives an interesting account of Taprobane:

"It has been of long time thought by men of ancient days, that Taprobane was a second world, in such sort that many have taken it to be the place of the Antipodes, calling it the Antichthonos world. But after the time of Alexander the Great, and the voyage of his army into those parts, it was discovered and known for a truth, both that it was an Island, and what compass it bears, Onesicrates, the Admiral of his fleet, has written, that the elephants bred in this Island are bigger, more fierce and furious for war service than those of India. Megasthenes says there is a great river which parts it in twain, and that the people thereof dwelling along the river are called Palaeogonoi, adding moreover that it affords more gold and bigger pearls by far than India does. Eratosthenes also took its measure, and says that in length it is 7,000 stadia, and in breadth 5,000; that in it there are no cities or great towns, but villages to the number 700. It begins at the Levant sea of Oriental Indians, from which it stretches and extends between the East and West of India; and was taken at times past to lie out into the sea from the Prasians country 20 days' sailing. But afterwards, because the boats and vessels used upon this sea in the passage thither, were made and wound of paper reeds like those of the river Nilus, and furnished with the same kind of tackling, the voyage thither from the aforesaid country was gauged within a less time; and well known it was, that according to the sail of our ships and galleys, a man might arrive there in 7 days. All the sea lying between is very ebb, full of shallows and shelves, no more than 3 fathoms deep . . . As for the North pole they never

see it; but they carry ever with them certain birds in their ships, which they send out often when they seek the land, ever observing their flight for knowing well that they will fly to the land, they accompany them, bending their course accordingly; neither use they to sail more than one quarter of a year; and for 100 days after the sun enters into Cancer, they take most heed and never make sail; for during that time it is winter with them. And thus much we come to know by relation of ancient writers."

"But we came to far better intelligence, and more notable information by certain Ambassadors that came out of that Island, in the time of Claudius Caesar, the Emperor; which happened upon this occasion and after this manner. It happened that a free slave of Annus Plocamus (who had farmed of the Exchequer the customs for impost of the Red Sea) as he made sail about the coasts of Arabia, was in such wise driven by the North winds besides the realms of Carmania, and that for the space of 15 days, that in the end he fell with a harbour thereof called Hippuros, and there arrived. When he was set on land, he found the King of that country so courteous that he gave him entertainment for six months, and entreated him with all kindness that could be devised. And as he used to discourse and question with him about the Romans and their Emperor, he recounted him at large of all things.

"But among many other reports that he heard, he wondered most of all at their justice in all their dealings, and was much in love therewith, and namely that their Denaries of the money which taken, were always of like weight, notwithstanding that the sundry stamps and images upon the pieces showed plainly that they were made by diverse persons, and hereupon especially was he moved and solicited to seek for the alliance and amity of the people of Rome; and so despatched 4 Ambassadors of purpose, of whom one *Rachias* was the chief and principal personage.

"By these ambassadors we are informed of the state of the Island, namely, that it contained five hundred great towns in it; and that there was a haven therein regarding the South coast, lying hard under Palesimundum, the principal city of all that realm, and the King's seat and palace; that there were by just account 200,000 commoners and citizens; moreover, that within this Island there was a lake 270 miles in circuit, containing in it certain islands good for nothing else but pasturage, wherein they were fruitful; out of which lake there issued 2 rivers, the one Palesimundas, passing near the city abovesaid of that name, and running into the haven with three streams, whereof the narrowest is five stadia broad, and the largest 15; the other Northward in India side, named Cydara; also that the next cape of this country to India is called Colaicum, from which the nearest port of India is counted four days' sailing; in the midst of which passage, there lieth in the way the Island of the Sun . . .

"Furthermore they related, that the front of that Island of theirs which looked towards India, contained 10,000 stadia; and reached from the South-East beyond the mountains Enodi. Also that the *Seres* were within their kenning, whom they might easily discover from out of this their Island; with whom they had acquaintance by means of traffic and merchandise; and that *Rachias* his father used many times to travel thither. Affirming moreover, that if any strangers came thither, they were encountered and assailed by wild and savage beasts; and that the inhabitants themselves were giants of stature, exceeding the ordinary stature of men, having red hair, eyes of bluish colour, their voice for sound horrible, for speech not distinct nor intelligible for any use of traffic and commerce. In all things else their practice is the same that our merchants

and occupiers do use; for on the further side of the river, when wares and commodities are laid down, if they list to make exchange they have them away and leave other merchandise in lieu therefore, to content the foreign merchant . . .

“Moreover these ambassadors would say, that they had more riches in their Island than we in Rome, but we more use than they. They affirmed also, that no man with them had any slaves to command; neither slept they in the morning after daylight nor at all in the daytime. That the manner of building their houses was low, somewhat raised above the ground, and no more ado; that their markets were never dear, nor price of victuals raised. As for courts, pleading of causes, and going to law, they knew not what it meant. *Hercules* was the only god they worshipped.

“Their king was always chosen by the voices of the people: wherein they had these regards; that he be aged, mild and childless: but in case he should beget children afterwards then he was deposed from his regal dignity, to the end that the kingdom should not in process of time be hereditary and held by succession, but by election only. This king being thus chosen and invested, hath thirty other governors assigned unto him by the people; neither can any person be condemned to death unless he be cast by the majority of them, and plurality of voices: and thus condemned as he is, yet may he appeal unto the people. Then are there 70 judges deputed to sit upon his cause; and if it happen that they assoil and quit this party condemned: then those 30 who condemned him are displaced from their state and dignity, with a most bitter and sharp rebuke, and for ever after, as disgraced person live in shame and infamy. As for the king, arrayed he is in apparel as prince Bacchus went in old time; but the subjects and common people are clad in the habit of the Arabians. If it happen that the king offend, death is his punishment: howbeit, no man take in hand to do execution. All men turn away their faces from him, and deign him not a look nor a word. But to do him to death in the end, they appoint a solemn day of hunting, right pleasant and agreeable unto Tigers and Elephants, before which wild beasts they expose their king, and so he is presently by them devoured.

“Moreover, in that Island good husbands they are for the soil, and till the same most diligently. Vines have they no use of at all: for all sorts of fruits otherwise they have abundance. They take also a great pleasure and delight in fishing, and especially in taking of tortoises; and so great they are found there, that one of their shells will serve to cover a house: and so the inhabitants do employ them instead of roofs. They count a hundred years no long life there: that is the ordinary time of their age.

“Thus much we have learned and known as touching Taprobane”. (C.L.R., 3rd Series, Vol I, No 4, pp 179-182).

As Pliny's sources of information were the narratives of his predecessors, and whatever could be gathered from the Ceylon ambassadors, whose language was unknown to the Romans, his description of the Island and its inhabitants cannot be considered altogether reliable. With the ancients he exaggerated the size of Taprobane; and, the quaint account of the election of the king and the administration of justice was probably due to misinterpretation or misunderstanding of the words of the ambassadors. There are, however, some very interesting items of information in his account.

The “Prasian Country” in the text is the land of Prachyas, Magadha, and the neighbouring provinces. (cf. *Advanced History of India*, ch. 5, p 55). According to Pliny, the freedman of

Annius Plocamus, who in the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54) had farmed the collection of the Red Sea taxes, was driven by storms to a forced-landing off Hippuros, modern Kudiramalai. From there he went to the port, which was probably Mahatittha (Mantai). The result of his long stay as the guest of the king of the country was the embassy from Ceylon to Rome. Professor Mortimer Wheeler gives us an important detail about this freedman. "Dr. David Meredith" he says, "in studying the ancient inscriptions of the Eastern desert of Egypt, has drawn attention to an extremely interesting rock inscription, a graffito, duplicated in Latin and Greek, in a sheltered spot besides the old road from Coptos to Berenice, at a distance of about 68 miles from Coptos. The Latin version reads: LYSA P. ANNI PLOCAMI VENI ANNO XXXV III. NON IVL . . . The meaning is clear enough; the graffito is a casual record of one Lysas, a slave of Publius Annius Plocamus, who came that way and presumably sheltered from the midday sun in the thirty-fifth year of the Emperor's reign (*Kaisaros* is added in the Greek version). This Emperor can only have been Augustus, and the date is, therefore, July 5th, A.D. 6, (*Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontier*, ch. X, pp 155, 156). Although the identity of this Annius Plocamus with Pliny's is not conclusively proved, the coincidence of the name in so appropriate a geographical setting amounts to near-proof in respect of Plocamus, and it would be wise to consider the date of his freedman in Ceylon as likely to have been appreciably earlier than the reign of Claudius," (ib.).

Evidence of an earlier date for the Ceylon Embassy to Rome is provided by the *Vamsathap-pakasini* or *Mahavamsa Tika*, the commentary on the *Mahavamsa*, written about the year 670 A.D. or later. The *Mahavamsa* says that Bhatikabhaya, King of Anuradhapura (B.C. 22-A.D. 7), "had a net of coral prepared and cast over the *cetiya*", the Great Thupa (XXXIV, 47). The *Tika* comments: "He had a net of coral prepared: that is, he sent (some one) to the country of Romanukha across the sea, and got down red coral, and had a perfect net of coral made, suitable enough to be cast over (the *cetiya*)." (*Vams*, XXXIV, 13-16, p 630).

Coral, especially red coral, "was, and is, a well known product of the Mediterranean; and, the name Romanukha can easily be explained as formed by the addition of the pleonastic suffix *ka* to the Latin *Romanus*" (*History of Ceylon*, I, i, p 225). Bhatikabhaya's period falls within the principate of Augustus, and the inscription mentioned above.

The *Carmen Seculare* of Horace alludes to embassies from India to the Court of Augustus:

Jam mari terraque manus potentes
 Medus Albanasque timet secures;
 Jam Scythae responsa petunt, superbi
 Nuper, et Indi.

Awed by our arms and by the Alban lictors,
 Now the Mede owns our power on land and ocean
 Now Ind and Scythia, she of late so haughty,
 To Rome for pardon sue.

(Lytton's translation, p 339)

Queyroz, too, refers to the Ceylon embassy: "Pliny relates that a freedman of Anneus Proclamus, while sailing along the coast of Arabia was carried away by a North Breeze, and after 15 days he came upon the island of Taprobane, and being well received by the King thereof, was by him, after some months, sent back with his ambassador to Rome, where was

made an agreement about dealings and trade; of which some find a confirmation in that, as Laguna relates in the time of Pope Paul III (1534-49) there was found in Rome a piece of cinnamon wood kept there from the time of Arcadius, the son of Theodosius, 261 years after Claudius." (*Conquest*, p 14).

What can we make out of *Rachias* and *Palesimundum* in Pliny's account? "The inscriptions, of the early centuries A.C., refer to district chieftains styled *ratiya* or *ratika*" (*History of Ceylon* I, i, p 13). The *Labuatabandigala* inscription of the 5th century speaks of *Ratiya Sumanaya*. "*Ratiya*" says Dr Paranavitana, "occurs in other records of about the same period; for instance, an inscription at Kaballalena, in the Devamadi Hatpattuva of the Kurunegala district, mentions a Ratika named Naka, and an unpublished rock inscription at a place named Burutakanda, in the Hambantota district, has the words *Ratiya Makayaha puta Ratiya Sivayaha*. The word *Ratiya* is derived from the Pali *rattika* (Skt. *rastrika*), which occurs in the *Anguttara Nikaya* in a list of high dignitaries of the State" (E. Z., III, pp 252 and 247). Pliny's *Rachias* must have belonged to this class of district rulers.

The *Periplus* refers to Ceylon "as the island of Palaesimundu, called by the ancients Taprobane." According to Pliny, Palaesimundum is the principal city of the realm, and Palaesimundas a river passing near the city. "In Indian literature" says C. W. Nicholas, "the earliest reference to Ceylon is in Kautaliya's *Arthasastra*, in which the Island is mentioned under the name Parasamudra ('beyond the ocean'), the forerunner of Palaesimundu and Simondu of some Greek writers". (*History of Ceylon*, I, i, p 16). Unfortunately, the exact reference is not given. The *Arthasastra* has "Parasamudaka, that which is found beyond the ocean, are several varieties of gems." It also speaks of a species of resin of aloe called Parasamudraka, which is "of variegated colour and smells like cascus or like Navamalika (jasminum)" (pp 77, 79). But, there is no mention of Ceylon. A contributor to the Indian Antiquary notes that according to the commentator of *Arthasastra* the gems from Ceylon were called *parasamudra* (rf. *Ancient Jaffna*, p 102, note). But Battaswami's commentary in Shamasastri's translation of *Arthasastra* says that the resin called Parasamudraka was "obtained in the country of Kamarupa", in Western Assam. (*Arth.* p 19, note 7). Reference to "the Island of Simhala (Ceylon)" occurs in connection with Kula and Asokagramika, places of origin of certain gems (rf. *ib.* pp 76, 80). Mudaliyar Rasana-yagam maintains that "the word obviously represented the Tamil 'Palaisilamandalam'. Ceylon was known to the ancient Tamils as Ilam and Ilamandalam; and it has continued to be so known to the present day." (*Ancient Jaffna*, p 102). For further discussion on this subject, the reader is referred to *C.L.R.*, 3rd Series, III, pp 321 ff).

The mission from Ceylon to Rome "is said to have originated from the curiosity aroused there by the castaway freedman of Plocamus . . . It obviously did not understate the wealth of the Island: certainly Roman trade was shortly afterwards extended to it, and, Ptolemy, in the following century, was able for the first time to give an adequate description of it." (*Rome Beyond* ch. XI, p 162).

Claudius Ptolemaeus enriched the West with much information about Asia by his geographical researches. He was born in Egypt at Ptolemais Hermii, a Grecian city at the Thebaid. His first astronomical observation was in A.D. 127, and his last in 151. He died at the age of 78. There were maps accompanying his Guide to Geography, but the map now known as his may be the original or a later edition. His works, *Cosmographia* and *De Locis Mirabilibus*, were

printed in 1486, 1511, 1525, 1535, 1541, 1552 etc., some with additional material. In 1932, was printed at New York, the Geography of Ptolemy, translated and edited by N. L. Stevenson, based upon Greek and Latin manuscripts, and 15th and 16th century printed editions, with reproduction of maps from Ebner Manuscripts, circa 1,460. The following extracts are from the 1552 printed edition: *Geographiae Claudii Ptolemaei Alexandrini Philosophi ac Mathematici praestantissimi, Libri VIII, partim a Bilibaldo Pirckheymero translati ac commentario illustrati, partim etiam Graecorum antiquissimorum ac exempliorum collatione emendati atque in integrum restituti*. The 8 books of the Geography of Claudius Ptolemaeus of Alexandria, the pre-eminent philosopher and mathematician, partly translated and adorned with a commentary by Bilibald Pirckheymer, and partly corrected and restored to its integrity by collating copies of ancient Greek texts.

“Opposite Cape Cory, which is in India, is the projecting point of the Island of Taprobane which was called formerly Simoundu and now Salike. The inhabitants are commonly called Salai. Their heads are quite enriched with luxuriant locks like those of women. The country produces rice, honey, ginger, beryl, hyacinth and has mines of every sort, of gold and silver and other metals. It breeds at the same time elephants and tigers . . . The mountains in the Island are conspicuous; they are called Galibi, and from them flow the Phasis and Ganges. From the mountains which are called Malea, flow Soanas, and Azanos and Barraces. Below this range upto the sea are the pastures of elephants. From a part of the Island, mostly to the North, the Galibi and the Mudutte live. Below them are Anurogrami and Nagadibi, and below the Anurogrami are the Soani. Below the Nagadibi are the Semni, and below them also, to the West, are the Sandocandi. Further below, upto the pastures of the elephants, the Bumasani. The Tarachi live towards the East. Below them are the Bocani and the Morduli, and those who are further South, the Rhogadani and Nanigiri. The inland cities of the Island are these: the royal city of Anurogrami, the metropolis of Magrammi, Adisamum, Poduce, Viispada and Nacaduma.” (pp 136-7).

Queyroz says that “the Chinese who either conquered it (Ceylon) or traded therein call it Simonda, marvel of the world” (*Conquest*, I, p 4). The Chinese generally spoke of Ceylon as Sie-lan, the ancient kingdom of Seng-kia-le, but not as Simonda. Salai and Salike represent the Pali *Sihala*, used by the *Dipavamsa* and *Mahavamsa* for Lamka and its people (*Dip.* IX, I; *Mahav.* VII, 42). In *Galibi*, one can recognise the Sinhalese word *gala* (rock), which distinguishes the names of many mountains in Ceylon; and *Malea* was the Malaya-desa or Hill Country (cf. *History of Ceylon*, p 12). The *Phasis* and the *Ganges* are two rivers rising from the Galibi. The *Mahavamsa* calls the Mahavaliganga, Ganga or the river (X, 44). Codrington has, therefore, identified this river with Ganges of Ptolemy (cf. *Short History of Ceylon*, p 3). Its source however is not in Galibi, but in Malea, the hills of the Central Province. Others, therefore, think that it is the Kanagarayan Aru, or, perhaps, the river flowing into the Mullaitivu Lagoon. (cf. *Land Maps and Surveys*, p 23). The *Phasis* is said to represent either the Malvatu Oya, or the Kanagarayan Aru (cf. *Land Maps, etc.*, p 23; *Ancient Jaffna*, p 99). The rivers *Soanos*, *Azanos* and *Barraces*, were, probably, the Kala Oya, its ancient name being Gona river (cf. *Mahav.* XXV, 13, 113), the Valave Ganga and the Mahavaliganga. The *Barraces* is said to rise from the Malea and flow into the sea near *Bokana*, which sounds very much like Gokanna, the ancient name for Trincomalee (cf. *Mahav.* XLI, 79; LXXI, 18). According to Eratosthenes and Strabo, Taprobane extended towards Africa; and the *Periplus* says that “it extended gradually towards the West till it nearly reaches the opposite coast of Azania”, which is Africa. It is quite possible that

owing to this misconception the southernmost river of the island, the Valave Ganga was called the *Azanos* (rf. *Short History*, etc. p 5). *Muduttou* and *Nagadiba* are Matota or Mahatittha and Nagadipa. (rf. *Ancient Jaffna*, p 115).

Anugrammon is Anuradhapura, which was called by the ancient—Anuradhagama (A[^]grama), “built by a man of that name near the Kadamba river”, now Malavatu Oya (*Mahav.* VII, 43, 44). *Magrammon*, the metropolis, is, according to Ptolemy’s location, to the South-East of Anuradhapura, and South-West of Nagadipa, which he places to the East of Anuradhapura, when it is actually North. “The corrected position off Magrammon would be to northward of Anuradhapura. Its identification with Magantota or Mahiyangana (as Codrington had done: rf. *Short History*, etc. pp 3, 52) cannot be sustained. Magantota was then known as Kahagam-tota (Pali Kacchakatittha). The *Dipavamsa* states that Upatissanagara, the capital before Anuradhapura situated 10 to 12 miles to the north of the latter, was a prosperous and large market town. A locality to north-eastward of Anuradhapura was called Utarapura in the first and second centuries. Magrammon probably represents Upatissanagara, which may be synonymous with Utarapura” (*Land Maps*, etc. p 25). It is possible that Upatissanagara or Up^ogama, “which had well arranged markets, which was prosperous, opulent, large, charming and lovely” (*Dip.* IX, 36) had fame enough to pass for a metropolis, a mahagama, or mahagrama.

Other cities mentioned by Ptolemy are *Margana* (Magara, at the mouth of the Modaragam Aru), *Iogana* (probably Uruvela), *Sindocanda* (in the neighbourhood of Puttalam), *Nubartha* (in the vicinity of Kalutara or Panadura), *Hodoca* (probably a corruption of Godapavata, near the mouth of the Valave), *Dagana*¹; “sacred to the Moon” (a misreading of some such name as Candanagama) the *City of Dionysius* or Bacchus (probably some sacred city in the south-east), *Bocana* (Gokanna, the ancient name for Trincomalee), and *Abaratha* (possibly Abagamiya, a village mentioned in a pre-Christian inscription near Kuccaveli; north of Trincomalee). The text quoted above mentions also *Adisamum* (in the vicinity of Vavuniya or even further north-east), *Poduce* (in the locality of Kala-vava-Kurunagala), *Vlispada* or Ullispada (in the region of Buttala) and *Nacaduma* (probably Nagamahathupa, the largest thupa at Mahagama).

Among the harbours and capes mentioned by Ptolemy are: the *North Cape* (Boreum promontorium) identified with Talaimannar (rf. *Short History* etc., p 3), *Cape Galiba* (probably Kudiramalai point), *Anarismundu* Cape (Kalpitiya, possibly from Arasadi, the ancient name for Kalpitiya, and the Tamil word *mundal* which means headland), the harbour of *Priapis* (somewhere near Chilaw), *Anubingara* (a place between Mantai and Pt. Pedro), *Parasodes* harbour (may be Negombo), the *Headland of Zeus* (the promontory of Colombo), the *Orneon Headland* or the Headland of Birds (probably Hambantota), *Corcobara* (some port near Mahagama called Sakkharasobbha), the *Whale-Point* (cetaceum promontorium: seems to fit Sangamankanda, the most

¹Dagana is said to be “sacred to the moon”, and almost in the same locality is the City of Dionysius or Bacchus, evidently a sacred place; that is to say, two sacred spots in the south-east coastal regions of Ceylon. According to the *Mahavamsa*, two of the eight saplings which sprang from “the great Bodi-tree” were planted, one at Kajaragāma (now Kataragama) and the other at Candanagāma (not identified). Kshtriya from these two places were accorded a place of distinction at the ceremonial planting of Bodhi-tree at Anuradhapura by Devanampiyatissa in B.C. 246, and the gift of the saplings was a further honour conferred on them. If we take *Dagana* to represent Candanagāma which could have been misread as Candagāma (the city of the moon), then the city of Dionysius would be Kataragama. Cf. *Mahav.* XIX, 53-67.

easterly point of Ceylon), the *Haven of Mardos* (a short distance south of Kuccaveli) and the *Haven of the Sun* (may correspond to the Kokkilai lagoon)¹.

Ptolemy also mentions the names of several tribes inhabiting the Island. In the North are the *Galibi* and the *Mudutte*, to the south of them the *Anurogrami* and the *Nagadibi*; these names are associated with the localities where they lived. The *Tarachi*, the *Bocani*, the *Morduli* and the *Semni* may well be clan names of totemistic origin, such as *traccha* (Skt. taraksa) meaning hyena, *Moriya* from *Mayura*, a *gokanna*, a large species of deer, and *sunaka*, a dog. (cf. *Mahav.* XIX, 2, note; XXXVIII, 13, note; *Culture of Ceylon* etc. sect. 20). "Before Taprobane" says Ptolemy, "there lies a multitude of islands, which are said to be 1378." Some of their names are given.

"So far as it is possible to say with any certainty, the earliest extant proof of the insularity of Ceylon dates to the second century A.D., when Ptolemy represented a land-form called Palaesimundu but in his time Salice, which he explains is the Taprobane of the ancients. A basic error in his crude conical projection gave his island an area nearly 12 times the actual size of Ceylon. Despite this, and other defects, Ptolemy's eighteen hundred years old map is in the main remarkable. It reveals the knowledge and ignorance of the men who were responsible for the material which helped to construct the map. For four hundred years thereafter very little of importance was added to the topographical information of the Island." (*Land Maps, etc.*, pp 4, 5).

Claudius Aelianus (cir. A.D. 146-222), though a Roman wrote a work in Greek on natural history, where accounts of strange animals related by sailors, also find a place. "The island" he wrote, "which they call Taprobane, has palm groves where the trees are planted with wonderful regularity all in a row, in the way we see the keepers of pleasure-parks plant out shady trees in the choicest spots. It has also herds of elephants which are there very numerous and of the largest size. These elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland, and in appearance larger, and may be pronounced to be in every possible way more intelligent. The Islanders export them to the mainland opposite them in boats, which they construct expressly for this traffic from wood supplied by the thickets of the island and they dispose of their cargoes to the king of Kalingai. On account of the great size of the Island, the inhabitants of the interior have never seen the sea, but pass their lives as if resident in a continent, though no doubt they learn from others that they are all around enclosed by the sea. The inhabitants, again, of the coast have no practical acquaintance with elephant-catching, and know of it only by report. All their energy is devoted to catching fish and the monsters of the deep; for the sea encircling the island is reported to breed an incredible number of fish, both of the smaller fry and of the monstrous sort, among the latter being some which have the heads of lions and of panthers and of other wild beasts, and also of rams; and, what is still a greater marvel, there are monsters which in all points of their shape resemble satyrs. Others are in appearance like women, but instead of having locks of hair, are furnished with prickles. It is even solemnly alleged that this sea contains certain strangely formed creatures, to represent which in a picture would baffle all the skill of the artists of the country, even though, with a view to make a profound sensation they are wont to paint monsters which consist of different parts of different animals pieced together. These have their tails and the parts which are wreathed of great length, and have

¹In the identification of place names in Ptolemy's account, I have generally followed *Land, Maps and Surveys* by Brohier and Paulusz pp 23-25 and J.C.B.R.A.S. (New Series) Vol VI (1959) Special number.

for feet either claws or fins. I learn further that they are amphibious, and by night graze on the pasture-fields, for they eat grass like cattle and birds that pick up seeds. They have also a great liking for the date when ripe enough to drop from the palms, and accordingly they twist their coils, which are supple, and large enough for the purpose, around these trees, and shake them so violently that the dates come tumbling down, and afford them a welcome repast. Thereafter when the night begins gradually to wane, and before there is yet clear daylight, they disappear by plunging into the sea just as the first flush of morning faintly illuminates its surface. They say whales also frequent this sea, though it is not true that they come near the shore lying in wait for thunnies. The dolphins are reported to be of two sorts—one fierce and armed with sharp-pointed teeth which gives endless trouble to the fishermen, and is of remorselessly cruel disposition, while the other kind is naturally mild and tame, swims about in the friskiest way, and is quite like a fawning dog. It does not run away when any one tries to stroke it, and it takes with pleasure any food it is offered." (*C.L.R.* 3rd Series, Vol I. pp 116, 117).

With better knowledge of the East, its people and their resources, Roman trade developed in the Indian peninsula and spread as far as China. It is recorded in the *Han Annals* of the Chinese that in the time of Emperor Huan-ti (A.D. 166 an embassy from 'An-tun' (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus), king of the Ta-ts' in (Romans) came to the Chinese Court. (rf. *Rome Beyond*, pp 205, 206). It is likely that the Roman trade in Ceylon was controlled by their emporia in South India, for instance, Kaberi Emporium (Kaveripattanam), Poduke Emporium (Puducherry) and Muziris (Cranganore). The discovery of extensive Roman remains in Arikamedu, near Puducherry (Pondicherry) reveals the trade activities of the Romans in South India.

In Ceylon, Roman trade centred around Mannar and extended south as well as to the interior. Diogo do Couto says: "We find in Ceilao vestiges of Roman buildings, which shows that they formerly had communication with that island. And we may even say more, that in it were found the same coins that this freedman (of Annius Plocamus) took, when Joao de Mello de Sao Payo was captain of Mannar in Ceilao, in the year of our Lord 1574 or 1575 (or rather 1584 or 1585), in excavating some buildings that stand on the other side in the territories they call Mantota, where even today there appear here and there very large ruins of Roman masonry work; and whilst some workmen were engaged in taking out stone, they came upon the lowest part of a piece of foundation, and on turning it over they found an iron chain of such strange fashion that there was not in the whole of India a craftsman who would undertake to make another like it. And they also found two copper coins, one quite worn and another of base gold, likewise worn on one side, and on the other could still be made out the figure of a man, from the breast upwards, with a piece of lettering around worn away in some parts but there could still be made out clearly at the beginning this letter C, the following ones being worn away, and the lettering continued around, in which could be seen these other letters RMNR. This chain and the medals were taken to Joao de Mello, who prized them much, and took them to the kingdom to give them to the king, and was lost at sea in the year 1590 . . ." (*JCBRAS*, No 60, pp 83, 84).

Queyroz too alludes to these discoveries. "Joao de Melo de S. Payo, Captain of Mannar, in the year 1575, ordering the destruction of some ancient buildings near the fortalice, there were found in their foundation some coins of gold and copper with the letters C.L.R.M.N., which seem to mean: Claudius Romanorum, according to their wonted abbreviations . . . Some few

years ago on digging some foundations near the custom house of Diu, there was found among others a gold coin like the one mentioned by Father Cerda in his Commentary on the Eclogues of Virgil, explaining these hemistiches: *Inscripti nomina regum nascuntur flores*. I saw it; it was thicker in the middle with a fleur-de-lis on one side and around it the inscription *Tiberius Caesar Imperator et Pontifex Maximus*, likewise abbreviated" (*Conquest*, p 14).

Whatever one may think of the assertions of Couto and Queyroz about the discovery of Roman ruins it is a fact that large quantities of Roman coins have been found in various parts of Ceylon. (rf. *JCBRAS*, No 60, p 84, note; No 58, p 170). In the time of Claudius, there was hardly any commerce between Rome and Ceylon. From Augustus to Nero (d. A.D. 68), when there arose a great demand for luxury articles, Roman trade with South India increased as evidenced by hoards of Roman coins discovered mostly in the districts of Coimbatore and Madura. Roman coins of this period found in Ceylon are few. After the death of Nero, a revulsion from luxury occurred, and trade declined. About the middle of the fourth century a slight revival set in, and Roman coins of this period and later, especially those of low value were found, sometimes in large numbers, in various parts of the Island: in Anuradhapura, Mihintale, Sigiriya, Kurunogala district (Shakerley Estate), Kolugala, Ampitiya, Kandy bazaar, Watapuluwa, Badulla, Mantote, Kalpitiya, Udappuva, Hendala, Colombo, between Veyangoda and Mirigama, Balapitiya, Hikkaduva, Gintota, Boragoda, Matara, Naimana, Kitalagama, Kapuhenwala, Tangalle, Tissamaharama, Batticaloa, Kalmunai, Pandirippu, Valachenai, Jaffna peninsula, Kantarodai, Kalmunai in Punakari, Attikuli (Mannar district), Pidarikulam, Giant's Tank and Hiktetiya.

Hoards were found in Sigiriya, about 1687 mostly small coins, in Watapaluwa 1,500 small bronze, in Mantote 'great numbers of Roman coins of different Emperors, particularly of the Antonines', in Colombo several hundreds, in Balapitiya 'a large quantity', in Hiktetiya about 300, in Na-imana about 3,000, in Kapuhenwala about 384, in Valachenai (Eastern province) 'large number', in Kantarodai about 150 and in Jaffna peninsula a pot of gold coins "inscribed in ancient Greek characters". (rf. *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, pp 32, 33; *JCBRAS*, No 58 pp 169 ff).

"The finding of so many small bronze coins" says Codrington, "usually very worn, at almost every petty port, with the noticeable exception of Trincomalee, as well as at various places in the interior, leads to the supposition that they formed the currency of the Island. That this was so is proved by the fact that at Sigiriya out of 1687 coins all but twelve were small Roman or Indo-Roman bronze. This place was the capital only in the reign of Kassapa I (A.D. 479-497), and on his death was handed over to the monks; we have therefore, a more or less fixed date for this currency. Direct Roman trade came to an end with the fall of Alexandria in A.D. 638, and the use of these coins and of their imitations . . . must have ceased practically before the rise of Polonnaruwa, where only one has been found; this city is first mentioned in the reign of Aggabodhi III (624-640), and appears to have been used as a royal residence at least as early as the time of the fourth of the same name (673-689). This gives the first half of the 7th century as the latest probable limit at one end; at the other we have the fact that the greater number of the coins are of the last half of the fourth century. That they were in long use is seen from their very worn state, the majority being quite illegible." (*ib.* p 33).

Interesting information about Ceylon is found also in the *Topographia Christiana*, written in the 6th century by the much travelled Christian monk, named Cosmas Indicopleustes or

Cosmas the Navigator of the Indian waters. He was from Alexandria, and, before he became a monk, had travelled the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, and visited the lands bordering on them. His work is in 12 books, from the third of which the following extracts are taken:

“Concerning the Island of Taprobane.

This is the great island in the Ocean, lying in the Indian Sea. By the Indians it is called Sieldiba, but by the Greeks Taprobane. In it is found the hyacinth stone. It lies on the other side of the Pepper Country. And round about it there are a number of small islands, in all of which you found fresh water and coconuts. And these are almost all set close to one another. The great island, according to what the natives say, has a length of 300 *gaudia* (Sgh. *Gavu*), and a breadth of the same number, *i.e.* 900 miles. There are two kings on the island and they are at enmity with one another. The one possesses the hyacinth, and the other has the other part in which is the great place of commerce and chief harbour. It is a great mart for the people of these parts. The Island has also a church of Persian Christians, who have settled there, and a Presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a Deacon and all the apparatus of public worship. But the natives and the kings are quite another kind of people. They have many temples on the Island, and on one of these temples, which stands in an elevated position there is a hyacinth, they say, of great size and brilliant ruddy colour, as big as a great pine-cone, and when it is seen flashing from a distance, especially when the sun's rays strike on it, it's a glorious and incomparable spectacle.

“From all India and Persia and Ethiopia many ships come to this Island, and it likewise sends out many of its own, occupying as it does a kind of central position. And from the remoter regions, I speak of Tzinista and other places of export, the imports of Taprobane are silk, aloes wood, cloves, sandal wood and so forth, according to the products of each place. These again are passed from Sieldiba to the marts on this side, such as Male where the pepper is grown and Kalliyana (modern Kalyana, near Bombay), whence are exported brass, and sisam logs, and other wares, such as cloths, for that also is a great place of business; also to Sindu, where you get the musk or castorin, and androstachya; also to Persia, Homerite and Adula, and the Island receives imports again from all these marts, that I have been mentioning, and passes them on to the remoter ports, whilst at the same time it exports its own products, in both directions.”

“Sindu is where India begins. Now the Indus, *i.e.* Phison, the mouths of which discharge into the Persian Gulf is the boundary between Persia and India. And the most notable places of trade are these: Sirdu, Orrhotha, Kalliana, Sibor, and then the five marts of Male, from which pepper is exported, to wit, Pati, Mangurath, Salopatana, Nalopatana, Pudopatana. Then there is Sieldiba, *i.e.* Taprobane, which lies hitherward about five days and nights sail from the Continent; and then again on the Continent and further back is Marallo, which exports conchshells; Kaber, which exports alabandinum; then again further off is the Clove Country; and then Tzinista, which produces the silk. Beyond this there is no other country, for the ocean encompasses it on the east. The same Sieldiba then, set, as it were, in the central point of the Indies, and possessing the hyacinth, receiving imports from all the seats of commerce, and exporting to them in return is itself a great seat of commerce . . . But, he (the king) of Sieldiba (owns) both elephants which he has (*sc.* in his country) and horses. The elephants he sells by cubit measurement; for their height is measured from the ground, and so the price is fixed according to the measurement, ranging from fifty to a hundred numismata or more. But the

horses they bring to him from Persia and these he buys, and grants special immunities from duty to those who import them." (*Ceylon Coins and Currency*, pp 34, 35).

Cosmas, like his predecessors, exaggerated the size of the Island. Three hundred *gavu* make about 600 miles; but the actual size of Ceylon is 271 miles or a little more at its greatest length and 137 miles at its greatest breadth. The presence of Christians from Persia is attested by the fragment of a rectangular column with a Persian Cross carved on it, found among the ruins of the Citadel of Anuradhapura, and the discovery by the Portuguese of a Cross of St Thomas at Mutwal, at the mouth of the Kalariganga (*Conquest*, p 719; *A.S.C.*, Vol I, p 51; *Short History*, etc. p 32).

About this period, Persian Christians had gone as far as China. The famous inscription on a monument set up in A.D. 781 in or near Ch'angan, then the capital of China, and represented by the city of Hsianfu, informs us that a Christian from Persia had come to China in 635, won the favour of the Government and had been generous in the use of his wealth in caring for the poor and helping religious works. The monument had been put up to commemorate his munificence. (cf. *Expansion of Christianity*, Vol II, pp 277, 278).

The brilliant hyacinth, which Cosmas describes, is evidently the bejewelled pinnacle of a stupa, called *vajira-cumbata*. Sanghatissa (A.D. 296-300) is said to have "put upon the spire of the thupa (Ruvanvalisaya) a precious ring of crystal" (*Mahav. XXXVI*, 66). The *Dipavamsa* adds that he constructed "of jewels a Thupa of the shape of a flame" on the most excellent Mahastupa (XXII, 49). "The commentary to the *Mahavamsa* explains that this ring of crystal was the setting for a great precious stone, valued at one hundred thousand gold pieces, and served the purpose of averting the danger from lightning." (*The Stupa of Ceylon*, p 40). King Dathusena (cir. 508-526) "put up a golden umbrella as well as a ring for protection against lightning" on the three big cetiyas of Anuradhapura (*Mahv. XXXVIII*, 74).

With the destruction of the Roman Empire in the West about the end of the 5th century, trade with the east decreased, and finally disappeared. But, the cultural and religious influence of Rome continued and spread in the West, and became the leaven of European civilization. That influence penetrated into Ceylon with the advent of European nations, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British. The Portuguese brought Roman Catholicism to Ceylon, the Dutch the Roman-Dutch law, and the British the political institutions begotten of Roman administration. Greek and Latin are now among the dead languages; they are neglected by Colleges and even Universities which thrived on them. But their cultural value cannot be held by the silence of the grave.

Absint inani funere neniae
Luctusque turpes et querimoniae;
Compesce clamorem, ac sepulchri
Mitte supervacuous honores.

(Horace, Odes Bk. II. Ode XX)

Not for me raise the death-dirge, mine urn shall be empty;
Hush the vain ceremonial of groans that degrade me,
And waste not the honours ye pay to the dead
On a tomb in whose silence I shall not repose.

(Lytton's translation)



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The art of translation*

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It is usual and convenient for one who reads a paper to begin by apologising for the title. On this occasion such a gambit is out of the question. There can be no apology for a title so foolish as "The Art of Translation". It suggests the various handbooks we have all read on "The Art of Tennis", "The Art of Cookery", "The Art of Contract Bridge" and it promises a sound technique, preferably a set of simple rules, for the accomplishment of a definite purpose. But, strictly speaking, there is no Art of Translation—just as there can, as yet, be no Art of Turning Copper into Gold. There is about the phrase "The Art of Translation" the same absurdity there would be in the "Art of Squaring the Circle" or "How to Find the Factors of a Prime Number".

For the translator is trying to do what cannot be done. He is trying to convey into one language ideas that can only be expressed by another i.e. that properly only exist in another. A few words which denote highly abstract conceptions like "triangle" or "point" are perhaps completely translatable; but apart from a few people of odd mental make-up no one has any great interest in a world of abstractions. The more interesting, i.e. the more concrete words become, the closer they are entwined in a tangle of ideas peculiar to one language, i.e. the less translatable they are. The Greek word for "triangle" can be turned into English without serious loss; to exhaust by a single English word the meaning of the word "*sophrosune*" in any Greek context is impossible; nothing short of an elaborate commentary on the Greek way of looking at things could do that.

And there is a further difficulty. Suppose such a commentary were possible (and it seldom is) and that by its means the content of the Greek could be sufficiently well carried to an English reader who knew no Greek, what has happened to the form of the original? Whatever be one's private theory about their relative importance one must admit that Form and Matter are partners in the production of Literature. The translator, then, may take one of three courses. He may let Form go hang and attend to the Matter, or keep the Form and let Matter go hang, or he may oscillate uncertainly between the two aims. And it so happens that in the very things that most worth translating the value depends on an unique combination of Form and Matter. In all languages there are possibly a few works that might be translated without serious damage. Euclid's demonstrations, concerned as they are with abstract notions, for which there are equivalents in every language, can be reproduced satisfactorily in any but the most poverty-stricken languages. And there are other kinds of literature in which form hardly seems to be important. Even these, however, may have their peculiar difficulties. Consider one example.

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Aristotle's treatise on Politics is written with so little concern for style that one is inclined to say that a translator could devote himself with single mind to the matter. But Aristotle makes so much use of technical terms, precise yet full of meaning in Greek, that a mere translation cannot convey Aristotle's thought. The Greekless reader would learn more of that from a modern specialist's exposition than from the most careful translation.

But human nature is perverse. Though a completely adequate translation is a fiction, a "pattern laid up in heaven", people have always translated and always will translate. The metaphysician betrays a similar perversity. He no doubt occasionally guesses that he is in search of something that he will never find, but he refuses to abandon his quest; he knows very well that he would be not a little disappointed if he found what he professes to be seeking. He finds his pleasure in the search. So translators know that they are attempting the impossible but they keep on trying. It may well be that just as everybody writes but nobody reads poetry, so everybody makes his own, nobody uses other people's translations. Indeed there is a genuine innocent pleasure, akin to that which visits those who solve acrostics and crossword puzzles, to be derived from the attempt, however inadequate, to convert into English such things as Anglo-Saxon riddles or into Latin the more Ciceronian passages of Burke. A monumental example of the folly into which translators are beguiled by this pleasure is provided by Seneca's contemporary Polybius, a secretary of the emperor Claudius. He devoted a civil servant's leisure to the task of turning Homer into Latin and Vergil into Greek Prose.

Is there, then, no more to be said for the translator than that he is a harmless lunatic? Have his translations no value to anybody but himself? Even if he is attempting the impossible can he achieve something worthwhile, can he give to an English reader a good enough idea what a play of Terence played like to a Roman audience, or give him an inkling why Horace and Vergil were great poets? And if he can, by what methods can he hope to be most successful? Questions like these are to be our concern this evening, and if we can, not answer them but offer a word or two with some bearing on their solution we shall be content. The claim implicit in a title like "The Art of Translation" must be disowned; it would be out of place anywhere except in an advertisement for a patent medicine.

We have hinted at the difficulties of the translator; let us examine them more closely. The translator sets out to turn let us say an Ode of Horace into English. Now plainly the form, i.e. the metrical pattern of the Latin, is an important element. A prose translation however good will miss something that ought not to be missed. But English verse and Latin verse are based on two entirely different principles. One (English) is mainly accentual, the other (Latin) is primarily a pattern of long and short syllables. Even if the translator is lucky enough to hit upon an English metre that has a certain similarity to that of the original, it can at best be only similar. If he deliberately tries to use in English an alien principle he will simply mystify the reader and achieve what is at best a scholastic experiment or a lucky fluke.

Again, the translator tries to convey to the reader the meanings of words and in some kinds of poetry he may succeed fairly well. But words in poetry are valuable not only for their meaning—which can be found more or less in a dictionary—but also for their associations and their sounds. To appreciate the exact value of these one needs an educated taste and a sensitive ear. English like any other language that has any antiquity is full of words whose plain dictionary meaning is trivial compared with the associations acquired from a hundred poetic contexts,

e.g. pale, golden, rose.

Oh, no man knows
Through what wild centuries
Roves back the rose.

Naturally such associations cluster thickest round certain words which by luck of the language are valuable for their very sound. Such words as 'moon', 'doleful', 'huge', by their sound produce immediately in the hearer a feeling as strong as it is subtle; they are already poems of a sort. The Latin vocabulary of Vergil and Horace was probably at least as rich in resources of this kind as that of Pope or Dryden. Examples are to be found on any page of Vergil. *Aureus* means golden, but it suggests a felicity of perfection foreign to this workaday world (cf *Aen.* II 488, & XI 832—*ferit aurea sidera clamor*); *ingens* means primarily big, out-size, but by Vergil is invested with suggestions of grandeur, awe and mystery; *vastus* according to the dictionary expresses two ideas—space and emptiness, but it suggests the silent desolate wastes of barren sea or desert; *ater*—black, the dull black of charred wood, hints at fell and malign forces.

Two qualifications, therefore, we may demand from the man who presumes to translate Vergil. 1. He should be familiar with those Greek and Roman authors on whose work Vergil's talent was nourished—an endless list beginning with Homer and Ennius. 2. He should have an ear. Yet, though he speak with the tongue of men and angels to boot, what will he do when he has recognised first, the literary associations of any given word, and, secondly, the emotional effects of its sound? Because Vergil echoes Ennius' echo of Homer will the translator attempt a *tour de force* by trying to echo Milton's echo of Vergil and at the same time to find a word whose sound has the same effect on an English ear as Vergil's word had upon a Roman ear—? Or will he, wisely, confess his impotence?

Even prose has its difficulties. The resources of English and Latin are quite different. Take one obvious difference. Latin is an inflected language. In the sentence *Brutus Caesarem interfecit*, no matter how you monkey about with the order of words *Brutus* remains the subject and *Caesarem* the object of the verb *interfecit*. Take the same liberties with the English sentence "Cain killed Abel", and you make nonsense of it. Roman writers made full use of this advantage. By altering the order of the words they give to the simple sentence *Caesarem Brutus interfecit* a variety of meanings that can be illustrated by altering the emphasis in English—*Brutus* killed Caesar, Brutus *killed* Caesar, and Brutus killed *Caesar*. This character of Latin is more deeply rooted in Latin idiom than many students are aware; it explains the common trick of poets, called in grammarian's jargon 'hypallage', and the Latin use of adjectives where English would naturally use adverbs in sentences like *matutinus ara*, *vespertinus pete tectum*: literally, 'do you an early morning person plough, an evening person make for the farm,' i.e. plough in the morning, go home in the evening. It is also responsible for what may be called the intenser unity of the Latin sentence as compared with the English. If an English sentence be likened, as it well may, to a brick building, the Latin sentence may be compared to a Roman building in concrete. Until the Latin sentence is completed by the addition of the last word, usually the verb, it is, as it were, fluid; at that moment the cement suddenly hardens. An English sentence can be dismantled brick by brick; a Latin sentence, like a modern skyscraper, can only be broken up by a steel drill.

But the advantages are not all on one side. English has a more varied vocabulary than

Latin. Derived as it mainly is from two separate sources, it offers the translator for most occasions at least two words, near enough in meaning to be called synonyms, but in sound and associations quite different. Again, English is particularly rich in those words that are the monument of that nameless genius, the Unknown Poet—love-lies-bleeding, higgledy-piggledy, wallop. For this reason the translator is often tempted to better the original. For example in Latin, Vergil uses the vague words *sono* or *sonitus* for noises so different as the human voice, the roar of a distant river in flood, the clanking of iron on iron, the blare of a trumpet, a clap of thunder, the twitter of a bird, the crack of a whip, the hiss of a snake etc. The less austere English translator can seldom resist the more specific words such as squeak, creak, rustle. But the propriety of such "improvements" is doubtful. Vergil, however, *improvised* sound effects, while in Eunius the *tuba . . . tarantara dixit*.

Other advantages of English as compared with Latin suggest themselves. Conciseness is only one of the virtues of a language; English may not be so firm as Latin; it is certainly more flexible; and it is spared the horum jorum lorum assonances that cannot always be avoided in Latin by the nicest attention to the order of words.

What is true of Latin and English is true of any other pair of languages. It may safely be said that no two languages are alike in their character or in their resources. Now, the translator is plainly not the kind of person to be deterred by difficulties. As the sculptor actually welcomes awkward knots and veins in his material, is, in fact, teased by them to all kinds of bold invention, so the translator laughs at impossibility. He remembers the Greek motto "What is beautiful is hard" and secretly, but of course quite wrongly, draws the inference 'What is hard is beautiful'. Moreover he finds an excuse for the indulgence of his vice in the belief that he is doing something useful. One obvious use of the translation is to be a present help in time of trouble to the ass who knoweth his master's crib. But the translator does not labour for him. No doubt his real reason for translating is some private kink but he rationalises his behaviour as a piece of missionary work for those who "have not had his advantages". The business man, shall we say, whose restless life has been harried by the need to multiply socks or suspenders, has never had a chance of acquiring for himself a key to the literature of France or ancient Greece and he asks for a competent translation of Proust or Euripides. The translator imagines himself working for some such patron. Perhaps we can best approach an understanding of the right methods of the translator if we consider his duty to this imaginary patron. The reader for whom the translation is written, is, then no fool; he has been too busy about the utilities of life to spare thought for the humanities, in which he has an almost pathetic belief. He has not read Vergil for himself but he wants to know what it would feel like if he could.

What is the first duty of the philanthropic translator? Clearly Fidelity to the original. But is he to be faithful to spirit or letter? Is it possible to be loyal to both or, as the Italian saying *Traduttore, traditore*, suggests, must he betray both? Now it is easy to disparage loyalty to the letter; the literal translation in the class room readily provokes schoolmasterly jibes. Yet a case can be made for the good literal translation. It has the one virtue without which no other virtues can shine; it is correct. "But surely", you may object, "any fool can achieve the correctness in minute detail that is the first prerequisite of a good translation". The dismal truth is that any fool can as a rule be anything, interesting, ingenious, brilliant, but alas not accurate. Even expert translators occasionally make quite absurd slips. Of course they seldom attain the magni-

ficence of such howlers as Ian Hay's Skye terriers for *caeruleae puppes*, but they can be just as silly. If great scholars like von Moellendorf drop an occasional brick there is a little excuse for those lapses that have left painful memories with the rest of us. I still blush whenever I come to the words *dum gramina canent* in the third Georgic, because one morning in the spring of 1919 I treated the long 'a' of *canent* as though it were short. I tried to justify my offence by citing the passage in the Psalms is it? Where the valleys stand so thick with corn that they shall laugh and sing, but I was merely trying ineffectively to save my face. Not all the powers in Heaven can make a long vowel into a short one. Bitter experience proves that unflinching literal accuracy is not easily come by and is not lightly to be despised. Yet it may be objected with some justice that even a good literal translation sounds odd. But ought it to sound otherwise? A translation is not an original. Caesar neither thought nor wrote like Sir Ian Hamilton; will a translation that represents him as doing so have the cardinal virtue of fidelity? The very queer outlandish sound of the following baldly literal translation is perhaps a positive recommendation:

"Scarcely had the vanguard advanced beyond the ramparts when the Gauls, having urged one another not to let slip from their hands the coveted plunder, and saying that, the Romans having been thoroughly cowed, it was tedious to wait for German reinforcements and that their own self respect did not allow them with so great force not to venture to attack so tiny a band, hampered as it was and in flight, did not hesitate to cross the river and join battle on uneven ground."

Strange though it sounds, such a version has one merit. Yet it can hardly be seriously maintained that the translator can do no better than this. Something is missing. The translator has been so aware of the peculiarity of the Latin that he has forgotten that he is turning it into English. Heroic loyalty to the Latin will not excuse a version for not being English.

Aware of this difficulty may we say that the translator's honour is bound to the spirit of the original? At first sight there is something to be said for that view. Many historical novels are in a very real sense truer than more exact but uninspired histories; similarly, some translations though inaccurate in detail are undoubtedly better than dull scholarly translations. This is true; but it is important to be sure what is meant by 'better'. Many bad translations are good judged as literature—in their own right. In one sense it was impossible for the Tudor translators, whom it is fashionable to praise, to write a bad translation; in another sense they were qualified to write nothing else. The Authorised Version of the English Bible is an excellent example of a translation unscholarly but of high literary quality, as the Revised Version is of the translation that is careful but not valuable for its own sake as literature. There are however perhaps a few translations true to the spirit of the original i.e. good as translations in spite of their inexactitude.

This fact has had a dangerous effect on translators. They have imagined that if they could only give to the reader the tang of an author they could take almost any liberties with the text. They have believed that they have some sort of mystical insight into the meaning of a writer which relieves them from the painful necessity of finding out what he did mean by the careful examination of every word—the only means available to the ordinary mortal. A few persons of special genius have this power. Some of Keats' poems would perhaps give our business friend a better idea of the Greek way of looking at things than a score of bad translations of Euripides. But they are no substitute for translations of particular Greek works, *The Bacchae* or *Oedipus Tyrannus*. These must be based on an understanding of every minute point. No one can really

appreciate Horace and Vergil unless he has eyesight sharp enough to see every hair-line. Classical authors almost without exception paid a fastidious, according to modern opinion, a finical even fanatical attention to the details of expression. To say that one can appreciate Sophocles in a rough and ready way is like saying that one likes music but has no time for nonsense about fugues and counterpoint. We should be surprised to hear a man say "I simply dote on chess ; but of course I don't know the moves". The good translator will often knowingly neglect a difference in tense or mood ; he will seldom fail to notice it. The Tudor translators would have translated better if they had been more careful scholars. Unhappily the same man is seldom both poet and pedant.

The belief that one can capture the sense without troubling about "the damned dots" is seldom held in its crude form but it underlies a prevalent theory of compensation. The theory works in a specific case as follows. Plautus, as Horace reminds us, had an eye for the box office. His plays are full of puns. According to this theory the translator will not strain himself or the language overmuch to make feeble puns wherever Plautus makes puns hardly less feeble in the Latin. He will often confess himself beaten, but on other occasions where a pun suggests itself in English he will not be squeamish about using it even if there is no pun in the original. The Greek words frequent in Cicero's letters are treated in a similar way. "By all means", the translator seems to say, "let us use a French word where an obvious equivalent occurs to us but where there is none let us console ourselves with the reflection that there will be many occasions when *élan* or *claque* or *coup d'oeil* will be the most convenient translation for a Latin word." But is the theory sound ?

Our business friend would know how to deal with the shopkeeper who had not his favourite brand of shaving cream but offered him another 'just as good' ; he will know what to think of a translator who in effect says : "I am out of Euripides at the moment but here's a nice tasty piece of Swinburne." The irrelevance of some translations is that of the imaginary interlocutors in those delightful books from which our grandparents learnt French. "I have not the pen of my aunt but your grandmother's goat is in the garden".

The theory that it is the business of the translator to provide a sham original has only to be stated in plain language for its weakness to be apparent. It is perhaps beside the point to apply ethical standards ; its absurdity condemns it. The theory perhaps only came into existence because there are translations that are almost by accident valuable for their own qualities, e.g. the Authorised Version of *The Bible* and the *Rubāiyāt* of Omar Khayyām. But what is the sense of trying to pass Plato off as Berkeley or making Aristotle speak like Herbert Spencer ? The style, as surely as the philosophy, is the man. Plato must sound mellow *even in English* ; Aristotle must have his bleak lecture room voice *even in English*. It is in difficulties like these that the translator rejoices.

There are however perhaps in the theory of the sham original at least two particles of truth. 1. Good translations must happen at the right time. 2. They must be not so much the 'sedulous apery' of the imitator as the spontaneous product of one who by natural affinity of temper and affectionate study has caught the spirit of his author.

That any language is only suitable for certain kinds of translation at certain periods has been well shown by J. S. Phillimore in a lively, tasteful pamphlet, *Some Remarks on Translation and Translators*, published (1919) by the English Association. There he suggests that the right

translation of the Greek tragedians could only have been made in the language of Milton and he plays elegantly with the idea of Chaucer's Homer, Shelley's Sappho, and a Thucydides by Clarendon. If the time when the language is ripe for a particular kind of translation passes without producing the translator can anything be done? Is it not possible for a modern writer to turn Homer into the language of the Authorised Version? In practice such efforts are not successful and in theory we can see why. It is as dishonest and as unsound for our contemporaries to write like our famous grandparents as it is for the modern architect to try to build modern buildings out of modern materials in antique, antiquated "styles". And for the same reason. The resources of the translator change just as much as those of the builder. Of course if a man like Doughty or Lucretius by personal idiosyncrasy uses the speech of a past century he has a right to his style and may well make a notable translation. But hands accustomed to the typewriter are bound to be awkward with the quill.

For a similar reason, although a man is allowed, indeed is encouraged in his undergraduate days deliberately to adopt various styles, most good translators devote their whole lives to a single author whom they have chosen because he is congenial, and have studied until his manner is their second nature. On matters of style the instinct of such a person, in Bentley's phrase, outweighs a hundred manuscripts.

We have mentioned some of the difficulties inherent in translation; we have seen that the virtues of the good translator seem mutually incompatible. You may well ask, not, like the philosopher, How are translations possible? but with the unbeliever, Are they possible? For an answer to that question we had better desert theory for fact. Are there in fact any translations that at once satisfy the judgment of the man of taste and the scholar's rather exacting demands in the matter of fidelity? Are there translations so good that they are good enough to put in the hands of the business man for whose welfare we are concerned? Probably there are. Any list is bound to be unsatisfactory—a Selection Committee is always wrong—but probably most of the following could safely be recommended to our business man:

Lucian by the two Fowlers, Ramsay's *Annals of Tacitus*, Rogers' translations of *Aristophanes*, Lindsay's *Republic of Plato*, Rhoades' *Vergil* (Mackail's prose *Aeneid*).

Anyone who is interested in translations of Greek and Latin Classics need not fail to find them for lack of guidance. A pamphlet *The Claim of Antiquity* published by O.U.P. contains lists of suitable translations, and three books also published by the O.U.P., *The Pageant of Greece*, *The Mind of Rome*, and *The Mission of Greece*, may be read for their own sakes or treated as samples of translations.

Even if satisfactory translation were not possible, the activity of translating, the attempt to translate, has a value on which it is perhaps seasonable to insist at this time in this country. Translation does seem to be one of the most effective means of enriching the resources of a language. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the enrichment of Latin due to the translations of Greek originals made by practically all Roman writers, but particularly Cicero. It is not too much to say that the Latin language and Roman literature were made by translation. The Tudor translations were as much cause as symptom of the contemporary flowering of the English language. English scholars, I believe, agree that the biggest single influence in the history of English is the Authorised Version—a translation. It is almost impertinent to point the moral to those enthusiasts for the Singhalese language, who are concerned with the preser-

vation and enhancement of their literary heritage. Original composition has to wait on inspiration. But one can always translate. It might well be true that the quickest and surest way of bringing about the renaissance every patriot would like to see is for Singhalese students to set about translating into their own language—anything, the classical works on modern science like Darwin's *Origin of Species*, the Dialogues of Plato, Aristotle's *Politics*, the *Georgics* of Vergil, Lucretius *On the Nature of the Universe*.

But of course the real inveterate translator does not think of himself as a benefactor of society, though he may be. He translates and will continue to translate, in season and out of season for the best of all possible reasons, because he thinks it good fun. As indeed it is.

Books on Translation :

Postgate : *Translation and Translations*

Phillimore : *Some Remarks on Translation and Translators*

Ramsay : Introduction to translation of *The Annals*

Matthew Arnold : *On Translating Homer*

Alexander Fraser-Tytler : *Principles of Translation*

“ 'Tis Greece but living Greece no more ”

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Editor's note: The poem won the Vice-Chancellor's Prize for Latin verse at Dublin University in 1918. The theme announced for a poem in Greek or Latin was Byron's line *infra* which was topical at the time. The prize poem was not published because neutral Greece, it was believed, was prevented by King Constantine, to the bitter disappointment of Britain, from joining the allies in the great war. Prof Richardson has given the Homeric equivalent to Byron's line from *The Giaour*—Thersites' scathing attack on Agamemnon and the Greeks generally—'you soft fools, base rascals, ye Greek women no longer Greek men'. The following is a part of the poem.

“ 'Tis Greece but living Greece no more! ” BYRON

ὦ πέπovες, κάκ' ἐλέγκε', Ἀχαιίδες, οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί—ILIAD ii, 235

contemplator enim Graecorum saecla per aevos,
qui primum cunctos praestabant, prima virorum,
armis, artibus ingenio rebusque repertis:
queis honor est monstrasse viam mortalibus unam
qui fugiant certae terrores mortis inanes,
multaque multimodis vitae praecepta docebant.
nonne vides quanto lampas maiore diurna
lunaive globus per caeli templa serena
praeniteat splendore aliis labentibus astris?
hocce modo gentes alias gens Graia premebat
nocte, nec effulgere dabat vel luce maligna.
quorum reliquum nil est nisi gloria tantum,
nec quisquam vigor est Graeis, nec vita, nec ardor,
sed iam praestrikti longo torpore quiescunt.
quod genus est, si quis tabe deprensu' repenti
succidit emoriens et iam iacet ille cadaver:
vultus enim species circumcasura figura
incolumes remanent, nec deficit ponderis hilum,
sed iacet ut fuit ante suis agnoscere amicis,
qui circumstantes caelum plangore fatigant.
at vitalis abest sensus, nec rursus inibit,
vitalique vapores, et vivida vis animae.

Aristotle's view of some forensic matters

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Rhetoric, according to Aristotle, may be defined as the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion. All men make use of it, more or less, as they attempt to discuss statements and to maintain them, to defend themselves and to attack others. Rhetoric falls into three divisions determined by three classes of listeners of speeches. The hearer may be a member of the assembly who has the duty of deciding future policy, a judge with a decision to make or an observer who merely appreciates the orator's skills. It follows that there are three divisions of oratory (1) political (2) forensic and (3) ceremonial oratory. He criticizes authors of treatises on rhetoric because they deal only with part of the art. The modes of persuasion (e.g. logical arguments) are the true constituents of the art, yet these writers say nothing about enthymemes which are the substance of rhetorical persuasion and address themselves mainly to non-essentials. They only deal with the question how to put the judge into a given frame of mind and say nothing about the orator's proper modes of persuasion. 'Enthymemes' appear to be used by Aristotle to mean rhetorical arguments, using 'rhetorical' not in any pejorative sense. Though Aristotle does devote great attention to them yet it would appear in other parts of his treatise that he himself does not altogether disdain the use of non-essentials.

It was his view, however, that the arousing of prejudice, pity, anger and similar emotions has nothing to do with the essential facts and is no more than a personal appeal to the man who is judging the case. In some states rules for trial laid down excluded non-essentials. If such rules were applied everywhere such people would have nothing to say. It would be no doubt the universal view that the laws should prescribe such rules but some as the Court of Arcopagus gave practical effect to that view and forbade talk about non-essentials. This, he states, is sound law. It is not right to pervert the judge by arousing in him anger or envy or pity—one might as well warp a carpenter's rule before using it. The term, 'judge', appears to be used in a general sense and to include jurymen and others who judge.

In city states the citizens met as a body and directly made political decisions. As the citizens made decisions which concerned their own vital interests, they would not, in Aristotle's opinion, be receptive to non-essentials. It was different where they had to decide affairs touching other people as judges. Political oratory, he states, is therefore less given to unscrupulous practices than forensic. As the man who decides policy makes a decision about his own vital interests, all that need be proved is that the facts are as the proposer of a measure claims they are. He further states, "In forensic oratory this is not enough; to conciliate the listener is what pays here. It is other people's affairs that are to be decided, so that the judges intent on their own satisfaction and listening with partiality, surrender themselves to the disputants instead of judging

between them. Hence in many places as we have said already, irrelevant speaking is forbidden in the law courts: in the public assembly those who have to form a judgment are well able to guard against that."

Aristotle's opinion may be correct in the main yet one recalls that at a critical point of its history the public assembly of Athens preferred the views of Cleon to those of Pericles. The reader will also no doubt be able to assess from his own knowledge whether with the change to government through elected representatives standards of political oratory have improved or deteriorated.

Aristotle would permit a litigant to do no more than show that the alleged fact is so or not so, that it has or has not happened. As to whether a thing is important or unimportant, just or unjust, it is not for the judge to take his instructions from the litigants: he must himself decide all such points as the law giver has not already defined for him. If the courts confine submissions to the matters permitted by Aristotle to litigants, it will have the effect—not altogether unwholesome—of cutting down the length of arguments.

The correct or proper modes of framing enthymemes or rhetorical arguments as well as the use of examples and other aids to persuasion are dealt with at some length and are worthy of study but cannot be included in a short article of this kind. Persuasion, he states, is clearly a sort of demonstration since we are most fully persuaded when we consider a thing to have been demonstrated.

It will be consoling to judges to know that things that are true and things that are just have a natural tendency to prevail over their opposites and that accordingly if decisions of judges are not what they ought to be, the defect must be due to the speakers themselves and they must take the blame. He notes, however, that before some hearers not even the possession of the most exact knowledge will enable what is said to produce conviction, for argument based on knowledge implies instruction and there are people whom one cannot instruct. In such cases it is necessary to appeal to universally held notions. He continues, "We must be able to employ persuasion, just as reasoning can be employed, on opposite sides of a question, not in order that we may in practice employ it in both ways (for we must not make people believe what is wrong), but in order that we may see clearly what the facts are, and that, if another man argues unfairly, we on our part may be able to confute him. No other of the arts draws opposite conclusions: dialectic and rhetoric alone do this. Both these arts draw opposite conclusions impartially."

One is reminded of the saying, "Words are the daughters of earth, things are the sons of heaven."

Aristotle draws a distinction between Particular Law being that which each community lays down and applies to its members and Universal Law or Natural Law. Of the latter he states that everyone senses a natural justice and injustice that is binding on all men even those who have no association or covenant with each other. He then states the arguments for the application of Particular Law or Universal Law as the one or the other may suit one's case. They are not unfamiliar as considerations akin to them are urged in courts of justice even today. If the written law tells against one's case one must appeal to the Universal Law and insist on its greater justice and equity, urging that its principles are permanent and changeless and that the judicial oath requires a verdict not merely according to the letter of the written law. If the written law supports one's case one must urge that not to follow the law is as bad as not

to have law at all. The modern version is that a court has not only to do justice but to do justice according to law.

In another passage Aristotle extols the virtues of equity and states that for settlement of disputes arbitration is to be preferred to litigation because an arbitrator goes by the equity of a case and a judge by strict law and that arbitration was invented with the express purpose of securing full power for equity.

I have culled from the *Rhetoric* matters which I have found of interest. I have not attempted a systematic account or assessment of the statements in it relating to forensic oratory. Some slight justification for the course I have taken may be found in the fact that the *Rhetoric* was not a 'book' intended for publication but rather like a professor's lecture notes which Aristotle used a number of times and kept adding to. I need hardly underline what must have been obvious to the reader that matters thus set out by him over two thousand years ago will be basic to any discussion of the topics even at the present time.

NOTE: The quotations from the *Rhetoric* are from the translation by W. Rhys Roberts.

A Sinhala version of Pericles' funeral speech

අභාවයට පත්වූ අතීත සෙබළුන් පිළිබඳව පෙරික්ලීස් කල ගුණානුස්මරන කථාව

V. L. WIRASINHA
Joint Secretary
Classical Association of Ceylon

වී. එල්. වීරසිංහ
ශ්‍රී ලංකා ග්‍රීක රෝම සාහිත්‍ය සංගමයේ
සම ලේකම්

හැඳින්වීම

පහත දක්වන්නේ කියුසිඩිඩීස් විසින් ලියන ලද ඉතීහාසයේ සඳහන් ප්‍රකාර, පෙලපනීසි සටනේ පළමු වසරේ දී මරණයට පත් වූ අතීත සෙබළුන්ට පිරිනමනු ලැබූ භූමදාය අවසානයේ දී පෙරික්ලීස් විසින් පවත්වන ලද ගුණානුස්මරන කථාවේ පරිවර්තනයකි.

මෙවැනි අවස්ථාවන්හි ඉදිරිපත් වූ කථිකයන් වැඩි දෙනෙකු විසින් අප රට වෙනුවෙන් යුද්ධයට පැමිණීම රණයට පත්වූවන් සිහිකරවන කථාවක් පැවැත්වීමේ වාරිත්‍රය ප්‍රසිද්ධ භූමදානයන් පිළිබඳව කලින් බලපෑ රීතියට පළමුවෙන් අඩංගු කල නැතැත්තාට ප්‍රසංසා නගා තිබේ. ඊට හේතුවී ඇත්තේ එවැනි කථාවක් පැවැත්වීම යහපත් කටයුත්තකැයි ඔවුන්ට පෙනී ගිය බවයි. එහෙත් මගේ හැඟීම වන්නේ ක්‍රියාවෙන් තම වීරබව දක්වූවන්ට අප මේ ප්‍රසිද්ධ භූමදානය මගින් පිරිනැමුවාක් මෙන් ක්‍රියාවෙන් පමණක් අප ගෞරවය පිරිනැමීම සැහේය යනුයි; මක්නිසාදයත්, කීප දෙනෙකුගේ වීරබව සමූහයකට ඒත්තු ගැන්වීම එක් කථිකයකුගේ කථා සුරත්වය උඩ රඳා පැවැත්වෙන්නට සැලසීම නොනිසි හෙයිනි.

තවද, මෙවැනි කථාවකින් සිහිකරවන කරුණුවල සත්‍යතාවය පෙන්වුම් කරදීම උගහට බැවින් එම කථාව විධිමත් ලෙස සකස් කර ගැනීමද දුෂ්කර වන්නේය. සවන් දෙන්නන් අතර මළගිය අයකු කිට්ටුවෙන් ආශ්‍රයකල මිතුරෙක් සිටිද පවත්වනු ලබන කථාව නිසි විස්තර සැමක්ම අඩංගු නොවන්නකැයි ඔහුට හැඟෙන්නට පුළුවන. ඔහුගේ ප්‍රසාදයට භාජනය නොවන්නටද පුළුවන. එහෙත් එම කථාවම එවැනි ආශ්‍රයක් නොලත් අයෙකුට, තම හැකිබව පරදවන වීර ක්‍රියාවන් කියැවෙන විට, තම ඊෂ්ඨාව හේතුකොටගෙන, බෙහෙල්කාර එකකැයි හැඟෙන්නට පුළුවන. මීට හේතුවන්නේ අනුන්ට පිරිනැමෙන ප්‍රසංසාවන් යමෙකුට රුස්සන්නට හැකි වන්නේ එම ප්‍රසංසාවන්ට භාජනය වන ක්‍රියාවන් අතරින් කොටසක්වත් තමාටද කල හැකියයි ඔහුට හැඟෙන පමණින් බවයි. එහෙත්, මගේ හැඟීම මෙසේ වෙතත් පුරාතනයිනට මේ වාරිත්‍රය යහපත් එකකැයි පෙනීගිය හෙයිනි මගේ යුතුකම වන්නේ එය අනුගමනය කරමින් සවන් දෙන ඔබ සැමගේ බලාපොරොත්තු ඉටුවනායේද ඔබගේ ප්‍රසාදයට භාජනවනායේද මගේ කථාව පවත්වන්නට සියළු ප්‍රයත්නයක්ම දැරීමයි.

පළමුවෙන්ම අප මුතුන්මිත්තන් සිහි කරමු. එසේ සිහි කිරීමෙන් එකමන්ට අප සැලකිල්ල දක්වීම මෙවැනි අවස්ථාවකට ඉදිරාම ගැලපෙන කටයුත්තකි. මක්නිසාදයත්, ඔවුහු පරම්පරාගතව නොකඩවාම එකම ජන සමූහයකට පැවතෙමින් මේ පුරවරය තම ක්‍රියාසුරත්වයෙන් රැකගෙන ස්වාධීන රටක් මෙන් අපට පවරා දී තිබෙන බැවිනි. එතුමන්ට අප ප්‍රසංසාව හිමි වෙන අතර, එය වඩාත් හිමි වන්නේ අප පියවරුන්ටය. ඔවුන්ට පැවරී උරුමයට අතිරේකව අප දැන් බුක්තිවිඳින අධිරාජ්‍යය තම වෑයමෙන් ද වෙහෙස

මහන්සි සහ භිංසා දැරීමෙන් ද අත්පත් කරගෙන අපට සන්තක කර දී තිබේ. අද ජීවත්ව සිටින අප විසින්ද — විශේෂයෙන්ම මේරු වියට පැවති අප විසින්ද—විවිධ අන්දමින් මේ අධිරාජ්‍යයේ බලය කරකර, සෑම අංගයකින්ම යුද්ධයට මෙන්ම යාමයටද අයත් කටයුතුවල යෙදෙන්නට සෛවරිබල මගීගසක් අප රටට ලබා දී තිබේ.

ඔබ සැමදෙන දන්නා කරුණු ගැන, එනම් ක්‍රම ක්‍රමයෙන් අප බලය දියුණුවීමට හේතුවූ අපගේ හෝ අප පියවරුන්ගේ හෝ ශ්‍රීකයන්ට හෝ පරජාතිකයන්ට හෝ විරුද්ධව ප්‍රත්‍යක්ෂවූ යුද්ධකාමී ක්‍රියාවන් ගැන විස්තරයක් කරන්නට මම අදහස් නොකරමි. යුද්ධයන් ගැන නොව යුද්ධයන්ට කුමන හැඟීම් ඇතිවද අප ඉදිරිපත්වී ඇත්තේ යනුද, කුමන පාලන ක්‍රමයක් යොදගෙන හා කුමන ඵලදායී ජීවන ප්‍රතිපත්ති පිළිපදිමින්ද අද පවතින බලසම්පන්න තත්ත්වයට අප පැමිණ සිටින්නේ යනුද ගැනයි මා මිලභට විස්තර කරන්නේ. ඉන් පසුව මළගිය අයගේ ගුණ කියන්නට අදහස් කරමි. අපට පැමිණි මේ අවස්ථාවට මගේ මේ සැලැස්ම මැනවින් ගැලපෙනු ඇතැයිද, ඒ අනුව මවිසින් කියැවෙන කරුණු අසා දනගැනීම පුරවැසියන්ට මෙන්ම මිත්‍ර විදේශිකයන්ටද ප්‍රයෝජනවත් වෙනු ඇතැයිද මම බලාපොරොත්තු වෙමි.

අප පාලන ක්‍රමය අසල්වැසි රටවල් වල බලපාන ක්‍රමයන් අනුව සකස්වූවක් නොව අප විසින්ම සකස් කරගත්, අනුන්ටත් ආදර්ශමත්වන ක්‍රමයකි. අප අතර රාජ්‍ය බලය සුළු සංඛ්‍යාවකට නොව මුළු ජනතාවටම සතුය. එබැවින් අප පාලන ක්‍රමය ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රය හෙවත් මහජන පාලනය යන නමින් හැඳින්වේ. පුද්ගලික ආරාමුල් විසඳීමේ දී නීති රීති සෑමවිටම එකසේ බලපායි. එය එසේ වෙත්ම ක්‍රියාසුරත්වයටද අප අතර තැනක් ලැබේ. මක්නිසාදයත්, වගකීම් සහිත ප්‍රසිද්ධ කරාතිරමකට යමෙකු පත්කරනු ලබන්නේ ඔහු යම් පඩිකතියකට හෝ කුලයකට හෝ අයත් වීම අනුව නොවන අතර ඒ කරාතිරමට අයත් කාර්යයන් ඉටු කිරීමට සෙස්සන්ට වැඩි හැකියාවක් ඔහුට තිබීම හේතුකොටගෙනය. ඒ ඇරත්, මහජන සේවයක් ඉටු කරන්නට පුළුවන් කිසිවෙක් දිලින්නේදක් වුවද නිසි කරාතිරමක් ඔහුට ප්‍රධානය වීමට ඔහුගේ දිළිඳුකම බාධාවක් නොවන්නේය.

අප දේශපාලන කටයුතු අවහිරයන්ගෙන් තොරව ගෙනයනු ලබන්නා සේම පුද්ගලිකවද අප අන්‍යා-න්‍යාශ්‍රයටද පදනම් වන්නේ ස්වාධීනත්වයයි. යමෙකු තමාට විසිසේ මුනි වීම ගැන අනිකැත් ඔහු කෙරෙහි අවනාස නොවේ. හිත රිද්දවනසුළු බැල්මක් පවා, එවැනි බැල්මකින් පමණක් හානියක් සිදුනොවෙතත්, ඔහු දෙස හෙලන්නේ නැත.

පුද්ගලිකව ඉවසිලීමක්ව එකිනෙකා සමඟ අප ආශ්‍රය කරන අතර පොදු කටයුතුවලදී අපි නීති ගරුකව හැසිරෙමු. ආධිපත්‍යය කලින් කල දරන්නන්ට අප කීකරු වන අතර සෑම නීතියක්ම, විශේෂයෙන්ම තාඩන පිඩන විදින්නන්ගේ යහපත පදනා පනවන ලද නීතීද, කඩ කිරීම අනි දුෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාවකැයි සම්මතවූ ලියාපදි-වී නොවූ නීතීද ගරුකරමු.

තවද, වැඩි රාජකාරිවල යෙදී වෙහෙස මහන්සි වුවන්ට නොයෙක් ක්‍රීඩා වලින්ද වසර මුළුල්ලේ වරින් වර පවත්වනු ලබන පූජා උත්සවාදී වලින්ද විනෝදය ලබාගත හැක. ශෝභන උපකරණාදියෙන් සම්පාදිත අප ශාභයන් හිරිහැර කරදර මඩලන සොම්නසක් අපට දිනපතාම ගෙන දේ. අප රටේ මහිමය හේතුකොට-ගෙන මුළු ලොවෙන්ම බඩු බාහිරාදිය මෙහි ආනයන කරනු ලැබේ. එය කෙතරම් නිදහස්ව සිදුවේදැයි කියනොත්, විදේශික බෝගයන් හා නිෂ්පාදනයන් මෙරට බඩු මෙන්ම පහසුවෙන් අපට ලබාගත හැක.

යුද්ධ කටයුතු පිළිබඳව අප යතුරනුත් අපත් අතර විශේෂ වෙනසක් ඇත. අප නගරය සියල්ලන්ටම අනාවරණය. සතුරෙකුට උපකාරී විය හැකි රහස් උපායයන් අපට නොමැති හෙයින් විදේශිකයන් යමක් දැකීම හෝ දන ගැනීම හෝ වැලැක්වීම පිණිස ඔවුන් කිසි විටෙක අපට පළවා හරින්නට උවමනාවන්තේ නැත. මීට හේතුව නම්, රහස් උපායයන් කෙරෙහි නොව අපේම වීරබව කෙරෙහි අප විශ්වාසයක් බලා-පොරොත්තුවත් රඳා පවතින බවයි.

අප අධ්‍යාපන ක්‍රමයද අප සතුරන් අනුගමනය කරන ක්‍රමයට වෙනස්ය. ඔවුන් අතර ඉතා බාල විය පටන් ප්‍රදරුවන්ට නිර්භීතකම වද්දවනසුළු දරුණු උද්‍යෝගී පුහුණු ක්‍රමයක් ක්‍රියා කෙරේ. එහෙත් ලිහිල් අධ්‍යාපන ක්‍රමයක් අනුගමනය කරන අපද යම් අනතුරකට මුහුණ දෙන්නේ ඔවුන්ගේ වීර බවට කිසිසේත් අඩුනොවන වීරබවකිනි. මීට උද්‍යෝගීයක් නම් මෙයයි : ස්භාර්ටන්වරුන් අප රටට වදින්නේ තම සේනාවන් පමණින් යුතුව නොව සාක්ෂික විදේශිකයන් සෑමගේම සෙබළුන් සමඟය. අප අන් රටකට වදින්නේ

තනිවීම, එහෙත් තමන්ගේම මේ දෙර ආරක්ෂා කිරීම සඳහා තමන්ගේම වාස භූමිය තුළ සටනට ඉදිරිපත් වෙන අප සතුරන්ට නොයෙක් විට අප පහර දී ජය ගෙන තිබේ. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම අප සතුරන්ගෙන් කිසිවෙකුට අප සර්ව බලයට එක විට මුහුණ දෙන්නට සිදුවී නැත. මක්නිසාදයත්, අප බලය නොකා සේවයන් අතරද නොයෙක් රණ බිම් වලට යවන ලද යුද කණ්ඩායම් අතරද බෙදෙන්නටවිය බැවිනි. එහෙත් අප එක කණ්ඩායමකට පමණක් විරුද්ධව සටන්කර සතුරෙක් ජය ගනිමිද, අප මුළු සේනාවම පැරදුවෙයි ආවිචාරව කියයි. එපරිද්දෙන්ම අප සතුරෙක් පරාජයට පත්වුවහොත් අප මුළු සේනාවටයයි පැරදුනේ ඕනෑ කියාපායි.

නැවුල් සහිත උදොර්ගි ක්‍රමයන් අනුව පුහුණු නොවී, නීතියෙන් නොව වර්තමානයෙන් නැගුණු විරබවකින් අනතුරුවනට මුහුණ දීමේ විශේෂ ගුණයන් තිබේයයි මින් හෙලිවේ : අනාගතයේදී සිදුවිය හැකැයි අනුමානය වන පීඩාවන් ගේකොටගෙන වර්තමානයේදී අප දරුණු පුහුණුවීමක යෙදෙන්නේ නැතිමුත් අනතුරු පැමිණෙන විට අපද ඉදිරිපත් වෙන්නේ එවැනි පුහුණුවක වද මින්දුටුන්ගේ විරබවට අඩුනොවන විරබවකිනි.

මේ අයුරින් අප නගරයට ප්‍රසංගා හිමිවන අතර මෙවැනි අන් කරුණුද කීපයක් සඳහන් කල යුතුවේ. රමණීය සෑම දෙයක්ම අපි ප්‍රිය කරමු. එහෙත් ප්‍රමාණයන් ඉක්මවා වියදම් කිරීමට අප ඉන් පෙළඹෙන්නේ නැත. ඥානයෙන් කරුණු විචාරය කිරීමද අපි අගය කරමු. එහෙත් ක්‍රියාශීලීබව ඉන් හීනවෙන්නට අප ඉඩ අවන්නේ නැත. ධනය අප සලකන්නේ ආත්ම වර්ණනාවට අවකාශයක් ගෙනදෙන්නක් වශයෙන් නොව ප්‍රයෝජනවත් කායභියන් ඉටුකිරීමට උපකාරිවන්නක් වශයෙනි. දිළිඳුකම යමෙකු ලජ්ජාවට පමුණුවනුදු කරුණකැයි අප සලකන්නේ නැත. ලජ්ජාශීලී කරුණ නම් දිළිඳුකමෙන් මිදෙන්නට උත්සාහයක් නොදැරීමයි.

අප සෑම වැසියෙක්ම තම පුද්ගලික කටයුතුවල යෙදෙනු හැර පොදු කායභියන්වලටද සහභාගිවෙයි. කර්මාන්තවල යෙදී සිටින්නන්ට පවා දේශපාලන කටයුතු පිළිබඳව පළල් දැනීමක් තිබේ. අපේ විශේෂ මතයක් නම් මහජනයාට පොදුවේ අයත් කටයුතු ගැන උනන්දුවක් නොදක්වන්නා තමාගේ පාඩුව සිටින යහපතකු නොව කිසිම යහපත් හැඟීමක් නොමැත්තකු වන බවයි. පොදු කායභියන් යාකඩ්දා කිරීමත් ඒ ගැන තීන්දුවලට බැසීමත් අප භාවගේම අයිතිවාසිකමකි. අපේ හැඟීම වන්නේ යමක් ක්‍රියාවේ යෙදවීමේදී භාතියක් සිදුවිය හැක්කේ එම කරුණ යාකඩ්දාවට පමුණුවීමෙන් නොව යාකඩ්දා මගින් කරුණ නොවියදා නිසි අවබෝධයක් නොලබා ක්‍රියාවට එළඹීමෙන්ය යනුයි. විශේෂයෙන්ම අපේ පුරුද්ද වන්නේ මෙයයි : අනතුරුවලට අප මුහුණ දෙන්නේ ඒවායේ බියකරු තත්ත්වය විමසා දැන ගැනීමත් සමගමය. සෙස්සන් නිර්භයෙන් ක්‍රියාකරන්නේ අනතුරක බැරැරුම් කම නොවටහාගත් පමණිනි ; වැටහීමක් ඔවුන්ට ඇතිවේද, එපමණින්ම ඔවුහු බියපත්වෙති. ඇත්ත වශයෙන්ම, විරයකුයයි යුක්තියහගතව යැලකිය හැක්කේ කුමන දේ පියකරද, කුමන දේ බියකරද යන්න ස්ථිරව වටහාගෙනත් පසුබට නොවී අනතුරන් හමුවීමට ඉදිරියට යන්නාය.

සද්චාරය පිළිබඳවද අප හැඟීම විදේශිකයන් බොහෝ දෙනාගේ අදහස්වලට වෙනස්ය. මිතුරන් අප දිනාගන්නේ ආධාර ලබමින් නොව ආධාර කරමින්ය. මිත්‍රත්වය තහවුරු වන්නේ මෙසේය. මක්නිසාදයත්, ආධාරයක් කල අයෙකු ආධාරය ලැබූ අයගේ මකලෙහිගුණය නොකඩවා තමාට බඳවා ගැනීමේ අදහසින් තව තවත් ඔහුට ආධාර කරනු ඇත. අනික් අතට, යමෙක් ආධාරයක් කරන්නේ තමාට කලින් උපකාරයක් කල අයෙකුට නම්, එය ආධාර කිරීමක් නොව, නයක් ගෙවීමකැයි ඔහුට දැනෙනු ඇත. ඉන් සිදුවන්නේ මිත්‍ර හැඟීමක් ඔහුගේ සිතේ නොඉපදීමයි. භනුදෙනු කිරීමේදී මෙන් ලාබ ප්‍රයෝජනයන් ලබා ගැනීමේ බලාපොරොත්තුවෙන් නොව අවාක මිත්‍රත්වය අනුව හිතවතුන්ට උපකාර කරන්නේ අප පමණි.

ලුහුඹින් කියතොත් අප නගරය මුළු ශ්‍රීසියටම අධ්‍යාපනික අනුරූපයක් වැනිය. එපමණක් නොව, පුද්ගලිකවද අප සෑම පුරවැසියෙක්ම කුමන කායභියක කුමන අවස්ථාවකදී යෙදෙන්නේ තම සෙසවි නිදහස් බව නීතිනිකොටගෙන කායභියක්ෂම ලෙසත් මනෝඥ ලෙසත් හැසිරෙහු ඇතැයි මම විශ්වාස කරමි. මේ ප්‍රකාශය සටන්දෙන්නන්ගේ ක්ෂණභූත සතුට පතා මා කියන බේගලයක් නොව සත්‍යයෙන් සත්‍යයක් බව අප ගුණයන්ගෙන්ද, ක්‍රියා පටිපාටිවලින්ද මේ රටට රැස්වූ බලයෙන්ම හෙලිවේ. සියළු දේශයන් අතරින් තමන්ට හිමියයි ප්‍රසිද්ධියේ කියාගෙන බලයට වැඩි බලයකින් යුතුව මේ සටනට පිවිසී සිටින්නේ අනිත්‍ය පමණි. අනිත්‍ය බලයෙන් පමණි යමෙක් පහර ලැබුවේනම් ලජ්ජාවට නොපැමිණියේ ; අනිත්‍ය අධිරාජ්‍යයට පමණි යම් දේශයක් විසිත වූනි නම් අධිපතිය දරන්නට තුසුදුස්සන්ට යටත් වන්නට සිදුවුනේ යයි කන්නලව නොකියන්නේ.

අපේ තේජස කෙතරම්දැයි විවාද රහිත සාක්ෂි රාශියකින් ඔප්පු වේ. චන්ද්‍රාචාර්ය පරමපරාධී මෙන් අනාගත පරම්පරාද අප ගැන විශ්මයට පත්වෙනු ඇත. ගෝමර්ගේ හෝ කාටනාලික සොම්නසක් ගෙනදෙන කාච්ඡයන් නවන අන් කිසි කවියකුගේ හෝ වර්ණනා අපට උවමනා නොවේ. අප සත්‍ය උසස් බව ඔවුන්ගේ චන්ද්‍රෝද්‍යාදයන් පරදවයි. මක්නිසාදයත්, සෑම මුහුදකටත් සෑම රටකටත් අප නිර්භීතබව හේතුකොටගෙන අපට පිවිසෙන්නට පුළුවන් බැවිනි. සෑම දිසාවන්හිම අප මිත්‍රයන්ට අප කල යහපත්ද අප සතුරන්ට දුන් පහරවල්ද සිහිකරවන ස්මාරකයන් දක්නට තිබේ.

මෙවැනි නගරයක් උදෙසාය, එහි තමන්ට උරුමවූ අයිතීවාසිකම් පැහැරයෑම වැළැක්වීම අත්‍යවශ්‍යයයි සලකා, අද භූමිදනය ලැබූ අය සටන්කර මරණයට පත්වූයේ, මෙවැනි නගරයක් උදෙසාය මරණයට පත් නොවී ජීවත්ව සිටින අප විසින් සෑම උත්සාහයක් දැරිය යුත්තේ. අප නගරය පිළිබඳව මේ දීර්ඝ විස්තරය මා කළේ මේ අදහසිනි, එනම්, අනුන්ට නොමැති විශේෂ වස්තූන් අපට උරුමවී තිබීම හේතුකොටගෙන මේ සටනාය අප සතුරන්ටත් අපටත් එකසේ බලපාන්නක් නොවන බව පැහැදිලි කිරීමටයි ; එපමණක් නොව, මියපත්වූවන්ගේ ගුණානුස්මරණය ශක්තිමත් අත්කීවාරමක් උඩ ගොඩනැගීමටයි.

මෙපමණින් මගේ කථාවේ පරම කොටස අවසානවේ. මක්නිසාදයත්, අපේ නගරයේ මිනිසන් විස්තර කරනලද කීර්තිය ආරක්ෂා වීද දියුණුවීද තිබෙන්නේ අද භූමිදනය කරනුලැබූ අයගේද එවැනි අන් අයගේද වීරියෙනි. අන් ශ්‍රීකවරුන්ගෙන් ඉතාම ස්වල්ප දෙනෙකු ගැන පමණයි මොවුන් ගැන කිව හැකි මේ ගුණය කියන්නට හැක්කේ, එනම්, කුමන කපිකයකුගේ වුවද කථා ගුරත්වය මොවුන්ගේ ක්‍රියාවන් පරදවන බවයි. මොවුන් අතරින් සමහරුන් මෙසේ මරණයට මුහුණ දීමෙන් පළමුවරට තම වීරබව දක්වන්නට ඇත, සෙස්සන් කලින්ද දක්වා තිබූ වීරබව අවසාන වරට මින් ස්ථිර කර ඇත. කෙසේහෝ වේවා මගේ හැඟීම වන්නේ මොවුන් සෑමදෙනාම ගුරුවීර භාවය කුමක්දැයි ඵලිඳරව කරදී ඇති බවයි.

වෙන යම් කටයුතුවලදී දෙස් පැවරියයුද අන්දමින් මොවුන් හැසිරී ඇත්තේද, සතුරන්ට විරුද්ධව රට වෙනුවෙන් දක්වූ වීරබවෙන් එය සම්පූර්ණයෙන් යට කෙරේ, මක්නිසාදයත්, පොදු අභිවෘද්ධිය සඳහා ඔවුන් කල සේවය පුද්ගලික ආක්‍රමයන් සියල්ලට වඩා මහත්වූ හෙයිනි. මොවුන් අතරේ ධනවතෙක් සිටියේ නම් තම ධනය බුක්ති වීදීමේ ආයාචනාවන් හෝ, දිළිණ්දෙක් සිටියේනම් තම දිළිඳුකමෙන් මිදී ධනයැප වීදින්නට අවකාශය ලැබෙනු ඇතැයි බලාපොරොත්තුවෙන් හෝ, අනතුරට මුහුණ දෙන්නට ඔහු පසුබට නොවීය. මේ සෑමමමත් වඩා සතුරන්ට පහර දීම ප්‍රියකරු යැයිද, මුහුණ දෙන්නට සිදුවන අනතුරු සියල්ලම අතරින් සතුරන්ට මුහුණ දීම ඉතාම උතුම් යැයිද සලකා, අතිශ්චිත කිරුණක් වන ජය පරාජය දෙකෙන් තමන්ට ලැබෙනු ඇත්තේ කිමද යනු දෙවියන්ට බාරකර, තමන් ඉදිරියේ තමන් විසින් කරගනු ලබන කලහැකිවද තිබූ සෑමක්ම තම ක්‍රියාගුරත්වය කෙරෙහි විශ්වාසය තබමින් සතුරන්ට යටත් වීමට වඩා මරණයට පත්වීම පවා යතුටුදායකයැයි මොවුහු අධිෂ්ඨානාය කළහ. එහෙයින් මනුෂ්‍ය යම්භාෂනයෙහි කිසියෙක් මොවුන්ට දෙස් නැගෙන්නේ නැත. මොවුන් තම ශරීරයන් නිර්භයෙන් අනතුරට ඉදිරිපත් කර අප අතරින් අස්වූයේ බියෙන් පෙළුන අවස්ථාවක නොව තම කීර්තිය විශිෂ්ඨතම අඩියකට නැඟන මොහොතේදීය.

මොවුහු මේ නගරයට ගැලපෙන අයුරු වීරයෝ වූහ. නොමැරී බෙරුන අපට සුරක්ෂිත අනාගතයක් ඇතිවේවායි ප්‍රාර්ථනා කිරීම යෝග්‍යවන අතර මොවුන් දක්වූ වීරබව අප විසින්ද සතුරන්ට විරුද්ධව දක්විය යුතුයි. සිතිවිල්ලෙන් පමණක් අපට අයත් උරුමය මැනීම නොවේ උවමනාවන්ගේ (සතුරන්ට විරුද්ධව සටන්කිරීමෙන් අපට කුමන ප්‍රයෝජනයක් ලැබෙනු ඇතිදැයි තවත් දිනට මට කියන්නට හැකිවන අතර තුඹලාද ඒ කරුණු දන්නාහුය). මීට වඩා අවශ්‍ය වන්නේ දිනපතා අප නගරයේ මහිමය සිහිකරමින් ඇය කෙරෙහි බලවත් ඇල්මක් අප කල ඇතිදැයි කිරීමයි. කෙතරම් කීර්තියක් ඇයට හිමිවී තිබේදැයි අප විමසා බලන විට නිර්භීතවූද, යුතුකම් ඉටුකිරීමට පසුබට නොවූද තමන්ට බාර වූ සෑම කටයුත්තක්ම විශිෂ්ඨ ලෙස ඉටු නොකිරීම තමන්ටම නින්දාවකැයි සැලකූද අයවලුන්ගේ උත්සාහයෙන් එම කීර්තිය තහවුරුවී තිබියයි අපට ඔප්පු වෙනු ඇත. යම් කටයුත්තකදී මේ වීරයන් අසමර්ථ වූනිනම් එවැනි අවස්ථාවකදී පවා නගරය උදෙසා ඔවුන් දක්වූ උනන්දුවත් උත්සාහයත් කිසියෙක් හීන නොවීය.

රටත් ජාතියත් වෙනුවෙන් තම ජීවිත පුද කිරීමෙන් මොවුන්ට සදකාලික ප්‍රසාසාවක් හිමිවී ඇත. අතර්සම භූමිදනයක්ද ප්‍රධානාවී ඇත. මක්නිසාදයත්, මේ භූමිදනයේ සත්‍යාර්ථය වන්නේ මොවුන්ගේ ශරීරයන් යම් භූමි කැබැල්ලක තැන්පත් කිරීම නොව මොවුන්ගේ තේජස සෑම සාකච්ඡාවකදීද, වීරක්‍රියාවන්ට පොළඹවන-

සුඵ සැම අවස්ථාවකදීද සිහිවනසේ මනුෂ්‍යයන්ගේ සිත් තුළ පදිංචි කරවීමකි. මීට හේතුවන්නේ මුළු ලොවම උත්තමයන්ගේ යොහොන් භූමිය වීමයි. තමන් උපන් රටේ ශිලා ස්තම්භයන්ගේ පමණක් නොව විදේශ-යන්හිද ආදායාමානාකාරයෙන් මනුෂ්‍යයන්ගේ සිත් තුළ මොවුන්ගේ අනුස්මරණය පවතින්නේය.

ඔබ සැමගේ යුතුකම වන්නේ ඔවුන් හැසිරුණ ආකාරයෙන් හැසිරෙමින් යහපත රඳා පවතින්නේ නිදහස උඩ බවත් නිදහස රඳා පවතින්නේ නිර්භීතකම උඩ බවත් වටහාගෙන යුද්ධයෙන් ඇතිවෙන අනතුරුවලට මුහුණ දීමයි. තම ජීවිතය පුද්ගලිකව වඩාත් සුදනම්වනු ඇත්තේ ජීවනෝපායක් අහිමි පීඩිත නැනැත්තන් නොව පරාජයට පත්වීමෙන් තමන්ට අයත් වාසනාවන්ත තත්ත්වය නැතිවී ඒ වෙනුවට පීඩිත තත්ත්වයකට වැටෙන්නට ඉඩ කිබෙන අයයි.

මව්සිත් ප්‍රකාශ කරන්නට යෙදුන මේ කායාසයන් අනුව මළගිය අයගේ දෙමව්පියන්ට මා කුමක් කිව යුතුද ? ඔබ යමග ශෝකවීමට වඩා මට යෝග්‍ය වන්නේ ඔබ සැනසීමයි. ඔබ ජීවිත ගෙවී ඇත්තේ දැඩි සැප අතින් නානාප්‍රකාර විපයාසයන් මැදදේය. එහෙත් ඔබේ මේ මිය ගිය පුත්‍රයන්ගේ මරණය නම්, ඔවුන් අති ප්‍රසංසනීය කටයුත්තක යෙදී සිටියදී සිදුවීම හේතුකොටගෙන, ඔවුන්ට මෙන්ම ඔබටද හිමිවූ ඉතා යහපත් සිද්ධියක්ය. යහපතත් මරණයත් දෙකම ඔවුන්ට එකම කෝදුවෙන් මැනෙන්නට සිදුවූනි. මෙය ඔබට ඒත්තු ගැන්වීම උගහට බව මම හොඳින් දනිමි. අනුන් තම පුත්‍රයන් සමග ප්‍රීති වන අවස්ථාවන්හි ඔබටද එයාකාරයෙන්ම ප්‍රීතිවන්නට මීට පෙර අවකාශය තිබුන බව දැකයේ මතක්වෙනු ඇත. යමෙකුට දුක්මුසු කායාසයද වන්නේ කිසිකලෙක ඔහු නොලත් සැපතක් හිමි නොවීම නොව කලින් වින්ද සැපතක් අහිමි වීමයි. ඔබ අතරින්, වයස අතින් සලකා බලන විට ඉදිරියේද ළමයින් උපදවන්නට හැකියාව ඇති දෙමව්පියන් නව පුත්‍රයන් තමන්ට ඉදිරියේ ලැබෙනු ඇතැයි යන බලාපොරොත්තුව අනුව තම ශෝකය දරාගත යුතුයි. ඉදිරියේ උපදින මේ ළදරුවන් නැසීමේ දරුවන් ගැන ශෝකයට පත්වූ දෙමව්පියන්ට එම ශෝකය මැඩලීමට උපකාරී වනු ඇත. ඒ ඇරත්, පොදු යහපත සඳහාද ඔවුන්ගෙන් දෙවියි සේවයක් ඉටුවෙනු ඇත. එනම්, මළගිය අයගේ පුරප්පාඩු පිරවීමත් අප සුරක්ෂිතබව තහවුරු වීමත්ය. මීට හේතුව මෙයයි : පොදු යහපත ගැන යමෙකුගේ අදහස් සාධාරණ ලෙසත් යුක්ති සහගත ලෙසත් හැඩ ගැසෙන්නේ පොදුවේ ගන්නා ලද නීත්යවල විපාක විදීමට භාජනය වනු ඇති දරුවන් අනුන්ට මෙන්ම තමාටද සිටින්නේනම්ය.

දරුවන් ලැබිය හැකි විය ඉක්මුනු දෙමව්පියන්ට මා කියා සිටින්නේ ජීවිතයේ වැඩි කොටස සැපයේ ගතවී ඇතැයිද ඉතිරි කොටස ඉතා කෙටියයිද හඟිමින් මළගිය දරුවන්ට හිමිවූ ප්‍රසංසාව සිහිකරමින් සිත් සනසා ගැනීම යෝග්‍ය වනු බවයි. මක්නිසාදයත්, මහත් විය හේතුකොටගෙන අඛණ්ඩ තත්ත්වයකට පැමිණි අපොකුට ප්‍රිය සලසන්නේ යම්භූ පවසනසේ ධනය සපයාගෙන තිබීම නොව අනුන්ගේ සැලකිල්ල හිමි වීමයි.

සවන්දෙන ඔබ අතර මළගිය අයෙකුගේ පුතෙක් හෝ සහෝදරයෙක් හෝ සිටීද, ඔහුට මහත් ප්‍රයත්නයක් දරන්නටයි සිදුවී ඇත්තේ. මීට හේතුවන්නේ මළගිය ඇත්තන්ට ප්‍රසංසා කිරීම සැමගේම පුරුද්දක් වීමයි. නුඹලා කෙතරම් උයස් වීරබවක් දක්වනු ඇතත් මොවුන් දක්වා ඇතැයි සමමතවූ වීරබවට එය සමාන වෙනැයි පවා ළඟා වෙනැයිද කිසිවකු පිළිගනු ඇතැයි අනුමානය. යමෙකු ජීවත්ව සිටිද්දී තරඟ-කරුවෝ ඔහුට ඊළඟ කරති. නුමුත් ඔහු තරඟයෙන් අස්වූ පසු අවිවාදක ගුණ ස්මරණයක් ඔහුට හිමිවේ.

වැන්දඹු බවට පත්වූ ස්ත්‍රීන්ට මව්සිත් යමක් කිව යුතුවෙද, ඉතාම කෙටියෙන් අවිවාදයක් දීම සැහේයයි සිතමි. ඔබට උයස් සැලකිල්ලක් හිමිවන්නේ ඔබ ස්වාභාවික ගුණයන්ට ගැළපෙනසේ හැසිරීමෙන්ය ; ඒ ඇරෙන්න, පිරිමින් අතර ඇතිවන කථා බයෙහි—ප්‍රසංසා කිරීමට වෙවා, දෙස් නගන්නට වෙවා—ඔබ නම් සඳහන් වන්නට නොයෙදීමෙනි ඔබට නම්බු ලැබෙන්නේ, වාරිත්‍රය අනුව මව්සිත් කිව යුතුව තිබූ සැමක්ම මා දන් කියා අවසානයයි. මළගිය අයට අප විසින් ක්‍රියාවෙන්ද පුද්ගල යුතු පිදිවිලි අතරින් කොටසක් දනටමත් පුද්ගල අවසානයයි. අතින් කොටස් වන්නේ ඔවුන්ගේ දරුවන් අද පටන් සම්පූර්ණ වයසට පැමිණෙන තෙක් රජයේ මියදමින් නඩත්තු කිරීමයි. මෙයයි ඔවුන්ගේ පරිශ්‍රමය හේතුකොටගෙන මළගිය අයටද ඔවුන්ගේ දරුවන්ටද ඔවුන්ගේ පළදවනමෙන් රජය ප්‍රධානය කරන්නේ. සැබවින්ම තම වීරයන්ට අගනාම පරිත්‍යාග-යන් ප්‍රධානය කරන දේශයන්හි වැසියන් පොදු යහපත සඳහා උනන්දුවෙන් ක්‍රියාකරන්නේ. ඔබ දන් දෙන මිත්‍රයන් සිහිකරමින් වැළපී තොර වූවායින් පසු මෙතැනින් විසිරී යනු මැනව.

The Good King according to Statius

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When the Graeco-Roman world passed from 'democracy' to an established monarchy, thinking men, especially those who entertained political ambitions of their own, found it necessary to define their attitudes to the ruling power. Some, like M.Cato and M.Brutus, were unable to stomach the change and pursued an active course of opposition which ended in their death; others protested in various ways and with varying degrees of success or sought consolation by resigning from the world of politics and withdrawing to intellectual studies for their own sake. By far the greater majority however were those who acquiesced in the monarchy because resistance was fruitless and acquiescence might possibly entail rewards, and so long as the monarch was the kind of man who could maintain good relations with those on whose services he must rely for the administration of Italy and the provinces there was little for them to fear. Political careers were still possible, although their scope was limited in the upper ranges. Under an Emperor like Augustus it was even possible to support the monarchy wholeheartedly and without severe pangs of republican conscience.

Unfortunately, few emperors had the qualities of Augustus. Under his immediate successors, despite certain good intentions of Tiberius and Claudius, it must have been felt that there was a sad falling-off. There was also a new tendency, especially under Claudius, towards a closer autocracy. The republican forms of government to which Augustus had tactfully adhered became more and more meaningless during the fifty years after his death. Already with Gaius the more sinister aspects of monarchy had been foreshadowed and serious men became alarmed, none more so than Seneca. Exiled by Gaius and recalled to the imperial court under Claudius to be tutor to the young Nero, Seneca was in a good position to study and understand the ways of monarchical power. The strains of fear in his *Moral Essays* are unmistakable; there is a pre-occupation with the subject of torture and the Stoic attitude to it, as though he were preparing himself in advance against some half-foreseen eventuality.

Seneca tried also to be more constructive. In the *de clementia*, a work addressed to Nero, he counselled the youthful Emperor and urged him by precept and example to maintain the character of a humane ruler. This could be achieved by practising *clementia* and *mansuetudo* and by remaining *placidus*, *tranquillus*, and *mitis* under provocation; for example, 'magni autem animi proprium est placidum esse tranquillumque et iniurias atque offensiones superne desplicere' (*de clementia* i,5,5). The teaching in the *de clementia* resembles that of the *de ira* very closely (cf. especially, 'magni animi est iniurias desplicere', *de ira* ii, 32,3; 'neque quicquam magnum est nisi quod placidum', *ib.* i, 21,4), but it is adapted for communication to a particular person whose rule was absolute; e.g. 'nullum tamen clementia ex omnibus magis quam regem

aut principem decet' (*de clementia* i, 3,3); 'quod si di placabiles et aequi delicta potentium non statim fulminibus persequuntur, quanto aequius est hominem hominibus praepositum miti animo exercere imperium' (*ib.* 7,2); and the good ruler 'inclinatus ad mitiora... potentiam suam placide ac salutariter exercet' (*ib.* 13,4). Examples are given of the *clementia* of Augustus (*ib.* 15,1-7), who is described as 'mitis princeps, si quis illum a principatu suo aestimare incipiat' (*ib.* 9,1). Seneca no doubt needed to reconcile his position as adviser to an autocratic ruler with his Stoic philosophy, and the only means of doing this was to instruct his pupil in the way of the Stoic sage; within the wider context of the Stoic moral philosophy *clementia* was an aspect of virtue that a young emperor could be instructed to appreciate and pursue. Seneca needed also to be tactful in addressing Nero, and he took care to refer to his *clementia* (*ib.* 1,9) and *mansuetudo* (*ib.* ii, 2,1) as though they were already well-known characteristics. Whatever pretensions Nero may have made on his accession to the principate, his later follies and atrocities obliterated all traces of the 'good king'.

Other dissertations commending, and no doubt recommending, qualities desirable in a monarch were composed from time to time. Philodemos of Gadara, for example, wrote a work on 'The Good King according to Homer' of which fragments are extant. Plutarch reflects the fashion in two short essays, *Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum* and *Ad principem ineruditum*, and Dion of Prusa gave his views on the subject in his first four discourses *On kingship*.

Stattius' epic poem, the *Thebaid*, with its perverted characters and its scenes of savage horror, might appear strange territory in which to seek traces of good kings. But the poem is not all unrelieved gloom. Statius seems to have had a clear concept of the good king, with characteristics resembling those recommended by Seneca to Nero. In Book i of the *Thebaid* Polynices wandering in exile seeks refuge from a violent storm in the royal palace of Argos. In contrast to the storm and the violent passions of Polynices himself, Adrastus the king of Argos is introduced in these words:

rex ibi tranquille, medio de limite uitae
in senium uergens, populos Adrastus habebat... (i, 390-1).

After a few more lines explaining a prophecy that had been delivered to Adrastus, Statius returns to Polynices, who is now joined by another exile seeking refuge, Tydeus, a man of equally violent passions. The two men insult each other and fall to blows. Adrastus comes to see what is the cause of the disturbance:

'quae causa furoris,
externi iuuenes—neque enim meus audeat istas
ciuis in usque manus—, quisnam implacabilis ardor
exturbare odiis tranquilla silentia noctis?' (i, 438-41).

It is not strange that Adrastus should speak of 'tranquilla silentia noctis', even though these words appear ill-suited to the stormy conditions experienced by Polynices and Tydeus outside; the seeming inconsistency shows where Statius lays the emphasis, on the character of Adrastus, a man of inner *tranquillitas*, whose palace and whole realm are influenced by this characteristic. Hence his reference to the peaceful nature of his citizens in the lines quoted. The two exiles are immediately impressed by his calm bearing and address him together:

'rex o mitissime Achium' (i, 448).

This characterization is repeated by Statius a little later, when he refers to the king as 'mitis Adrastus' (i, 467). A few words from Adrastus calm their angry emotions and peace is quickly restored.

In this first meeting of Adrastus with Polynices and Tydeus a number of later situations closely related to the main theme of the poem are prefigured. Statius does not preach his ideal monarchy but allows glimpses of it to appear as a subsidiary motif in the pattern of the main tension between *furor* and *pictas*. Adrastus remains *mitis* throughout the poem (cf. iii, 417; vii, 537; xi, 110) and acts whenever possible as peacemaker, soothing the anger of Polynices or other impetuous leaders of the Argives. He tries to prevent Polynices from rushing headlong into war against his brother Eteocles (iii, 388-93; cf. *ib.* 712-20), being reluctant to disturb 'paciis tranquilla' (*ib.* 447) though sensitive to the demands of Polynices' outraged honour; he acts *mitius* and helps to prevent a brawl between the Argives and the king of Mycenae (v, 667-8); he does not stand in the way of Polynices when Polynices feels inclined to abandon the attack on Thebes after meeting Jocasta, Ismene and Antigone (vii, 534-8) and he makes a last attempt to prevent Polynices from facing his brother in single combat (xi, 196-7; 351; 424-35).

Adrastus however is unsuccessful. He has qualities of the good king that make him attractive to Statius, but he is a tragic figure because circumstances over which he has no power prevent him from exercising those qualities and ending his days in peace and happiness. In the court of Argos he had wielded absolute power, and his rule was just and evidently acceptable to his subjects (i, 390-1; 439-40; 515-16; 524-5); abroad, he was not strong enough to impose his will on the other leaders of the expedition against Thebes.

By way of contrast, there are two monarchs in the *Thebaid* whose power remains absolute: Jupiter and Theseus. Jupiter is described thus at the council of the gods in Book i:

mediis sese arduus infert
 ipse deis, placido quatiens tamen omnia uultu,
 stellantique locat solio; nec protinus ausi
 caelicolae, ueniam donec pater ipse sedendi
 tranquilla iubet esse manu . . . (i, 201-5).

The epithets *placido* and *tranquilla* are immediately conspicuous; but Jupiter is seen shortly afterwards in the role that he fills elsewhere in the poem as the supreme god punishing the crimes of mankind ('terrarum delicta' i, 214; cf. iii, 244ff.). Neither in Book i nor in Book iii does Jupiter appear attractive, despite the calmness of his first introduction. In Book vii on the other hand a more attractive aspect is seen, when Bacchus pleads for the preservation of Thebes and Jupiter explains the destinies of mankind:

inuidiam risit pater, et iam poplite flexum
 sternentemque manus tranquillius ad oscula tollit
 inque uicem placida orsa refert . . . (vii, 193-5).

The epithets are again important. Jupiter characterizes himself in the words

nam cui tanta quies irarum aut sanguinis usus
 parcior humani? (vii, 199-200).

and explains his reluctance to cause loss of human life. (This reluctance, and his general hesitation to punish mankind, recalls what Seneca had said about the gods in *de clementia* i, 3, 2). But in the present case heaven and earth are offended by the crimes of the Theban brothers:

rogat hoc tellusque polusque
 et pietas et laesa fides naturaque et ipsi
 Eumenidum mores (vii, 216-18).

Thus Jupiter is a champion of the established order of nature. In defence of this he stirs up the war of the seven against Thebes, showing his autocratic power, but otherwise he is depicted in the *Thebaid* as *placidus* and *tranquillus*.

Theseus, like Jupiter in heaven, is a champion of the established order. His role in the *Thebaid* is limited to the final episode in Book xii, where he supports the cause of the Argive women seeking burial for the corpses of their menfolk slain in the war. When the women arrive in Athens they make supplication at the altar of *Clementia* ('*mitis Clementia*' xii, 482). Theseus himself is barely characterized in the short episode in which he appears, but it might be held that *clementia* is an important aspect of his rule. As king of Athens he listens to the pleas of the suppliants:

explorat causas uictor poseitque benigna
 aure preces (xii, 544-5),

and having heard he is deeply moved, '*iusta mox concitus ira*' (*ib.* 589). 'Righteous anger' differs in kind from the *ira* associated with *furor*, and Statius is careful to stress this in describing Theseus. Again (in xii, 714) '*iustas belli flammatur in iras*', and, in lines recalling Jupiter's explanation to Bacchus,

'terrarum leges et mundi foedera necum
 defensura cohors, dignas insumite mentes
 coeptibus; haec omnem diuinumque hominumque fauorem
 Naturamque ducem coetusque silentis Auernae
 stare palam est (xii, 642-6).

Theseus fulfils a role almost like that of a *deus ex machina*, completing the action that Jupiter had begun. Like Jupiter, he has the power to act; like Jupiter, he does not abuse his power. Against the enemies of the established order he is ruthless, but to the victims of injustice and cruelty he acts in the spirit of *clementia*.

Statius' view of the 'good king' thus becomes clear. He would be a composite figure with the justice and power of Jupiter or Theseus, and the *clementia* that informs Theseus' attitude to men less powerful or less fortunate than himself, combined probably with the quieter characteristics of '*mitis Adrastus*'. Unlike Seneca, Statius was in no position to instruct the emperors of his time, but as Seneca, in recommending *clementia* to Nero, also commended the *clementia* and *mansuetudo* that he already displayed, so Statius commended characteristics of the 'good king' in Domitian and perhaps thereby obliquely recommended them. In the poem composed to celebrate the dedication of Domitian's equestrian statue (*Silvae* i, 1) these characteristics are clear. Describing the horse on which Domitian is mounted, Statius compares it to the Trojan horse, to the disadvantage of the latter:

adde quod ille nocens saeuosque amplexus Achiuos,
 hunc mitis commendat eques (i, 1, 14-15)

and then characterizes the Emperor himself:

iuuat ora tueri
 mixta notis belli placidamque gerentia pacem (*ib.* 15-16).

The epithets are familiar from the *Thebaid* and from Seneca. A little later the poet speaks of

Divus Julius whose temple the statue of Domitian faced, and with an allusion to the well-known *clementia* of Caesar draws a comparison favourable to Domitian:

discit et e uultu quantum tu mitior armis,
qui nec in externos facilis saevire furores
das Cattis Dacisque fidem (*ib.* 25-7).

Seneca (*de beneficiis* v, 16,5) had said of Julius Caesar 'gladium cito condidit, numquam posuit'. Possibly with Julius Caesar in mind Statius refers to the sword of Domitian in a typical phrase: 'latus ense quieto securum' (*Silvae* i, 1, 43-4). The same approving tone and another reference to the Emperor's *clementia* occur in the poem addressed to Claudius Etruscus:

haud mirum, ductor placidissime, quando
haec est quae uictis parcentia foedera Cattis
quaeque suum Dacis donat clementia montem . . . (*ib.* iii, 3,167-9).

Another poem addressed to the Emperor is an expression of gratitude for an invitation to a banquet in the imperial palace; here Domitian's appearance and personality are described in words recalling the description of Jupiter in *Thebaid* i, 202, 208-10:

tranquillum uultus et maiestate serena
mulcentem radios summittentemque modesto
fortunae uexilla suae . . . (*ib.* iv, 2,41-3).

Elsewhere, both the power and the calm bearing and character of the Emperor are described; e.g.

hic paci bonus, hic timendus armis,
Natura melior potentiorque (*ib.* iv, 3,134-5);

and

et mitem genium domini praesentis adoras (*ib.* v, 1, 74).

This is not the whole of Domitian as Statius portrays him, but it must be noted that among the characteristics especially commended are those that are commended severally in Jupiter, Theseus and Adrastus. Statius could hardly have been more loyal in representing Domitian as a living embodiment of the 'good king' as he saw him. How much of this idealised picture he really believed is quite another matter.

The Cypress Tree of Ceylon

T. W. MELLUISH

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Joint Hon Secretary of the Classical Association

Unheeded in the boughs above
The song of Ceylon's birds was sweet;
Unseen of them the island flowers
Bloomed brightly at their feet.
O'er them the tropic night-storm swept,
The thunder crashed on rock and hill;
The cloud-fire on their eyeballs blazed,
Yet there they waited still.
What was the world without to them?
The Moslem's sunset-call, the dance
Of Ceylon maids, the passing gleam
Of battle-flag and lance?
They waited for the falling leaf
Of which the wandering Yogis sing;
Which lends once more to wintry age
The greenness of its spring.

J. G. WHITTIER

Taprobanes fundunt volucres sua carmina ramis
at mystae surdis auribus usque sedent.
ante pedos pandit varios pulcra insula flores
at mystas caeco lumine pulcra latent.
tempestas peragrat tractus sub nocte calentes,
saxea summa petens fulminis ira quatit.
urit adhuc oculos findit quod nubila fulgur,
usque sedent mystae—nulla procella movet.
quid valet his hominum quae sunt externa tueri?
quid valet ille iubens sole cadente preces?
Taprobanes vanum'st nymphas celebrare choreas.
signifer it frustra, lancea cassa micat.
nam folium labens expectat mysta cupressi,
quod vagus erranti carmine mysta canit.
cui quasi bruma venit senium, simul ederit illud,
huic quasi ver iuveni vita virescet, ait.

Editor's note: The poem has the following head-note furnished by the poet for the *Riverside Edition*: "Ibn Batuta, the celebrated Mussulman traveller of the 14th century, speaks of a cypress-tree in Ceylon, universally held sacred by the natives, the leaves of which were said to fall only at certain intervals, and he who had the happiness to find and eat one of them was restored at once to youth and vigor. The traveller saw several venerable Jogees, or saints, sitting silent and motionless under the tree."

Colloquium didacticum classicum quartum

C. W. BATY

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Formerly HM Staff Inspector for Classics
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In classical studies, each country has its own tradition and consequently its own methods of teaching. But even so, there is much to be gained by international cooperation and by comparing notes with fellow workers in other places. The International Bureau for the Study of Problems in the Teaching of Latin and Greek is established in the University of Ghent (Belgium) precisely for the purpose of strengthening this kind of international cooperation. Over the last eight years, it has to its credit, besides its useful publications, a series of conferences held at Ghent, Amsterdam and Frankfurt on Main, each of which brought together in considerable numbers teachers of classics in schools and universities, with some educational administrators, from an increasing number of countries. Each conference had a main theme laid down in advance. This year, in April, there came together at Canterbury, in England, 173 participants from ten different countries—Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, West Germany, Holland, Luxemburg, Norway, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. Unhappily, the representatives of Finland and East Germany were at the last moment for different reasons prevented from coming. The theme for this meeting was *Technical Aids in the Service of Classical Teaching*.

At the three continental meetings, members had been put up in admirable hotels. This time, the difference was that they almost all spent the four days and three nights living in College. This fact made for easier personal contact, and a happy feature of the meeting was the easy and informal exchange of views and of information which took place during meals and in spare time, though the very full programme left relatively little spare time. The spacious premises of the new University suited the purposes of the conference very well indeed.

Dr R. Eikeboom, of Utrecht (Holland), and Dr H. Steinthal, of Tuebingen (West Germany), gave expositions of programmed learning of Latin, its possibilities and its limitations. Dr Eikeboom is the author of a course of programmed Latin, in use in several countries; and Dr Steinthal is head of a Classical Gymnasium, or Grammar School. Their points of view differed, as had been hoped, and led to a useful discussion lasting some ninety minutes.

Dr R. Cavenaile, of the University of Liege (Belgium), gave illustrations of the interpretation of passages from Sallust and from Virgil, with the aid of the tape-recorder and the projector. In illustrating the *Praises of Italy*, in *Georgics II*, the lecturer combined a reading with the showing of most varied pictures, from present-day Italy and from ancient monuments, and, for good measure, with the playing of a movement from Vivaldi's *Seasons* as an accompaniment.

Mr J. V. Muir, of King's College, London, with Mr D. J. Morton and Miss E. P. Story, of the Cambridge School Classics Project, demonstrated with closed-circuit television both a

traditional lesson on Latin syntax and a complete specimen lesson using materials from the Project's Course. With six television screens and all the splendid resources of a modern university lecture theatre, this presentation was most effective. It was remarkable, too, how little consciousness either teachers or classes showed of the presence of television cameras.

Monsieur G. Hentz, of Strasbourg University (France), expounded with recorder and projector his method of stimulating the easy and fluent reading of Latin texts. Much in his method would be applicable alike to schools and to university students.

Dr J. G. Landels, of Reading University, demonstrated both the use of recorded tapes as an aid to individual students at the university, and, with an overheard projector, a method of teaching the principles of Latin metre to those who had not been brought up to compose verses.

Mr C. W. E. Peckett, well known for many years as a leading exponent of oral methods, and himself a pupil of Dr Rouse, gave an account of his experiences in using a computer in the analysis of Latin vocabulary and syntax.

On the last morning, there was a very full programme: first, Mr M. St J. Forrest, late of the Cambridge Project, offered an account of the work that the Project had done in planning courses in classical studies for pupils who are not learning either of the classical languages, and especially courses intended to precede the beginning of Latin. At a time of extensive (and sometimes hasty) reorganisation of secondary schools—by no means only a British phenomenon—the importance of keeping the non-specialist aspects of the classics in the consciousness of both school pupils and the general public cannot be overestimated. Then followed a double bill, in which the British Broadcasting Corporation and Thames (Independent) Television jointly gave a display of extracts from their programmes for schools, including a part of the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles in English, and extracts from an historical series called "Heritage".

Almost all members of the Colloquium used the opportunity of being in Canterbury to visit the Cathedral, the mother-church of the Anglican Communion and the scene of the killing of St Thomas Becket in 1170. The Dean welcomed the large party, and guides with the gift of tongues showed them at least some of the beauties of architecture, sculpture and glass. Many members also visited the University Library in its impressive new building, the basement of which houses also the University Bookshop. This bookshop, and several companies and societies, provided for the duration of the meeting exhibitions of books, illustrations, sound-recordings, Roman coins and many kinds of teaching aids appropriate to the theme of the Conference. A very satisfactory feature of the meeting was the fact that languages (of which four were in common use) seemed to present very little problem, though so many nationalities were represented. And one evening Miss Mitzi Lawton gave a pianoforte recital of music of the romantic period, in which all nations could feel at home.

It was announced that the Fifth Colloquium would be held in 1973 in Ghent, the scene of the first in the series and the home of the International Bureau, of which Professor J. Veremans is President.

Roman women—paint powder & perfume*

L. W. de SILVA

The establishment of a Cosmetics Factory in that part of our "social democracy" known as Gal Oya points to an industry which is presumed to be considered essential for the needs of our society. The author of the phrase "social democracy" probably had a purpose in wanting the redundant epithet "social", for democracy is social. However, the use of the epithet should go a long way towards commending our River Valley Cosmetics. Whether our forbears had such an industry we are unable to say and must be content to adopt Dr Johnson's apology, "Ignorance, madam, pure ignorance." But cosmetics do not appear to be in the catalogue of those demoralizing products which were hailed from "the rapacious West", for Rome had imported scents and nard from our neighbour India and other Eastern countries. *Malobathrum*, for instance, referred to by classical writers, is a corruption of the Indian name *Tamalapathram*, which was an unguent obtained from the leaves of a particular kind of laurel.

But that was in the days of old
When all was rough simplicity,
Today our Rome is paved with gold
And holds the gorgeous East in fee:
Look at our Capitol above:
It seems to house another Jove.

Before our River Valley Products make headway, a peep into the part played by cosmetics in ancient Rome should be rewarding. The word *cosmeta* in Roman times meant the valet or *femme de chambre* who had charge of the wardrobe and ornamentation of the lady. Capua, which was half a century older than Rome, was the forerunner of our Gal Oya products as well as of Max Factor, Elizabeth Arden, Coty, Rubinstein, Yardley and a host of others who claim to be beauticians today. The perfume mart in that luxurious city in Campania was the street of Soplusia where brisk sales went on. The great demand for perfumes and their immoderate use by courtesans led poets to give warnings to their lady-loves.

The fascinating literature on the subject of adorning and beautifying the body is scattered in the writings, mostly the poetry, of Roman authors and may well be collected into a handbook on beauty treatment in ancient times. Make-up, perfume and jewellery were the three adorning arts of women as they are now. Since lovers' eyes are sharp to see, the advice given has been to keep the secrets away from them. Ovid warns—

But do not let your art be seen.
Your lover must not ever find
A powder-puff behind a screen.
Or come upon you from behind
When the cold cream is oozing down
And moistening your dressing-gown.

**The Times of Ceylon* 13th & 21st October 1966. By courtesy of the Editor.

Ovid has written a short poetical treatise "On Making-Up the Face". But his love poems, one of them specially written for the fair sex, combine the art of love with the art of make-up. The cultured demi-monde of Rome for which Ovid wrote was not unlike that of Paris or London in the 18th century. In the process of blending love-making and fashion with didactic poetry, he made himself the preceptor in the art of love and laid bare the pharmacy of beauty by disclosing every trick he knew. One of his excuses is that all women are not comely and few possess the power of artless beauty. Whatever men may say, very few women are likely to subscribe to the broad doctrine that

Loveliness

Needs not the foreign aid of ornament,
But is, when unadorned, adorned the most.

In loving as in every trade, the weak are still the larger lot. Ovid has however pleaded solemnly that he never intended to do harm to the Roman virtues of chastity and fecundity. For centuries his love poems had such a strong appeal that in the Middle Ages even monks were disposed to linger over them and read an allegory of higher love into the poet's work! The Pilgrim's Progress could never have run smooth. It is difficult in our sophisticated day to see the birth of allegory from such sentiments as these:

Art puts the patch upon the cheek,
By art your eyebrows are extended,
If eyes are dull, a girl will seek
By art to have the blemish mended,
Beneath by safran 'twill be hid
And dark lines drawn above the lid.

In Christian times, the appearance of women had to conform to the proposition known as 'holiness'. It was considered more important than smartness. Tertullian, the author of a vehement treatise on feminine toilette, wrote many disgusting remarks about woman. He regarded her as the gateway of the devil, not the ministering angel when pain and anguish wring the brow. He firmly believed that rouge and adultery went hand in hand, and women should always be dressed in mourning and in rags. The odour of cosmetics had to give way to the odour of sanctity. In this context a French writer has remarked.

"It is the Church which invests woman anew with frightening prestige; fear of the other sex is one of the forms assumed by the anguish of man's uneasy conscience . . . Since woman remains always the Other, it is not held that reciprocally male and female are both flesh."

But religious doctrine throughout the centuries has been powerless to repress feminine embellishment or abolish cosmetics. Adherents of Tertullian and others who regard them as a sign of degeneracy should have the advantage of seeing another point of view expressed by a German scholar:

"As for cosmetics and the like, I thought that people had really advanced if they paid some attention to their hands and fingernails, or treated their skin with some sort of fat or cream to make it whiter or more 'beautiful.' The same sort of advance is sometimes made today by farming people, but it has certainly nothing to do with degeneration. When I grew older, I understood how a bad smell will always kill love and will even turn it into disgust. With this general truth I connected the fact that every nation throughout the world has always tried to banish certain evil smells belonging to the natural body, or at least to compensate them by other artificial odours. Then it occurred to me that

I also might be 'degenerate' for thinking these thoughts; and I searched the literature of the subject without discovering anything like a Philosophy of Smells to clarify my ideas."

The writer then refers to a book he came across written by a natural historian and philosopher, also a German. He has said:

"The fashions of Egypt are not a sign of degeneration, for degeneration cannot last for 6,000 years . . . When the body is cleaned, it must be embellished and perfumed. It is embellished by artificial perfumes which must not conceal the natural odours of the body (as they did in the unwashed court of Louis XIV), but replace these natural odours when they have been washed away . . . I have always found that bodily purity was spiritual purity . . . Behind this cult of cleanliness, Eros need not appear. Cleanliness and care of the body are desirable in themselves. But Eros stands unseen behind them."

C. L. Graves and Rudyard Kipling whose joint ingenuity invented (in Latin as well as in English) the Fifth Book of the Odes of Horace, went further afield than the gay bachelor whom they sought to imitate when they wrote these verses on the Philosophy of Smells:

There are whose study is of smells,
Who to attentive schools rehearse
What something mixed with something else
Makes something worse.

The Romans, both men and women, like the Greeks, Sinhalese and Tamils, have used oils for the care of the body. A familiar sight in our northern province is the application of gingelly oil. In later times, the Romans resorted to cosmetics in order to keep off he-goat smells. The pungent and witty Martial has given a long list of intolerable stenches, some of which exuded not only from the uncared body but from the purple dye of woollen garments. Since odours live within the sense they quicken, it seems natural that cosmetics served a double purpose from ancient times, a good smell being always better than a bad one. Even the debased Trinculo deprecated the odour of Caliban: "He smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell; a kind of not of the newest Poor-John." A. E. Housman echoed a natural sentiment when he wrote

Oh, when I was in love with you,
Then I was clean and brave.

Greek and Roman influences on social life, far from fading away with the centuries, began to assert themselves on the secular life of western Europe and gradually provided a new world for women. A classical archaeologist referring to the Renaissance as a period of enhanced status for women, has drawn a picture which could hardly be bettered:

"Women were free to enhance their attractiveness with expensive clothes and cosmetics. Taboos on nudity were forgotten and the famous *espoitrinement* in the Venetian manner was the fashion, rouge being applied to the uncovered nipples as well as to the cheeks. Perfumes and furs, delicate care of the hands and the fingernails, were admired and encouraged. For the first time since the days of ancient Greece and Rome the courtesan, a lady of charm, intelligence, and education, living in her own house, holding court, the friend of men of influence both in politics and art, once more takes a place as important as that occupied centuries before by Rhodopis, Aspasia, and Phryne. The sense of guilt in sexual matters faded, and the Renaissance produced a superb flowering unparalleled since the days of antiquity."

Addison, whose raillery was of a refined kind, thought that sufficient pains had not been taken in his day for finding proper employments and diversions for the fair ones. He regarded

their amusements as being more adapted to the sex than to the species. Referring to the *Female World*, he has commented:

"The Toilet is their great Scene of Business, and the right adjusting of their hair the principal employment of their lives. The sorting of a suit of ribbons is reckoned a very good morning's work; and if they make an excursion to a mercer's or a toy-shop, so great a fatigue makes them unfit for anything else all the day after. Their more serious occupations are sewing and embroidery, and their greatest drudgery the preparation of jellies and sweetmeats. This, I say, is the state of ordinary women; though I know there are multitudes of those of a more elevated life and conversation, that move in an exalted sphere of knowledge and virtue, that join all the beauties of the mind to the ornaments of dress and inspire a kind of awe and respect as well as love into their male beholders. I hope to increase the number of these by publishing this daily paper which I shall always endeavour to make an innocent if not an improving entertainment, and by that means at least divert the minds of my female readers from greater trifles."

Beauty of form has inspired male beholders to produce many of the greatest works of art, and many have penned their inspiration in which a universal experience is recognized. The poems of Propertius, Ovid, Horace, and others often touch on the inevitable tragedy that time delves the parallels in beauty's brow. Pen-pictures of feminine adornment in such a setting are not uncommon. Though both men and women were pomade addicts in Roman times in varying degrees, the larger patronage has been from women as in modern times. Ovid, stressing the smartness of feminine appearance and the importance of good looks, gives a whole register of recipes for pomade, foundation-creams, and other forms of make-up with the exact weight of all the necessary ingredients. These are infinite in variety and include honey, eggs, gum, beans, white lead and chalk, some of which are still used by beauticians. The poet has recommended halcyon-cream from birds' nests for banishing spots on the face. He never hesitates to give the reason:

Things that we cared for always please,
And now each man's a dandy.
A girl must be as spruce as he
And have her powder handy.

Propertius raised his finger of disapproval at his girl friend Cynthia for aping the woad-stained Britons and using imported make-up on her cheeks since Belgian rouge deformed a Roman face. Lucian in one of his outbursts of humour made the unchivalrous remark that the face of a woman first thing in the morning was more repulsive than a monkey's, and so she spent her time and her husband's money on all the perfumes of Arabia to sweeten her hair. The circumstance that the preliminaries for the make-up received attention the night before gave a handle to the caustic Juvenal to draw a picture of the husband who had to suffer agonies produced by the plaster on his wife's face. Juvenal reserved one of his satires for the ladies and indulged in a bitter invective against them, imputing to all of them the vices of a few. Dryden, who could find no reason for this injustice, has remarked that in his other satires the poet has only glanced on some particular women and generally scourged the men.

Cosmetics, like other aids to beauty, have changed with feminine fashions. A precious and expensive ointment was made of spikenard. Poppaea, the wife of Nero, invented a kind of pomade which bore her name. She is said to have possessed all the qualities (virtue excepted) that adorn the female character. She bestowed great pains on her person by having 500 asses milked every day to supply her bath. When she was banished from Rome, she took 50 she-asses

with her. Dryden's spirited translation of Juvenal runs:

The crust removed, her cheeks as smooth as silk,
Are polished with a wash of asses milk,
And should she to the farthest North be sent,
A train of these attend her banishment.

Perfumes also had a part to play at dinners and banquets and other occasions, sometimes all day long, when the note was gaiety. The anointed hair glistened, and probably gave the appearance produced by a layer of brilliantine. Horace has many references to gracing the hair, including his own greying locks, with perfumed nard in festive mood. The hosts brought out perfumed unguents at dinner. These were in ample containers made of shell and were used for anointing the diners. Petronius refers to a banquet when slaves anointed the feet of the guests. The Romans do not appear to have been as fastidious as the Greeks who preferred to have a different ointment for every part of the body. According to the connoisseur Horace, thickness in unguents was a fault, like discordant music or a sour conserve. Catullus, when his purse was full of cobwebs, asked a friend to bring with him a good dinner and a pretty girl and promised to give in return a perfume—

“and when you snuff its fragrance, you will pray the gods to make you nothing but nose.”

Note: The translations from Ovid are by F. A. Wright.

The assassins

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'Behold!' said Job, 'My desire is that mine adversary had written a book.' The desire is unexpected and inadequately explained; but it must have been echoed in many envious hearts. To write a book, or a play, or even an article in a learned journal, is indeed to place a weapon into the hands of one's enemies. It can even be a lethal weapon. If Byron and Shelley were right, Keats was assassinated by the *Quarterly* reviewers. Shelley was kinder to them than they deserved. 'It may well be said,' he wrote, 'that these wretched men know not what they do.' Burns had been blunter:

'Critics!—appalled I venture on the name,
Those cut-throat bandits in the paths of fame.'

Terence, like Keats, was a young man when he became a target of the Roman critics. The most venomous of these was—predictably enough—an unsuccessful playwright: nothing sharpens the critical claws more effectively than personal failure and the spectacle of another's success. Luscus Lavinius launched not one attack but many on his hated new rival—hated certainly because of his brilliance and probably because of his youth. That Terence was shaken by this onslaught is not in doubt. He hit back. The first 19 lines of his prologue to the *Eunuchus* are devoted to Luscus, who 'made bad Latin plays out of good Greek ones, among them murdering Menander's *Ghost*'. He even threatens him: '*Is ne erret moneo et desinat lacessere*'.

Luscus ignored the warning, and was accorded no less than 23 lines of the prologue to the *Phormio*, produced later in the same year (161 B.C.). The *Adelphi*, the last of Terence's comedies, appeared in 160, and in this he speaks, more in sorrow than in anger, of his critics in the plural. They are 'unfair'; more, they are his enemies ('*advorsarii*'). This time he will forestall them by admitting that he has inserted a scene from a play by Diphilus, already used by Plautus in his *Commorientes*. Moreover, he virtually admits that the charge that his aristocratic friends (probably Scipio and Laelius) have helped him in the writing of his plays is true—but that it is something to be proud of rather than the reverse. These were brave words. Alas! As far as we are concerned, they were his last. Shortly after this he left for Greece and never returned. It is certain that he must have died in 159 or 158; but the manner of his death (at the early age of 36) is unknown. The legend was that some translations that he had made of plays by Menander were lost at sea, and that he died of grief on their account. It seems unlikely. Is it possible that he was, like Keats, murdered by his critics? Not physically, of course; the critic's method of assassination is more subtle. Justice, however, is usually done, even if tardily. Of Luscus not a line remains, and only one title—his *Ghost*.

A man of different mettle was the German scholar of the early nineteenth century, Hermann Weise. The preface to his edition of Plautus makes heartening reading. Not for Weise to hide

his light under a bushel. *De rebus earumque explicatione*, he writes, *certus sum me paene innumera rectius interpretatum esse quam antehac a plerisque fuerint explicata et intellecta.* And what a becoming modesty is suggested by that coy *paene*! In spite of Weise's knowledge of his own perfection, he still expects attacks from the critics. However, thrice armed is he that gets his blow in first, and Weise disposes of them in advance. 'What the simpletons or smatterers (*blenni aut scioli*), he thunders, 'may think about any little work of mine I care not a straw. Those who through envy, or because of their deranged and fanatical views . . . are ill-disposed to me or to Plautus—may the Greek and Roman Muses condemn them to complete and everlasting oblivion. Which I am certain they will.' It would take a bold critic to ignore that!

Only sixteen years later, in 1853, a ruthless and vicious reviewer (probably J. W. Donaldson) launched an attack in Fraser's Magazine on an inoffensive and industrious clergyman whose only crime was that he had written or edited too many books (and made four mistakes in one of them, the worst being the use of *oudeis* with the imperative).

'Mr. Arnold's books,' wrote this reviewer, 'are becoming a public nuisance, which must be put down for the sake of literature and learning.' Arnold, he claimed, was a mere opportunist: 'He gives us manuals of English, French, German, Italian, Hebrew. We verily believe that if schools and universities were to take up the study of Sanskrit and Chinese, this gentleman would cram up these subjects so far as to be enabled to appropriate to his own purposes, as a vendor of books, the most approved manuals on the two subjects.' He goes even further, and accuses Arnold of piracy: 'Not many weeks after something new has appeared in Germany or America, it is advertised as "A Classical Work by the Rev. T. K. Arnold, M.A.," etc., etc.'

In less than a month Arnold produced a pamphlet replying to the charges, entitled "A Few Words in Answer to the Attack on my School Books". In contrast to the viciousness of the attack, it was mild and reasonable in tone. For the only cardinal error (*oudeis* with the imperative) he apologised; but pointed out that it had been corrected in the seventh edition of the book. To the other accusations he provided adequate answers.

The next edition of Fraser's Magazine carried the notice that it had full answers to all the points in his pamphlet; but that it 'forbore to publish them on receiving intelligence of Mr. Arnold's death.' Arnold was 53. All his books (almost eighty were attributed to him, of which the most famous—and enduring—was his *Latin Prose Composition*) were written in the last fifteen years of his life. We are bound to wonder if Donaldson had any pangs of remorse when he heard of the death of his gentle and unassuming victim. Probably not.

I was recently reminded of these unhappy far-off things when I read a gratuitous attack* upon one of our better Latin course books. An ostensible review of Paterson and Macnaughton's *Approach to Latin* was surprising enough in any case, since the books have been on the market since 1939. The reviewer may have come late into the field; but he makes up for it by the wholesale nature of his condemnation. 'Both volumes seem to me inefficient', he complains, and instances the fact that only 100 pages contain continuous reading matter ('This is woefully inadequate'), that the vocabularies are in the wrong place, that 'meaningless exercises abound and are inefficient', that the illustrations are poor and unrelated to the text, and that one looks in vain for such important items as 'good dramatic pieces which can be acted by eleven—and twelve-year-olds.' He sees in the books a 'lack of control, which results in mental chaos', and

*In *Didaskalos*, Vol III, No 2, pp 348 ff. The reviewer is Mr C. Greig.

in a final *reductio ad absurdum* reaches the conclusion that the whole idea of 'aiming at a reading skill on a largely compositional base is perverse: 'Nothing could be more absurd, nothing more inefficient'.

Some reviews are intended to wound, others to reveal to the world the cleverness and superior wisdom of the reviewer. Some are written merely for the fee that they command, and are adequate but perfunctory. Still others, of course, are honest and unbiassed. The review under consideration appears to come under both of the first two headings, and must have given its writer considerable satisfaction. Like Arnold before him, Mr E. G. Macnaughton gives a mild and well-reasoned answer to the charges levelled against him, and I find myself firmly on his side. Many years ago I had a delusion of grandeur and decided to write a new Latin Course. However, a copy of *Approach to Latin* came into my hands, and I changed my mind. It was clear to me that I could not hope to write a better book and might very well write a worse one. This damning review not only wounds Mr Macnaughton; it wounds me as well, as it must surely wound all those who have used and liked his books. Which is a good enough reason for my personal dislike of the kind of critic who is better termed an assassin!

To Lydia—Horace: Odes I, viii

V. L. WIRASINHA
Joint Secretary
Classical Association of Ceylon

Lydia, in heaven's name, tell me, I beg of you,
Why with your cossetting haste you to ruin
Sybaris? Dust and heat would he stew in
As born to them. Now, why is he through
With 'em, hating our sunny green, nor rides,
A soldier bold, his mates among,
Urging a Gallic steed along
With jagged bit controlled, hides
Away in fear to touch the Tiber's
Yellow flood and shuns the athlete's
Oil more warily than viper's
Blood? Many a day his feats
With discus and with javelin hurled
Beyond his rivals' furthest mark
Brought him renown—where now's the dark
Weapon—weal on his arm? Girled
Is he, and hiding, as Thetis' son,
In Troy's dread hour of blood and tears—
Mid Lycian arms he had his fears
He'd perish—a woman's garb put on?

The relevance of a classical education

R. W. L. WILDING
Civil Service Department UK
Secretary to the Fulton Committee

Those who are fighting so stoutly to keep the flag of classical studies flying in Ceylon may be interested to hear of a battle that was recently fought and won in Britain.

The Fulton Committee on the Civil Service, which was set up in 1966 and reported in 1968, was charged with reviewing the management of the UK Civil Service. This included its recruitment. The question was at once raised: should not the Civil Service Commission's selection procedures give preference to those graduates who had read "relevant" subjects at University? By "relevant" the supporters of this thesis meant subjects in which the candidate had gained knowledge which he could directly apply to Civil Service work. The subjects which the thesis was intended to favour were primarily (but not only) economics, statistics and sociology. Those to be discriminated against were various, but although a number of stalking-horses like the study of mediaeval French were cunningly paraded, the real target was the classics.

A number of different motives lay behind this proposal. They included the desire to stimulate the growth of social studies in the universities, and the desire to break the long-standing dominance of Oxford and Cambridge graduates in the lists of successful candidates. But the principal aim was to professionalise British administration by giving preference to those who had equipped themselves during their education with a thorough grounding in the basic theory of those subjects which bore most directly upon the work of the administrator.

A majority (8 out of 12) reported in favour of "preference for relevance" as it came to be called. But the other four submitted a minority report against it. Two of their main reasons, briefly summarised, were these:

- i. Many able young men and women started their university course before they had decided on a career, and selected their subject not for career reasons but because they liked it and were good at it; the Service could not afford to discourage this source of supply.
- ii. The advantage of a previous grounding in a relevant subject could be over-rated, and a rigorous and disciplined habit of mind which could be imparted by "irrelevant" as well as by "relevant" studies, was no less important. The administrator should acquire his specific professionalism in formal training at the Civil Service College after entry to the Service.

The minority view was almost unanimously upheld in debates on the report in the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and the Government adopted it.

Students of the classics and mediaeval French alike therefore continue to compete for places in the Civil Service on equal terms with students of economics and sociology, and the position of the classics has if anything been strengthened by this successful defence. But recollecting the emotions of the battle in tranquillity more than two years later, I suspect that

both the attack and the defence were misdirected. There is such a thing as "relevance" in education, and its opposite "irrelevance", in the sense that there are some ideas that are live and others that are dead. By a "live idea" I mean one which, however remote the age and however different the situation in which it was formulated, is still capable of stimulating the young mind to reflect upon the world about it in a new way, and, what is more, in a practical way. "Practical" is important. I side with those who would condemn a subject or a system of education which, however much it trained the intellect, did not also provide a set of ideas which a young man could usefully apply to the problems which would later confront him, both in his work and outside it. The idea that a mind once sharpened and toughened by education can then be turned to any task is insufficient by itself; for the process of sharpening and toughening offers no assurance that the person will wish to use the instrument so developed either for other people's benefit or his own. Indeed, if he learns to be most at home with ideas and concepts that have no application in the world he lives in, there is a real danger that he may live his whole life in a state of mental remoteness. In this respect at least his education is unlikely to be neutral; it will either encourage the use of his mind for practical ends or it will discourage it.

The true defence of the classical education is that the ideas which it inculcates are still very much alive. Writing for the Classical Association of Ceylon, I need not enlarge on that. We all know how the history of Greece and Rome can illuminate the affairs of our own countries: the Sullas, the Caesars and the Catilines are still with us. We know too how the ideas of Plato and Cicero have shaped our own attitudes, whether to the service of the state or to private life. But it is also worth noting that the antiquity of the classical world and its languages—the very thing that makes some critics dismiss them as irrelevant to a modern education—in fact helps rather than hinders the kind of stimulus to practical application which I have suggested that education should provide. For the fact that the classical world is in one sense remote from us enables the student to see it dispassionately and as a whole, and to abstract from it the truths about human feeling and human action which will remain true as long as the world is peopled by the human race. From my own experience I can testify that one at least of today's administrators could have had no training more relevant than this.

Superstitions

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It is not only the materialistic world of today that regards superstition with scorn and derision. Even in ancient times the word had evil connotations. *Superstitio* was, for the writers of ancient Rome, *vana, tristis, barbara, anilis* and *exitialis*. Seneca called it *error insanus*, while Cicero referred to it as *inanis timor decorum*. A distinction was drawn between *religio*, which was *veri dei cultus*, and *superstitio* which was *falsi*.

But, we may observe, superstition is connected with the gods and the worship of the gods; and the study of superstitions is a study of survivals. Wherever a people or community has existed for a time its festivals, its customs, its games and songs, its stories, its way of doing things—the common-places of everyday life—have been handed down from father to son; from mother to daughter. Beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitant and from what his grandfather had told him, the village has observed such and such a custom upon a stated anniversary. There was a time for everything under the sun, and a place and a way; and it was *mos maiorum*, ancestral custom, the inherited experience of the race, that dictated it.

Simple folk cling with extraordinary tenacity to their beliefs in the efficacy of the old way of doing things. They are very conservative. In Ceylon it took nearly a quarter of a century to persuade the farmer to depart from the old method of cultivating his farms in order to improve his yield—transplanting, the use of fertilisers, mechanisation, the use of improved models of ploughs are comparatively recent. Every aspect of agriculture was accompanied by its own ritual and ceremony, sanctified by age-old custom and hallowed by practice; and any departure from these was fraught with danger, for it would incur the displeasure of the gods.

Ideas and beliefs such as these have developed independently in different places for they are rooted deep in human nature. Neither the place nor the date of their origin can be determined, but wherever or whenever people have attained a certain level of civilisation they are observed to occur—whether among the megaliths of Stone Henge, the Pyramids of the Nile Valley or the humble rice paddies of our own Island. The good will of the gods must be invoked at every stage.

The gods of the ancient world required burnt sacrifice as the prelude to their benison. It was the custom of the ancient Greeks and Romans to consult the omens before venturing forth upon some important task. The priest would ceremonially kill the offering, usually an ox, a lamb or a kid, or even a dove, if a man was very poor. He then examined the liver of the victim and according to its appearance pronounced the success or failure of the enterprise. The Romans, it is agreed, learnt this practice from the Etruscans who in turn had learnt it probably from Asia Minor whence they first came to Italy about the beginning of the 8th. century B.C. The

same custom is to be found in the Euphrates-Tigris basin; but there is a considerable geographical gap between Mesopotamia and any probable eastern home of the Etruscans. It is not inconceivable that the art was an independent invention of the Etruscans for this practice of examining the liver (*exta inspiciere*) of an animal which is killed for sacrifice is common among people who have no obvious links with either Etruria or Mesopotamia.

We have not far to go to find a modern analogy. It is an almost universal practice in this country to find out, from those who know, the auspicious day and time upon which the heavens would bless with success and prosperity the undertaking we venture upon. Votive offerings are commonplaces in the local scene. To refer to these beliefs and practices as superstitions in a derogatory sense would be to strike an unfair blow at some of our most cherished things. Pliny the Elder says: 'There arises first of all one question of the greatest importance and always attended with the same uncertainty, whether words, charms, and incantations are of any efficacy or not . . . Though the wisest of our fellow-men, I should remark, taken individually, refuse to place the slightest faith in these opinions, yet in our everyday life, we practically show each passing hour that we do entertain this belief though at the moment we are not sensible of it.' We might be reading of our own times, when, having exhausted all human means of success we have recourse to the superhuman or divine to ensure the desired result: there are lucky days and unlucky days, lucky numbers and unlucky numbers, and a whole host of such the knowledge of which ought to make sure that our dreams will all come true.

Let us consider a few instances. The event of birth would provide an appropriate starting point. Among the Greeks, after a birth, the house-door was painted with pitch from thorn bushes in order to keep evil spirits away and a prophylactic wreath of olive branches for a boy or a fillet of wool for a girl was hung outside it as an amulet. It was also a convenient way of announcing to the neighbourhood the happy event. On the sixth day after the birth, the *amphidromia* or running around took place, when the father decided whether the child was to be reared or exposed on some mountain to die (as inconvenient children sometimes were). The festival took its name from the rite of carrying the child round the family hearth. Whether this was to bring the child into touch with the purifying strength of fire or to make it a member of the family by contact with the family hearth or whether it was to give the child strength of body and fleetness of foot we do not know. Whatever it may be, it is indisputable that birth is always associated with some form of purification. In Rome, for instance, a candle was kept continuously burning in the room where the child was born, while three men armed with axe, pestle, and broom struck and swept the threshold of the house, perhaps to sweep out any evil that might be in the house and drive off any which might be attempting to come in. In Christian times it was a common belief that a child never thrived until it was christened.

The helpless infant was always beset by dangers. The chief terror of the Classical mother was the *strix*, a vampiro, who came by night to suck the blood of her baby. A fragment of an incantation in Greek is very reminiscent of many a modern lullaby:

Strix, crier by night, nameless bird,
Flee from our land upon swift ships!

Ovid prescribes a more elaborate and perhaps more efficacious remedy: 'Strike the door-posts thrice with boughs of arbutus, besprinkle them with lustral water. Let a two-month old suckling be slain and its entrails offered to the gods below.' The offering was then placed in the open air

and everyone present had to be careful not to look behind them. Finally, the window was covered with branches of buck-thorn so that the vampire could not get through when no one was looking. Another danger was that of the Evil Eye, one which is well known in all ages and in every country. The Latin satirist, Persius, describes how old wives who are skilled in averting the 'burning eye', spit on the middle finger and rub saliva on the infant's forehead. Theocritus, the Greek pastoral poet, gives a good example of spitting to avert the evil eye. The love-sick Cyclops, Polyphemus, after looking at his reflection in the sea persuades himself that he is not so ugly after all; on the contrary, he was positively good-looking! 'Then, to shun the evil eye,' he says, 'did I spit thrice in my bosom; for this spell was taught me by the witch, Cottytaris.' Even today in Ceylon we have a host of charms, amulets and rites to ward off the evil eye, which are perhaps survivals of ancient practices that go far back beyond the reach of history.

Again, marriage is everywhere a critical and therefore dangerous moment in human life when the evil eye and other hostile influences are to be feared. Among the preliminary rites of ancient Greek marriages was a ritual bathe in water drawn for the purpose in a special kind of pitcher, usually from a local spring. In Athens it was the fountain Kallirhoe, at Thebes the river, Ismenus. Rivers were usually associated with fertility and purification—hence the practice. The favourite time for Greek marriages was in the winter month Gamelion and at full moon. The ancient Romans avoided May. This custom still survives today; it is very important to marry at the auspicious moment on an auspicious day. In certain parts of Greece it was customary to burn the wheel of the chariot in which the happy bride was brought to the bridegroom's house, to indicate, perhaps, that her stay there was to be permanent. The bride was showered on her arrival with dates, cakes, figs and nuts—a charm, it was said, for good luck and prosperity. The ceremony of *confarreatio* among the ancient Romans was a similar rite. What survives from this today is perhaps the practice of showering the bride and bridegroom with rice or confetti as they depart on their honeymoon!

It might be of interest to describe what happened at a Roman wedding. The bride was dressed in new clothes, wearing a veil and crowned with a wreath of flowers. She was formally torn from her mother's arms and brought to the bridegroom's house by an attendant procession. She was preceded by a boy who carried a torch of white-thorn and accompanied by two pages who held her by either hand. The fathers and mothers of these three boys must all be living—a qualification that was often required of performers in rituals invoking the blessing of the gods. At Athens too the bride was attended by a boy (both of whose parents had to be living) carrying a winnowing basket. Members of the bridal procession sang loud and obscene songs, the noise of which assisted the torch of magical wood in keeping evil at a distance, while the character of the words both averted evil and promoted the fertility of the marriage. Meanwhile the bridegroom scattered nuts for which the young scrambled. The splitting of coconuts at certain festivals in this country and the bearing of the flower of the palm and its tender leaves in processions seem to be a survival of such a practice. On arrival at her new home, the bride anointed the door-posts with the fat of wolves and the oil of the olive and wreathed them with fillets of wool. Then like the bride of today in some parts of the world she was lifted and carried in so that her foot did not touch the threshold and she did not stumble on entering—a very unlucky omen.

But it is perhaps particularly in connection with death that superstition most persists. A number of primitive beliefs have inevitably left their traces upon funeral customs. A death

naturally made the house impure and in the ancient world a bough was placed at the door to warn passers-by of the fact. In Greece the fire of the household hearth was allowed to go out, for it had been contaminated by the infection of death. It was relighted with fresh fire only when the ceremonies of purification which included a thorough sweeping of the house had been concluded. A vessel of pure water was placed at the door so that those who came out of the house of mourning might purify themselves before renewing contact with the world. The corpse was laid out on a couch decked with vine leaves, flowers, and magic herbs. Its feet must always be pointed towards the door; for it is advisable to indicate to the dead the way out but not the way back. Many of these customs still survive today.

At Rome it was the custom for the nearest kinsman of the dying man to inhale his last breath, thereby ensuring the continuity of the family life in which the lives of individual heads of the family are but successive incidents. The notorious licitor Sextius, mentioned by Cicero in the second Verrine oration found this a fruitful source of income.

The dead lived on in their world of the spirit—for the Greeks it was Erebus, the place of darkness, or Hades the world of the dead; for the Roman who borrowed most of his ideas about the Nether World from the Greeks, it was Orchus. Here there is a general feeling of vastness, and of gloom or twilight with unsubstantial inarticulate ghosts who twitter like bats, flitting about. There were ghosts, then, but in the main they were not fearful or malevolent beings. Both the Greeks and the Romans believed in a life after death where the good and the bad were duly rewarded or punished—but it was not a life which they preferred to the life they enjoyed in the Upper World.

There were special festivals for the dead. The Athenian festival of 'All Souls' was held in the Month of Flowers—Anthesterion—which corresponded roughly with February and March. For the Romans, February was the last month of the year and it was distinguished by ceremonies of purification. Even today in Ceylon the year is regarded as beginning with the entry of the Sun into the Zodiacal sign of Aries—usually towards the end of March. The sins of the old year are expiated and a new beginning is made.

The family dead, who returned at the Anthesteria do not seem to be very formidable. The living, it is true, ritually chewed buck-thorn and anointed their door-ways with pitch, for all ghosts, however well-disposed, have the taint of death about them and contact with them was dangerous. The ritual, however, was a friendly one. The festival lasted three days in which the dead were remembered in speeches and songs. On the last day a pot of porridge was offered in each household to the ancestral dead and the ceremonies were brought to a close by the formula: 'Begone, ye ghosts: it is no longer Anthesteria!' Thus the dead were dismissed to their proper abode till the following year.

The Romans had more than one festival, but the concluding ceremony of the Lemuria, which was held in May, had several similarities: The festival lasted three days and on the last day the householder rose at midnight. He wore no shoes on his feet and made a gesture of aversion with his hand—the well-known "horn". He then washed his hands and taking a number of black beans threw them behind him without looking back. As he did this he recited nine times the words: 'with these I redeem me and mine!'. He then washed his hands again and brazen vessels were clashed—a very effective means of driving away evil spirits. Finally, he dismisses the spirits of the dead by reciting the following charm nine times: "Depart, ye (Manes) shades

of my fathers". Only then may he look round.

Such were the rituals connected with the periodic return of the dead upon definite dates. There were, however, many popular customs relating to ghosts. At Athens, in the 5th. Century B.C., it was considered bad table manners to pick up anything that fell from the table at a meal. That must be left for the "Heroes", as the ghosts were called. In Aristophanes' time to empty a foot-pan or bath out of the door was taboo, for fear of injuring the "heroes". A little later in Greece, we read of travellers being warned to steal past tombs in silence for fear of irritating the occupants who might emerge and attack him. In Herodotus we read that Periander of Corinth sent to an oracle to ask a question of his wife's ghost. She replied that she was cold for want of clothes and refused to answer until she was suitably provided. Thereupon Periander stripped the ladies of their finery and burnt them as an offering to his wife. At last satisfied, his wife gave him the required information. Funeral ceremonies took cognisance of the fact that the dead had to be provided for for their sojourn in the Nether World: these have survived throughout the ages from the mighty monumental tombs of the Pharaohs of Egypt to the humble Roman peasant who had to be supplied with a coin to pay Charon to row him over the Styx.

Again, dogs are almost everywhere credited with the power of being able to see spirits which are invisible to the mortal eye. In Greece the belief was as old as Homer who describes the dogs as cowering at the invisible presence of the goddess in the palace at Ithaca. Even today at the the burial rites of the Zoroastrians a dog has a part to play.

The minor superstitions of everyday life are singularly constant. Lucky days did not go out with Hesiod who in the 'Works and Days' has given a fairly comprehensive list of them. We are still able to buy lucky gems, birth-stones, magic rings, amulets and charms against almost every misfortune, just like the character in Aristophanes who had a magic ring which cost him only a drachma. Varro, the most learned Roman of his day, tells us to cut corn with a waxing moon but to fell timber, shear sheep, and cut our hair (unless we wish to get bald) when the moon is on the wane. Pliny, writing nearly a hundred years later, prescribes the 16th or 28th days of the moon for haircutting to avoid baldness and head ache. From Petronius we learn that cutting hair or nails at sea might raise a storm. Tacitus tells us that when Piso was accused of murdering Germanicus "there were found hidden in the floor and in the walls of his room disinterred remains of human bodies, incantations, and spells, and the name of Germanicus inscribed on leaden tablets, half-burnt cinders smeared with blood, and other horrors by which in popular belief souls are consigned to the gods below." These leaden tablets were known as *defixionum tabulae* or *tabellae*: the spell against a person was inscribed upon a small sheet of lead and placed in a grave or nailed to the wall of a tomb. Such spells as these are not unknown in this country; and the expert derives from them a ready and never failing source of income.

One last illustration of the continuity of tradition from early classical folklore through the modifications of the Hellenistic and late classical periods to the modern world. We are all familiar with the description of the Seven Ages of Man which the melancholy Jacques introduces with the words "All the world's a stage . . ." The number seven had great importance in early Greek folklore, perhaps through the divisions into which the lunar month naturally falls. In the 6th. Century B.C. a poem of the Athenian statesman, Solon, divided the life of man into periods of seven years: at 7 years the teeth change; at 14 comes puberty; at 21 the beard

is grown; 28 is the age of maximum physical strength; 35 is the age for marriage and begetting children; at 42 the character is fully formed; from 49 (seven times seven—which, therefore, becomes the well-known 'climacterial year') to 56 the intellectual faculties are at their best; 56 to 63 marks a decline; and 70 is the natural term of life—three score years and ten. In Hippocratic writings we find a modification which divides life into seven periods viz: first comes the stages: infancy, boyhood, youth, and young manhood at 7, 14, 21, 28 years respectively; then from 28 to 49 years, a period of three times seven, the adult stage; from 49 to 56 years we have the senior or *presbutes*, and finally the seventh stage of Old Age from 56 to death. From Hellenistic times the seven ages of man inevitably became involved with the seven cosmic spheres and later the seven planets: from Saturn the soul acquires Sloth, from Mars Anger, from Venus Lust, from Mercury Avarice, from Jupiter Ambition, from the Sun Gluttony, and from the Moon Envy. We have thus discovered from Classical tradition not only the source of the Seven Ages of Man, but also the origin of the gambler's Lucky Seven, the Christian's Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and last but not least the Seven Deadly Sins.

The legal profession in ancient Rome

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While all the world acknowledges the legacy of Rome in regard to the substance of the law, it scarcely pauses to consider that those who practise the law are likewise in the perpetual debt of Rome for much that constitutes the pith and substance of professional ethics, of professional discipline and indeed of the very professional sense which marks them out as members of a learned and honourable profession.

We learn from another discipline that if we are to have a true understanding of life as it is, we must trace the thread of genetic continuity back to the sources whence life began. We would then see how the story of our lives is "written in our bones, and the salt of our blood is bound to an ancient sea".¹ So it is also with the profession of the law. If we are to have a true understanding of its position and function today, we must trace it back to its origins; and when we do, we will be amazed to see how surely its genetic thread leads us back to ancient Rome and how closely the salt of its blood is bound to that ancient sea.

Roscoe Pound draws our attention to the fact that in many of the rules by which the profession is governed, continuity is demonstrable between those prevailing today and those prevailing in ancient Rome. For example the Roman rules relating to the remuneration of advocates have had a profound effect on the remuneration of advocates in the modern world.² He also points out that the advocate of today derives from the orator of Rome³ and that the modern continental organisation of the legal profession is simply a development of the Roman in its final form.⁴

We shall in this paper first examine some of the reasons for Rome's pre-eminence over other nations in evolving a legal profession and thereafter trace the evolution of the profession in Rome through three distinct historical periods.

The reasons for Rome's pre-eminence in the history of the legal profession are best seen when one views the lawyers of Rome against the lawyers of the civilisations that went before. Men learned in the law and transmitting their skill from generation to generation had indeed been seen, but the notion of a profession of the law in anything like the modern sense would appear to be a Roman creation. The Romans rejected the idea of a priestly order or a privileged class being the repositories of the law and at the same time rejected the Greek idea that every man could be his own lawyer. They thus threw legal knowledge open to those not born to privilege, while at the same time assuring the public of the services of persons who did not comprise

1. Professor Loren Eisele, *Anthropologist*, in "Our Faith leads Upwards", *Readers' Digest*, June 1962
2. *The Lawyer from Antiquity to Modern Times*, p 54
3. *Ibid* p 33
4. *Ibid* p 50

a motley and unlearned group but who as a profession made a study of the law their special concern. The result, a happy mean between the two extremes—the notion of a profession of the law—succeeding ages and civilisations have borrowed from Rome. The importance of the emergence of a secular legal profession may be gauged from the fact that its emergence is often considered to mark the transition to the maturity of law, and to indicate that the history of archaic law has run its course and modern legal history has commenced.⁵

Such a body, entry to which was secured by merit and not by birth, by achievement and not by privilege, represents a democratisation of the administration of the law for which the main tradition and the prime example are Roman. No longer was it possible to say that law was in the hands of men of privilege cut off from the mass of the people and lacking all knowledge of their needs and difficulties. Roman also is the very idea of a professional class of persons learned in the law who held out to the public that they have special skill in this field and are prepared to place this skill at the disposal of all who seek it, irrespective of class or position. Such a body of professional skill, standing between the citizen and the denial of his rights, is a phenomenon of great importance in the development of civilisation based upon the rule of law, and for this the modern world owes much to Rome.

The notion of an advocate espousing a client's cause personally in a court of law is indeed one that comes up against much initial resistance, for the notion that a man should defend himself is one that has died hard in most societies. In Japan, for example, it was only in the event of illness or absence beyond the seas that a man could be represented by a third party who would argue his case, and even in mediaeval Europe the notion of trial by combat is bound up with the notion that each man must answer for himself. Likewise we learn from Diodorus that in ancient Egypt advocates were forbidden to plead in the courts for fear that their eloquence may befuddle the minds of the judges.⁶

Many of the earlier civilisations of the world had had a class of persons possessed of the necessary legal skill to man their courts and draw their documents. For example, several thousand clay contract tablets of ancient Mesopotamia dating back to the 2nd and 3rd millennia B.C.⁷ bear witness to the presence of persons skilled in the law in that society. Yet we have no evidence of a democratically based legal profession in that civilisation, in the modern sense. Likewise there is no evidence of a profession as such in Egypt, China, Babylonia, Judaea, India or even in classical Greece.⁸

If we pick out from these civilisations that which is closest in time and quality to the Roman, namely that of Greece, we are struck at once by the fact that the common thread that seems so easily traceable in many spheres of human attainment, between the achievements of Greece and Rome, seems comparatively lacking in regard to law and legal institutions. The Roman achievement in this sphere can scarcely be said to be a descendant of the Greek. No doubt at every point in its early history the developing Roman law felt the influence of the Greek, and indeed, from the close of the second Punic War and during the last two centuries of the Republic, Roman jurisprudence was so much exposed to Greek influence that the period has been referred

5. Seagle, *The Quest for Law*, p 131

6. Diodorus, *Histories*, Booth Trans. 1814, vol. 1, p 78

7. Diamond, *Primitive Law*, p 8

8. See Seagle p 132

to as the Hellenistic period of Roman jurisprudence.⁹ Still the ground work on which Rome built was not essentially Greek but largely Roman. Gibbon, in his famous chapter on Roman Law in *The Decline and Fall*¹⁰ observes of this phenomenon: "In the comparison of the tables of Solon with those of the Decemvirs, some casual resemblance may be found; some rules which nature and reason have revealed to every society; some proofs of a common descent from Egypt or Phoenicia. But in all the great lines of public and private jurisprudence, the legislators of Rome and Athens appear to be strangers or adverse to each other." This appears in some degree to be an overstatement but it captures in picturesque language the general idea we have here been advancing. Doubtless it is that the Roman achievement so completely surpasses the Greek that most comparisons one makes are not between comparable institutions. Nowhere is this so forcibly illustrated as when one deals with the profession of the law.

Why the Greeks should pale into insignificance beside the Romans in law when they were able so conclusively to outshine them in moral philosophy, has been the subject of much debate. However some reasons may at any rate be adduced without much difficulty, and a few of these we shall now proceed to examine. Such a study is a useful prelude to a study of the Roman legal profession in its different historical periods.

One crippling factor in Greece was the structure of its tribunals, for in Greece immense and unwieldy dikasteries constituted the Court.

The popular law court of Greece, the Dikasterion, might comprise hundreds of members. Indeed on one occasion all 6,000 members of a Dikasterion sat together to try a case.¹¹ They obviously could not have any professional knowledge or qualification as a requirement. It is true that in the Periclean democracy there was an examination which the magistrates were required to undergo before selection and entry on office, which was designed to test whether the magistrate elect possessed the legal qualifications required. This examination would, however, appear to have been framed not to test his legal knowledge but to test his fitness and eligibility for the office,¹² for the examination was often conducted before a Dikasterion which itself was not possessed of any special legal knowledge. The qualification for membership of the Dikasteria was that a member should be a citizen over 30 years of age.¹³

The Dikasteries of Greece, manned almost entirely by those with no legal learning, were thus clearly not appropriate courts for building up a body of precedent, and a professional class developing skills in arguing cases and in applying general rules to particular facts, could scarcely evolve against this disorderly background. Moreover continuity in the application of accepted rules is essential if a body of principles is to evolve which a professional class can clarify and develop, and this is lacking in tribunals of justice which vary daily in their constitution. When today's judge may be tomorrow's farmer or yesterday's judge is today's artisan, the development of the law along lines of orderly growth is retarded. The judges thus lacked the ability and the flexibility of the Roman tribunals to expand and develop the law, and failed to provide the stimulus the Roman tribunals did for the evolution of a legal profession.

The Roman magistrates in contrast, invariably possessed some legal knowledge, and as the law developed at their hands through the issue of their edicts, it was collected and syste-

9. Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science*, p 38

10. Ch. 44—see 2nd ed. vol. 4, p 171

11. Hignett, *The History of the Athenian Constitution*, p 216

12. Hignett, *The History of the Athenian Constitution*, p 205

13. Hignett, *op.cit.* p 224

matised by the jurists. Consequently there was an established body of legal knowledge and a growing respect for precedent. These in turn generated the need for a group with a certain degree of expert knowledge, and provided a most favourable setting for the evolution of a professional class.

Moreover, Greece was peculiar in that there was a rule of practice preventing a person from being an advocate in more than two causes during his lifetime. There could not therefore be a profession of lawyers acquiring a skill in the preparation and presentation of cases by any regularity in keeping its nose to the professional grindstone. So much was a professional feeling lacking among those who presented their cases before the Courts of Greece that we have the well known story related of Demosthenes that in the suit of Appollodorus against Phormio he drafted speeches for the advocates who were to appear on behalf of both contesting parties, and when asked how he could justify such action replied that it was not different to that of a swordsmith who provides the best swords he can make to the two contesting parties in a duel.

It is to be noted also that in Greece the orators who wrote speeches for litigants were not allowed to deliver them in person and that taking of fees for this service was frowned upon.

Apart from orators there were also in Greece persons who were consulted for their opinions on questions of law—persons who were called interpreters. Here too, apart from the limitation of belonging to a privileged class, there was no scope for development as there was with the juriconsults of Rome, for the reason that little weight could be attached to a prediction of a legal result when the tribunal was so unwieldy and unversed in the law. The juriconsult had proper scope for his activities only in the field of courts such as the Council of the Areopagus which in Athens had jurisdiction in cases of homicide and arson and was made up of present and past magistrates. This was quite insufficient to build up a professional class, a professional sense or a professional skill such as developed later in Rome.

It must however be conceded that the orator of Greece was in some ways the forerunner of the advocate of today. Although the scope for his activities was limited, as we have already observed, occasional opportunities did present themselves for the exercise of his skill, as for example when there was a public prosecution and the city as a party had necessarily to appear through a representative. The notion of the oral presentation of a party's case by one specially chosen to do so by reason of his particular skill was here present, but the particular skill involved was that of the orator rather than of the lawyer.

Another field in which skill was offered and sought after in litigation was in the matter of speech writing, where the very vastness of the tribunals might unnerve a litigant required to speak before them in person, and a prepared and memorised speech was therefore a very considerable advantage. We are still far however from the lawyer or advocate of today.

The failure of the Greeks to evolve a profession was partly due also to the revolt against the old idea of law being confined to a priestly class. The reaction against such privilege was a desire to make knowledge of the law available to every citizen and to presume in him an ability to advise himself without resort to a special class of men learned in the law.

The failure of Greece for one reason or another to evolve a professional class of lawyers whose business it was to accumulate knowledge in relation to the content of law and the manner of its application, deprived its legal system of the professional and trained class of men essential to a legal system if it is to achieve greatness. This factor provides perhaps the most outstanding

reason for the failure of Greece to develop laws or legal institutions comparable in grandeur to those of Rome.

The result, then, of all these diverse circumstances was that, to use the words of Roscoe Pound¹⁴ "In ancient Greece we have the beginnings of lawyers, rather than lawyers as we know them in developed legal systems."

The answer to the historical problem of the difference in achievement between Rome and Greece in the matter of law may also perhaps be partially furnished by the tremendous commercial development that followed in the wake of Roman arms. With the subjugation of the known world and the prevalence of the *Pax Romana* over vast areas for several generations, trade and commerce reached heights of prosperity which necessitated the appearance of a professional class specially skilled in the regulation of such transactions. The dominions of Rome in the time of Gaius probably had within their boundaries upwards of a hundred and fifty million people, and the merchants serving such a vast population needed the assistance of a professional class. They needed regularity in the code of rules by which their world-wide operations were to be governed and their commerce stabilized, for without such regularity such far flung trade and commerce could not be sustained. When merchants from distant countries daily walked the Roman streets and sold their wares in Roman shops, when merchandise from Britain, Germany, Spain, Persia, Ceylon and China found its way by highways and sea routes to the Roman capital, there grew up a commercial class whose legal problems ranged far beyond the simple needs of daily trade. To appreciate the extent of these imports one has only to glance through a full description of them such as is given by Helen J. Loane in her work *Industry and Commerce in the City of Rome 30 B.C.-A.D. 200*.¹⁵ In particular was this so after the conquest of Arabia (109 A.D.) and the success of the Parthian campaign (115 A.D.) after which the riches of India and the Far East came flooding into the markets of Rome.

There came into being also, all the numerous incidents of commercial organisation resulting from complex trading operations, such as groupings and combinations of merchants which are the counterpart of the partnerships and corporations of modern law. Individual members had their rights and liabilities both *inter se* and towards third parties. Waltzing¹⁶ has drawn up a list of the corporations of Rome and more than one hundred and fifty have been traced and accurately defined. All this bespoke a mighty volume of business involving merchant and financier, trader and manufacturer, wholesaler and shipper, middleman and capitalist, skilled technician and unskilled labourer, that brought into play nearly every human relationship to which legal incidents could attach. Corroborative evidence of the volume of trade handled by this centre of the world's commerce is afforded by the extent of the warehouses even now not completely known or excavated. For example the warehouses at Ostia in Hadrian's time are thought to cover about seventy five acres. There were separate warehouses for torches, candles and tallow, others for papyrus and parchment and others for spices brought in by the Arabs.¹⁷ Carriers by land and sea who transported their merchandise required regulation, and wholesale buying and large scale payment generated the need for banking houses and money changers. All this flourished within the borders where the far flung legions kept the barbarian at bay, and for nearly two centuries at the height of the *Pax Romana*, merchants could proceed

14. op. cit. p 34

15. See especially pp 11-59

16. *Corporations professionnelles*, iv, 1-49

17. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, p 197

with their commercial transactions with an assurance of peace and freedom from the fear that their commerce would be disrupted by internal unrest or external force. Within this framework of law and order there developed the feeling that they had a right to expect the fulfilment according to law of the obligations due to them.

The degree of complexity in commerce thus reached was such that unskilled merchants could scarcely handle the resulting problems themselves and needed the assistance of a professional class. They were rich enough to pay for their services and busy enough with their complex operations to be unable to spare the necessary time to iron out these problems themselves. Yet again their distance from the courts, particularly in the far flung Roman provinces, where also the Roman law was administered, necessitated the appointment of attorneys or agents to represent them and this once more was a contributory factor helping in the evolution of a legal profession.

Conducive also to the growth of a legal profession was the passionate interest in litigation displayed not only by the litigants and lawyers but also by the general populace of Rome. Carcopino tells us that¹⁸ during the 230 days of the year open for civil cases and the 365 days open for criminal prosecutions, "the Urbs was consumed by a fever of litigation which attacked not only lawyers, plaintiffs, defendants, and accused, but the crowd of the curious whose appetite for scandal or taste for legal eloquence held them immobile and spellbound hour after hour in the neighbourhood of the tribunals." So also the same author observes that "From the reign of one emperor to another, litigation was a rising tide which nothing could stem, throwing on the public courts more work than men could master". In physical terms the congestion of the courts was such that Augustus was obliged to resign to them the forum he had built and 75 years later Vespasian wondered how he could cope with this ever growing problem. "In the Rome of the opening second century the sound of lawsuits echoed throughout the Forum, round the tribunal of the *praetor urbanus* by the *Puteal Libonis* and round the tribunal of the praetor peregrinus between the Puteal of Curtius and the enclosure of Marsyas; in the Basilica Julia where the centumviri assembled; and justice thundered simultaneously from the Forum of Augustus, where the *praefectus urbi* exercised his jurisdiction, from the barracks of the *Castra Praetoria* where the *praefectus praetorio* issued his decrees, from the Curia where the senators indicted those of their peers who had aroused distrust or displeasure and from the Palatine where the emperor himself received the appeals of the universe in the semi-circle of his private basilica, which the centuries have spared."¹⁹ Little wonder then against such a background that men of ability strove to distinguish themselves in this art which would bring them not only the plaudits of the multitude but also the general respect in society which forensic skill commanded, and that the art was able to collect around itself a band of adherents and votaries who devoted their lives exclusively to its study.

One other feature, and this of prime importance, in moulding Roman law and helping to evolve a body of legal experts, was the institution of the praetor. The praetor made his appearance less than a hundred years after the Twelve Tables and he was an official who met new situations either by expanding the laws or by interpreting them in such a manner as to enlarge the spirit while keeping to the letter. The praetor was in a sense above the law, in that he could

18. *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*—Peregrino 208

19. Carcopino, *op. cit.* pp 207-8

reform it by granting new reliefs or supplement it or devise a method of interpretation so as in effect to circumvent it. In this way he played a part in the development of the law comparable to that of the Chancellor in England who in his Court of Chancery applied principles which he considered to be just and equitable even though they did not accord with the strict rules of the Common law.

Each praetor at the beginning of his office would announce the principles by which he would guide himself in his judicial work. This he did in his Edict, and each Edict so issued at the commencement of each year of office represents a gradual broadening of the law in a process that spread itself over a period of centuries.

To add to the flexibility thus introduced, there was also the praetor peregrinus appointed in 242 B.C. who heard disputes between citizens and foreigners and in consequence of the involvement of foreigners in these disputes had necessarily to pay regard to their customs as well. This brought to bear on the administration of law in Rome a further breath of fresh air.

In course of time the body of edictal law which up to then was in a state of perpetual growth was frozen by the Emperor Hadrian who issued his Perpetual Edict setting out once and for all the law as it would be administered by praetors.

The edictal influence which we have here referred to started in the first period into which we have divided our study and extended into the second. It produced a body of law technical and voluminous enough to require special skill in its understanding and application and therefore acted as a further stimulus to the evolution of a class of persons possessed of this requisite skill. Here again the Romans above all nations had a factor built into the framework of their State which was particularly conducive to the evolution of a legal profession.

Yet another factor must not pass unnoticed, and this was the great devotion of the Romans to their old religion, their love for its forms and their obedience to its laws. Cicero, even in his day, in enumerating the fundamental principles on which the State rested placed first 'religion and the auspices'. Horace was of the view that the Romans were granted their Empire in consequence of their love for their religion and their submission to their gods, and the belief was so deeprooted that St Augustine four hundred years later had still to devote a considerable part of his literary labours to weaning his readers away from the notion that Rome's greatness was due to her gods. True, their religion was one which did not have a great intellectual appeal, but the Romans, even more than the British, had a great desire for continuity with the past and moreover they had a great sense of subordination and obedience to an external power. Of this R. H. Barrow says²⁰ "The early practice of rite accompanied by formal invocations and crystallising into a 'sacred law' helped to develop that genius in law which is Rome's great legacy; and the law of the State borrowed a reflected sanctity from its sacred counterpart. Law presupposed obedience and was not disappointed." When law and the habit of obedience thus occupied so important a place both in the life of the individual and in the consciousness of the nation, it was but natural that the community should feel an intense need for those with knowledge of its theory and practice. From this need was born the legal profession of Rome.

For these and other reasons, then, Rome threw up a professional class which was largely responsible for the development of the Roman law into a system so important in its impact upon modern civilisation that competent observers have remarked that the greatest civilising influence upon the modern world next to Christianity has been the Roman law.²¹ Indeed nearly

20. *The Romans*, Pelican ed. p 25

21. Prof. W. W. Buckland, *Journal of the Society of Public Teachers of Law*, (1931) p. 25

a thousand million of the world's people today live under systems directly traceable to the Roman law.

It is now necessary, against this general background, to examine in somewhat greater detail the profession as it grew up in Rome; and when one speaks of the profession in Rome one must necessarily speak in terms of historical periods. The thousand years that stretched from the XII Tables to Justinian and the further centuries that lay beyond, saw processes of evolution and change too fundamental to admit of any common description of the whole.

To commence with the dim and distant origins, we have it from Livy and Dionysius that commissioners were appointed to journey to Athens during the distinguished administration of Pericles and bring back information regarding their laws for the benefit of the Romans. If one accepts this account the laws of Solon thus became part of the law of Rome through their incorporation in the XII Tables. The historical accuracy of this statement is doubtful, however, and it cannot be relied on. It is nevertheless certain that the earlier Romans did have a knowledge of Greek law, though the extent to which this influenced even the earliest Roman law is still obscure.

The earliest Roman laws were unwritten, and their inaccessibility assisted in throwing a veil of secrecy and mystery around them. This helped towards confining knowledge of the laws in a priestly order of pontiffs, all drawn from the class of patricians, or from those who had rendered signal service to the State. The College of Pontiffs was one of the four great priestly colleges, and its members kept the laws in their memory and transmitted them to their disciples, themselves of the same closed order, in the form of a set of rules and maxims. This transmission of knowledge in unwritten form reminds us of the tradition of Hindu law where the Smritis passed from generation to generation largely unrecorded, and depending for their application upon the memories of men.

The knowledge so transmitted included knowledge of days on which ancient superstition permitted or forbade legal proceedings. This was the age when form was all important and the slightest departure from the set pattern spelt the direst peril to an action.

In the early Republican period the Pontiffs were not restricted to the reading of the auspices, but it was part of their functions also to give legal advice (*responsa*) to members of the public when necessary. Indeed during this period the most important form of juristic activity of the Pontiffs was the giving of *responsa* or opinions and for this purpose the pontifical College deputed one of its members annually. These pontifices furnished litigants with the formulae essential to the invocation of relief, and the large number of formulae which evolved were the work of the pontiffs. These processes helped towards the emergence of this class from the legal sanctuary of purely spiritual or religious law into the practical world of temporal law.

Moreover the Pontifices sometimes gave their *responsa* publicly, thus again helping knowledge of the law to percolate deeper into society. Cicero gives us a list of jurists who gave their *responsa* publicly²² and Tiberius Coruncanius is the first named, but is not necessarily the first to have done so.

The incursion of the priestly order of pontiffs into the sphere of lay law has been attributed not to a desire on their part to increase the power and authority of their order but to the fact that when commercial relations were little developed, private law consisted mainly of the

22. De Or. 3.33, 133, 134

law of the family and of inheritance and that this was a branch of law adjoining pontifical law.²³ Moreover it was important for the performance of the *sacra privata* to know who were the members of the family and who was *heres*.²⁴

Another factor conducive to the gradual entry of the College of Pontiffs into the sphere of lay law was the fact that though this was indeed a priestly college, its members were not priests in the sense in which we understand the term. Though they did perform priestly functions they were in fact distinguished laymen, often former magistrates, who by virtue of their distinguished position in civil life were called also to leadership in religious worship.

Again, their opinions or answers were not judicial decrees and did not involve any investigation or determination of facts. They were issued for guidance and carried great weight as pronouncements on the law but were no substitutes for court decisions.

Despite these activities it is clear however that this class of persons could scarcely be described as constituting a legal profession in the modern sense of the term, or such as we see in later Rome.

With the XII Tables we commence the era of written law. These were displayed in the forum, carved on wood or engraved on brass²⁵; and with this basis of written laws it was natural that extension or development of these laws should also be in writing as contrasted with the earlier period when unwritten tradition sufficed as a repository of the law.

More important still was the fact that the XII Tables and the praetor's edict after it, removed the veil of secrecy that had surrounded the laws, and the priests gradually gave place to laymen who devoted time and study to acquiring a knowledge of the law themselves. These were at first patricians but in course of time the ranks of the profession opened to others as well. The removal of the veil of secrecy surrounding the laws was the first great step forward towards the evolution of a legal profession.

Another factor which greatly aided the formation of the profession in Rome, was the social institution of patrons and clients. The patron, a man of birth and position, was surrounded by a large retinue of dependents and retainers who came to be known as his clients. He sat in state in his mansion dispensing favours and giving advice to a large circle of these clients who sought his assistance. In view of the prodigious litigiousness of the Romans it soon became apparent that an important means by which the patron could dispense his favours and assert his influence was by protection and assistance rendered in the court house in actual litigation. It was of distinct assistance to a client that his case should be presented in court by one more able and influential than himself; and it vastly increased the prestige of a patron if he was also a skilled orator who could present a petition before the Courts, with a degree of force and persuasiveness which the supplicant himself could not command. This was moreover no more than an extension of this traditional Roman concept of a patron's duty of protection so as to cover also the protection of his client in a court of law. Patrons thus tended to develop these skills and others interested in advancing their own prestige saw in this form of activity a powerful means to this end. As the profession of oratory developed in this way, the orators retained their position of patrons of the persons for whom they appeared. To this day the name client survives in relation to the person seeking a lawyer's services, as a reminder of the position of superiority to which the latter has succeeded as heir of the Roman patron and orator. The use of the term

23. Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science*, p 8

24. *ibid*

25. 5th Century B.C., but thought by some to be 4th

Client in modern times by brokers, insurance agents and the like to refer to those who are in fact their patrons loses sight of the historical origin of this terminology and is greatly to be deplored. It tends moreover to obscure the honourable position of the lawyer in the lawyer-client relationship, and to reduce the public image of the relationship to a mercenary level.

The strictly honoured and honorary nature of the patron's position meant of course that he had not rendered his service to his client for a fee, and in this inherently honorary nature of a patron's services are to be traced to a large extent the roots of the idea that the prime consideration of a lawyer in assisting his client is not private profit in a pecuniary sense. In time, as we shall see, laws came to exist stabilising this tradition and recognising that the rendering of an advocate's services was not based on the consideration of a pecuniary reward.

In regard to the evolution of the Roman orator we must note the important part played by Greek influence, for the pattern of the Greek orator helped to evolve a class of Roman orator, as distinguished from jurist, who presented the client's case in court, in contradistinction to the function of giving advice on the law and drafting wills and contracts which characterised the jurist. The two branches thus tended to diverge and many a Roman orator tended to concentrate on rhetoric and to look upon jurisprudence as being not a necessary part of his attainments. The great Cicero himself showed little knowledge of higher jurisprudence and indulged in some good-natured jibes at the expense of some of his jurist friends.²⁶

When we pass to the next stage, which may conveniently be set between the 3rd century B.C. and the end of the Republic, we see that the body of Roman lawyers has acquired characteristics which begin to mark them out as a profession in most of the modern senses of the term. Gain was not its object as it is not its prime object, today. The profession was modern in the sense that it was open to all. It was a body of practitioners equipped with specialised knowledge. It recognised definite responsibilities towards the clients it served. Its members were permanently dedicated to the study and application of the law and not occasional meddlers with it. True there were no examinations for entry, no fees to be paid upon enrolment and no exclusive right of audience in the courts, for the profession was not organised upon the basis that legal knowledge was a *sine qua non* for entry. Any citizen might announce his willingness to give advice, settle documents and speak in the courts, but there was sufficient realisation on the part of the public that these functions could be discharged only by those possessing the necessary expertise. Consequently though any one may theoretically offer his services to potential clients, work came increasingly to be channelled in the direction of those who habitually performed these tasks and brought to bear upon them special study, skill and experience.

The non-mercenary nature of the profession had also won clear recognition, for the Lex Cincia of 203 B.C. forbade the receipt of fees by advocates, and much like the English barrister of early days who expected gifts but not fees, the Roman advocate of republican times considered it beneath his dignity to stipulate that he be remunerated with a fee in respect of his professional services.

Of the ethics of the profession we also have several glimpses in the writings that have come down to us. We have one instance of an advocate retained for a heavy fee to appear in an action relating to a public market, who was not to be found on the day of hearing. A prominent senator spoke in the Senate against what he described as the low standards of the Bar, for the case had aroused much public interest. The senator said that an honourable profession had been reduced

26. see Cic. *p. Mur.* 10.23 where he makes fun of his friend Servius' affection for jurisprudence

to a shameful trade. In the result there was a ruling that although an advocate could not take a fee for his services, after the litigation was over he was permitted to receive a sum by way of gratuity. This tradition of the Roman law has found its way into the modern law of England and continental countries such as France by which an advocate or barrister cannot maintain an action for his fees.

During this stage, the stage till the end of the free Republic, we see also that the profession became even more democratised through the growing power and influence of the plebs. Plebians began to succeed to offices such as that of Chief Pontiff which had earlier been barred to them. Ever since Tiberius Coruncanius, a pleb, succeeded to this office as the first of his class to do so, the plebs kept increasing their entry into and impact upon the hitherto closed circle of the law. Indeed, while till the second century B.C. the pontiffs retained their position as leading jurists in the field of private law, they began to lose this position in that century, for it was becoming increasingly clear that private law was a subject of specialist study and that the mere fact that a person held the position of pontifex did not equip him with any special or superior knowledge in this realm. With Quintus Mucius Scaevola, Pontifex Maximus, and Consul in 95 B.C. we see the last of the pontifices who were prominent in the field, and we see its total abandonment into non-pontifical hands. Sextus Aelius Paetius, Consul in 198 B.C. and his brother Publius, Consul in 201 B.C. are amongst the first of the non-pontifical jurists to make their appearance.

We have our most important insight into the functioning of the profession during the latter days of the Republic through the writings of Cicero.

These are a storehouse of information on the profession and its practices, and had his work "On the Laws" not been lost, this source of information would have been richer still. These writings are imbued with an admiration for the old customs and traditions and with a fear that these may pass, and so sincere was he in this attitude and so truly did he himself practise the ancient virtues that even Brutus pays him the compliment that "his ways of life could be compared with any of the ancients."

We learn from the writings of Cicero that there was in Rome a system of apprenticeship under a lawyer of standing, in whose chambers aspirants to the profession spent some years acquiring a knowledge of their art. They observed their seniors in action whether in the courts or in the conference rooms and they gathered from them a fair understanding of the practical application of the legal knowledge they were imbibing at the same time from the treatises they perused. Cicero was a pupil of Quintus Mucius Scaevola who was surrounded by a band of apprentice lawyers and in time Cicero became the wise old man's favourite pupil.

Reading the life of Cicero one is impressed by the great prestige enjoyed by persons such as Scaevola and Cicero and the large number of persons in attendance upon them seeking their advice and assistance. This was dispensed as a patron would dispense his favours among his clients and the greatest men of Rome would be found in the antechambers of such legal personages.

Cicero of course extols the art of the orator rather than of the juriconsult and gives us a particularly clear idea of the functions of the former: "In every case which he undertakes, the advocate has at his command the services of those who are interested in the result, and procure for him the information from every available source. Those who have devoted years of toil and study to some particular department of art or science, exhaust as it were their treasures before him; and transfuse into him, for the time, the knowledge which they possess. It is his

duty to employ skilfully the materials which are provided for his use, and weave them into a plain and perspicuous statement, so that they may be presented to the minds of the Court or jury in a clear and intelligible form. If the most ingenious mechanician, unaccustomed to the art of speaking, were to rise in a Court of Law to assert or deny the infringement of a patent, the chances are that he would not succeed in making himself understood. And this is one of the many reasons why, independently of legal mysteries, it is necessary that 'masters of the art of the tongue-fence' should exist in every civilised community."

Reading the speeches of Cicero we can see in our mind's eye a vivid picture of him in defence of Roscius or pursuing the unfortunate Catiline on waves of eloquence, or exposing Verres. These are good illustrations of the clarity of presentation by a Roman advocate of his case.

Critics tend sometimes to deride the multiple adjectives and repeated ideas in the speeches of Cicero. Says the great legal scholar J. M. Zane:²⁷ "But very noted classical scholars, commenting upon such speeches as Cicero's weary us in their dry-as-dust way, with complaints that ideas are repeated, that adjectives are multiplied, that the speeches, as they say, are tumid, while they cannot catch the stirring life of the occasion, the emphasis of repetition, the glow of the oratory, the roll of the periods, the overwhelming rush and thunder of the eloquence. Mommsen's carping against Cicero is probably the most repulsive thing in historical writing. The whole effect, meaning, and power of the speeches pass over the heads of such people, who cannot be conceived as capable of any sort of forensic oratory." What is necessary therefore in considering Roman law and early advocacy is not to mark it for literary comment as though it were an essay but to see it as something which is very much alive, pulsing with energy and vibrant with thought, delivered against the backdrop of a crowded court. As any jury lawyer knows, repetition and emphasis are often essential to drive home a point whose importance may else pass unnoticed.

Through the writings of Cicero one glimpses an intermediate stage in the evolution of a legal profession. While many of the characteristics of the modern profession were by now present, still there was little regulation of professional conduct in the modern sense. By and large the profession set itself certain standards of honour and integrity but nevertheless there was scarcely a code of professional conduct comparable to that which obtains in the Bars of today. Solicitation of work was not uncommon and Cicero's master Quintus Mucius Scaevola is said to have had a black box in his chambers containing the secrets of the public men of Rome which he used for blackmail even of judges when he had a case of particular importance on which he could take no chances. Compare with this the standards of Mr Tulkinghorn, the staid old solicitor in Dickens' *Bleak House* and one sees the contrast, for Dickens, no lover of lawyers himself, was prepared to concede that the darkest secrets of half the aristocracy, which had been reposed in the breast of Mr Tulkinghorn, would go with him to his grave, unused for his personal and private profit.

Yet on the other hand we see also the highest conception of professional ethics as understood in the profession today. Of one of the most important of these and one which is indeed a conclusive distinguishing factor between a profession and a mere trade, we have an insight through the actions of Cicero himself. When undertaking the defence of Murena against the accusations made by the friends of Cicero, he stated: "The principle can never be admitted that we may not defend even our enemies against the accusations of our friends. As for me it is no

27. *The Story of Law*, p 166

longer an open question whether I may refuse the aid of my service in averting danger from the accused." He observed that if he yielded to the opposition to his acceptance of this brief the consequence would be that a man would be unable to find a lawyer to defend him in a state where the wisdom of the ancients had ordained that not even the humblest of citizens should suffer for want of a lawyer to espouse his cause.

One catches in this statement the spirit of Erskine and of the most selfless advocates of modern times who by placing the interests of their client over all other considerations, often to the serious detriment of their own standing and position, helped to cement one of the noblest traditions of the bar. A body of men who could recognise and cherish ideals of this nature were by no means the inferiors of the most idealistic of practitioners today.

It was in the time of the Republic that the most famous Roman advocates lived and practised. They did so in an atmosphere of democratic freedom which unfortunately disappeared from the Roman scene during the time of the Empire. Lawyers of the independence of Cicero, who stood four-square against all tendencies towards usurpation of the rights of the people and resisted the latent signs of dictatorship inherent in the public lives of men like Crassus or Sulla or Caesar, could not possibly have flourished in the time of the Empire.

We pass now to the third era in the history of the profession in Rome, a period covering the centuries from the end of the Republic onwards.

With the commencement of the Empire the profession became the recipient of Imperial patronage and encouragement. Although in Imperial times the independence of the Bar dwindled, still the bar was so important in the structure of society that the profession could not be brushed aside. Indeed, accepting its inevitability and perhaps therefore, soliciting its friendship, the Emperors sought to grant it honour and prestige. We thus find the Imperial edict which states "praiseworthy is advocacy, which ought to be remunerated by the highest awards." One is reminded of a French parallel when after the order of Advocates was swept away in France and all rights and privileges of the Bar were abolished by the National Assembly in 1790, Napoleon, dictator though he was, decreed the re-establishment of the order of Advocates "as one of the means most proper to maintain the probity, delicacy, disinterestedness, desire of conciliation, love of truth and justice and enlightened regard for the weak and oppressed which are essential foundations of their profession."

In various ways the profession was given honour and distinction. Lawyers were exempted from many offices compulsory for every citizen. They were ranked amongst the *clarissima* of the State. Legal earnings, as with military earnings, were exempted from the rules of *patria potestas* and could be retained by the earner.

Augustus created certain privileges for the more eminent among the jurists. One of them was the right to give *responsa*, that is, answers or opinions on points of law which carried with them the authority of the Emperor and which, when signed, sealed and delivered to the judge, were required to be received in settlement of controverted points. His successor Tiberius carried the matter further by issuing formal commissions to the more distinguished jurists granting them similar rights. Hadrian created a class of advocates corresponding to the Queen's Counsel of the English Bar in that they had special Imperial recognition of their eminence. All this had the result not only of elevating the prestige of jurists in society but also of winning their adherence to the Emperor. It had the result also of creating a body of specially privileged practitioners who added lustre to the entire body of lawyers by reason of their learning and also

of their recognition by the State. From this class moreover were chosen the chief judicial officers of the State such as the Chief Magistrates of the provinces, the members of the Imperial Council and the Praetorian Prefect.

The profession now is not as independent as before but nevertheless is probably higher in prestige by reason of the influence its members wielded with the powerful, and this may perhaps explain why the profession drew to itself the best talent available in the Empire. This may also explain why, when the standard of Roman literature began to decline in the period of the Antonines, the standard of legal learning did not share in this general decline and the Latin written by the jurists has been considered to be superior in style to that of other writers of the third century.

A feature of the profession in the period of the Principate is that its membership was far more democratised than at any time before. It is true that in the past the profession, originally confined to patricians, had been thrown open also to plebs, but in the time of the Principate we find that most of the distinguished jurists are those of altogether new families—families that had played no part and achieved no distinction in the struggles of the past. Labeo's father was undistinguished and Capito was the grandson of a centurion. Moreover many of them were of provincial origin. Indeed so much was the later Roman law the work of Orientals that one eminent writer²⁸ asserts that "the history of Latin written law belongs after 160 to the Arabian East". Seagle²⁹ interestingly points out that when the Orientalism of the classic Roman law became a favourite theme for Nazi jurists, for once they seemed to be right. Ulpian was from Tyre, Gaius from some eastern province, and Papinian probably from Syria.

These jurists not only made an important contribution to the law during their age but, through the reliance placed upon the works of the great jurists in Justinian's compilation, made a tremendous posthumous contribution to the laws of the world in consequence of the Digest becoming for so many European countries the fountain of all their laws. To name a few, Gaius, Papinian, Ulpian, Paul and Modestinus were among the jurists relied upon by the great lawgiver. Ulpian was the most prolific and Papinian perhaps the ablest. Any assessment therefore of the part played by the lawyers of Rome cannot lose sight of the tremendous impact they thus made on subsequent civilisations—an impact which no other legal profession in history has ever made. No doubt the impact of the English common law upon the legal system of many a country that came within the sphere of English influence is to some extent comparable, but this was the impact largely of judge-made as opposed to lawyer-made law.

The period of the Principate is important from the academic point of view because it saw also the establishment of a number of regular professional law schools. In addition to Rome and Constantinople there were regular law schools in Alexandria, Caesaria, Athens and Beirut.

The profession tended also to become more official in that there was now an imperial secretariat offering various offices to persons skilled in law. The profession therefore or a sizeable section of it, tended to acquire the characteristics of salaried officials rather than of independent professional men, with the resulting loss of that independence which should be the outstanding feature of the profession.

There was also a class in the profession who tended to specialise in the work of teaching and writing and of that class the outstanding example is Gaius.

28. Oswald Spengler, *Decline of the West*, 1948 ed, vol. 2 p 71

29. *The Quest for Law* p 391

The best description of the profession in the period up to the commencement of the second century A.D. is what we derive from the writings of Pliny the Younger (61-113 A.D.) and these writings open up for us a window into the court-houses of Rome during that period in much the same way as did Cicero's writings during the earlier period.

Pliny wrote a hundred and fifty years after Cicero, and Pliny gives us a very frank account of how Romans of his class lived and thought at the end of the First Century. The fact that the writer himself published his letters contemporaneously is perhaps an additional assurance that they represent a true picture of the Rome of his time.

In his letter to Novius Maximus³⁰ he gives us an idea of what went on at the Centumviral Court. Boys began their career at the Bar, he says, with Centumviral cases, just as they start on Homer at school. The Centumviral or the 100 Man Court was a popular court concerned with a wide variety of civil litigation and with testamentary disputes in particular. In this court, one found a lay tribunal deciding cases without reliance on a deep store of legal learning. As in the smaller courts to which the less successful advocates even tend nowadays to gravitate and wherein the younger advocates learn their art, there was an audience comprising the lower classes of the Roman populace, and the less scrupulous advocates would for a few pennies make them raise a round of applause. Pliny tells us how the leader of the gang would stand up and signal for applause because the rough fellows in court were so ill-equipped that they would otherwise have scarcely been aware of the point at which applause could suitably be given. With equal relevance to advocates of that category in the courts of the modern world, Pliny tells us "If you heard cheering in Court you knew that the one who gets the most applause deserves it the least."

Pliny complains that the place is not however one for young men, and that at the Courts today "the bars of propriety and deference are down." He describes the hired audiences who follow speakers into court, receive gifts on the floor of the court as openly as they would at a dinner party and move on from case to case for the same sort of pay. We learn from him how only the day before, two of his own attendants were given 3 denarii each and were thereby induced to add their applause to those applauding another speaker.³¹

For illustration of his remark, that the man who raised most cheers was generally the worst speaker, he relates how his tutor Domitius Afer was addressing court and was consistently interrupted by loud shouting nearby and when interrupted the third time he asked who was speaking. He was told it was Licinus; whereupon he abandoned his case saying "Gentlemen, this means death to our profession" and Pliny goes on to say "I am ashamed to describe the speeches of today, the mincing accents in which they are delivered and the puerile applause they receive". A sense of duty, however, compels him to stay on in the profession rather than follow his inclination to make "a withdrawal from these disgraceful scenes."

In his letter to Fabius Valens³² he speaks of fluctuations of fortune in the profession and mourns that he is the only man left in the profession of those who had worked with him when he was a young man appearing before the Centumviral Court.

His letter to Maturus Arrianus³³ gives a graphic picture of some of the tricks of orators

30. 2.14 see Betty Radice's translation, Penguin Classics p 73

31. Three denari would be the equivalent of 12 sesterces which, in terms of what money could buy in 1963 has been estimated as being the equivalent of 12 shillings (Radice's Translation, Appendix p 309-10)

32. 4.24

33. 6.2

and of their anxiety concerning their cases. Marcus Regulus was so concerned with the speeches he delivered that he never failed to consult a soothsayer on the result of his case and, for superstitious reasons, painted round his right eye if he was appearing for the plaintiff and his left eye if for the defendant. This same speaker used to gather an audience by invitation and apply for unlimited time to speak. Evidently his long-windedness acted as an example which others should avoid and after his death advocates developed a custom of applying for only two water clocks or only one or even half of one for their speeches.

Pliny seems to think that this hurry in the disposal of cases also has its drawbacks and states that as far as he is concerned, when he hears a case he allows all the time that anyone asks, "thinking it rash to predict the length of anything still unheard and to set a time limit to a trial before its extent is known, especially when one of the first duties of a magistrate under oath is patience—an important element in justice itself."

Writing to Ummidius Quadratus Pliny quotes a saying of Thrasea Pactus, an independent public man whom Pliny admired and whom Nero executed for his independence, as saying that there were three kinds of cases which we should undertake—our friends', those which no one else would take on and those which establish a precedent. In regard to the second category the reason for our undertaking them is that it is the best means of showing our generosity and strength of mind. He proceeds to quote a number of instances of celebrated lawsuits in which he had appeared classifying them according to Thrasea's dictum.

In a passage which gives a frank personal touch Pliny states that it may be possible to add to Thrasea's third category, a fourth category of cases which bring fame and recognition "for there is no reason why a speaker should not sometimes act for his honour and reputation's sake."

Perhaps we may refer to one more letter, the letter to Cornelianus³⁴ where he relates how he was summoned by the Emperor Trajan to act as assessor. He draws attention to the variety of lawsuits which the emperor was called upon to hear. He describes also the social life that he enjoyed while being a guest of the emperor at Civitavecchia, where, though the day was taken up with serious matters, there was relaxation in the evenings and on the last day the emperor sent gifts to the departing assessors.

As with Cicero, so also with Pliny, we may catch through his writings the picture of the advocate in action against the backdrop of the courts of his time.

Pliny's description of the case of a young widow's attempt to make away with the estate of an octogenarian who fell for her in his declining days, named her and died within a fortnight of the wedding, brings to life the whole atmosphere of the Roman court, and is at the same time startlingly similar to the testamentary disputes of today. Pliny appeared for the children of the old man by his first marriage and the case was conducted before a crowded court where all the benches and the galleries were filled, and the precincts of the court house were teeming with spectators from all walks of life. Pliny's elation at achieving success for his clients in this suit, an elation which he has frankly recorded, is no different from that which an advocate feels today upon achieving success in a difficult lawsuit. So also in his defence of a Governor prosecuted for oppressing his African subjects, Pliny prosecutes, in a scene reminiscent of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and speaks for five hours before the Emperor Trajan. The Emperor expressed his fear that Pliny was exceeding the limits of his strength. We see here that degree of

34. 6.31

courtesy and consideration between bench and bar which is one of the finest features of a refined and smooth-working legal system. We also see the picture of an advocate working for his client with a spirit of complete dedication and, in accordance with the finest traditions of the bar, putting into his cause the finest effort of which he was capable.

During the Imperial period the functions of the jurists underwent a transformation, in consequence of the *jus respondendi* which we have already noted. Where formerly they merely interpreted the law by delivering opinions on matters considered doubtful, they now in fact exercised powers verging on the legislative, because their opinions when delivered under the Emperor's commission carried the weight of the Emperor's authority and were binding on the judge. One is reminded of a parallel institution in the Muslim law, where a formal legal opinion known as a *fatwa*, given by a mufti or canon lawyer of standing, would carry with it the authority of the State and would even oblige a judge to decide a case upon it.

During the period we are examining juristic writing flourished and in this way as well, the jurist played a pre-eminent part in the moulding of the law. The eminent jurists of the early Empire wrote great treatises and were also advisers of the Emperor and may even to a large extent have assisted in the formulation of his legislative measures.

In all these ways, as Bryce points out³⁵ the jurists of this period played a far more considerable part as a source of law than the legal writers of England. Moreover, as Bryce emphasises the position of the jurists during this period was far superior to that of the lawyer in England not only because of his exalted social position but also because he did not look upon his profession primarily as a source of livelihood.³⁶

We see even during the days of the Empire, as during the latter days of the Republic, a class of forensic orators who flourished alongside the jurists somewhat superciliously in that they considered deeper legal studies as work for duller minds. We see in fact a great deal of antagonism between advocates and jurists.

It is interesting to observe also that on the scamier side of the legal profession, there were the touts and hangers on, petition drawers and 'village lawyers', and we even hear of a small schoolmaster to whom the drafting of testaments afforded a definite source with which to supplement his meagre earnings. Schulz³⁷ refers to an inscription on a tombstone in Capua extolling such a schoolmaster.

Another undesirable feature was the long-windedness and irrelevance of some of the advocates. Martial in one of his epigrams makes fun of such lawyers in these terms:—

“Three she-goats are the subject of my case,
Not poison, violence, or murder base:
I claim my neighbor stole the goats away—
The Judge demands some proof of what I say.
You rave about the Mithridatic war,
Sulla and Marius, Cannae's livid scar;
The Carthaginian's treachery perverse,
The tale of Mucius wildly you rehearse:
Stop now your ranting, Postumus, I pray,
And something of my she-goats kindly say.”³⁸

35. *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, vol. 2 p 261 et seq

36. Bryce, *ibid*

37. *History of Roman Legal Science*, p 110

38. Epigram XIX in Bk VI—W. H. Johnson's trans

and in another states: "Seven water-clocks' allowance you asked for in loud tones, Caecilianus, and the judge unwillingly granted them. But you speak much and long, and with the back-tilted head, swill tepid water out of glass flasks. That you may once for all sate your oratory and your thirst, we beg you, Caecilianus, now to drink out of the water-clocks!"³⁹

The reference to water clocks is of course to the *Clepsydrae* which were the measure of the time allowed to an advocate, each *Clepsydra* taking 20 minutes to run out. Pliny was once granted 16 water-clocks i.e. over 5 hours' speaking time.

After the 3rd Century began the period of decline, during which the great jurists were few and far between and were not of the same eminent standard as their predecessors.

In fact as early as Tacitus (A.D. 55-120) we read of signs of the decay that was beginning to set in, for he tells us that the young advocates of his day no longer took the same pains to equip themselves by study and observation for their arduous profession. Emphasis on legal study declined, the young advocate being often content with training himself in rhetoric alone.

The incipient decay thus noted advanced till about the 4th century A.D. when standards fell very low and Ammianus Marcellinus, a Roman historian of that era, gives us a grotesque description of the malpractices then prevailing. Making due allowance for exaggeration, the picture painted shows us that the profession had fallen very low indeed. In this period also, juristic writing practically ceased to be produced, and in the picturesque language of Gibbon "the oracles of jurisprudence were almost mute".⁴⁰

The very decadence of the profession, however, prompted measures for its reorganisation which bore fruit in the fifth and sixth centuries, and it is in the reorganised profession which then emerged that we really see the prototype of the professional organisations of today.

Let us observe some of the rules relating to discipline and professional conduct which by this time the Roman bar had evolved and which are still a vital part of the life of the legal profession as we know it.

In regard to rules of professional conduct the following may be noted:—An Advocate who was assigned by the Judge to appear for a party could not decline the brief except on pain of being disbarred. The spirit of representation at the instance of Court though not with the pain of disbarment for failure to do so, is still professional in the English tradition. There was an ordinance imposing upon the Judge a duty to see that one party did not retain all the leading Advocates on his side. Constantine restricted the number of Advocates attached to a forum. Scurrility and abuse of opponents were expressly forbidden by an edict. All these are the sources from which have sprung so many of the rules which still, in this day and age, survive to give the legal profession those distinguishing features which mark it out from other associations of men.

The profession was modern again in the sense that, despite lack of organisation, there was what may be described as a professional feeling. There was devotion to legal rule and a desire to develop the law. The legal treatises which Rome produced in profusion were not haphazardly drawn up by individuals who happened to profess the law but were the result of a deep sense of dedication on the part of those professing it. They were not composed for personal gain but with a genuine desire to instruct the lawyer and to develop the law.

39. Martial, VI 35

40. *Decline and Fall*, 2nd ed. vol. 4, p 184

The profession was modern again in the sense that its leaders were men of great dignity, leaders in public life and men who, by their stature in society and their devotion to their calling added dignity to the profession of the law. The profession attracted into its ranks some of the most distinguished citizens, being second only to arms and politics as a high-road to power and position. In Rome the profession of arms was of course the profession which had around it the greatest aura of prestige and glory, but the law ranked very close to it. Even Julius Caesar and Augustus Caesar, distinguished as they were in the profession of arms, did not disdain to appear in the law courts, and we have many speeches of Julius Caesar still preserved. This aspect of the profession as a profession of honour was so deep rooted that it has lingered on to the present day.

At the same time however there were regulations preventing the stipulation and receipt of fees, and an advocate could not sue for his fees in consequence of the view that prevailed that the practice of law was fundamentally a profession rather than a trade. There were moreover practitioners such as Pliny who set themselves the highest standards of rectitude and professional conduct, pursuing their clients' interests very often to the detriment of their own.

Though we have for convenience dealt with the period of the Empire as one phase in the history of the profession, in truth it comprises several. We have referred to some of the main features of this age. Through barbarian invasion and the resulting chaos and collapse, the profession struggled on and achieved a second flowering though in a different form in the Justinianian age. By this time "In the space of ten centuries, the infinite variety of laws and legal opinions had filled many thousand volumes, which no fortune could purchase and no capacity could digest. Books could not easily be found, and the judges, poor in the midst of riches were reduced to the exercise of their illiterate discretion."⁴¹

Justinian assumed the arduous task of reducing this mass of material to a state of order and usefulness, and in assisting him in this task the legal profession rose again to the most splendid heights. Tribonian, the president of the council of 17 jurists selected for this purpose, was a scholar so versatile that all human knowledge was his province. Poetry, philosophy and astronomy were some of the wide interests to which he made contributions, and his associates, no less learned, were among the great jurists of the Empire. The task they achieved in three years, the reduction of upwards of three million lines or sentences to one hundred and fifty thousand, of two thousand treatises to fifty books, is a professional achievement unmatched until this century.⁴² The editors of the English and Empire Digest, that great summary of the decided cases of Great Britain and the Commonwealth, were probably entitled to take much pride when they brought out their work in 48 volumes, in the fact that theirs was probably the greatest summary of legal principles since the achievement of the Byzantine Emperor, with the aid of the legal profession of his age. Apart from Tribonian it is to be noted that the Commission comprised eleven practising advocates, and four professors of law.

All too often the magnitude of this achievement tends to be obscured by inane comparisons of the lawgivers of mediæval kingdoms to Justinian. It places the Roman achievement in its correct perspective to note that references to Edward I as the English Justinian have attracted from Maitland⁴³ the carping comment that it was "something like a comparison between

41. Gibbon, *ibid* p 190

42. cf. as a comparable achievement, though in a different sphere, the reduction to writing of the Pali Canon of Buddhist scriptures in 592,000 verses by the monks at Aluvihare, Ceylon, in the 1st Century B.C.

43. *Constitutional History*, 1926 p 18

childhood and second childhood." Even more graphic is Pollock's observation in this regard:⁴⁴ "Men call Edward I the English Justinian; the comparison is at best superficial. A Justinian having no classical treatises of Papinian and Ulpian to make his Digest withal, no Gaius to revise for his Institutes, no golden age of the Antonines, no tradition of Labeo, no Twelve Tables, not so much as a Theodosian Code, must be a strange thing for a civilian to imagine".

To conclude this discussion of the profession we may observe the work of a few great legal luminaries of Rome in different fields, as illustrative of the diversity of their activities. We see in them the various facets of activity of the profession—judge, jurist, jurisconsult, teacher, writer—they were all there and each facet shone with exceeding brightness.

Let us first take Papinian—called the Illustrious in Justinian's Digest. He was among the 5 principal Jurisconsults. Where there was a difference of opinion among them it was his opinion which prevailed. From the life of Papinian comes also one of the supreme examples of rectitude and professional courage. When Caracalla caused the assassination of his younger brother who shared the throne with him and then directed Papinian his Attorney-General to prepare a legal opinion justifying the deed, Papinian courageously refused with the memorable words "I do not find it so easy to justify such a deed as you did to commit it". For this he was put to death.

Papinian, it will be remembered, also once sat as a Roman Judge at York along with two of the other foremost jurists Rome had produced, Paul and Ulpian, when Britain was a Roman province.

Sir Frederick Pollock reminds us⁴⁵ that the land law that Papinian administered at York was so much in advance of the English land law administered by the courts of today that a comparable system can only be hoped for in the time of our children or grandchildren, though by contrast the modern commercial law is much in advance of the Roman. It is interesting to reflect that long before even the rough foundations of the present English legal system were yet being laid, justice had already been dispensed in England by a Court consisting of the greatest jurists in the world.

Julian, the Judge, wrote a Treatise numbering 90 books about A.D. 130. He consolidated various rules of practice announced by the preceding praetors and compiled a single code of practice known as the Perpetual Edict.

Quintilian lectured on the art of advocacy from A.D. 68 to 88. Students flocked to him from all Italy and distant provinces. He wrote a work on the "Education of the Advocate" teeming with observations applicable even to the Anglo-American Bar today. His 12th Book contains instructions on preparation for trial full of relevant advice even for the law student of today. For example he gives such advice as the following:

"It is therefore necessary to examine all the writings relating to a case; it is not sufficient to inspect them; they must be read through, for very frequently they are either not at all such as they were asserted to be, or they contain less than was stated, or they are mixed with matters that may injure the client's cause, or they say too much, and lose all credit from appearing to be exaggerated". This is no different to the advice any senior today gives a junior working in his chambers.

44. *The Expansion of the Common Law*, pp 54-5

45. *Essays in the Law*, p 5

Ulpian wrote 23 treatises, and many epigrammatic inventions of familiar Latin maxims were his, such as *volenti non fit injuria*. He also gave his services to the State, for, as we have already observed, he served as a judge in far-away Britain.

In much the same way Gaius left his stamp on the law, for some of the most important of legal classifications derive from him. For example when Gaius wrote that "Every right which we exercise relates either to persons or to things or to actions", he was laying down the basic classification for all discussion of the law for two thousand years. Gaius' Institutes was the text book of legal study for 3 centuries after his death, that is from A.D. 200. Thereafter it was lost for 14 centuries, but was fortunately re-discovered a century and a half ago. A mediæval monk had erased the text on the parchment and written over it the life of a saint, but the priceless book was restored.

When we examine the legal profession in Rome there is one striking feature which to some extent marks it out from other legal professions in other civilisations. This feature, as Bryce observes,⁴⁶ was that in Rome the legal profession enjoyed a very high social position and that, being to a large extent men of leisure, they were able to devote themselves to the study of the law and thereby enrich the jurisprudence of their country to a greater extent than is possible with a profession that looks upon the law as a means of livelihood. In England and the other jurisdictions which have produced a flourishing Bar, there is the unmistakable fact that although men of wealth and leisure are to be found in its ranks, it is to a large extent resorted to as a means of earning a livelihood. Consequently the more successful and industrious members of the profession find their time and talents absorbed in their day to day professional work and there is little time or opportunity for their talents to be devoted to the loftier and less remunerative task of classifying or arranging or developing the law through systematic treatises, and this task to a large extent devolves upon the Law Ministries, whose lawyers, though equally competent initially, lack the great advantage enjoyed by successful practitioners, of practical experience in the courts.

In Rome however we have a happy blend of the successful practitioner and the jurist, and many of the great names of Roman jurisprudence were borne by men who spent part of their time practising the law and part of their time composing their treatises. Gibbon, in the famed 44th chapter of his celebrated work⁴⁷ which was for long used as the text book on Civil Law in many European universities, reminds us that Labco, the eminent lawyer of the Augustan age divided the year between city and country, between business and composition. Thus he spent half the year in Rome instructing his pupils and advising his clients and the other half at his home in the country writing treatises on the law. Four hundred books are credited to him as the work of his retirement and his great rival Capito was no less prolific, for at least his two hundred and ninety fifth book has been expressly quoted.

The example set by men such as these was carried forward even by those of lesser rank and affluence who joined the profession, and unlike in the bar as we know it in many a modern system, the most eminent teachers and jurists were also the most successful practitioners.

There is consequently a great enriching of jurisprudence when it comes to be developed at the hands of the successful practitioner and this was an unmatched advantage enjoyed over a long period of time by the jurisprudence of Rome.

46. *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, vol. II p 263

47. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*

We must also note, however, on the debit side of the balance sheet that though the Romans provided instruction in law it was largely geared to professional practice. It was in the chambers of the great practitioners of the day and in court that the fledgling learnt his art by watching the great man in action, hearing him advise his clients and observing his conduct of a trial. There was entirely lacking any instruction in jurisprudence or the science of law, in abstract considerations of justice or of legal philosophy, and here the method of the Romans stood in marked contrast to that of the Greeks, whose philosophical bent made them prone to be pre-occupied with such questions. There is very little to be gleaned from Roman jurisprudence on these fundamental questions on which the Greek contribution to later thought has been so momentous. It does indeed seem a significant gap in Roman legal thought that one may peruse the works of the great Roman legal writers or the codification of Justinian from end to end but be unable to glean from them observations or principles of any great significance on legal theory, as the Greeks understood it or as we understand it today.

There are then various limitations on the achievements of the legal profession in Rome but we are left with a general picture of a profession in the modern sense, a profession comprising within its ranks men of great dedication, sincerity and honour, devoting zealously to the profession of the law the best days of their lives. The glimpse of such men we obtain through such writings as those of Cicero and Pliny surely reveals the existence of many more, and it is but reasonable to conclude that these great men were as cultured and refined, as honourable and incorrupt as the best any age or country has seen.

With this review of the profession we must conclude this survey of a race of lawyers the immensity of whose achievement remains unmatched to this day.

It is remarkable indeed that in an age dominated by computer and satellite we are still indebted for the art of the advocate, the skill of the jurist and the traditions of the Bar to an age dominated by forum and temple. It is interesting to reflect also that a satellite sailing over the dead remains of the Roman forum will, before it circles the earth to return there within the hour, sail over a thousand courts where Roman skills are daily practised and Roman traditions are vibrantly alive.

An epigram of Antipater

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Author's note: The English is a free translation by W. R. Paton of *Anthologia Palatina* 5, 108; it appears on page 60 of *Anthologiae Graecae Erotica* edited by W. R. Paton (London 1898). Below is my version:

Europa lives in Athens now,
You'll win her with a shilling;
No chance of a domestic row
And she'll be very willing.
Her room is clean; in winter burn
The logs to cheer a fellow.
Why did you trouble, Zeus, to turn
Into a bull and bellow?

Cecropia Europe stat paucis assibus, ira
est tibi decepti non metuenda viri.
pallia munda parat, brumali tempore ligna.
nequiquam taurus factus es, alme Pater!

Translations

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To read literature in a translation seems at first sight a second-best. Yet the literature of Greece and Rome can make a powerful impact across the centuries, even in translation. I will give three illustrations of this. One evening in October 1816 a young man called John Keats, who was living with his three brothers near Cheapside in the City of London, went to see a friend, Cowden Clarke, who lived in Clerkenwell. Clarke writes, "A memorable night it was in my life's career. A beautiful copy of the folio edition of Chapman's translation of Homer had been lent me To work we went, turning to some of the "famous" passages as we had scrappily known them in Pope's version One scene I could not fail to introduce to him--the shipwreck of Ulysses in the fifth book of the ODYSSEIS and I had the reward of one of his delighted stares, upon reading the following lines:

Then forth he came, his both knees falt'ring, both
His strong hands hanging down, and all with froth
His cheeks and nostrils flowing, voice and breath
Spent to all use, and down he sank to death.

THE SEA HAD SOAKED HIS HEART THROUGH;

The two friends went on reading far into the night and Clarke says it was "at dayspring" when Keats started his walk home. Once, years ago, I walked alone through London streets in the very early morning. I felt as though I were the only person alive as my footsteps echoed on the pavement. One thing I saw and realised for the first time--London's sky. Keats may well have had his eyes drawn skywards too. There were not so many buildings then to obscure the view. He may have gone towards the river and seen Blackheath looming up in the growing dawn with the Royal Observatory at Greenwich perched above the Thames. There too were night-watchers of the skies. At ten o'clock that morning Cowden Clarke was opening an envelope in which he found Keats' well-known sonnet, "On first Looking into Chapman's Homer".

"Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken."

So Chapman had made it possible for the young poet, knowing no Greek, to be inspired by Homer.

The next illustration concerns a young Welsh coal-miner, David Morgan. His school education ended before he was fourteen but he read all the books he could lay his hands on. When he was eighteen he read *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* by G. O. Trevelyan. Much of the book bewildered him but he writes, "The Greek and Latin authors which Macaulay read I had not heard of before. I became eager to read them for myself. Thucydides, Herodotus, Xenophon, Plutarch, Livy, Tacitus It never entered my mind that their books were looked

upon as text-books for scholars and historians. To me they were just books to be read for . . . pleasure Macaulay seemed to have had a good deal of pleasure in reading them." In 1924 when he was twenty-one David Morgan was given a copy of Everyman's Library catalogue and was delighted to find translations of Classical authors in the list. "I bought Thucydides in 1925. The book still bears my grimy fingerprints, so eager was I to examine it. (It was before the days of pit-head baths.) After dinner and bathing I sat by the fire and began Pericles' "Oration" . . . As I read I seemed to hear a voice speaking. Somewhere within my mind there seemed to sound a clangor, as of a hammer on an iron door And then, it seemed, the door suddenly burst open, and I gazed upon Athens in all her pride and glory; a picture evoked by the words of a man who had lived and talked and governed his country over twenty-four centuries ago. I sat by a Welsh fireside, in the winter dusk, but my mind was in Athens on the day they brought the dead for burial, the first citizens to fall in a war that was to ruin Athens Full of wonder and excitement . . . I turned back to read the opening lines. I seemed to be in a room whose confining walls were being thrust apart in space and time . . . It is twenty years since that first reading; but the tears still sting my eyes whenever I think of Thucydides and his unfinished history Everything I have since read in history or sociology, or any other human activity, always acquires greater significance if it can be related in any way to Thucydides' great and tragic book. I went on to the other Greek classics But Greece to me means Thucydides."¹

I first read Homer in Butcher and Lang's translation of the *Odyssey*; it was the first prize I won at school whither I went rather late than most, because I was educated at home, where no one knew anything about the Classics. This *Odyssey* in its dark-blue binding remained one of my treasured books, even after I had learned to read Homer in Greek. In 1918 I was in France, having been lent by my college at Cambridge to help staff a recreation-hut for troops in the base-town of Calais. One raw January day an Australian soldier called Charles came to the hut library in a state of deep depression; he felt the war would never end, it was years since he had left sunny Australia; he was unfit for front line service and was spending his time peeling potatoes in the cookhouse. "Can you find me something to read," he asked, "something to take me right away from the war?" Like David Morgan he had not had lengthy schooling but he read voraciously. "Yes," I said, "there *is* something, but it has lots of Greek names in it. Also it is not a library book but my own and I value it *very much*." "It will be all right with me," said Charles, "and I don't mind the Greek names." I trusted him and lent my precious *Odyssey* for I knew him pretty well; he came to the library practically every evening. But now the days went by and he did not come. I felt my *Odyssey* had gone forever. Then, after about a week, Charles appeared. "Oh," he said, "that was a wonderful book you lent me. I just lay in my bunk for three days reading it. I didn't go near the cookhouse. When I went back the sergeant gave me three days' CB.² That's why I haven't been able to come in." "But Charles," I said, "where *is* the book?" For I saw he was not carrying it. "The sergeant's reading it" he said, "he wanted to borrow it when he heard it was so interesting that I stayed away from the cookhouse to read it. He'll take care of it." Eventually I got my book back with a delightful note from the sergeant thanking me for the treat I had given him and the wonderful holiday from the war. Ever since, I have tried to open the door wide for all whose education has not given them a chance to read the Classics and fairly soon after the 1914-18 war I managed to get two books of translations published with such people in mind.

1. From *Books* No 189 June 1945. Everyman translation by R. E. Crawley.
2. Confined to barracks.

Catiline in Ceylon

L. G. GOONEWARDENE

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To Ceylon in 1971, Sallust should seem a very contemporary historian, for he was in B.C. 66 dealing with a situation which was very similar to our own. Catiline and his group had planned revolution against the powers at Rome and Sallust writes an almost eye-witness history of the tensions and conflicts of the time in a graphic style, full of blood and thunder, all his own. It may be useful to look more closely at Sallust's story as it does provide some interesting insights for our own situation in Ceylon.

This was a 'rerum discrimen', a conspiracy of an unprecedented nature—'periculi novitate'. The desire was for the monstrous and the incredible—'immoderata incredibilia nimis alta semper cupiebat.' The plan was to overthrow the legally—constituted government—'opprimundae reipublicae consilium cepit'.

The basic reason for the conspiracy was economic. The big gap between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' was pin-pointed in Catiline's speeches. All influence, power, rank and wealth (omnia gratia potentia honos divitiae apud illos) were in the hands of a few, whilst the others were faced with danger, defeat, prosecution and poverty (nobis reliquere pericula repulsas iudicia egestatem). Some had a surfeit of wealth whilst the others lacked the means to buy the bare necessities (nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse) and there was nothing left for them except the wretched breath of life (quid reliqui habemus praeter miseram animam). And so, they were rotten-ripe for revolution—'novarum rerum cupidam'.

The backbone of the conspiracy was the 'youth' who had been 'misguided'.

Sed maxume adulescentium familiaritates appetebat: horum animi molles etiam et flexi dolis haud difficulter cupiebantur.

But most of all he sought the intimacy of the young: their minds still pliable and easily moulded were without difficulty ensnared by his wiles.

The distinction between youth and old age was well marked in their propaganda—

Viget actas animus valet, contra illis annis atque divitiis omnia consenuerunt.

We are in the prime of life, we are stout of heart: to them on the contrary, years and riches have brought utter dotage.

The youth underwent a stern discipline. They could endure hunger, cold and want of sleep—'patiens inediae algoris vigiliae.' They were taught a soldier's duties in the camp under a vigorous training (in castris per laborem usum militiae) and to them no labour was unfamiliar, no region too rough or too steep, no armed enemy was formidable (non labor insolitus, non locus ullus super aut arduus erat, non hostis armatus formidulosus).

The picture of the conspirator or the insurgent that Sallust gives us is very vivid:

Igitur color exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo modo tardus incessus.

His pallid complexion, his bloodshot eyes, his gait now fast, now slow.

The violence unleashed by them was unforgettable. They shamefully and cruelly harmed even

fellow-citizens (*foeda crudeliaque in civis facinora facere*). They pillaged, squandered, coveted the goods of others: they disregarded modesty, chastity, everything human and divine. (*rapere consumere sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere*). Sallust's description is indeed graphic.

Fana atque domos spoliari, caedem, incendia fieri, postremo armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri.
Temples and homes pillaged, bloodshed and fire, in short, arms and corpses everywhere, gore and grief.

And turning over the bodies of the insurgents, they found now a friend, now a guest or a kinsman.

Even little children were not spared. Sallust records the mourning of mothers as they raised suppliant hands to heaven and bewailed the fate of their little children (*mulieris manus supplices ad caelum tendere miseris parvos liberos*).

There was complete secrecy in the planning. Catiline's speeches or 'lessons' to the revolutionaries were given in secrecy. He was always careful to withdraw to a private room and to exclude any extraneous persons (*in abditam partem aedium accedit atque ibi omnibus arbitrariis procul amotis*). There was also a secretive oath taken with bowls of human blood passed round, mixed with wine. Catiline first divulged his plan after this oath.

There was even to be a signal for the attack, which was to be given on the previous night (*eo signo proxima nocte*). But the signal had been given over-hastily (*Quodni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum*) and since some of the armed conspirators had not yet assembled in sufficient numbers, the affair came to naught (*quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit*).

It was widely rumoured that certain 'big men' were behind the plot. There were several nobles, for instance, who had a somewhat secret connection with the plot (*occultius consilii huiusce particeps nobiles*) and who were in fact prompted by the hope of power. Crassus, a noble of great wealth, was said to be one of them (*Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem maximis divitiis, summa potentia*). Of course, there were also false accusations and suspicions. Caesar's name, according to Sallust, was falsely associated. (*Caesar falso nominaretur*).

There was also some suspicion about outside intervention in the plot. Piso in Hither Spain and Publius Sittius in Mauretania were said to be accomplices (*consilii sui particeps*).

Sallust also refers to certain prophecies. In the Sybilline books the rule of Rome by three Cornelii was foretold. (*ex libris Sibyllinis*). Also, numerologically the 5th of the month seems to have been the auspicious date for attack. 5th of December and 5th of February are mentioned as the dates on which the attacks were made. (*nonas Decembres*) (*nonas Februarias*).

In Rome they had town-guards to watch the city (*Romae per totam urbem vigilae habuerunt*), since there was also the suspicion that the hard-core revolutionaries were within the city, allegedly leading normal lives (*alii intra moenia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes*).

When the uprising took place, the senate declared an emergency and voted "that the consuls should take heed that the commonwealth suffer no harm". There was also an offer of an amnesty or surrender—

Ab armis discedant Romam supplices proficiscantur: ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populi Romani semper fuisse.

They must lay down their arms and surrender as suppliants: the Senate and the Roman people had always been compassionate and merciful.

And so it will be seen that some of the essential ingredients of any insurrection are there in Sallust's story. The 'Catiline' is a solid piece of writing since Sallust here is a historian with a difference. Unlike his predecessors, he wrote history by episodes—'carptim'. He chose a particular subject and not a period. This gave his work a sense of unity, and he used his materials and his facts in such a way that they would lead to a definite conclusion. It is a pattern which could profit any Ceylonese historian of our times.

A coin to commemorate a musicians' strike

D. W. BLANDFORD
Editor of *Acta Diurna*

As a Classics Master, I look for (and occasionally purchase) coins referring to ancient history or classical mythology. Sometimes the same coin will illustrate both. A good example of this in my own collection is a silver denarius of L. Plautius Plancus (RSC 1 Plautia 15).

It was probably issued in 47 B.C.—or not long afterwards, for Plautius lost his life in 43 B.C. In the civil wars that followed the death of Caesar he became a “marked man” (*proscriptus*) and was finally tracked down (because of the elegant perfumes he used) in the neighbourhood of Salerno—where the U.S. Fifth Army landed in 1943.

Among those who agreed to his death was his own brother L. Munatius Plancus who had fought under Caesar against the Gauls, founded the present-day towns of Lyons and Augst, and the following year (42) became consul with Lepidus. This gave rise to a sick joke about the consuls triumphing over “Germans” (Latin for “brothers”) instead of Gauls.

To turn to the coin: the obverse has the name L. Plautius, and shows Aurora, the goddess of the Dawn, leading the four horses of the Sun; the reverse has the name Plancus and shows a mask of the Gorgon Medusa, who had the power of turning to stone anyone who looked at her, and was finally killed by Perseus. These, in themselves, are useful talking points, but a closer investigation reveals an interesting story recorded in several Greek and Roman writers.

The Roman historian Livy tells us that in the year 312 B.C. Appius Claudius was appointed censor in Rome. This post included the supervision of government contracts as well as of public morals, and Appius Claudius is perhaps best remembered as the builder of Rome's first aqueduct and of her most famous road, the Appian Way, which eventually stretched from Rome to Brindisi and is still visible (in parts) today.

But Appius was also a strict censor. Already, as aedile (in 314 B.C.), he had enforced one of the “Twelve Tables” (Rome's ancient legal code) limiting the number of flute-players at funerals. Now he went a step further. Just as some headmasters object to boys eating their sandwiches in chapel, so Appius prevented the flute-players from banqueting in the Temple of Jupiter on the hill which is still called the Capitol. They had been doing this on June 13th each year from time immemorial, and naturally resented this loss of privilege. So they complained to their union (*collegium*), and the result was a musicians' strike, possibly the earliest on record. The flautists packed their bags and left the city on a protest march (*uno agmine*). It was a well-organised “demo”.

Their destination was the independent town of Tibur (the modern Tivoli) on the bank of the river Anio (Aniene) in the Sabine hills, nearly 20 miles north-east of Rome—where the Emperor Hadrian and the Cardinal d'Este later built sumptuous villas which are still tourist attractions today.

Without the flute-players (who performed the functions of organists and choristers) religious services in Rome were not the same. Some of the senators were rather perturbed at this, and sent representatives to Tibur to negotiate their return.

The Tiburtines promised to do their best. They invited the flautists into the local Town Hall and urged them to return to Rome. The flautists refused, and so the Tiburtines resorted to stratagem.

On a festival day they invited individual flautists to their several homes, ostensibly to supply music at their banquets. Once there, they were plied with wine (Livy adds that flute-players generally are very fond of wine) until they became drowsy and fell asleep. While they were in this intoxicated condition, they were all bundled onto waggons and, in the middle of the night, conveyed the twenty miles back to Rome. There the carts were taken through the Esquiline Gate (near the modern Railway Terminus) and into the market place. Here the flautists were left for what remained of the night, still fast asleep.

The first they knew of this was the following morning when they woke up with a hangover, and felt the bright sunlight shining into their bleary eyes. The Roman people crowded round them and again urged them to stay. This time they were successful, but only after restoring the right of banqueting in the Temple of Jupiter on the 13th June and making it part of an annual three-day festival (known as the Lesser Quinquatrus) when the flautists were allowed to roam the streets wearing fancy dress, playing their flutes, and taking considerable liberties.

The connection between this story and our denarius is provided by the Roman poet Ovid, who says that the man responsible for bringing the musicians back to Rome was Appius' colleague Plautius, presumably an ancestor of the Plautius who issued the coins. Ovid adds that, on the journey, to hide what he was doing, Plautius covered the musicians' faces with masks. This explains the mythological references on our coin; the Dawn (or Sun) is that which aroused the bleary-eyed musicians; the mask is symbolic of those used by Appius to conceal his intentions and later adopted by the musicians during the Lesser Quinquatrus as part of their fancy dress.

On the receipt of my mother's picture

L. W. de SILVA

Oh that those lips had language ! Life has pass'd
With me but roughly since I heard thee last.
Those lips are thine—thy own sweet smile I see,
The same that oft in childhood solaced me;
Voice only fails, else how distinct they say,
“Grieve not, my child, chase all thy fears away !”
The meek intelligence of those dear eyes
(Blest be the art that can immortalise—
The art that baffles Time's tyrannic claim
To quench it!) here shines on me still the same.

WILLIAM COWPER

animum pictura pascit inani

o utinam ista labella queant mihi reddere vocem !
cum tua vox siluit, sors mea dura fuit.
sunt tua labra: iuvat risum vidisse serenum,
qui mihi tunc puero saepe levamen erat;
voce licet careant, liquido dare dicta videntur:
'desinat iste dolor: parvule, pelle metum.'
o quam vivida lux oculis mollisque renidet!
nunc mihi lux eadem tamque tenella nitet.
di faveant arti, vultus qua vivat, Apellis:
artem praedari temporis ira nequit.

Aristotle and the approach to literary criticism*

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Maharagama

Aristotle needs little introduction. He was born in 384 BC in Macedonia. At the age of 17 he went to Athens, where he studied under Plato. In 342 BC at the request of Philip of Macedonia, he became tutor to his son Alexander, later, the Great. Finally he returned to Athens and was put in charge of the Lyceum where his lectures attracted a large number of scholars. After Alexander the Great's death in 322 BC, he was accused of impiety and was forced to flee to Chalcis where he died the same year.

"On the Art of Poetry," Aristotle's written contribution to aesthetics is known as the *Poetics* and in the study of poetic kinds, namely, epic poetry, dramatic poetry, and lyrical poetry. It is believed to be a late work, following "The Ethics, the Politics and the Rhetoric"; there is a twofold rationale behind it—first it can be seen as an answer to Plato's views on poetry, and secondly as a study of the techniques of great dramatists, from which is developed a critical terminology.

As an answer to Plato's ideas, the *Poetics* makes a challenge on three counts. Plato believed that the worth of poetry should be judged by the truth to life achieved by the imitation itself, not by the pleasure it gives. To this Aristotle answers that even ugly things, through imitation, can be seen as beautiful, thus giving artistic interpretation priority over imitation *per se*. Plato objected to poetry on the grounds that it excites the emotions which ought to be kept under control. Aristotle agrees that art can excite the emotions, but claims that in doing so, it releases them, and hence has the effect of reducing them,—this is the origin of the *catharsis* theory. Finally, Plato disliked poetry because it was an imitation of an imitation of an ideal; thus poetry was at a further remove, than the world, from the (Platonic) ideal, and hence at a considerable remove from Truth. Aristotle counters this argument by showing that in its concern for universal truths, poetry is more valuable than history. The historical treatment of a subject aims at reaching the truth merely by way of facts. Poetry is, therefore, concerned more with ultimate truth than history. From this we can see that, in devising counter-arguments against Plato, Aristotle formulated three very important artistic theories.

His second line of approach takes the form of a study of the great poets and on the basis of his findings, the laying down critical judgements. In this he is pursuing three different activities simultaneously namely, description, evaluation and lawgiving: (what is and what ought to be). Taking his approach to "Tragic poetry" as the model, we can study Aristotle's threefold approach.

*A paper read to the Classical Association of Ceylon on 17th September 1971.

First, he analyses the drama, cataloguing the parts of poetic drama into divisions and subdivisions e.g. the scope of the plot, the unity of plot, simple and complex plots, reversal, discovery and calamity etc. Secondly, he makes an evaluation of actual plays, based on his analysis of the components of drama e.g. he discusses and praises Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* for adhering to the rules of reversal, discovery and calamity. Finally, he sets out some general rules for the writing of good drama. These three processes of research are not distinct in the *Poetics*, but are inter-related and merge into one another. Minor objection. We can object to the order of Aristotle's proceedings—he derives his formula for good drama from the plays themselves i.e. plays logically prior to the rules. Sophocles didn't follow rules in order to produce good drama. Thus Aristotle's rules are derivative and *post hoc*.

“The chorus should be regarded as one of the actors; it should be a part of the whole, and should assume a share in the action, as happens in Sophocles, but not in Euripides. With other playwrights the choral songs may have no more to do with the plot in hand than with any other tragedy; they are mere choral interludes, according to the practice first introduced by Agathon. . . .”

The aim of this paper is to reveal the misleading literary critical approach that Aristotle's *Poetics* initiated. Just as Plato in the sphere of epistemology (theory of knowledge) misled centuries of philosophers by his approach, that is, in his quest for the absolute definition of abstracts such as Good, Beauty and Truth. The inclusive definition Plato sought was logically impossible, but so insidiously misleading that Sophocles in Plato's dialogue *Euthyphro* was able to tie his listeners into effective knots by posing the question, “What is Piety?” “Piety is an action loved by the Gods” claims an earnest disciple. Sophocles retorts “Is an action pious because it is loved by the gods or do the gods love it because it's pious?”

Confusion ensues.

The obsession with those metaphysical or non-empirical concepts, sadly, still prevails and modern moral philosophers continue to confuse themselves and others by asking what or where is Good expecting to somehow magically locate this abstract, by concentrating hard.

Aristotle's approach to aesthetic judgements is similarly oriented in its preoccupation with absolutes. In literary criticism, which is the interpretation and evaluation of plays, there can be no absolute judgements, just as in morality we can't talk about the moral Good, but only a morally good action, or gesture, or thought. In other words, to achieve anything at all, we must concern ourselves with particulars not universals.

The formulating of absolute premises in literary criticism is known as the syllogistic approach, and as we shall see, it leads to absurd conclusions. It takes this form in the *Poetics*:—

All plays that have the characteristics X, Y, Z i.e. a chorus, plot reversal, and a cathartic effect, are good plays. But these are neither necessary nor sufficient conditions. For example, it was believed when Racine and Corneille were writing, that all good plays adhered to the rules of the Unities (of date, time and place). For the plays of this time such a criterion may have been adequate, but given general application it leads to absurd claims, since Shakespeare's *Macbeth* doesn't observe the 'unities', and yet we would not want to call it an inferior play, or say that Racine is a better playwright than Shakespeare, or at least if we do, it isn't because he observes the unities of time and place. Thus the absolute—all good plays have unities—is absurdly false. Yet Aristotle locates the greatness of Sophocles as a tragedian in the X, Y, Z content of his plays, i.e. by a similar syllogistic approach.

I think we can pinpoint the error in his reasoning. Aristotle examines a variety of plays, and intuitively, as a sensitive and well versed literary man, knows Sophocles to be a great dramatist. Next step—he analyses the component parts of the plays in order to explain why he responds like this. He finds certain features in Sophocles' plays which he regards as responsible for their greatness. These features are then detached from the play and catalogued in a sort of magic formula for potential tragedians. The false conclusion rests upon one word: (roughly speaking) Aristotle states that Sophocles is a great writer, and writes good drama, because his plays contain the X, Y, Z formula. What he should have said is that Sophocles is indisputably a great writer; he is a great writer because he has talent, and not because his plays follow the X, Y, Z formula. There is a contingent, not a causal connection between Sophocles' plays having X, Y, Z and Sophocles writing good plays. To borrow a quotation from Raymond Williams:—

“An art is a skill, and an artist one who exercises it. Theory is derived from skill and not a substitute for it. Theory should in fact derive from definite problems encountered in the making of particular works.”

Aristotle's approach is also limited by its Athenian insularity. Poetic drama and its nature is subject not only to time but also to place, and those laws which he offers as absolutes are sometimes anachronistic. This is possibly true of his basic claim that 'art is imitation' to which I shall return. The possibility of making a universally and eternally relevant statement about art is controversial. Even waiving aside considerations of time, there are always environmental considerations. In Aristotle's case his statements about drama are relevant to Greek drama, but not, for example, to Indian drama. The Greeks believed that the aim of drama was to imitate the action, but the Indian view was that it should imitate the state or condition of the mind. These diverging beliefs reflect the different cultural expectations of different civilizations. According to Som Benegorl in his book *Indian Theatre* the Greek world view is amoral; the human does not participate in human action; their gods are extra-cosmic and arbitrary. Indian gods, however, are not extra-cosmic; they are a higher sense of man himself; they do not intervene in human affairs arbitrarily—divine intervention or participation is always relevant and meaningful. This shows clearly that however objective Aristotle intends to be, he is tightly bound within the conventions and expectations of his age and culture—so that even if it were valid to lay down laws about art (which I hope I've shown it is not), the law itself would not be a comprehensive one.

To return to Aristotle's principle i.e. that art is imitation. The statement is not only philosophically but also semantically problematic. What does Aristotle mean? Does he mean that art is representational; that we copy on paper, or a vase, or in a play, the objects or human behaviour that we find present in the world? If this is what is meant, then the claim must be seen simply as a contemporary observation, appropriate to fourth century Athens, since art is obviously not representational now (in the strict photographic sense) as a wander round the Tate gallery or any modern art gallery will show.

If we interpret the claim of art as imitation in this aforesaid sense then no serious exception can be taken. However, there is another possible and more important objection. If by 'art is imitation' Aristotle intended not a description of contemporary art, but an explanation of the nature of the phenomenon we call 'art' then there are serious problems. To say art is imitative in this sense is to imply that man can produce nothing without some sort of imitation entering into his artistic activity. That is, that even the most obviously non-representative artists e.g.

the Cubists, must rely on data in the world around them in order to have some material to interpret or transform into their own artistic (and non-representational) vision.

But to say that art is imitation because man has to draw his initial data from the world around him, is cheating—it's as unenlightening as saying that an artist has to be alive in order to be able to paint; moreover, it draws no meaningful distinction between realist and abstract painters, because by this definition they are both imitators, because they are both artists, and art is imitation.

But what of Aristotle's other ideas? Not only does he provide us with laws for the writing of good tragedy, but also he gives a formal definition of the various kinds of poetic drama, of which perhaps the most important is his definition of tragic poetry. His definition is a fusion; and confusion; of objective description and value—judgement. Tragedy is defined in a limited way, without considerations of its historical and sociological origins. (Emergence of drama from religious ritual).

"Tragedy is the representation of an action that is worth serious attention, complete in itself, and of some amplitude, in language enriched by a variety of artistic devices appropriate to the several parts of the play, presented in the form of action, not narration; by means of pity and fear, bringing about the purgation of such emotions". As I have mentioned although seemingly objective, fact is mixed with value—judgement in his definition for although tragedy is in fact "an action".

Whether or not it is worth serious attention is a personal evaluation claim. Furthermore, how are we to ascertain whether purgation of the emotions takes place. 'Catharsis' is a psychological and hence non-empirical concept, and as such can't be measured, even if we interviewed a cross section of the audience to review the condition of their emotions, on the exit from the theatre after, say, a performance of the *Bacchae*.

How do we recognise those purged of pity and terror from those unpurged? What do they look like and say? Will they look different coming out of the theatre to coming in? Unobservable. How can we test them? Even if we could, how would we cope with the fact of some undergoing Catharsis and some not? Has the play partly failed—or isn't it a question of the sensibilities of the individual? Apart from the problem of non-verifiability of the Catharsis criterion, we might extend one objection to the whole idea of ever trying to provide an adequate definition of tragedy. We can never at any particular moment in time provide the necessary and sufficient conditions for calling a play a tragedy. What makes a play tragic? The Greeks believed tragedy was brought about by fate, Shakespeare by a flaw in the character of the hero, Brecht by the capitalist system.

What have *Antigone*, *Othello* and *Mother Courage* in common? Is it only the fact that we call them all tragedies, is it thus the name alone that relates them? What it is that makes us call any particular play a tragedy cannot be answered in terms of an absolute rule e.g. even the most seemingly obvious claim, e.g. that the play should end disastrously or sadly is inaccurate since Aeschylus' "Oresteia", the cycle of three major Greek tragedies, ends happily and harmoniously.

Thus we should reject any search for some sort of common denominator in all the plays which bear the label 'tragic' as futile. In fact if we accept Maurice Weitz's pronunciation of the subject of the problematic nature of the concept of tragedy in his book *Hamlet and the Philosophy*

of *Literary Criticism* we had best regard the notion of tragedy as an open-ended concept—that is as fluid and subject to change and redefinition according to the age in which the play is written—'Tragedy' is not a constant. In fact we *can* only operate the notion of tragedy if it is flexible and changeable in its application. There can be no one definition against which we can measure every play to see whether it deserves the name tragedy. The possibility of readjustment or development in our ideas of the tragic exists so long as the world develops. We reassess our views on what is tragic (what we call tragic) according to sociological and psychological developments which human beings are undergoing in the world.

As Bertolt Brecht states in the prelude to his play *Mother Courage*, tragedy in this century means the suffering of the mute masses, and in *Mother Courage*, the heroine is an insignificant compromiser within the monolithic system of injustice and aggression, a strong contrast to Antigone's idealism. In the next century, tragedy may take on a new form 'technological tragedy' but (for the moment) Brecht's idea seems appropriate to the age of war and concentration camps.

Finally, I wish to take issue with Aristotle's explanation of the origins of poetry. Again, he ignores the historical and sociological influences in its development, as with the development of tragedy itself, and deals only with the psychological, or what he calls the 'inherent instinct' in man, for imitation—as a corollary to this, he claims that we enjoy looking at the most accurate representations of things. Here his approach is philosophically naive. The idea of 'inherent instinct' or, as we would say today, 'human nature' is a tricky one and it is used too simplistically by Aristotle. Like many people today, he treats it as though it were a meaningful notion—a sort of foolproof explanation. This attitude is reflected in such commonplaces as—'We can't change man, it's in his nature to fight'. —'It's human nature to want what you can't have.'

This is to treat human nature (the inherent instinct) as something tangible, possessed by the individual like an eye or a brain. Inherent instinct is not to be located, it is not an organic mechanism to be found in the medical journals, but is a behavioural or operational concept. From the action we can gauge the instinct—we can tell if someone is musical only by hearing them sing or play, they have no locatable music-mechanism in their heads. In the same way, we can only tell if man has an inherent instinct for art by seeing whether he exhibits art, by appreciation or creation, in his behaviour. Result—obviously some do, some don't. We have the term philistine for those people unmoved by aesthetic appeal—can we talk of them possessing an inherent instinct for imitation? Since there are so many counter-examples we must accept definition as a blanket generalisation for the general tendencies of most people.

In a capitalist society it is general for man to be spurred on by capitalist incentives—seeing this as a general tendency, the imaginative step to believing it is to be an inherent instinct is not a big one.

If anything, the myth of 'human nature' is one that is socially relative. Conditioning e.g. propaganda to wage wars will make the instinct of people to fight seem like an inherent one. Nothing is inherent in man; he is infinitely conditionable. The child born in captivity will, until told otherwise, grow up believing that confinement is the norm.

But man is not so predictable—there are non-capitalists in capitalist societies—there are philistines in art loving societies—so the idea of the inherent instinct for anything begins to

fade. With regard to art, if there were an inherent instinct for an enjoyment of imitation there would be no deviations from the rule.

Although it is possible to overcome this objection by saying something to the effect that in some people the inherent instinct for the creation and enjoyment of art has been repressed by societal pressures. But we might say the converse that in some cases special conditions have conditioned people to be artistic against the mass of philistinism—and thus to stand out against the norm. There are psychological and social factors which can explain artistic tendencies developing, i.e. as a reaction to a circumstance, e.g. the domestic conflicts which form the background of D. H. Lawrence's life—the choice between the values of brute strength and artistic sensitivity symbolised in the Father and Mother figures (*Sons and Lovers*). Thus art may conceivably be an inherent instinct in a man, but not in man in general.

Finally, I should like to deal with the notion of tragic feeling. That is to say that if we accept that certain plays evoke a certain response from the audience, and that response or feeling in tragedy is normally one of sympathy for the suffering character and grief at his fate, then we are still faced with the problem of the nature of that certain response.

We are moved by the sufferings of Trojan women, by the fate of King Lear; we feel an almost unbearable anger towards Goneril and Rogan, Lear's wicked daughters, our eyes fill with tears when we witness the fate of Romeo and Juliet in Capulet's monument, when Romeo poisons himself prematurely, and a few moments later the sleeping Juliet awakens to find her husband dead.

We are sincerely moved by the spectacle of Othello tormented by the sadistic Iago, we suffer, we feel grieved, but it is a different sort of suffering and grief to the emotions we would exhibit if we really believed that it was happening to a real person e.g. if Desdemona was our sister.

This brings me on to the idea of a specially conditioned and sophisticated response from the audience—we know that what is happening is not really happening, that the people on the stage are actors dressed up, that at the end of the play Othello is dead, but the actor playing Othello is not. That if we believed that the action was real, that we would rush up and warn Desdemona, and throttle Iago and reassure Othello. Such an inclination happens with children and is exploited in pantomime, where the children yell out to warn the hero that the villain is near. But because we do not call out to Othello, this doesn't mean we are reacting insincerely but rather that we are reacting theatrically according to certain established conventions, which allow us to suspend disbelief and enjoy a drink in the interval and return to the harrowing action on the stage with an enjoyable suffering.

Tragedy, therefore, like drama, in general, is based on a complex understanding between audience and actors, linked symbolically in tragic drama by the chorus—who were originally an intrinsic part of the religious ritual and later in the drama the link between audience (reality) and action (art)—which is both involved in, and detached from the action.

We as audience realise that what we are witnessing is make-believe (play) but that it is also an expression of a profound truth about life and hence on a different level to day to day reality (philosophical reality).

The tragedy of Oedipus is eternally recreatable through art.

As long as the world continues man will continue to suffer and continue to express it artistically.

But why the suffering? And why the art? remain two insoluble problems.

In the sense we feel that Aristotle hasn't attempted to deal with these problems we may feel that he has been superficial in his approach to tragedy, but then the Greeks were resigned to the way of the world and didn't presume to ask too many questions.

Anyway, the *Poetics* is more analytical than philosophical and Aristotle, if nothing else (on that work), is provocative.

My prop in these bad days — the classics*

SIR ARTHUR RANASINHA

Formerly Governor of the Central Bank of Ceylon

I think I should begin by tendering to those of you who had expected me to deliver this address on the last announced date my sincere apologies for the postponement. Physical indisposition combined with rather heavy official business throughout that week was the cause. Had I been compelled to stand before you in the physical and mental condition I was in on that occasion, I should indeed have felt in my person the force of Menander's line:—

'A sort of cold sweat has suffused my whole skin.'

Not that I am altogether free from this sensation even now. It is not quite a pleasant feeling to have, that one has somehow acquired a quite undeserved reputation for scholarship. A kindly Press has discovered a galaxy of classical scholars in Ceylon and has honoured me by including me among them. While it would be churlish not to appreciate the kindness, it would be presumptuous for me to accept the honour. For I can make no pretensions to much classical lore. At most I can make claim to being a mere lover of the classics. Affection for the classics is far removed from scholarship.

Indeed, in the introspective moods to which I not infrequently succumb, I have searched myself to ascertain on what grounds the members of the Classical Association have elected me to the Presidential Chair from which I am obliged, in accord with custom, to inflict myself on you this evening.

Needless to say, the search has been of no avail. My distinguished predecessor, whom you will join me in congratulating on his well-merited promotion to the eminence of an Assize Judge, has, as we know, the gift of writing Latin verse with consummate ease. I am devoid of that gift. I only share with him the great privilege of having been introduced to the rich vintage of Greece and Rome by a true classical scholar, Warden Stone of St Thomas'.

I owe to Warden Stone's teaching, as I dare say many others do, much that has enriched my life since, much that has served to console and sustain me amid life's stress. In the bad days that began to appear under the MacCallum regime for the study of Greek and Latin in Ceylon, it was Warden Stone who boldly declared that these would continue to be taught at St Thomas' and that his school's contribution to the new educational policy would be only—the Commercial Form!

Warden Stone was indeed, the very embodiment of what we regard as the 'classical spirit'—in simplicity, in restrained emotion, in terseness of phrase, in appreciation of beauty, and in equality of temper. May he rest in peace.

In the choice of a title for my talk tonight, I have, as you are aware, taken the liberty of adapting the first line of the memorable sonnet of Matthew Arnold: "who prop, thou ask'st, in

*Presidential Address to the Classical Association of Ceylon in 1955.

these bad days my mind?" I imagine that when he wrote this sonnet, which he did quite early in his literary career, he was disturbed in his mind by happenings in the world around him. There seemed to be unrest everywhere—political, social, religious. On the continent, thrones were tumbling down. In England, Chartism was being worked up into a frenzy. The dawn of the Machine Age had brought with it "the disease of modern life", with its "sick hurry, divided aims".

A mind trained to regard *sophrosyne* as a supreme virtue turned to Greek poetry, philosophy and drama to sustain its balance. In Homer, "the clearest soul'd of men" who, though blind, saw 'Europe', the wide Prospect; in Epictetus, "That halting slave, who in Nicopolis taught Arrian"; but specially in Sophocles, that "even balanc'd soul", "who saw life steadily and saw it whole", Arnold found the props of his mind.

More than a hundred years have gone by since Arnold wrote those lines, but that same "disease of modern life" still persists, indeed has increased in its virulent intensity. We are in such a hurry to raise the living standards of all mankind, that one-half is prepared to destroy the other half of mankind, in order merely to show that its way to do so is the quickest and the best.

We are told that in order to bring happiness to our fellowmen we must produce more of the necessaries and pleasurable things of life, but in the process, as the Indian Saint, Vinoba Bhave, would say, we would force upon them many hours of soulless drudgery that were better spent with God and in godly communion with their fellow human beings.

Sixty nations pledged to furl their battle flags have formed themselves into an organisation that seems to have fulfilled the poet's vision of a Federation of the World, but, alas, one black-ball excludes, and the sense of the strength of strength pervades. Profession of faith in the brotherhood of man does not preclude the counting of the dusky barbarian as a thing apart from the fair Christian child. In this bewildering world of contradictions, an individual soul may not find itself at rest. One begins to fear that hypocrisy is an unavoidable attribute of our artificial civilization and civilization itself is suspect, as being the burnished steel above the rust, the gloss over the savagery beneath.

Perhaps in the stillness of the night, the oration of a man of approved wisdom and eminent reputation, as reported in the second book of the historian Thucydides, may serve to correct the perspective; "we live under a constitution which favours the many, and not the few. It is called a democracy. If we look to the laws, they deal equally with every man. Every man's chance of advancement is determined not by party favour, but by merit. If a man is able to serve the State he is not hindered by poverty or the obscurity of his station. The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends also to our ordinary life. For we are not angry with our neighbour for doing what he likes, nor do we put on sour faces, which though they do no damage, are not the less sure to offend. We fear and reverence our authorities for the time being, and obey our laws, whether they are actually enacted, or belong to that code which, although unwritten, cannot be broken without an acknowledged sense of shame. Besides this, we provide for our minds numerous opportunities to refresh ourselves after toil. We celebrate games and solemn festivals all the year round, and in the tastefulness of our private homes we find a daily charm which helps to banish a sense of discomfort."

This Periclean description of democracy at its best appears as the classic model for our modern statesmen to copy—ignoring, however, the facts that the Athenian believed in equality for freemen only, and that he could by casting a certain number of fragments of pottery, ostracise

his best citizen for ten years merely because he was tired of hearing of his excellence—but our statesmen will remember also the fact that the imperial ambitions of this best democracy ultimately brought about the downfall of the whole of Greece.

We in Ceylon are fortunate in that, since we regained our lost independence, we have had a government that has pledged itself to uphold democracy in the country. A bold political leadership has enabled us to realise a long-cherished aspiration, that of securing that the voice of little Ceylon is heard in the Councils of the world, though not yet in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

At home we enjoy as individuals the right of free speech and action, and *parrhesia*, the boast of free Athens, is also our privilege. But to many of us the tempo of modern life is too quick, too exhausting. We need greater leisure to recreate our minds, to be refreshed to adjust ourselves to the rapid spins of change, and though some of us may feel with Kipling that the world is not progressing, but is only repeating itself, we need some breathing space to stand, stare, and see where precisely we are.

It is thus that an intelligent and cultured democracy can shape itself and apply itself to what a sociologist has termed "the hardest task that faces civilised man", the task of redirecting "to the service of common ends the elaborate complex of material means and social institutions to which, almost unwittingly, he has fallen heir."

My talk has inevitably to take the character of a personal testimony, and I therefore crave your indulgence if I refer to an incident or two in my personal life. More than three decades back, while I was yet a Cadet in the Civil Service, a distinguished but sincere friend of the family, the late Sir Anton Bertram, surprised me in my Cadet's bungalow at Kegalla reading aloud to my wife *The Lady of the Lake*. Scott's jolly" he said. "He is a classic in his own sphere. I hope this is a daily ritual." And so indeed it was for sometime until the cares and tares of public office and household management overwhelmed us both.

These are bad days if in our lives we have to snatch leisure. For without leisure it is not possible to have that enjoyment of the best literature that contributes so much to the happiness of mankind. The best literature is the best expression of the best thought of mankind and what we call "the classics" is nothing less than this.

It is perhaps unnecessary to remind you of the commonly accepted derivation of the term *classics*—how a just and good King of Rome named Servius Tullius, had in the 6th century before Christ divided all the people into classes, according to the value of their possessions, and called those in the first class *classici*, all the rest *infra classem*, and the last class *proletarii*; and how in the 2nd century after Christ, one whom we may call nowadays a literary critic, Aulus Gellius, had in the leisure hours of some winter nights in Attica taken on himself the task of classifying authors as *scriptores classici*, *infra classem*, and *proletarii*, according to the value of their literary works.

To be a classic is thus to be of the first rank among writers, and when we call ourselves here "A Classical Association" we mean we are associated to cultivate our acquaintance with writers of the first rank. Our committee and our secretaries were not, for instance, taken aback when Sir John Sheppard, one of the most eminent of living classical scholars, whom we had the pleasure the other day of hearing on Homer, proposed Shakespeare as an alternative.

I suppose that, in the course of time, and with the development of Swabasha, and also provided that the Swabasha policy will not confine itself to Sinhalese and Tamil but will include within

its scope the cultivation of the choice products of the ancient classical literature of India, this Association may be transformed into one that devotes its activities to discussions on the Mahabharatha, and the Ramayana, on the Puranas and Tantras, on Kalidasa's dramatic art, on the stories from the Hitopadesa, on Panini's grammar, and on the numerous other treasures which we know remain stored for us, but which we, who have been bred to another way of life, have hitherto not had the pleasure of sampling.

It is perhaps idle to speculate how different that way of life might have been had our political and economic history followed a different course. But the utilitarian direction of my education, for instance, prevented my doing more than curiously gazing at the strange script of Sanskrit literature, or fingering gingerly the stacks of old bundles that crowded my father's library. But the way of life though superficially alien was fundamentally human, and the classics of ancient Greece and Rome interpret life for us and give us as clear a sense of the strength and joy to be derived from life as, I dare say, the classics of India or China could give. Scholars have seen a likeness between the epics of Homer and the epics of Vyasa and Valmiki, between Greek and Sanskrit drama, between Platonism and the Vedanta philosophy. The classics, in whatever language, reveal the oneness of mankind and express the best in human thought.

There is therefore no need to be morbidly sensitive about the break with the heritage of our own culture which some feel our contact with the West had brought. It has been claimed for Greece that every 'genre' in literature, with the doubtful exception of satire, has had its origin there. Epic poetry, lyric poetry, dramatic poetry, history, oratory, every branch of philosophy, grammar, literary criticism, in every department there is a long succession of illustrious names. All subsequent literature has been imitative. Greek thinkers first discovered Man's soul, pure science was a Greek idea, and it is to Greece that we owe the concept of public service as something worthy of the highest ambition of Man. And the vehicle of Greek thought is a musical language that vibrates in the memory when the voice itself has died.

One great joy I miss in these bad days is the voice of the minstrel in Ancient Greece, as he sang the lays of the exploits of his heroes. When I was a child, I used to enjoy the singing by a wandering blind minstrel at my home in Grandpass, of songs from John de Silva's historical plays. I remember one in particular, which related the downfall of the Sinhalese which he sang with a pathos that can still be recaptured to some extent in my memory. But today I hear only the harsh voice of the street ballad-monger, intent on converting to his mercenary profit the foibles of some silly man or woman who had done something which in our lack of charity we condemn as absolutely wrong.

It is said that this is the age of the common man, and that the common man does not want and cannot relish anything better than a common sort of literature produced by writers whom Aulus Gellius would have unquestionably placed in the class of *Scriptores proletarii*. I have no doubt that this is so. You have only to stand beside the counter of any well-stocked bookstall to recognise its truth. At first sight the flash of colour from the covers of the innumerable magazines dazzles your gaze. By degrees your eyes get accustomed to the dazzle, and are ready to take in the spectacle of countless beautiful women awaiting your choice. You pick up and turn over the pages, but reading matter within is scanty, and what little there is is trash.

I was told recently by an American, who was once a journalist, that it was notorious that the circulation of periodicals increased by leaps and bounds so soon as you put a woman on the cover. It is no doubt a vastly profitable industry. Those engaged in it claim that, whilst pro-

fitting themselves, they are at the same time inculcating into the gross multitude an aesthetic appreciation of Beauty. If this indeed is being achieved we can have no quarrel. For is it not a postulate of the science of Aesthetics that aesthetic enjoyment must be remote and disinterested? And did not the wise Socrates regard beauty as coincident with good, and tell us that the highest beauty is to be found in the union of a beautiful body with a beautiful mind?

In any event, we can hold fast to Arnold's faith that, whatever the aberrations of public taste may be, classical literature, that is, the best literature, must survive, since the instinct of self-preservation in humanity ensures its survival.

In that faith we can proceed to consider the way in which Greek and Latin classics can prop us up in these bad modern days. A. N. Whitehead was, of course, correct when he said that the decline of the study of classics in the modern world was due to the widening of the road to advancement. "Humpty Dumpty was a good egg so long as he was on top of the world, but you can never set him up again. There are now other disciplines (i.e. other than the study of the classics) each involving topics of widespread interest, with complex relationships, and exhibiting in their development the noblest feats of genius in its stretch of imagination and its philosophic intuition."

But these other disciplines have been developed from roots in Greek and Roman civilisation, and a first-hand knowledge of the thoughts of Greeks and Romans as expressed in their literature even Whitehead himself, no classical scholar but a mathematician, would encourage as being essential for an understanding of the unity of Europe and of European civilisation.

I wish humbly to go a little farther than Whitehead. Whether we in Asia like it or not, we cannot get away from the historical fact that Europe has been with us in Asia for the last 500 years. The impact of Europe on us has altered considerably our way of life. The traditions of Europe have been transmitted to us. European political thought inspires both the democrat and the Communist in our midst. European economic concepts influence our material well-being. Geographically Europe and Asia are tied together, and the barriers which were set up by the vastness of area and the difficulties of travel no longer exist. Distance has been annihilated. Contacts between us are being established at every moment of time.

We Asians are the heirs, not of one, but of a dual heritage. May we not seek to enrich ourselves further by a judicious use of what we have received from both? If understanding is required to keep Europe together, and this, as Whitehead suggests, can be achieved by an acquaintance with Greek and Latin classics, I submit that equally such knowledge will help to keep the world together. For, as a German professor of Classics has said, "the civilisation of the world knows no stronger tie than the groundwork common to all genuine civilisations; and that is our heritage from Greece."

At any rate, through the reading of Greek classical authors, whether in the original or in translation, we in Ceylon may hope to catch something of the Hellenic spirit, to prefer the use of reason to its surrender, to be simple and moderate in speech and deportment, to maintain an evenness of temper, to do nothing too much.

Through the reading of Latin literature, we may get an understanding of Rome and the causes of her greatness—her concreteness, her organising and unifying genius, and the many admirable personages that walked in grand style across her vast stage. We may also learn a lesson from her decline and fall. Let me quote F. H. Marshall:

"The progress of Roman society affords valuable warnings to modern civilisation. It reveals the dangers which accompany the decay of agriculture and the growth of a large and idle

city population, barely kept in check by bribery, doles and shows. It demonstrates the perils of culture unaccompanied by moral discipline, and of wealth when its possessors are without a sense of responsibility and seek only their own pleasures. It shows the social disasters which follow in the train of an ill-educated and frivolous womanhood and of the disregard of the marriage tie, the pitfalls which await Power when it is looked upon mainly as an opportunity for Plunder, the ill-faring of a land where religion is regarded as a sham or as a means of gratifying excitement'.

Who said that history did not repeat itself? But you might easily have missed the lesson, if you had not felt yourself the full force of the savage indignation of Juvenal in his own denunciatory language, or at next best in some spirited translation. I have said 'translation' but the translations I am familiar with are those from Greek and Latin into English. I dread to think that an English translation itself may soon be Greek to a Swabasha scholar, that the window may be firmly closed against the light of Europe, but I fondly cherish the hope that the education of coming generations in this country will be so directed that the great literature of Greece and Rome will find understanding interpreters on the banks of the Mahaweli in our own indigenous languages.

I have spoken objectively of the greatness of the literature of Greece and Rome. Great literature survives through the ages because mankind feels in it the best and truest expression of its humanity. The late Sir Francis Soerz once remarked that he often received guidance and inspiration from the chance selection of passages from Virgil. I recommend to you the cultivation of the habit of turning over the pages of any great book of literature, or even of an anthology like the Oxford Books and I have little doubt that you will find the help you need—Sortes Virgilianae, Homericae, or Biblicae may be a discovery of superstition or credulousness, but have proved to be of help to many. Homer appeals to me because everything in him is intensely human.

The picture of Hector and Andromache with their "tender innocent", "Hector's beloved, beautiful as a star",—in his nurse's arms, "afraid to see his father look so grim, afraid of the mail and nodding dreadful crest topping his helm", has left a vivid impression in my mind from the days of my childhood when I read it first in my "Tales of Troy". The joy has not cloyed yet.

When I see modern beauty on a Sunday morning disporting herself at the Mount, I recall Nausicaa with her maids setting them adown to the mid-day meal on the bank of the river, leaving the garments dry on the beach in the glare of the sunlight. When I read the story of Kuvani in our own Mahavamsa, I think of Circe with her wand and "ill herbs" which she blended in the Prannian wine in order that "the land of their fathers might clean fall from the memories" of her victims, and how even she, Circe, like our own Yakhini, was transformed into a human being with the womanly affection of love.

I enjoy the playful humour of Semonides as he describes the creation of different kinds of women—one from a "bristly sow"—"all her household welters in confusion"; another from "a canny vixen", "the woman who knows all—nothing escapes her, evil and good, she knows it all alike," and one from the bee "fortunate man who gets her".

If I am pressed by my grandchild for a story and my own inventive mind fails, Herodotus is at hand with a 1001 tales to entrance and thrill. In a more serious mood, I would be labouring with the somewhat involved periods of Thuecydides, analysing the motives that lead to human action or inaction, in the hope of finding thus the truth. "It was hard to remember the exact

words, both for me, in regard to what I myself heard, and for those who reported it to me from other quarters; but as I thought they would have most likely spoken on the subjects from time to time before them, while I held as closely as possible to the general sense of what was really said, so I have recorded it". And we rejoice that we thus have the Funeral Oration of Pericles, as "a possession for ever, rather than a prize composition to be listened to for a passing hour".

In the noontide glory of the Periclean Age at Athens lived Sophocles, true artist, striving after perfection, defeating his master Aeschylus in the test for the prize award, but having no self-conceit and gratefully praising and honouring the stern grandfather of the elder poet. I often repeat to myself as a wholesome corrective, whenever I become dogmatic in thought or speech, the lines of Sophocles appearing in *Antigone*, the first Greek play I read at school:

"For whoso'er thinks that he alone is wise or has a tongue that none else has, or a soul that none else possesses, unwrap him and you will find him empty".

I reflect on the martyrdom of Antigone. Was it useless? Or, was Sophocles, devoted servant of the State as he was, who would be a general as Pericles wished it so, was Sophocles asserting that the claims of private conscience, of sisterly devotion were superior to the edicts of the State? Jebb assuredly was not extravagant when he called Antigone "a true woman most tender-hearted, most courageous and steadfast whose sense of duty sustains her in doing a deed for which she knows that she must die."

Euripides the Human, giving us a picture, intensely real and moving, of human character amid the various accidents of life also appeals to me. Medea, like Lady Macbeth would unsex herself if she could—"for we women are a wretched tribe". Alcestis, ere she dies, enjoins on him for whom she dies: "Wed not again, to set a stepdame o'er my children. Some base woman that lacks my virtues, she through jealousy will work against their lives, for to the offspring of a former bed a stepdame comes sharp as a serpent's tooth."

In a naughty mood, I turn to Aristophanes. What malice inspires him against Euripides, what abuse is heaped on him! The great tragedian is tried by women at the ancient festival of the *Thesmophoria*, for "we women are no longer able to do any of those things which we formerly did: such badness has he taught our husbands,"—thus does Aristophanes frame the charge and mock at Euripides.

Frankly, I have not much liking for Aristophanes, spiteful, envious and cowardly, though undoubtedly great in invective. Someone has said that his motto always was *Stare super antiquas vias*, without sympathy with his own age. His comedy *Women in Parliament* has doubtless some topical interest in Ceylon today. Praxagoras moves that "womankind be asked to rule the state. In our homes, you know, they are the managers and rule the house." Benjamin Bickley Rogers thus translates the Greek:—

That they are better in their ways than we
I'll soon convince you. First they dye their wools
With boiling tinctures, in the ancient style.
You won't find them, I warrant, in a hurry
Trying new plans. And would it not have saved
The Athenian city had she let alone
Things that worked well, nor idly sought things new?
They roast their barley, sitting, as of old.
They on their heads bear burdens, as of old.
They keep their Thesmophoria, as of old.

They bake their honeyed cheesecakes, as of old.
 They victimise their husbands, as of old.
 They still secrete their lovers as of old.
 They buy themselves sly dainties, as of old.
 They love their wine unwatered, as of old.
 Then let us, gentlemen, give up to them
 The helm of state.
 For ways and means none can excel a woman
 And there's no fear at all that they'll be cheated
 When they're in power, for they are cheats themselves.
 Much I omit. But if you pass my motion
 You'll lead the happiest lives that e'er you dreamt of.

I think I should now cease this rambling discourse. I could have spoken of hypocrisis the art of declamation with dramatic emphasis—which delights me at times, giving me also an insight into the everyday life of Athens, where human beings lived lives not very different from ours in the environment to which they belonged. Eloquence is one of the supreme virtues, as Cicero would say. It has the power of driving the hearers forward in any direction in which it has applied its weight, but as Hitler's Germany found to her cost *quarum virtutum expertibus si dicendi copiam tradiderimus non eos quidem oratores effecerimus, sed furentibus quaedam arma dederimus*—if we bestow fluency on persons devoid of those virtues, we shall not have made orators of them but shall have put weapons into the hands of madmen. Let this be absent from us.

I have confined myself mainly to Greece and Greek literature for these are distinguished both in matter and style, and provide insight into the intellectual life and culture from which the civilization of today has come into being. Of their philosophy of life, it is difficult, perhaps, to attain the idealism of Plato. And we do not want to go to the dogs, not in the sense in which this phrase is understood today, but in that in which Antisthenes is said to have used it, in the sense of reducing life to a simplicity that would approach the life of animals.

Nor, perhaps, should we follow Aristippus of Cyrene and attempt to play the game with Fortune taking all she offers in the present but not minding if all is taken away. I often wonder whether I may not class myself as an Epicure, not indeed of Horace's meaning, wallowing in a pig's sty, but a follower of Epicurus—undefiled, as interpreted by the Roman Lucretius, enjoying a quiet unobtrusive ease of heart, a rational, and I hope a reflective seeker after happiness.

Let me end with a quotation from H. A. L. Fisher: "Every country is the richer for having in its midst a priesthood of Hellenists and a circle of disciples who can taste the full beauty of Greek poetry in the original." I believe in this. It is our privilege as members of this Association to uphold this faith. May we long continue to do so.

Some aspects of Buddhist and Greek philosophy

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Puisne Justice
Supreme Court of Ceylon

Twenty-five centuries ago civilization had reached a high level in Asia and eastern Europe. Men's minds, deeply engrossed in the humanities, were searching for means of deliverance from suffering. Sages with their pet theories wandered about to find sharers in their beliefs. The slow pace of life was no hindrance to the absorption of new ideas. It was at such a time that Prince Siddhartha was born at Lumbini in Nepal in 544 B.C. In his 29th year he saw suffering in all its forms, renounced material pleasures and went in quest of a solution to the problem of suffering. The creeds of sages did not satisfy his inquisitive mind and he turned to meditation. Six years after his renunciation he attained Enlightenment at Gaya in northern India. Realizing that the root of all suffering was ignorance and craving, he discovered the Noble Eightfold Path as the solution, by treading it himself. It was a middle path between self-indulgence and self-mortification, a way to discipline the mind as well as the body. This approach of the Buddha greatly influenced art, sculpture, architecture and literature.

Let us now turn to the Greek philosopher Socrates. He was born in Athens about the year 469 B.C. and thus came into the world about 75 years later than the Buddha. Though the accounts of his life and work given by various Greek writers, including Plato and Xenophon, are not reconcilable, there is sufficient material available to enable us to obtain a knowledge of his ethical ideas and teaching. There are many significant similarities in the teachings of both the Buddha and Socrates. To both of them the one great evil was ignorance. Neither accepted anything that had not been tested. There was nothing academic about their teaching. Both were in search of the truth, the one permanent thing. Both of them discoursed by questioning. Just before the Buddha passed away, he exhorted his disciple Ananda to hold fast to the truth as a guiding lamp and be ever ready to learn. The Buddha and Socrates were both concerned with ethical conceptions in practical life. To both of them temperance, meaning balanced conduct in life, was a way out of the pressing problems. Both were men of mission. Both resorted to conversation and discussion, not the written word, as the best way of testing opinions. These were subjected to searching criticism. Such methods produced a democratic spirit which dealt a blow to dogma, superstition and ritual.

The Buddha's message to man to discover his true self is reflected in the Greek precept *Know thyself*. One is led to infer that this precept, ascribed to several Greek philosophers, had a Buddhist ancestry. The Roman poet Juvenal (xi, 27) says the precept descended from heaven, presumably because it was inscribed in gold on the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The Middle Way of the Buddha, called the golden mean since it is the mean between two extremes, has been recognized as an ideal by Plato and other Greek philosophers though their handling of this topic did not reach full development. The words *Nothing in excess* became a proverb among the Greeks

and were also inscribed over the temple of Delphi.

The doctrine of flux—that everything is an unceasing change—is an essential part of the Buddha's teaching. So it was with Heraclitus of Ephesus (c 500 B.C.). Xenophanes (c 540 B.C.), almost a contemporary of the Buddha, was a rationalist. Anaxagoras (c 500 B.C.), teacher of Euripides and Pericles, asserted the supremacy of the mind. Were the Greek sages influenced by the Buddha's teachings?

Plato, who died in 347 B.C., was a disciple of Socrates. The concepts of Plato and of his pupil Aristotle have much in common with what the Buddha had taught. Alexander the Great, pupil of Aristotle, became familiar with the Indian way of life during his military campaigns. The Buddha lived about two centuries before Alexander marched into India. He found time to enter into discussions with some of the wise men of India who had renounced the world and lived in meditation in the forest. These men practised the arts of disciplining the body, an idea in which Alexander was himself greatly interested.

Jawaharlal Nehru in his *Discovery of India* refers to a granite pillar called *The Heliodorus Column*, dating from the 1st century B.C. at Besnagar, near Sanchi in central India, bearing an inscription in Sanskrit which shows the process of the Indianization of the Greeks through the fusion of the two cultures. The inscription reads thus:

“This Garuda column of Vasudeva (Vishnu) the God of gods, was erected by Heliodorus, a worshipper of Vishnu, the son of Dion and an inhabitant of Taxila, who came as Greek Ambassador from the great King Antioleidas to King Kashiputra Bhagabhadra, the saviour, then reigning in the fourteenth year of his kingship”.

To what extent Buddhist philosophy might have influenced the Greek philosophers is a fascinating question for the close attention of those interested in probing the history and ethics of India and Greece—a rewarding study to lay before our world of unrest today.

Sophocles: Oedipus Tyrannus the first chorus
An isometric version with a musical setting*

V. L. WIRASINHA
Joint Secretary
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Strophe I

Word of our God, O in accents so sweet from His
Pythian shrine of
Gold, borne to glorious Thebes afar,
What is thy message? My heart all-a-tremble, a-
scare with foreboding,
Cries, "Hear me, O Healer of Delos,
Tell me, I pray thee, what wilt thou accomplish that's
New or perhaps once again gleaned, fashioned a-
fresh from the rounding year's
Store, or wilt thou tell me, daughter of golden Hope,
Voice everlasting?"

Antistrophe I

First on thee, daughter of Zeus, do I call, holy
Deathless Athene,
Call next thy sister, Artemis,
Queen of our land, in the centre enthroned of our
Mart in her glory,
Thee, Lord of the bow, do I call, come
Swift to our aid, O defend us all three in your
Might as in days that are past plague, pestilence,
All you did fend from our
Land as with fire they advanced to assail us, O
Come yet again, come.

Strophe II

Numberless in our midst do woes abound,
None of all our host the plague hath spared.
There is naught of a plan, there is naught found
Weapon to ward us from death. Not the fruit of our
Fields ripens to harvest, our wives in their labour
Wail, "Woe, alas!"

*See Appendix X

For their torment is vain and their strength is
Spent—one by one,
Swiftly as birds on the wing may you see them,
Fleeter than fire all-unquenchable, speeding their
Way, off to seek the shores of Night.

Antistrophe II

Numberless in our midst are they that die,
Children on the ground abandoned lie
For to touch them is death, and of tears none
Shed for them. Silver-haired mothers, our wives too, a-
las, thronging the altars with prayer and petition,
Wail, "Woe, alas,
From our torment release we implore." Chants
Peal out for cure,
Joined by the chorus of matrons lamenting.
Send, for their sake, golden daughter of Zeus, of thy
Grace, strength with cheerful visage bright.

Strophe III

Turn the savage god of war to flight—
Though no brazen shield he bears,
Our land with ravening plague he sets ablaze, roars
His hate, around us wheeling. Drive him back in haste
Away, O Lord, thrust him down,
Deep into Amphitrite's
Halls, out on the dreary unhavened
Thracian main afar. Aught
Of woe the night may leave unwrought
Day succeeding brings to pass.
Do thou, Zeus, God of gods,
Lord of lightning's flaming might,
Hurl down on that hated head thy crashing bolt of doom.

Antistrophe III

Speed from out thy golden-stringéd bow,
Lycian Lord, thy shafts resist-
less. Hear our prayer to thee, our strength, do thou firm-
ly stand in our defence, and Artemis with spear
Of flame she wields when she leaps
Over the Lycian mountains.
Haste, Lord of the chaplet of gold, great
Patron lord of Thebes, bright-
eyed Bacchus, god of wine and song,
Comrade gay of maenad choirs,
Approach, hurl, flame on flame,
Blazing from thy torch of pine,
Hurl, fling them upon his head, the god's whom gods detest.

References to Greek and Roman celebrities in ancient historical writings of Ceylon*

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The names of personages celebrated in Greek and Latin literature have been found in certain inscriptions on stone pillars, slabs or natural rock discovered in many places in Ceylon about five years ago. These inscriptions are of a peculiar character and the names occur in forms different from those with which we are familiar. Scores of Sinhalese inscriptions contain later writings shallowly incised in minute characters between and over the lines of the original writing. These later records have been written on various dates, mostly in the 13th century on the orders of Māgha, King of Ceylon (1215-1236), and in the 15th century at the behest of Parakramabāhu VI (1412-1467). Māgha had given such orders because the copies of the relevant works available in Ceylon had been burnt by the monks of the Maha Vihara at Anuradhapura as they had regarded such works as heretical. Preservation, not destruction was the object of Māgha. The later writings are in the Sanskrit language and include extracts from a work named *Yavana-rājya-vrttānta* (Yrv. An account of Greek Kingdoms) written in the 12th century, utilising material from an earlier work named *Rājavamsa-pustaka* (The Book of Royal Dynasties) dating from the first decade of the 4th century. Passages extracted from a voluminous work named *Parampārapustaka* (Pp. The Book of Traditions) composed in the first quarter of the 12th century, using earlier material, have also been recorded in this manner. None of these works is extant today.

The *Yrv.*, after briefly alluding to the early Greek kingdoms and the city states, gives an account of Alexander the Great. It differs in many points from the history of the Macedonian conqueror given in classical sources. This is followed by references to the kingdoms founded by the generals of Alexander. In stating how these kingdoms were absorbed by the Roman Empire, the *Yrv.* mentions the names of the Roman generals Brahmārya (Flamininus), Mrgesa Anantāvanisa (Mark Antony) and Jvālya Kesari (Julius Caesar). The *Yrv.* also gives information about the Greek kingdoms in the Punjab and adjoining territories and refers among others to the rulers named Dhimitra (Demetrius), Mayanendra (Menander) and Appaledatta (Apollodotus). The dates of their reigns are given in the Buddhist era which was current in the Punjab in ancient times. In addition to brief accounts of the political history of the Greek kingdoms, the *Yrv.* has interesting observations on Greek philosophy, literature and art, in which the names of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Homer, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides and Plutarch are given in Sanskritised forms.

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The text of a brief account of the Roman Empire (*Roma rājya-vrttānta*) is also said to have been incised on stone in the manner already mentioned. Of this I have been able only to tentatively read parts of the report of the Sinhalese envoy to Rome in the reign of Bhatika Abhaya (19 B.C.-9 A.C.).

The *Pp.* is a collection of biographies of outstanding historical personages among whom are some from the western world. In addition to the accounts of Alexander the Great and the Greek princes who conquered and ruled in the Punjab after Asoka, the *Pp.* has given brief accounts of the Roman general Jvālya Kesari (Julius Caesar) and the Emperor Autkrsta (Augustus) who in his early career is referred to as Avaktavya Kesari (Octavius Caesar). In the account of Augustus as well as in the report of the Sinhalese envoy Raksya, mention is made of the great poet Virasili (Virgil) and his poem Ayanedya (Aeneid) in which the descent of Autkrsta (Augustus) from Ayanese (Aeneas) is dealt with. It will be noted that the Greek and Latin names are given in these documents in Sanskritised forms. It was known to some scholars of Ceylon, South India and Srivijaya (Palembang in Sumatra) in the 12th century and later that Greek and Latin as well as Sanskrit and Persian belonged to the same linguistic family. Those scholars also had some knowledge of the phonological rules according to which a word in Greek or Latin could be equated with its counterpart in Sanskrit. Greek and Latin names were therefore given in the forms that were considered to be their etymological equivalents in Sanskrit, which language was considered the norm from which the others had deviated. An explanatory note which follows the mention of Jvālya Kesari (Julius Caesar) points out that the name was pronounced *Yulyus Kaesara* in Latin. It is solely by the similarity of sound that many of the Greek and Latin names are identified with the Sanskritised forms.

JACT and DIDASKALOS

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Editor's note: The reference 'Ceylon press' is to our article under the pen-name *Orbilinus* in *The Times of Ceylon* of 22nd June 1962. The importance to Ceylon was dealt with in an article on the following day. The name originally proposed was a Federated Association of Classical Teachers (FACT).

It is ten years this summer since proposals (which were later reported in the Ceylon press) were first made for the formation of a new association of classics teachers in Great Britain. The planners of the new association found themselves in the interesting situation of having three independent associations already in existence and doing excellent work, but unable either independently or in conjunction to provide all the resources needed by teachers to face the challenge which awaited classics in Great Britain, 25 in all the countries of the world where they form a part of general education. It took eighteen months of patient negotiation before the way was clear, but patience was rewarded by the speed with which the new association (which came into official existence on January 1st, 1963) built up its membership through the goodwill of its constituent societies (the Classical Association, the Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching, and the Orbilian Society). For several years this has been over two thousand (over two hundred of whom are overseas members) and now it stands at 2170.

JACT has committees on the teaching of Ancient History, on Classics in the Preparatory Schools, on the production of editions of Greek and Roman authors, on Slides and on the teaching of Greek. These committees have done important work in facilitating the task of teachers through the reform of examinations and syllabuses, by the production of technical aids, through liaison with publishers. The Greek Committee organized an annual Summer School in beginners' Greek which has a growing attendance, now verging on one hundred pupils. With Discourses Ltd JACT is associated in the production of recordings of Spoken Greek and Latin verse and prose and with EVASS in the production of visual aids.

JACT has held some twenty conferences on subjects such as Literary Criticism and the teaching of Classics, Classics and General Studies in the VIth Form, and the teaching of Classics in Translation. It has produced twenty-six termly Bulletins, three substantial pamphlets and nine issues of its annual Journal DIDASKALOS. Each issue of Didaskalos contains a mixture of articles by scholars illuminating some aspect of classics teaching, articles by teachers on

specific classroom techniques, reviews of examination papers and discussion of the examining of some particular area of classics teaching, reports of developments in other countries, and general articles discussing aims and orientations. Most issues have had sections devoted to some particular topic, as, for example, volume I no 3 (1965) to the teaching of Ancient History, 2, 1 (1966) to Literary Criticism and classics teaching, 2, 2 (1968) to the teaching of Greek. It is hoped that 4, 1 (1972) will have a number of articles dealing with the teaching of an understanding of religion in the ancient world and of the interaction of paganism and christianity.

The classics and judicial wit

L. W. de SILVA

The contribution made by Greek and Latin to the legal literature of England has a *curiosa felicitas* which is a source of literary pleasure even to non-lawyers and which is reflected, often with epigrammatic and ironical point, in the judgments published in the Law Reports of England from very early times. Judicial wit has sometimes paused to ponder on the philological growth of words and the development of their senses in various ways. We do not mean the large mass of legal maxims in Latin sanctified by the law for centuries. When A. E. Housman wrote

“Oh, many a peer of England brews
Livelier liquor than the Muse”

he was not thinking of the “brisker pipes than poetry” embedded in judicial pronouncements. The classical intolerance of barbarisms and verbal short cuts led Lord Simon to lodge his protest (1944) when he judicially examined a claim which was before him:

“Para. 18 stated the alternative claim in a variety of phrases, separated from one another by the repeated use of the bastard conjunction ‘and/or’ which has, I fear, become the commercial court’s contribution to basic English.”

Lord Shaw of Dunfermline referring (1923) to the doctrine of *res ipsa loquitur* remarked: “If that phrase had not been in Latin, nobody would have called it a principle. The day for canonizing Latin phrases has gone past.”

Greek has been used on very rare occasions. Here is a notable instance. Lord Dunedin remarked (1925) that the judges in the courts below had

“embodied in their judgments an appeal for guidance so touching as to recall the prayer of Ajax—*en de phaei kai olesson*—‘Reverse our judgment an it please you, but at least say something clear to help in the future’. In the state of the authorities this is, I think, a reasonable request.”

The prayer of Ajax was again quoted (1952) in a case which referred to the obscurity created by legislation, not “the less wilful confusions of the common law.” Phillimore J visualized (1901)

“an experienced and cool citizen, the ideal *vir constans* for whom *empeiria* makes *andreia*”.

George Spencer Bower (ob 1928), classical scholar, became a Bencher of the Inner Temple and wrote several books which have become standard works on some legal topics. They are enlivened with references to classical authors chiefly Greek. It was said of him that he could recite the whole of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and that a point of law would draw out of him hundreds of lines of Homer or Sophocles, and a quotation from Horace would lead him to reminiscences of great judges and lawyers.

One of the earliest reports of a case (1719) was in three sentences and had two Latin words which, for elliptic brevity, seem to be unsurpassed in a judicial pronouncement:

“Being an infant, he went to Oxford, contrary to the orders of his guardian, who would have him go to Cambridge. And the court sent a messenger to carry him from Oxford to Cambridge. And upon his returning to Oxford there went another, *tam* to carry him to Cambridge, *quam* to keep him there.”

Sometimes a plain English word has had much illumination shed on it by resort to Latin in modern times. Lord Simon having the occasion (1948) to resolve the meaning of the word *porter*, took a binocular view of the meaning of meaning and delivered himself thus:

“In the English language ‘porter’ is not one word but two distinct words—two words of the same sound and spelling, but of different meaning and derivation, which may be confused. Sometimes ‘porter’ means a door-keeper or janitor, and is derived through medieval French from the Latin noun *porta*. The Porter in Macbeth, or Cerberus as the Porter of Hades, was a porter in this sense. The second word means someone who carries things (e.g. a railway porter) and is derived from the Latin verb *portare*.”

In view of the importance of money—*virtus post nummos*—we quote a longer extract from a judgment (1943) of the same law Lord who applied his scholarship to interpret the meaning of the word *money* when used by a testator in his will:

“I agree of course that if a word has only one natural meaning it is right to attribute that meaning to the word when it is used in a will unless the context or other circumstances which may be properly considered show that an unusual meaning is intended. But the word money has not got an unnatural or unusual meaning. It has several meanings, each of which in appropriate circumstances may be regarded as natural. In its original sense, which is also its narrowest sense, the word means ‘coin’. *Moneta* was an appellation of Juno, and the Temple of *Moneta* at Rome was the Mint. Phrases like ‘false money’ or ‘clipped money’ show the original use of English, but the conception very quickly broadens into the equivalent of cash of any sort. The question ‘Have you any money in your purse?’ refers presumably to bank notes or treasury notes as well as to shillings and pence. A further extension would include not only coin and currency in the possession of an individual, but debts owing to him, and cheques which he could pay into his banking account, postal orders or the like. . . . ‘What has he done with his money?’ may well be an inquiry as to the general contents of a rich man’s will. Horace’s satire at the expense of a fortune hunter who attached himself to childless Roman matrons has its modern equivalent in the saying ‘it’s her money he’s after’. When St Paul wrote to Timothy that the love of money is the root of all evil, he was not warning him of the risks attaching to one particular kind of wealth but was pointing out the dangers of avarice in general. When Tennyson’s northern father counselled his son not to marry for money but to go where money is, he was not excluding the attractiveness of private property in law.”

To digress for a moment on some influences which have made changes in the English language as an instrument for the expression of thought, Henry Bradley in his *The Making of English* (I have happy memories of it from my school-days) has pointed out some of the ways in which the Norman Conquest contributed to the transformation of English from a purely Germanic language to one with a mixed vocabulary including the extended use of Latin in

literary culture. The abundant influx of foreign words is not without its lighter side. Here is an example given by Bradley:

“It is interesting and instructive to observe what kinds of objects or ideas are chiefly denoted by the words that came in from French during the two centuries that followed the Conquest. Readers of *Ivanhoe* will remember the acute remark which Scott puts into the mouth of Wamba the jester, that while the living animals—*ox, sheep, calf, swine, deer*—continued to bear their native names, the flesh of those animals as used for food was denoted by French words, *beef, mutton, veal, pork, bacon, venison*. The point of the thing is, of course, that the Saxon ‘serf’ had the care of the animals when alive, but when killed they were eaten by his ‘French’ superiors.”

The significance of judicial interpretation relevant to the cause was vigorously vindicated (1942) by Lord Atkin thus:

“In this case I have listened to arguments which might have been addressed acceptably to the Court of King’s Bench in the time of Charles I . . . I know of only one authority which might justify the suggested method of construction: ‘When I use a word,’ Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, ‘it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less.’ ‘The question is,’ said Alice, ‘whether you can make words so many different things.’ ‘The question is,’ said Humpty Dumpty, ‘which is to be master—that’s all.’”

On Titus the vegetarian at dinner

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In the style of Martial cf iii 47

boletos, caules, lactucas, sectile porrum,
intibaque et bulbos, alia, cacpe, fabas,
et betas video; missis ambagibus, una
sufficiet mihi vox—omne legumen adest.
nec desunt fructus, pira et uvae non sine pomis.
hacc quid significat congeries? Titus est.

Mushrooms, cabbage, lettuce, chives,
Onions, garlic and endives,
Scallions, beans and beet I see,
Every green veg. that can be—
There's no need to specify.
Grapes as well, pears, apples. I
Briefly tell you in these lines
What's the reason: Titus dines!

Some thoughts on the future of classical studies in our schools

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For more than a century parents in Ceylon wanted an "English Education" for their sons. The schools providing such an education were, however, all situated in the urban areas, and it was therefore only boys living in such areas and boys from rural areas whose parents could afford the cost of boarding their sons in the hostels of those schools themselves or elsewhere in town who received such an education.

Daughters followed in the wake of sons with the establishment, in the towns, of English medium denominational schools for girls.

The curricula of the English medium schools were, from the time local examinations, Junior and Senior, of the Cambridge University began to be held in Ceylon (1880), framed in the light of the requirements of those examinations. English Language, which included the study of texts, and mathematics were compulsory. A second language too was compulsory, and Latin was the choice of most boys' schools, and of many girls' schools too. French and, more recently, after acceptance by the Cambridge University, Sinhala and Tamil were the alternative languages most frequently chosen.

Since English was the language of the administration and of the courts, as well as of external trade and of much internal trade, agriculture and industry, it was inevitable that the alumni of the English medium schools should secure the most remunerative employment available.

With the attainment by Ceylon to a measure of self-government, and, more particularly, the granting of universal adult franchise for the election of members to the State Council under the Donoughmore Constitution (1931), instruction in English became an obvious target of attack for candidates seeking the popular vote. The fact that it was available only to a small percentage of the population exposed it to criticism on the ground that it tended to preserve privilege and to be unfair to the talented poor. "English Education" was attacked also as being indifferent, and even inimical, to "national aspirations" through neglect of the study of the languages of the country, its history and its traditional culture, with an apeing of western modes and manners. This trend has resulted, finally, in the adoption of Sinhala and Tamil as the media of instruction in all schools for Sinhala and Tamil children respectively, and of "Free Education" from the kindergarten to the University in an endeavour to provide equality of educational opportunity.

The considerable element of truth contained in the criticisms made tempted the less scrupulous critics and betrayed the less knowledgeable into making even the outrageously bizarre statement that the education imparted in an English medium school was designed merely for providing clerical and minor technical staff to man the offices and run the factories of

“our rulers”. From the fact that an “English Education” enabled one to secure certain types of employment the conclusion was drawn that the securing of such employment was the sole object of that education itself—a *non sequitur* that would have caused indignant surprise to the framers of the Cambridge University’s syllabus, to Hall and Stevens and Holmyard, whose texts we studied. Shakespeare and Milton, Swift and Austen stood indicted with having striven merely to help produce clerks for the offices of the Ceylon Government! Great headmasters like Stone and Highfield, Darrell and Fraser and Le Goc would scarcely have recognised themselves as partners in the mountainous labour to produce that *exiguus mus*.

What has been insufficiently recognised is that an “English Education” has enabled Ceyloneese receiving it not only to have access to continuously changing and developing modern knowledge, especially in the sciences and mathematics, which is not available to those who are literate only in Sinhala or Tamil but also to the literature of English, both original and in translation from other languages, which is of a scope and diversity which not the most ardent “nationalist” will claim for Sinhala or Tamil. In fact, much of the confusion that has attended educational policy in Ceylon in recent years has been due to the unwillingness to accept the fact that the cream of what has been available through English cannot in the foreseeable future be made available through Sinhala or Tamil. We desire the highest knowledge and the deepest understanding that an English education could provide, but spurn or affect to spurn the medium through which alone they can be secured.

When Latin was virtually compulsory it was widely studied in schools as a language. Unfortunately, the examination requirements relating to grammar, the nature of the texts prescribed—the incidents of some phase of the Gallic War, for example, had little of interest to the Sinhalese or Tamil schoolboy, less still to the schoolgirl—and many a teacher’s excessively or even exclusively linguistic approach dampened the enthusiasm of numerous pupils, who were glad to have nothing further to do with the subject after they had passed the Senior examination.

Greek has always been for the few. Most, even of those who learnt Latin, chose other subjects from among plenty that were available. Girls had “feminine” subjects, too, to choose from, like needlework, hygiene, cookery and physiology. Since virtually the only career open to them until recent years was that of housewife, they chose these subjects. Music, which it was fashionable to consider “sissy” for boys, was another favourite with the girls. It would seem that the numbers of girls wishing to learn Greek in any school would not have been large enough to make the provision of instruction economically feasible.

In spite of defects in syllabuses and in teaching there have been appreciable numbers of pupils who, benefiting from more intelligent and responsible instruction, have come to appreciate the classics for their content, for the mental and moral discipline that their study in depth afforded, and the continuing relevance of Greek and Roman thought and attitudes to modern problems.

With the change in the medium of instruction to Sinhala and Tamil for Sinhalese and Tamil children, involving them in the detailed study of two languages, namely, the mother tongue and English, the study of Greek and Latin, or even of Latin alone, received a setback. The detailed study of three languages at school has come to be considered by most parents, and even teachers, as lop-sided—the more so with the increased emphasis that has come to be placed on the natural sciences and economics. Even those students who choose, and have an aptitude

for, linguistics prefer, especially if they are Buddhists, to learn Pali or Sanskrit on account of their close connection with Indian Civilisation, which is historically related to Buddhist philosophy and culture.

The study of Greek has virtually disappeared from our schools. The study of Latin continues to attract a few students, who choose it for a variety of reasons. There are some whose parents are persuaded of its value and encourage their children to study it themselves. Others expect its study to assist them in other fields of study ; such as Roman Law. Others find it an attractive alternative to some other less fancied subject. Others still are attracted to it by its very apparent strangeness.

In this situation the future for classical studies in our schools is one of more or less speedy elimination unless the public and the education authority can be brought to realise that the classics have relevance to life in modern Ceylon, and that their study can be of unique value both for the securing of a clear understanding of what our problems basically are, for avoiding pitfalls, for a warning against the specious argument and the blandishments of the demagogue, for arriving at a just and honourable solution. The surest means would appear to be to select various problems which face us at present and demonstrate, with translations from the classics in English, Sinhala, and Tamil how similar problems confronted the ancients and with what clarity and intellectual honesty the greater Greeks and Romans sorted them out. A very pertinent and topical example would be the conflict between state policy and the individual's rights and conscience. The *Antigone*, the *Apology*, *Phaedo* and *Crito* and many another source could be tapped for illustration. The doctrine of "Might is Right" is often paraded before us in various disguises. The refutation of *Thrasymachus* and many an extract from writers from *Homer* and *Hesiod* to *Thucydides* can relevantly be quoted. We have to demonstrate that the classics are not only for all time but also for all places, including Ceylon, if a future is to be assured for their study in our schools.

It is most desirable that a few Ceylonese at least in each generation should study Latin and Greek and be able to read the original texts and translate and interpret them to their compatriots ; but in the present situation we cannot expect their numbers to be at all appreciable. What we have to strive for in the way of more generally available instruction is that the study of the classics in translation—at first in English, but later, as translations in Sinhala and Tamil become available, in those languages as well—should be fostered, for the reasons already urged. "Greek and Roman Civilisation" has, in recent years, been a subject that could be offered as an alternative to the classical languages at the GCE (Advanced Level) Examination. It can also be offered as a subject at the Bachelor of Arts Examination at the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya. Most recently, it has been recognised as a subject that may be offered at the GCE (Ordinary Level) Examination, commencing with the examination to be held in December 1972. This acceptance provides a very definite hope for the future of classical studies in Ceylon through translations. The realisation of that hope depends on the efforts which those who recognise the value of the classics make to keep the public and the education authority convinced of that value.

While "Greek and Roman Civilisation" was still unrecognised for the GCE (O Level) Examination, it was difficult to persuade a student to take any serious interest in classical matters. A student who decided to offer the subject at the Advanced level generally did so

because he or she had difficulty in finding four subjects from among those she had studied earlier, which were acceptable to the University. Now the fact that the subject may be offered at the Ordinary Level Examination would induce students to consider ahead the prospect of offering the subject at both levels, and, if they so decide, encourage them to interest themselves in classical topics early in their school career, and so better equip themselves for eventual study at University.

In the lower classes at school it would not even be necessary to provide a separate place in the time-table for Greek and Roman Civilisation. The universality of interest of the classics enables them to be drawn upon in, for example, the English, Sinhala and Tamil and language lessons: stories, extracts from speeches, historical writings, philosophical dialogues, poems in translation can be included in these lessons. (A great advantage is that with classical lore the amount of background knowledge required for understanding it is inconsiderable). History and Civics are two subjects which are especially favourable for reference to classical topics: the defeat of the Spanish Armada, for example, would readily provide an opportunity for comparison with it of naval battles in the course of the Persian invasions, notably that of Salamis, the tactics of Drake with those of Themistocles. Ceylon's constitutional history in the course of this century could, very instructively, be compared and contrasted with that of Athens from Solon to Pericles.

Since a future for classical studies in Ceylon lies mainly in study through translations, and the media of instruction in schools for Sinhalese and Tamil children will continue to be Sinhala and Tamil there is an urgent need for clear and accurate translations in those languages. In fact, the future we speak of may well be jeopardised unless translations, not necessarily of complete works in the first instance, but of important extracts, assembled, where appropriate, in anthologies, are speedily made available for use in schools.

There is, indeed, a future, if we who value the classics will ensure it.

The absent-minded professor—translated from Hierocles

D. W. BLANDFORD
Editor of Acta Diurna

The Professor tried to swim, but very nearly drowned, so he swore he would never touch the water until he had learned to swim.

A man met the professor and said: "In my sleep I saw you and spoke to you." "Sorry!" replied the Professor. "I didn't notice you."

The Professor went to see an invalid and asked him how he was. He was unable to answer. The Professor became annoyed and told him off: "I hope I am ill too, and not answer you when you want me to!"

The Professor met a doctor. "Pardon me," he said. "Don't blame me for not being ill."

The Professor tried to train his horse not to eat much food, and so did not give it its rations. The horse died of starvation. "That's a blow," he said. "It had just been trained to go without food, and then it died."

The Professor was selling his house. To show what it was like he carried one brick around with him.

The Professor wanted to know if he looked all right when asleep, so he stared at a mirror with his eyes shut.

Meeting a doctor, the Professor hid under a wall. When someone asked him the reason, he said: "It's some time since I was ill and I'm shy of meeting a doctor."

The Professor had a cask of wine which he carefully sealed. His servant made a hole in the bottom and took some wine. The Professor was perplexed to find the wine diminishing although the seals were intact. Someone suggested: "See that it is not being taken from the bottom." "Stupid!" the Professor replied. "It's not the bottom half that's disappearing, it's the top."

The Professor saw some sparrows in a tree. So he went up quietly, spread his tunic out underneath, and shook the tree, ready to catch the sparrows.

The Professor met a colleague. "I was told you were dead." His colleague replied: "But you see I am still alive." "Yes," said the Professor, "but the man who told me is much more reliable than you."

The Professor went out onto some private land and asked if the water in the well there was drinkable. They said it was—their parents drank it. His comment: "What long necks they had to be able to drink all down there."

The Professor heard that the raven lives for more than 200 years, so he bought one and kept it to find out.

The Professor was shipwrecked in a storm. All his fellow-passengers clung to something that would float in order to save themselves. The Professor clung to an anchor.

There were twin brothers, and one of them died. The Professor met the other and asked:

“Was it you or your brother who died?”

The Professor was about to be shipwrecked, and asked for a writing pad to make his will. His slaves were in a panic because of the danger. “Cheer up!” he said. “I am making you free.”

The Professor wanted to cross a river and boarded the boat on horse-back. When someone asked him why, he replied: “I’m in a hurry.”

The Professor could not make ends meet, so was selling his books. So he wrote to his father and said: “Congratulate us, father. Our books are now keeping us.”

The Professor’s son died. Seeing the crowd of people gather, he said: “I am shy of showing a small child to such a crowd.”

The Professor’s son was sent to war by his father. He promised to bring back the head of one of his enemies. The Professor replied: “I pray I may have the pleasure of seeing you return home safely even without a head.”

When the Professor was in Greece a friend wrote asking him to buy some books for him. He forgot. Some time later he was seen by the friend, and explained: “That letter you sent me about the books — I never received it!”

The introduction to Horace's second epode

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Beatus ille qui procul negotiis,
 Ut prisca gens mortalium,
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis
 Solutus omni fenore,
Neque excitatur classico miles truci,
 Neque horret iratum mare,
Forumque vitat et superba civium
 Potentiorum limina. (lines 1 to 8)

To remind you of the plan of Horace's country idyll with the Heinesque or O'Henry-like conclusion I quote Joseph Addison's precis in *The Spectator* No 548 (1712)—'Horace describes an old usurer as so charmed with the Pleasures of a Country Life, that in order to make a Purchase he called in all his Money; but what was the event of it? Why, in a few days after he put it out again.' Bulwer Lytton called *Epode 2* 'one of the happiest examples of Horace's power of polished and latent irony'; turning to the surprise ending he remarked less objectively 'No one praises or covets a country life more than a rich Jew or contractor.'

The 'literature' relating to this attractive poem is staggering in its immensity; *dies me deficiat* before I could even summarize the translations, parodies, adaptations, explanations, critical appraisals and sermons which it has evoked. I shall content myself here with a few simple observations and illustrations, one or two of which I flatter myself may be original.

The formula with which the poem opens is of course of ancient lineage; Theognis and Euripides made effective use of the *makarismos* (= 'blessed is he who'); many Roman poets employed similar devices (*beatus qui*, *felix qui*, *fortunatus qui*, etc.). Exactly half the sentence gives the positive side of the coin (in Stoic terms the *petenda*), while the other half, the negative side, lists the *evitanda*, which predictably mention the occupations centred on the battlefield, the sea (sailor, captain, merchant) and the forum (client, advocate, politician). The entire passage may be summed up in Ovid's phrase (*Métam.* xi 765/6) *inambitiosa rura*.

Let us descend to particularities and note especially the diverse reactions to the second verse. *Procul negotiis* suggests *otiosus* and *otium*. *Otium* in the *n*th degree was enjoyed by those lucky enough to be born in the *tempus aureum* of *Epode xvi* (cf. lines 41 to 64). To add to this the word *priscus* is often applied to those who enjoyed the world's golden infancy (cf. *Carm.* IV. ii. 39/40 *quamvis redeant in aurum/tempora priscum* and Tibullus II. iii. 18 *glans alat et prisco more bibantur aquae*). But we must not jump our guns. *Negotiis* must not be dismissed so easily. *Epode ii* sheds light on and is itself illuminated by many of Horace's later poems.

Epistle I. xiv. 10, rure ego viventem, tu dicis in urbe beatum, leads up to line 17 *quandocumque trahunt inuisa negotia Romam*. *Beatus* and the *vita rustica* are associated at *Epistle I. x. 14, novissime locum potiore[m] rure beato*? The temptation to equate *prisca gens* with the *aurea aetas* is one which, I feel, Horace intended his readers initially to swallow and later to reject. In other words the first couplet contains a 'planned ambiguity' to be speedily resolved when the implications of the second couplet are grasped. Here *paterna rura* and *bubus suis* force us to dismiss the idea of primitive communism and to substitute the vision of hereditary property. The *prisca gens* is nearer to the *veteres Sabini* of *Georgic ii. 532. Exerceat* implies the *labor improbus of agricultura*; a favourite Virgilian word (cf. *Geo. i. 99 & 220*), it stresses the never-ending tasks of tilling the soil. Ovid, thinking of the consul behind the plough, praises the time when *colerent prisca studiosius agros, / et faceret patrio rure senator opus* (*Fasti iii. 779/780*).

Verse-translators, particularly those of the seventeenth century, were inclined to see in line 2 an unambiguous reference to the golden age; e.g. Samuel Johnson ('Like the first race in Saturn's reign'), Abraham Cowley ('Like the first Golden Mortals'), John Smith ('Like the world's Golden-Infancy'), Thomas Creech ('Such was the State of Innocence'). No wonder so many readers wished Horace had not 'spoiled' his idyll by the tail-piece on *faenerator Alfius* and the consequential grouping of *Epode ii* with the *mempsimoiria* (see *Serm. i.i.1-3*) of the *Satires*.

Finally a brief glimpse at some typical parodies of the *Beatus ille* theme. Menage's epode to Pierre Costar begins!

*O te beatum, qui procul Lutetia
Aulaque et aulicis procul.*

J.-L. Guez de Balzac opens one poem thus —

*O delicati blanda ruris otia
Curis et ambitu procul.*

Jean Morel, Principal of the College of Reims, in his *Lyra Plectri Horatiani Aemula*, eulogizes theological studies in these terms—

*Beatus ille qui procul negotiis
Curisque tot mordacibus*

.....
.....
Deum timere novit et verum sequi.

In a similar vein but rather more influential was the third Epode of Mathias Casimire Sarbiewski entitled *A Palinode to the Second Ode of the Book of Epodes of Q. H. Flaccus, The Praise of a Religious Recreation*. G. Hills' translation of this (London, 1646) I have not seen. Instead I quote a more celebrated version from the pen of Henry Vaughan of the counterblast to Horace's conception of the *vita beata*.

Flaccus, not so: that worldly He
Whom in the Countreys shade we see
Ploughing his own fields, seldom can
Be justly stil'd, *The Blessed Man*.
That title only fits a *Saint*.

A Sinhala version of Horace's Odes 3, 26—vixi puellis nuper idoneus

V. L. WIRASINHA
 Joint Secretary
 Classical Association of Ceylon

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The influence of the classics on Roman-Dutch Law

L. W. de SILVA

The title chosen for this note (it is no more than that) covers a topic which requires considerable research. It is hoped that those whose interest in the law and the classics has not faded will dig deeper into the foundations. So far as I am aware this topic has not received attention.

It is well known that what is called the Roman-Dutch law is derived from two sources—Germanic custom and Roman law—and came into existence as a system of law about the year 1528. But the phrase *Roman-Dutch Law* is said to have been invented by the Dutch jurist Simon van Leeuwen (1625-1682). When Ceylon became a British possession the Roman-Dutch law continued to be the Common Law according to the Proclamation of 23rd September 1799 subject to certain deviations. There is thus a special interest for us in the topic.

It is not surprising that Roman jurists have drawn freely on the works of Greek and Roman writers as persuasive authority for their theses. Dutch jurists have not hesitated to do the same thing many centuries later by regarding those classical authors as a common element of humanism. The chief cause which influenced "the reception of the Roman law" (as it has been called) in mediaeval Europe was its logical nature and wisdom which helped to replace the primitive customary law.

To the sound knowledge which the celebrated Dutch Jurist Johannes Voet (1647-1713) had of the text of the Roman law he added his familiarity with classical authors. He has not only reproduced and adopted the classical references quoted in Justinian's legislation (*corpus iuris civilis*) but has sometimes amplified them by quoting passages of his own selection to support his theories. (The separation of the one from the other is an arduous task which is not undertaken here). In introducing his work Voet has at the beginning of his Latin commentary on Justinian (*Commentarius ad Pandectas*) which is the basis of our Common Law, expressed his views on the origins and growth of laws and the need for rules of justice, and quoted Horace's *integer vitae scelerisque purus* and Ovid's *video meliora proboque/deteriora sequor*.

It is quite apparent that the writers of Greece and Rome had a strong influence on Dutch jurists both in literature and legal concepts. Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) composed good Latin verses at the age of nine. He translated the Greek Anthology into Latin elegiacs. In spite of his great success in the legal profession and his preferment to high office as Advocate-General of Holland and Zeeland, his love for the classics was predominant. He was a great jurist as well as a humanist. During his imprisonment he had remarked that the Muses appeared more amiable than ever.

Voet who claims our attention was Professor of Law for 30 years in the University of Leiden. His lectures were in Latin. He has relied on classical authors to illustrate aspects of jurisprudence and the philosophical nature of such concepts as natural law, right and justice. Among the authors he has quoted are Homer, Aristotle, Virgil, Horace, Julius Caesar, Livy, Juvenal, Ovid,

Pliny, Quintilian, Plautus and others. In dealing with jurisprudence, Voet (1-1-4) supports the old practice that those on whom rested the burden of administering justice were also entrusted with the rites of religion, and calls attention to a note made by Servius on *Aeneid* 3, 80 where Virgil calls Anius king of men and priest of Phoebus—*rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique sacerdos*—that is, the royal and priestly functions were combined according to custom. In the same passage Voet derives confirmation from Cicero's *de domo sua* where there is a commendation of the ancient custom of preserving the state by the good government of its finest citizens as well as by the wise observance of religion through the chief priests. Some old customs of the Gauls and Druids lend further support in a passage cited from Caesar (*Gallic War* 6, 13).

The chief glory of every people, wrote Samuel Johnson, arises from its authors. The support that Roman-Dutch jurists have received from classical authors is remarkable. Even the very dust of their writings has been gold to the jurists of modern times—sufficient proof that the intellectual activity of the jurists was not restricted to legal literature. There is more than one far-reaching point in the observation of the noted scientist Sir Cyril Hinshelwood who was President of the Classical Association (1959):

“Tomorrow sees the authors of today forgotten and discredited, but on the authors of Greece and Rome time has already done its work and has no more to do, apart from the minor fluctuations of fashion. The echoes of their music will not sound more faintly, their passions will not further cool, nor will their reasonings now be challenged and refuted”.

Cicero in his day, while defending the poet Archias, took full advantage of the fact that the judge and jury were lovers of literature.

Quintilian (5-xi-36 et seq) has expressed the view that authority may be drawn from external sources to support a case and has remarked that the opinions of illustrious poets, for example, are often a source of persuasive authority and become all the more convincing since they proceed from minds swayed only by instincts of honesty or honour.

Only a few examples must suffice. In the case of a donation influenced by the threat of danger, the gift is deemed to be impliedly revoked when the donor has escaped the danger. The reasoning is that the effect must disappear with the cause. In making his point, Voet (39-6-3) dealing with donations and acquisitions *mortis causa* (a topic not free from complexity) quotes the *Odyssey* 17, 78-83 where Telemachus gives directions to the spearsman Piraeus regarding certain gifts sent by Menelaus: “We don't know yet how things will go. If those headstrong men kill me secretly in the house and divide all my father's goods among them, I prefer you rather than one of them to have the things. But if I can manage to destroy those men, you may bring the goods to me, and I shall be as glad as yourself.”

Frequent support from Cicero has been relied upon by Voet for his pronouncements. Dealing with the offence of procuring abortion (47-2-3) he cites *Pro Cluentio* where Cicero refers to a woman of Miletus who for a monetary consideration received from remote heirs had herself brought about the abortion of her own offspring by means of drugs and was sentenced to death. Voet whole-heartedly approves the severity of the sentence and Cicero's reasons that the woman had done away with the hope of a parent, the remembrance of a name, the support of a clan, the heir of a family, and a citizen destined for the commonwealth.

In a reference to the Twelve Tables, Voet (1-2-1) points out that Tacitus (*Annals* 3, 27) was not afraid to describe the laws of the Twelve Tables as the last specimen of equitable legislation, and quotes Cicero (*de Oratore* 1, 44) also in support of his opinion: “Though the whole world

may be against me, I shall speak my mind, if any one looks at the sources and contents of our laws, a single screed of the Twelve Tables appears to me indeed to surpass the libraries of all the philosophers both in the weight of authority and the wealth of usefulness."

The relevance of intention to voluntary and involuntary drunkenness is backed up by Voet (47-x-1) with a quotation from Seneca (*de Ira* 3, 14) who advises certain precautions to avoid the consequences of drunkenness in the case of persons who are unable to hold their drinks. To illustrate innuendo and irony in the law of defamation, Voet (47-x-8) quotes from Pliny's *Panegyric on Trajan*.

In spite of the continuous changes in social structures, it has to be admitted that the basic values of the classical authors have been recognized by modern jurists as essential agents of civilization. In an address* to the Cambridge University Law Society in October 1949 on *Some Reflections on Law and Lawyers*, Lord Radcliffe commented:

"The laws of a tyrant may be excellent laws in themselves—they very often are—but the sources upon which they draw for their hold on men's conduct are painfully thin. They are force, in other words the policeman and the jail: and they are loyalty to the person of the tyrant, which at best is likely to be only a sectional thing. I do not think that a healthy legal system can be maintained indefinitely on those lines."

* The Cambridge Law Journal Vol 10 No 3 1950.

The education of women and the humanities in Ceylon

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President

Classical Association of Ceylon

In these days when society accepts the intellectual equality of the sexes and makes no distinction in the education provided for men and women, it comes as a surprise to us to learn that this state of affairs is comparatively new in the history of mankind. Tradition makes it clear that the aim of a woman's education was the intelligent mastery of her domestic duties. The final chapter of the Book of Proverbs in the Bible catalogues for us the qualities of the virtuous woman, whose 'price was far above rubies'. The Athenian view in the words of Pericles was that the glory of a woman was 'not to show more weakness than is natural to her sex' and 'not to be talked of for good or for evil among men'. Both the virtuous woman of the Bible and the Athenian woman of the Periclean age had much in common—they were skilled in the 'house-crafts of spinning and weaving and embroidery, of the cultivation of plants; they were familiar with the rich folk-lore of their people, a culture in itself', and had a part to play in the various festivals of the land. But there is no reference whatever to formal intellectual education. While it would be true to say that there have been in history many women who have won fame for their intellectual prowess in ancient days, it would be equally true to say that women in general received no formal education in the way in which men were educated until comparatively recent times. Throughout the Middle Ages education was closely connected with religion, and linguistic studies and the higher branches of learning were almost exclusively intended for men who sought to be priests, teachers and statesmen. Even the Jesuits, the acknowledged leaders of their time in matters educational, did not in their elaborate Plan of Studies, (*Ratio Studiorum*, 1599), which formed the basis of their educational system until it was revised in 1832, think it necessary to cater for girls in their scheme.

The first educationist of importance to give any consideration at all to the question of education for women was Francois de Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon (1651-1715) who wrote a treatise *On Education for Girls*. At that time women were left out altogether of all schemes of education. Even the better class of girls was left uneducated or trained in a narrow illiterate piety in convents. There was no high ideal of women. Fenelon himself thought that women did not need the knowledge that men possessed—"they cannot", he said, "govern a state, or make war, or enter holy orders and so can do very well without political science, jurisprudence, philosophy and theology. It is enough if one day they know how to rule their households and obey their husbands without arguing about it". But the ignorant woman, he felt, was harmed in body and in mind by idleness, and the cure for this was "solid learning" in matters appropriate to their sex—religious knowledge, reading, writing, arithmetic, music, painting, and training in household affairs.

The study of the Classics in Ceylon was the result of an accident. In 1505 the vagaries of wind and weather brought to our shores a Portuguese ship, pregnant, one might say in Virgil's words, with Fate for our Island. It was not long before the armed forces of Portugal were embroiled in the affairs of Ceylon, and in the wake of the army came the missionaries—first the Franciscans, who founded the first secular schools, where 'reading, religion, writing, singing, Latin and good customs' were taught. They were soon followed by the Jesuits, the priestly order founded by Ignatius of Loyola, recognised in Europe as masters of the art of education. They catered to the needs of the children of the Portuguese officers, both civil and military, and of the Sinhalese chieftains. There is no record, however, of girls being included in their system of schools.

When, over 150 years later, the Dutch ousted the Portuguese, they found a well-established system of schools, but, having a reputation for the best school system in Europe of those days, they superimposed upon it their own and expanded it. The curriculum was western in outlook, the medium of instruction, in the secondary schools, was Dutch, and in the higher classes, where Hebrew, Latin and Greek were taught, was Latin. Under the Dutch, attendance at school, at least in the primary section, was compulsory, and both boys and girls received an elementary education together. Most of the pupils, however, left school in their eighth year. Those who continued after that year aspired to governmental office, to priesthood or to be teachers, vocations that were open only to males. Girls, therefore, were not permitted entry into secondary schools and no form of higher education for girls was known.

It was only after the advent of the British that any systematic approach was made to provide a formal education for girls. With them too it was the missionaries who began to establish schools for girls, side by side with the boys' schools. The curriculum they followed was much the same as that which obtained in the larger boys' schools. Latin (or a classical language) was compulsory for the first public examinations held in Ceylon, namely the Cambridge Locals (1880) and the London University Matriculation examination (1882). Unfortunately, in those early years, avenues of employment for women hardly existed, and educational attainments in the form of examinations passed were regarded as a qualification or asset for marriage and accomplishments such as music, sewing and art were highly valued. Most of the girls' schools established at this time were founded by various religious orders to cater to the needs of the 'upper' classes in Colombo and other big cities, notably Jaffna and Kandy. Most girls, however, did not proceed beyond the secondary stage in their education. Even when, after much agitation, the University College was founded in Colombo in 1921 as a first step towards providing Higher Education in Ceylon, the number of women students was very small—during the first ten years of its life the proportion of women students to men at the University College was about one to ten. This was due to a great extent to the conservatism of society rather than to a lack of interest, opportunity or talent. Latin continued to be a necessary pre-requisite while the humanities enjoyed high prestige. Greek was first taught in the bigger boys' schools mainly because the early missionaries, who were pioneers in the field of education, were themselves classics scholars; the subject, however, did not find a place in the girls' schools.

Even after 1945 when, after the introduction of Free Education, there was an explosive increase in the numbers of pupils seeking education, when parents no longer had to be wooed to send their children to particular schools, and when schools could no longer find room for all who sought admission, no provision was made for the study of Greek in girls' schools and only a

few taught Latin, though it was still a necessity for legal education and for higher education in Britain at that time. From 1945 onwards there has been a marked bias towards science and technology and the diversification into Science and Arts at the end of the eighth year of schooling has resulted in the swelling of the science stream almost to overflowing, where accommodation, equipment and teachers are unable to keep pace with the demand. This has affected the girls' schools also, for the second World War ended the monopoly of the professions that had been the preserve of men, and women competed on equal terms with men in almost all fields of employment. The humanities and linguistic and literary studies were the first casualties. Today it is true to say that a good many of those who are in the Arts stream are students who have been found unfit to follow science courses. It is not only the study of Latin and Greek that is gradually fading and falling by the wayside but also the study of all classical languages, such as Pali and Sanskrit, and even English, as a literary subject. Attempts are being made to stem the tide of disaster, to keep alive the flickering torch of humanistic studies whose extinction will, beyond all doubt, mar the glory of our cultural heritage and impoverish the treasures of worthwhile knowledge. An education that ignores these studies cannot but be lopsided and self-defeating.

The flame of classical studies, however, still burns. In recent years *Greek and Roman Civilisation* was added as a subject that may be offered for the G.C.E. Advanced Level examination with the prospect of continuing it in the University. It consists of a number of the great works of ancient Greece and Rome to be studied in translation, at present only in English. It gained almost immediate popularity in the girls' schools, with a few boys' schools also offering it. From 1972 this subject will also be available in English translation at the Ordinary Level examination. This might well create an upsurge of interest in the classics. It certainly offers a welcome addition to literary studies and the great classics will still continue to be studied with pleasure, profit and enthusiasm in our schools. The success of the pupils of the girls' schools in this subject at the examinations augurs well for it among those who have a feeling for the beauty of a culture that still remains a possession for ever.

In a multi-lingual, multi-racial and multi-religious society such as ours it is unavoidable that the school curriculum should contain the study of at least two of the languages of the country, with the option of the third, and also provide for the teaching of all the religions; mathematics too is necessary as a core subject. In most schools a maximum of eight subjects may be taught in the senior secondary stage: of the remaining four, three will be the conventional Science or Arts group. It is only the eighth subject that would offer the choice of classics or some branch of study not provided earlier. In most schools a wide variety of such subjects cannot be provided. It is not surprising that, in view of the small numbers offering the humanities in the original, and the dearth of competent teachers, to say nothing of the deterioration in the standard of scholarship in languages, we find that Latin is taught only in a few private schools while Greek has been dropped altogether. Even at the level of the University the study of the classics in the original is gradually fading.

The reason is not far to seek: those who plan seem to set their sights on producing individuals equipped only for employment; the whole system of education is job-oriented; in an unreasoning and misguided way the evils of unemployment are laid at the door of education. Only instruction of utilitarian value need be given in schools. The tragic consequences of this near-sighted policy are upon us already: *vis consili expers mole ruit sua*. Our cultural heritage is derived from some of the greatest civilisations in the world. Our youth cannot reject or refuse it without paying the penalty.

Parody on JACT'S idea of Latin without Latin

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educatio nova — lingua sine lingua

ut discat linguam, linguam mea filia iactat
Romanam, Cicero qua prius usus erat.
quid magis obscurum? sed prosit forsitan illud.
omnes iam linguas nupta docenda mea est.

My daughter's learning Latin, so Latin, she'll come off it.
The language once old Cicero employed she now must spurn.
I cannot understand it, but I see perhaps some profit.
Her mother now from this day forth must every language learn.

Some thoughts on hubris

L. W. de SILVA

Hamlet listed five pressing grievances among the whips and scorns of time:

“For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
The oppressor’s wrong, the proud man’s contumely,
The pangs of despised love, the law’s delay,
The insolence of office”?

The order of precedence is noteworthy. All except one are founded on *hubris*. None of them has become obsolete. There are indeed others in the catalogue. Like Freedom, they have slowly broadened down from precedent to precedent. The oppressor’s wrong is admirably brought out by Macaulay who has remarked that the sum of almost all the instructions that Warren Hastings, when he was in India, ever received from his directors in England meant simply “Be the father and the oppressor of the people: be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious.” Here we see a remarkable instance of repeated directions given to a person in a position of trust to resort to a judicious admixture of *hubris*, *sophrosyne* or *dike* in the performance of his duties.

The extent to which Warren Hastings carried out those directions is not a relevant consideration here. But there is an aspect which could hardly be overlooked. During his voyage of more than four months from Bengal to England, his mind, not that of a “harassed seaman”, was drawn to Horace’s ode *otium divos rogat*. Did *otium* have a special significance for Hastings at the time? Was he thinking of that exacting proportion of *hubris* and *dike* to which his unconscientious directors had driven him? Macaulay does not touch on this aspect. He has remarked:

“Among the compositions by which he beguiled the tediousness of that long leisure was a pleasing imitation of Horace’s *otium divos rogat*. This little poem was inscribed to Mr Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, a man of whose integrity, humanity, and honour, it is impossible to speak too highly; but who, like some other excellent members of the civil service, extended to the conduct of his friend Hastings an indulgence of which his own conduct never stood in need.”

(The poem was not ‘little’ — 72 lines vs 40 of Horace).

The parts which had fallen to Hamlet as well as Hastings have an ancestry as old as Zeus. We have referred before now to that corrosive ill-temper which in our own country is a distinguishing trait in some of our public departments. It is a form of hubris. The insolence of public servants by reason of the office they hold is notoriously widespread. It is particularly intolerable where the insolence, when complained against, receives the protection of interested politicians. It is a case of kicking against the pricks. How hard it is to stand against insolence is thus stated by Hesiod:

“Overbearing conduct is bad for a poor wight, nay, not even a gentleman can bear the weight of it easily, but he is borne down by it when he has fallen into the mischiefs it causes.”
As in most things there are degrees of hubris, some more acute than others, for example:

"When vice prevails and impious men bear away,
The post of honour is a private station."

To the ancient Greek there was no greater sin than hubris. Various manifestations of it are provided by the Greek dramatists and later writers. Prominent in representations of Satan is hubristic conduct. His dominant characteristics, in the words of Mephistopheles, were 'aspiring pride and insolence'. It appears from the *Prometheus Vincetus* that when Zeus became lord after overthrowing his father Cronos, benevolence was not a characteristic of him as a ruler. On the contrary he exhibited the insolence of office, a new despotism (seen today in many places) which the novelty of authority often breeds. At the division of the world the allocation of an equal share with Zeus led Poseidon to regard himself as the peer of Zeus with the same prestige and spirit of defiance.

One aspect of hubris is that it is a form of brutality caused by a blinding success, power and pride. This quality is seen in varying degrees in the upstart. When Cassandra went to Mycenae as a captive, she was told that upstarts who reaped fortunes beyond their hopes always acted harshly. To Zeus self-will was the only authority. His insolence and arrogance went so far as to make him want to wipe out the human race and create another—a case of insolence of office at the very top.

The Greek word *hubris* has been absorbed into the English language as a part of its vocabulary presumably for the reason that no single word in English brings out the untranslatable shades of meaning which are implicit in the Greek word. In Greek law, for instance, it covered serious injuries caused to a person. The label hubris may be fastened on the act of any who (as the saying goes) runs riot, as in the case of the suitors of Penelope. But what is involved in the word is not confined to human beings only. There are contexts to indicate that the word has been used to describe the unruly behaviour of over-fed animals such as asses, horses, elephants; or a river in spate, or plants growing rank. This last instance has an echo in *Richard iii* where the young Duke of York (inclined towards *sophrosyne*) says:

"And since, methinks, I would not grow so fast,
Because sweet flowers are slow and weeds make haste."

The idea of going too far is present in hubris. Its nature is set out in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* 873: "Insolence breeds the tyrant and hurls him down from its pinnacle to the gulf where there is no foothold." An outrage committed need not be physical.

The relevance of hubris to certain aspects of the modern law is instructive. For example, recklessness in law has that element in conduct which totally disregards consequences. The punishment prescribed by law in cases where recklessness is an offence takes into account the manner in which the reckless act is committed. The essential ingredient is the absence of a state of control which may be identified with *sophrosyne*. When the charge, for instance, is one of reckless driving of a motor vehicle, one should be able to sum up the facts and say "Here is a man riding blindly for a fall." The law in such instances has hubris for its foundation—self-assertiveness of a lawless kind.

Does it seem likely that Virgil had more than his immediate context in mind when he wrote *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*—to spare the stricken and strike down the insolent aggressor? In referring to the passage in which the line occurs, T. E. Page has remarked: "In no passage has the spirit of Roman ambition found nobler expression than in the splendid arrogance of these famous lines."

Ancient Athens and modern Ceylon Professor Whiteley's warnings

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We in Ceylon have clearly had less excuse for turning a deaf ear to the warnings given us by Professor Whiteley in the 1930's and 1940's than the Trojans had for neglecting those of Cassandra. Her warnings were based on what she had learnt from Apollo while she was in a state of divine possession, and could therefore have carried conviction only to believers in divine revelation. Professor Whiteley's admonitions, on the other hand, were based on the tested evidence of history, on the acknowledged success of the Greeks—of the Athenians of the fifth century in particular—in achieving the "good life" individually and as a community. He once had occasion to observe:—

"Two things are painfully plain about contemporary Ceylon, first the lack of good citizenship, secondly the vulgarity of our lives. There is a demonstrable connection between the two evils. The cure for both may well be found in the western classics by a fresh study of the political theory and practice of the ancient Greeks and direct contact with great literature. The Association is optimistic enough to hope that, if only by drawing attention to the need for it, it may make a small contribution to the national renaissance which all good citizens would like to see."

The civil disturbances in Ceylon of April this year would scarcely have taken place if we had acted individually and collectively as Prof Whiteley recommended. The extracts printed below from two papers he read to the Classical Association of Ceylon, from a paper he read at a meeting of the Colombo YMCA and from an article contributed to the Colombo YMCA Journal, amplify his observations.

Are the problems of our modern world so few and so unimportant that we should bother about the problems of the past?what on earth is the connection between us and, if you please, Themistocles?.....

First let us remind ourselves that the name History is Greek and that the possibility of such an activity, whether it be called science or art, was first discovered by the Greeks. It was Greek historians, chiefly Thucydides, who set a standard for all time for the writing of history. "Historia" means inquiry and, though History has come to mean a good deal more than that, it always presupposes that. The historian must begin by finding out the facts. The adult intelligence asks, not for the story of what happened but for the evidence from which it can elicit its own reasonable theory as to what really happened. The great merit of Ancient History is that the sources for its study are comparatively few....

The cards are all on the table; the difference between a great historian like Grote or Momm- sen and, well, any novice at the game lies in the playing of the hand.

A second recommendation of Ancient History is that it is in a measure complete. One of the difficulties about studying the history of our own times is that it is still happening. We are so near to it that we cannot see it in perspective. "Even a fool can be wise after the event" was a proverb by the time of Homer. Mere distance does enable us to see the pattern, the plot of Greek History, the logic by which things did not just happen but happened inevitably. It is hardly necessary to add that, even if any one had the wit to size up what happened under his own eyes, it would be very remarkable if his wits were not balked by his feelings....

There is another reason why Ancient History is a good nursery for historians. Life was a much simpler affair for the Greeks and Romans than it is for us. They lacked all the paraphernalia which applied science has contributed for the enhancement or embarrassment of modern man....

But though the life of the Ancient Greeks, like their houses was sparsely, not to say poorly, furnished, it was not a poor life. No period of history has been richer in ideas, works of art, human achievement of almost every sort than the Fifth Century....

And of all Greek inventions it is doubtful whether any was more important than the art by which civilised men live together, ruling and being ruled by turns. It was Greeks who first guessed that it is Justice, Give and Take, Fairplay, call it what you will, which makes possible the state: it was they who first conceived the idea, as important to our intelligence as any idea of Copernicus or Einstein, (and how much more important for our comfort) of a Common Good: and it was they who first put the idea into practice —so successfully that if anybody has expressed completely in the way of corporate life a rational principle (common sense is a homelier name for the same thing) the Athenians of the Fifth Century did. Besides, although the Athenians were expert practitioners of the Art of Ruling and Being Ruled they did not neglect the theory of Government. One need only mention the Republic of Plato and the Politics of Aristotle and the acute studies of Human Nature in Politics in the imaginary speeches of Thucydides' history.

Lastly, although Ancient History is in a sense complete, we have not yet done with it. In every single department of human activity except one it is wise to begin by asking what the Greeks did about it. The single exception is applied science and if the scientific spirit is more important there than experimental technique then that is only a partial exception. In Ceylon at this time, when a vast democratic experiment is being conducted, it is especially important that a large number of adult citizens (and all history, particularly Ancient History, is a subject more suitable for them than for children) should study Greek political ideas at their source. It is something to recognise that rights and duties are correlative, that I can only claim a right to make night hideous with the saxophone if I admit your right to affront the stars with a ukulele,

that there is a common good of such a kind that if I have more you also have more. From that recognition it is comparatively easy to pass to the determination that the common good shall be as good as possible and as widely shared as may be. In one respect only can we hope to improve upon the Ancient Greeks. Machines may be made to do for us what was done by slaves for the Athenians of the Fifth Century. There is no longer any reason why anybody who is prepared to play fair should be treated merely as a means to the ends of other people....

Forget the verbs in—*mi*, if you like, be as shaky as you like on the Latin irregular verbs: to neglect Greek ideas is to ask for trouble.

from *What is the use of ancient history* contributed to *Young Ceylon* of October 1937.

There is much in Western civilisation which no sensible person would like to reproduce here: the ideas of the ancient Greeks are too fruitful still to be lightly rejected. A wise man "gets as much of them as he can". We may resent the radio set which blares from the neighbouring boutique but it would be foolish for that reason to put an embargo on Plato or Euripides.

The Greeks have a special claim on us because they are interested in Man.... But by man the Ancient Greeks meant the whole man. They were able to be athletes without being tough, artists without being soft. Plato in the Republic makes it plain that the aim of physical culture is not feats of strength but the good of the soul. The object of all education was the harmonious development of body, emotions and intelligence. And the secret of the harmony was *logos*... *Logos* means "what is said, Talk" and one must remember that the Athenians were great talkers. It is simply the question and answer by which a group of enquirers try to find the truth about anything. The Ancient Greek assures us, so to say, that all that is needed for the investigation of these questions that have always exercised men is not some occult power denied to ordinary mortals, but homely common sense.

Yet though the Greeks were not fond of fancy names for their thinking, no one has thought with such freedom or honesty as they did. Nothing was safe from their critical examination. *anaxetastos bios ou biotos* was their feeling—a life without criticism is unliveable. And nowhere can one better study the art of thinking straight than in Plato and Aristotle; none had so strong a determination to follow, at whatever cost, wherever the argument led, so rare a power to distinguish between fact and day-dream, what is true and what one would like to believe....

In conduct Greek sanity showed itself in *sophrosune* an untranslatable word which implies that decent behaviour is just keeping your wits about you; it does not happen by divine chance, it is not achieved by *pleonexia*, getting more than other people—a rule that leads only to the madhouse, it comes by the right use of *logos*. That the parts cannot flourish for long at the expense of the whole is as true and obvious to a Greek as that two and two make four. It is equally self-evident to him that to claim a right for oneself is to recognise a duty to others, that I can only demand for myself what I would give to any one else under similar conditions: that if Smith offends his neighbours by playing the piccolo he must recognise their right to make reprisal with cornet or bassoon. The Greeks knew that life in a civilised community is only possible if people play fair.....

The state, arising out of economic necessity to keep body and soul together, is maintained in the interest of the Good Life and good here means such as satisfies not the Sunday school marm but an adult connoisseur in the art of living well, i.e. the average Athenian citizen, and the good which is embodied in the State is a common good.

Now of all the important ideas that sprang from the fertile brains of the ancient Greeks

perhaps none is more important than this idea of a Common Good. Suppose there is cake of given size. If I take more than my share you must be content with less than yours. Many goods are of this kind. But the good secured for us all by the state is a cake, so to speak of such a sort that, the more I am able to eat of it the more there is for you. And the Greeks never put us more in their debt than when they settled once and for all this business of living together in a civilised community.

from *Men, machines and morons*, a lecture delivered in a series on "The Ancient Greeks" organized by the YMCA and published in *Ceylon Men* of June 1938.

It cannot be denied that our modern civilisation is vastly more complex than the small cosy city states of fifth century Greece; but it is true that our modern Ceylon differs even more from the world of the Mahavamsa; it is also true that the surest clue to the unravelling of our tangled situation is to be found in Ancient Greece and Rome. The Western Classics are neither alien nor antiquated; they are not only useful here; they are indispensable if civilised standards are to be maintained. Two main points ought to be made; first that the democratic experiment which we are now witnessing in Ceylon can only be made to succeed if the Greek ideas on which it is based are interpreted in the Greek spirit, secondly that the appalling vulgarity of our lives can only be recognised and partly removed if we measure them by a standard not, like Plato's Pattern, "laid up in heaven", but concretely embodied in the books, sculptures, coins, vases, roads, aqueducts, laws, temples of the ancient Greeks and Romans....

To deal with the first point What is to be learnt from the Greeks, in particular, the Athenians of the fifth century B.C.? The answer can be put in one word—"good-citizenship". And it will perhaps sound an absurd or pitiful anti-climax. "Why! you will say," this is exactly the sort of talk that we have heard from a hundred platforms. It is not enough to be told to cultivate the team spirit. We must be told how we are to cultivate it. We do not even know the A.B.C. of the business."

It is precisely that A.B.C. that can be learnt by a study of the theory and practice of the Athenian state. The first and most elementary lesson to be drawn from such a study is that there is a Common Good to achieve which is the chief function of the state. For to the state we owe not only our freedom, whatever we mean by that, the rights which we earn by the acknowledgment of duties, the medium within which we all lead our lives; we are indebted also to it for the raw material for any experiments we make in the art of living. And the state offers its benefits to all citizens alike. One class or community within the state may for a time prosper at the expense of the whole, but a state in which that happens is diseased and unless it is restored to social health it will die. A cancer from some points of view is a beautiful growth, but it ends by destroying the whole organism which is foolish enough to give it lodging.

The Athenians deserve our study because they grasped firmly the principle that a civilised man can only be realised in a State. We grudgingly pay our income tax and ask only not to be bothered. Such an attitude would have shocked the Athenians who spoke with great scorn of *apragmosune*, the refusal of the quiet, unenterprising person to share the common quest of The Good Life a life of leisure in which every possibility of human nature could be fulfilled. How richly these possibilities were fulfilled in feeling thought or action one can only begin to appreciate by a detailed study of the literary and material remains of fifth century Athens....

What we in twentieth century Ceylon lack and the Athenians of the fifth century possessed so abundantly is not what is ordinarily meant by political activity. There is plenty of that.

Nor do we lack political theories What is missing in our State is something that cannot be contributed by politicians, but must be provided by ordinary folk—an atmosphere in which political life in the Greek sense can be maintained. We are not simply divided about the means of Government. We have not understood what is the End of Government—a decent life for as many people as may be.

Probably nowhere in the world could one find a better model for the portrait of the Good Citizen than Socrates. At the age of seventy he was put on trial for his life on the grounds that he had corrupted the youth of the city and did not acknowledge the gods of Athens; in the face of a death penalty that he knew to be unjust, showed the same courage he had already shown as a common soldier in defence of the same city which condemned him. In the "Crito" Plato describes how Socrates contemptuously rejected the well-meant efforts of a friend to enable him to escape from the prison where he awaited the day appointed for his death. In order to convince this friend, Crito, that he would be acting unjustly in trying to escape, Socrates imagines himself accosted by the laws who reason with him as one Athenian with another. "Tell us, Socrates", they say, "what have you in mind to do? Are you not intending, by what you are trying to do, to destroy us, the laws and the entire state? Or do you think that the state can exist and not be overturned, in which the decisions reached by the courts have no force but are made invalid by private persons? And if you did leave Athens where would you go? Everywhere men would look askance at you as a destroyer of laws". ...

Certain ideas which must be understood if democracy, indeed any civilised society, is to "work" properly, are better expressed by Greek authors than by anyone else in the world. The most important of these ideas are concerned with the Common Good, Freedom, the rule of law before which all citizens are equal, the notion that to claim rights is to recognise duties. If a few students of the Classics can grip for themselves the ideas that are to be found there and can put them into the language of their countrymen, Singhalese or Tamil, they will have justified the pains and pence spent on their upbringing. If they fail to do that after they have studied the Classics then this may be said with confidence: the fault may be in the teacher, it may be in the student, it is certainly not in the material.

We are often told nowadays that human nature changes with the economic structure of society. That is partly true; in some respects modern suburban man differs from ancient citizen or slave in a rustic setting, but it is also true that in some respects human nature remains the same. It is still true that outside the state man must be either a brute or a God. And "Men like Gods" are no nearer reality than a Wellsian fantasy....

It is not easy to recall either the energy or the social organisation that made it possible for our ancestors to build tanks and cities. It is harder still perhaps to reproduce the achievements of the great religious teachers who have enriched our history. By history and geography we are compelled to live in a world that is neither Eastern nor Western. The Greeks can teach us best how to be good citizens of that world. For in the last resort they must be studied for the *pro-fundity* of their knowledge of human nature. In Greek literature all human problems are discussed in their simplest terms. So intense is the light focussed on the centre of the stage that we can ignore backcloth and side curtains. In the presence of great Greeks—and by the highest standards many of them can be called great—we feel that what matters most is not what divides men but what men have in common.

from *Ancient Athens and modern Ceylon*, a paper read to the Classical Association of Ceylon in 1939.

Secondly how rich was the content of that life made possible by (say) the Athenian state, how high are the standards set by Greek achievement in every kind of human activity?....

"The city teaches a man" says Simonides and it is only for convenience that politics and culture are considered separately. Aristotle and Plato did not forget the facts when they maintained that there is a close connection between the kind of person a man is and the kind of state which claims his loyalty.It would be instructive to compare the daily life of an average Athenian of the fifth century B.C. and that of any contemporary of ours. There is no lack of evidence for such a comparison in literature and the material remains but it would be a painful comparison for it would lead to some such conclusion as this. The ancient Athenian had little material apparatus for living but he made good use of it: we have at our disposal a thousand ingenious mechanisms but we do not know how to use them. Twiddle the knobs of your wireless set and you hear jazz from Java or bright fatuities from the B.B.C.: go to the cinema and you look into a world where insubstantial puppets are jerked this way and that by adult emotions and infantile intelligence: read the newspapers and—it would be easy to go on with the dismal catalogue of modern vulgarities but it would be unprofitable.....

It is possibly more profitable to ask if there are in Greek works of art any common qualities—particularly qualities that might be offered to our contemporaries in the spirit in which the boy put an ostrich egg in the coop of a delinquent hen.

One or two clues to these common qualities suggest themselves. A sense of glory is the first. But it is arguable that *that* is not an inborn trait of the Greek nor something they deliberately cultivated but a happy historical accident. Certainly there do seem to be a very few periods in history when men cannot help feeling cockahoop—the period of Greek history that followed the repulse of the Persian and of English history after the Armada were of such a kind. But for us who live in a "Waste Land" the shine has been knocked out of things. We can no more achieve the splendid impudence of Greeks in the face of circumstances than they could fly.A sense of Style is also shared by most Greek artists. That too one can hardly recommend for imitation partly because it is hard to say precisely what style means partly because one suspects that, if it means something admirable, it is something, like the bloom of youth, that happens but cannot be made to happen: its happening cannot even be predicted. A sense of Form is possibly the most conspicuous feature of Greek Art—and thought—that might well be imitated here and now. ...

Greek respect for form can be studied at three levels. At the first level it shows itself in a punctilious attention to the details of expression. The elaborate rhythmical patterns of Greek lyric, the winks and nods and shruggings of the shoulder put into print by the particles, the meticulous, morbid pains to avoid hiatus—all serve as evidence of a finical solicitude about technique. In architecture the notorious "refinements" of the Parthenon deserve to be mentioned. It is difficult to say in plain language how tiny matters were carefully considered by the architects who planned and the masons who executed that fine building....

We do still look for form, if not in the structure of the sentence, at least in the Architecture of the whole novel, the whole play. We have not forgotten Aristotle's dry but fertile formula about Beginning, Middle and End.....

But Greek Sense of Form can be studied far beyond the sphere of art. It is not unfair to say that much Greek ethical theory—e.g. Aristotle's doctrine of the Mean—simply applies to conduct the idea of Form. The whole of Greek speculation from Thales to Plato attests the strong com-

pulsion Greeks felt to reduce to one principle everything that is or appears to be. And in actual life they were uncommonly successful in systematising all their diverse activities. In Greek idiom, Greek proverbs, terracottas, lyric poetry, the propositions of Euclid, the clinical method of Hippocrates, the life of Socrates you feel that here are the same people tackling different jobs in the same way. They attain a degree of integration which in these degenerate days we expect only from fiction. The progressive achievement of latent possibilities can be studied in Nature in the growth of acorn or kitten: it is doubtful if anywhere, so well as in Ancient Greece it can be watched in the life of a whole people. It is possibly by a careful scrutiny of this aspect of Greek life that we can best learn the most valuable lesson the Greeks still have to teach us.

Many criticisms may be made of education in Ceylon. It is concerned not with whole persons but with books or timetables or examinations or jobs. The energy available here for education is largely wasted, partly for lack of these ideas, partly for a lack of integration which amounts to positive disintegration. On what may be called the mechanical side of education the divisions are obvious enough: if all the nervous tissue that is frittered away over stupid unnecessary squabbles were used, with a Greek economy, for the proper objects of education we might still see in Ceylon a civilised society. But there are other ominous cracks in our world. There is the deep widening gulf between the villagers and the town-bred Ceylonese: there is the gap between the life of the class-room and the playing field. Worst of all there are deep-seated divisions in our own minds: we are unable to relate what we learn from books and what is done for us by a coolie: we write business letters in one language: we quarrel or make love in another....

Integration begins with the material environment—in particular the body. A man who is physically enfeebled by hookworm or malnutrition or malaria should not be expected to listen patiently to homilies on moral stamina: it is not only tactless, it is silly to talk about *The Good Life* to a man who lacks the means of life. For far too many of our countrymen for many years yet the most important educational influences must come from the doctor, the irrigation engineer, the agricultural expert. Nor must one forget the claim which each citizen is entitled to make, to be taught in the language in which he leads his own mental life. But one must not forget either that at no time have the mind and body, the thought and feeling of man been so harmoniously developed as they were by Athenians in the fifth century B.C.

The jungle smothered the glories of Ceylon's past: is the jungle also to choke the hopes of its future?

from *Ancient culture and modern barbarism*, a paper read to the Classical Association of Ceylon in 1940.

The Rt Hon Viscount Soulbury

Bulletin No 10 Editorial
January 1971

As we were about to go to the printers we had the melancholy news that the Rt Hon Viscount Soulbury, former Governor-General of Ceylon and Patron of our Classical Association (1949-1954) had passed away in England on the 30th January, on the eve of another constitution for our land. Political independence for Ceylon became a reality when he came here for the first time (1944) as Chairman of the Commission which recommended constitutional reforms. His name will not disappear from the historical arena of Ceylon or of Britain. His name will not lie buried in government files like those of some of his predecessors in office. If the grant of independence has brought in its wake deterioration during the last 23 years, we must look for the main cause to the increasing imbecility of our politicians in the administration of our affairs. Lord Soulbury had been a distinguished member of the British Cabinet and had held several noteworthy offices for many years including that of President of the Board of Education before which he had laid his liberal views. In this notice we are concerned with him chiefly as a man of letters—*propriis humanitatis artibus politissimus*. He had distinguished himself at Oxford with two firsts in the school of Lit. Hum. & had been President of the Classical Association of England the year before he assumed office as the second Governor-General of independent Ceylon. The type he represented led him from the beginning to take a practical interest in the things that matter—from the clearance of our slums to the development of agriculture & the arts in our country. He was in the forefront in the movement for the establishment of a National Arts Council. His presence here (as we have remarked before) raised the standard of rebellion. He loved Ceylon and the Ceylonese. It is not too much to describe him (as an Athenian might have done) *philosophos, philokalos, philophilos*. He was typical of the true classical model—the man of the state was also the man of letters. He had something in common with a trio of Roman patrons—Pollio, Messalla, & Maecenas to whom perhaps he has been nearer in sagacity in critical times. We had the honour of dedicating to him our humble votive tablet *A Garland of the Muses* which John Murray was pleased to republish under the title *Latin Elegiac Versions* together with the dedication. One of Lord Soulbury's addresses to our Association—*Some Reflections on Ancient and Modern Oratory*—was reprinted in Blackwood's. The *cena viatica* (at which we had the honour to be symposiarch) given by our Association brought together a galaxy of literary talent worthy of the guest who was referred to in the Toast List (the entire menu-card was in Latin) as *societatis lumen*. Lord Soulbury once commented that Kipling's dictum *East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet* was one of those flashy generalizations that did a lot of mischief & demonstrated the falsity of the dictum both as a matter of history & as a forecast of the future. His practical wisdom showed itself in private as well as in public. After he had been taken to see the slums of Colombo, he exclaimed "An affront to God & man". And when the Minister of Health protested that it was no part of the functions of the Governor-General to criticize,

he asked naively "What am I here for?" And the affront continues. In 1959 he addressed the Osler Club of London on *The Physician & the Humanities* regretting the cleavage in society caused by the separation of the sciences from the humanities. He will be remembered by his friends for his grace, charm & humanity. Whether in Colombo, Kandy, Nuwara Eliya, or his Hampshire home he was *comis, benignus, humanus*. On his first visit to Ceylon as Chairman of the Commission he delivered to our Association (1945) a memorable address on *What is the good of a Classical Education?* All he had to assist him was a borrowed copy of the *Odyssey*. He said: "Since I have been in this Island it is Homer and Homer's *Odyssey* that have chiefly come to mind, for everywhere lines and scenes from the *Odyssey* reappear. Ceylon might be the sea-girt island of Calypso, the wooded isle whereat, as Homer says 'even an immortal who chanced to come might gaze and marvel and delight his soul.'" *et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo.*

Horace revisited — non sum qualis eram*

L. W. de SILVA

An old tennis star to a more youthful opponent

Again you meet me at this game
That marked my absence long! O spare me, spare!
Believe me, I am not the same
As in Suzanne's good reign when I could dare.
Cease your cunning top-spin drive
On this old hand by fifty years made soft:
Go where supple youth could strive
Against your deadly chops and lobs aloft.
Seek an opponent fleeter,
Whose repertoire of strokes is far more keen;
Try conclusions with Peter
Who, for a game, will owe you half fifteen.
He's fit and far more youthful;
When he is off, his tongue could meekly tame
The very natural mouthful
That you and I blurt out to damn the game!
He is a lad of hundred strokes:
If you could triumph o'er him like Bill Tilden,
Be sure that all the tennis blokes
Will raise your marble form at Wimbledon.
Your nose will breathe the incense high.
While you recline and rest your tired tootsies;
And some admiring fair will ply
A solo to an air of Paderewski's.
Nor men's nor mixed doubles
Can charm me now: no sympathising soul
To soothe me in my troubles;
No fresh-won pots to tell the champions' roll.
Ah! but why, O Referee,
The sweat-drops trickle down along my cheek?
Wherefore midst such fluency

* This appeared over the pen-name *Postumus* in St Thomas' College Magazine Vol LIV No 1 March 1929.

Thus halts my tongue, once eloquent, now weak?
Now you hold me in your net
Of chops and slices placed like many signs;
You have triumphed in each set:
You chase me now, ah! rotter, down the lines!

Editor's acknowledgments

grates persolvere dignas
non opis est nostrae.

We are deeply grateful

To our friends abroad for sending us articles. We have the honour to publish them. Some of these reached us within a few days of our making the request. Elsewhere in these pages we have referred to the first great obstacle to our enterprise. We were greatly touched by the concern shown by our friends for the safety of our members during the recent upheaval in Ceylon.

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To our members who have contributed articles.

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To the Commissioner of Examinations for permitting the use of the Greek press.

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To Mr James J. Bulner for the design on the front cover.

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To our donors and advertisers whose unstinted support *rebus in arduis* has added considerably to our strength.

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Other acknowledgments appear at the relevant contexts.

Appendix I

Reports from *Proceedings of the Classical Association (England)* 1936-1970

Editor's note : We are most grateful to Prof L. J. D. Richardson (Joint Hon Secretary 1943-1963 of the Classical Association) for providing us with the following record relating to the Classical Association of Ceylon taken from the reports published in *Proceedings of the Classical Association* beginning with vol xxxiii (May 1936). The first report, he says, "appeared unannounced and unexplained!"

Prof Richardson has in his characteristic manner spent a good part of his valuable time in delving into details like his Mycenaean studies and has divided his "survey into two parts—the first giving evidence of members of the (British) Classical Association in Asia (with special attention to Ceylon) from the foundation of the Association on 19th December 1903—the first volume of *Proceedings* being that of 1904—down to 1935, the year in which the CA of Ceylon was founded (reported in the 1936 number of the (British) CA *Proceedings*); the second part will deal almost entirely with Ceylon as far as information can be gleaned from the later CA *Proceedings*.

Some preliminary notes : the membership list (ML) of the CA appeared annually from 1904 until 1918, when it was withheld for this one war year. Another kind of membership list was begun in the second volume of *Proceedings* (1905), giving the locality of members : (TL= topographical list). This also did not appear in 1918 but was resumed in 1919 and was continued annually until 1933 when it finally disappeared. TL has been much used in this enquiry. Where Ceylon is concerned, I have given the numbers (with names and addresses in a supplementary list); for other parts of Asia, only the place and numbers are given."

We shall make use of the first part of Prof Richardson's survey in an issue of our Bulletin. What follows is the second part.

Material which did not appear in *Proceedings* during certain periods because reports were not sent to the parent Association or could not be published in *Proceedings* owing to war conditions is also included. Some corrections have now been made where the reports sent appear to have been inaccurate. A few omissions have been supplied.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF CEYLON
(Founded 1935)

1936

President : Sir Philip Macdonell

Vice-President : R. Marrs, C.I.E.

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer : S. Whiteley

Committee : Rev. R. S. de Saram ; A. E. Keuneman ; Rev. Fr. Le jeune, O.M.I. ;

L. H. W. Sampson ; Rev. R. W. Stopford.

No report attached.

1937

Patron : H. E. Sir Edward Stubbs, G.C.M.G.

President : Professor R. Marrs, C.I.E.

Vice-President : Mr Justice F. J. Soertsz

Committee : Rev. Fr. Y. M. le Jeune, O.M.I. ; L. H. W. Sampson ; Rev. R. W. Stopford ; O. L. de Kretser ; P. H. Nonis

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer : S. Whiteley (for whom C. W. Amerasinghe will act from December 1936 until August 1937), University College, Colombo.

The membership reached 41. Three ordinary meetings were held ; on October 18, Mr Sampson spoke on "The Greek Attitude to Life" ; on February 8, Sir Philip Macdonell read his presidential address, "Obligations to the Classics," since published by the Association ; on September 4, Mr Justice Soertsz read a paper on "The Four Great Games Festivals of Greece." Two conferences for teachers were held, both at Royal College, one on December 21, on "Aims and Methods of Classical Teaching," the other on July 7, 1936, on "Pronunciation and Prosody." In addition a series of lectures on "The Ancient Romans" was given at the Central Y.M.C.A., Colombo, by Messrs Sampson and Rodrigo and the Hon. Sec. also acted as unofficial ambassador of the Association by giving lectures at Jaffna and Panadura. The first year may without undue complacency be called a successful one; its success was chiefly due to the enthusiasm and scholarship of the first President, Sir Philip Macdonell.

1938

Patron : H. E. Sir Andrew Caldecott, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.

President : Hon. Mr F. J. Soertsz, K.C.

Vice-President : Rev. R. S. de Saram

Committee : J. L. C. Rodrigo ; G. E. N. Wille ; Hon. Mr O. L. de Kretser ; P. H. Nonis ; L. H. W. Sampson

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer : S. Whiteley

PROGRAMME FOR THE YEAR 1936-7

<i>Title of Lecture</i>	<i>Lecturer</i>
Satires and Satirists	Mr J. G. Young
Lucian (Presidential Address)	Prof R. Marrs
Greek Medicine	Dr J. R. Blaze

N.B. Members' list in this year (1938) shows that 'Ceylon University College, Colombo', became a subscriber in that year as an *Institution*.

1939

Patron : H. E. Sir Andrew Caldecott, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.

President : Rev. R. S. de Saram

Vice-President : Rev. Fr. Y. M. Le jeune, O.M.I.

Committee : P. H. Nonis ; J. L. C. Rodrigo ; G. E. N. Wille ; Mackenzie Pereira ; C. J. Oorloff

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer : S. Whiteley

PROGRAMME OF PUBLIC MEETINGS 1937-8

<i>Title of Lecture</i>	<i>Lecturer</i>
Lucretius	Mr G. E. N. Wille
Sophocles	Mr Mackenzie Pereira
Western Influence on Indian Buddhist Art	Mr A. H. Longhurst Archaeological Commissioner

In addition to the public meetings the Association arranged an informal conference of schoolmasters on "Teachers' Difficulties," a course of lectures at the Colombo Y.M.C.A. on "The Ancient Greeks" given by members, and talks, illustrated by lantern slides, at Methodist College and St Thomas' College.

1940

No ML, only list of new members.

Patron : H. E. Sir Andrew Caldecott, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.

President : Rev. Fr. Y. M. Le jeune, O.M.I.

Vice-President : J. L. C. Rodrigo

Committee : G. E. N. Wille, Mackenzie Pereira, C. J. Oorloff, Rev. R. S. de Saram, Miss V. L. Reimann

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer : C. W. Amerasinghe, University College, Colombo.

PROGRAMME OF PUBLIC MEETINGS 1938-9

<i>Title of Lecture</i>	<i>Lecturer</i>
Travel in Greece and Italy	Mr C. W. Amerasinghe
Ancient Athens and Modern Ceylon	Mr S. Whiteley
Greek Tragedy and Modern Problems	Mr D. C. Ballance

In addition to the public lectures the Association arranged an informal conference for teachers on "Texts for Reading," and talks, illustrated by lantern slides, at schools in and around Colombo.

1941

Reports from Branches and Allied Associations not asked for. No ML, only lists of new members.

Patron : H. E. Sir Andrew Caldecott

President : J. L. C. Rodrigo

Vice-President : E. L. Bradby

Committee : Rev. Fr. Y. M. le Jeune, Mackenzie Pereira, Rev. R. S. de Saram, S. Whiteley, A. H. E. Molamure

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer : C. W. Amerasinghe

<i>Title of Lecture</i>	<i>Lecturer</i>
Ancient culture and modern barbarism	S. Whiteley
Herodotus	Rev. R. S. de Saram
Memories of a visit to Greece	E. L. Bradby
Aristophanes	J. L. C. Rodrigo
Conference of teachers on (I) <i>The classroom approach to Latin</i> and (II) <i>The translation of Virgil</i>	
Noises off—Some sound effects in Virgil	S. Whiteley
A Greek farrago	Miss V. Reimann

1942

Same as for 1941. But on the last page there is a notice under *Overseas Associations* : "Communication has necessarily been much restricted, but a report sent by the Classical Association of Ceylon for the year 1940-1 shows that normal activities have been successfully maintained."

Patron : H. E. Sir Andrew Caldecott

President : E. L. Bradby

Vice-President : S. Whiteley

Committee : Rev. R. S. de Saram, G. E. N. Wille, J. L. C. Rodrigo, G. H. Wikramanayake, H. S. Amerasinghe

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer : C. W. Amerasinghe

<i>Title of Lecture</i>	<i>Lecturer</i>
The strategemata of Julius Frontinus	H. L. Pope
A modern historian of the 5th century B.C.	E. L. Bradby

1943

1943-45 reports still not wanted, and no ML, not even lists of new members.

Patron : H. E. Sir Andrew Caldecott

President : Dr J. R. Blaze

Vice-President : C. W. Amerasinghe

Committee : E. L. Bradby, G. E. N. Wille, J. L. C. Rodrigo, G. H. Wikramanayake, A. E. Gogerloy Moragoda

Hon. Secretary & Treasurer : C. E. Mackenzie Pereira

<i>Title of Lecture</i>	<i>Lecturer</i>
Publicity and propaganda in Greece and Rome	H. E. R. Abeysekera
The epigrams of Martial	Dr J. R. Blaze
Aeschylus	P. I. Roberts

1944

The AGM was held on 24th March 1944 when, according to the minutes, office-bearers were elected, but their names and offices have not been recorded. The only other meeting in 1944 was on 27th October. The following particulars are obtained from the minutes of that meeting and of the meeting held on 14th March 1945 :

Patron : H. E. Sir Henry Monek-Mason Moore [Last colonial Governor and first Governor-General of Ceylon]

President : C. W. Amerasinghe

Vice-President : A. N. Strong

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer : C. E. Mackenzie Pereira

Title of Lecture

Lecturer

Euripides' women : bad and good

A. E. Gogerley Moragoda

Science, politics and Plato

C. W. Amerasinghe

1945

No record of an AGM or election of officers. The only meeting was on 14th March when Lord Soulbury on his first visit as chairman of the Commission which recommended constitutional reforms for Ceylon delivered a lecture on *What is the good of a classical education?* H. E. Sir Henry Monek-Mason Moore, the Patron, presided. The minutes of the meeting have been recorded and signed by C. E. Mackenzie Pereira, Hon. Secretary, and dated 30/xi/45.

1946

Membership list restored but still impossible to publish Branch and Overseas reports. But note in Council's report the paragraph "A report has also been received from the Hon. Secretary of the Ceylon Association. In this points of special interest are the large attendance which gathered to hear Lord Soulbury speak on 'What is the good of a Classical Education?' and the appreciation expressed of 'the opportunity which the Association had of meeting a Vice-President of the parent Association.'"

After the above meeting, which was on 14th March 1945, no meetings or activities of any kind had taken place during the period 1945-1947. Extinguished, not decayed.

1947

ML printed but still impossible to publish Branch and Overseas reports.

1948

ML not printed, to allow restoration of reports etc.

Patron : no record.

President : Sir Francis Soertsz

Vice-President : Dr J. R. Blaze

Secretary : G. H. Wikramanayake

Treasurer : R. Sri Pathmanathan

Committee : M. M. T. Chelvaratnam, B. S. Enright, T. W. Rajaratnam, V. M. Abeysekera, Fr. A. N. I. Perera

Lectures, see under 1952.

1949

ML printed, and some Branch reports.

Patron : H. E. The Rt Hon Viscount Soulbury

President : Prof J. L. C. Rodrigo

Vice-President : S. F. Amerasinghe

Secretary : R. Sri Pathmanathan

Treasurer : B. C. Ahlip

Committee : Sir Francis Soertsz, Fr A. N. I. Perera, L. W. de Silva, B. R. Blaze, E. F. C. Pereira
Lectures, see under 1952.

1950

ML not printed, and still more space given to Branch reports.

There is no record of an AGM in 1950. The officers elected in 1949 appear to have continued to hold office.

Lectures, see under 1952.

1951

ML not printed, and still more space given to Branch reports.

Patron : H. E. The Rt Hon Viscount Soulbury

President : L. W. de Silva

Vice-President : R. Sri Pathmanathan

Secretary and Treasurer : G. H. Wikramanayake

Committee : Prof J. L. C. Rodrigo, T. W. Rajaratnam, E. F. C. Pereira, N. Phoebus, A. B. Perera
Lectures, see under 1952.

1952

ML not printed, and still more space available for reports. The Council's report has a paragraph : 'We have re-established contact with the Classical Association of Ceylon, and have received copies of papers read, versions and other interesting information from the President, Mr L. W. de Silva.' The activity of four years (1948-1952) is given in the reports from Branches and allied Associations.

The minutes of a committee meeting held on 3/3/52 have recorded that the Secretary in 1951 had not been able to find the time to send an account of the proceedings of the Association to the parent Association in England, and the President had offered to send an account.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF CEYLON (founded 1935) : 61 members.

Patron : H. E. Lord Soulbury

President : L. W. de Silva

Vice-President : R. Sri Pathmanathan

Secretary and Treasurer : G. H. Wikramanayake

Committee : Prof J. L. C. Rodrigo, E. F. C. Pereira, A. B. Perera, T. W. Rajaratnam, N. Phoebus

Lectures (1948-52) :

The Philosophy of Cicero

Greek Legal Science

Reflections on the Classics

Catullus

Terence-the Slave Metamorphosed

Rev. Fr. A. N. I. Perera

T. W. Rajaratnam

S. Gulasekeram

V. M. Abeysekera

C. W. Amerasinghe

Apparent Similarities in Greek and Indian
Philosophical Doctrines
Persius and T. S. Eliot
Andre Gide and Greek Myth
Graeco-Roman Tradition in the Byzantine
Empire

The Classics as an Education for Life
Around Town with a Roman Satirist
Character Optimi

During the above period there were four conferences of classics teachers on miscellaneous matters. At one of them the topics were (i) Caesar, and (ii) On translating Virgil.

Prof Betty Humann
B. R. Blaze
Dr (Miss) Vally Reich

A. B. Perera
Sir R. W. Livingstone
T. W. Rajaratnam
L. W. de Silva

1953

No membership lists printed 1953-1956.

Patron : H. E. The Rt Hon Viscount Soulbury

President : L. W. de Silva

Vice-President : A. B. Perera

Joint Secretary : M. St S. Casie Chetty

Joint Secretary & Treasurer : E. F. C. Pereira

Committee : Prof J. L. C. Rodrigo, R. Sri Pathmanathan, C. W. Amerasinghe, G. H. Wikramanayake, Dr J. Dadabhoy

Joint Secretaries were appointed for the first time. Lectures, see under 1954

1954

Jubilee Year of CA (British). In Prof Richardson's *The Classical Association-First Fifty Years* : 'We exchange information and news, and have the most friendly and profitable relations, with the Associations of Canada, Ceylon, Christchurch, Gold Coast, Jamaica, Johannesburg, New South Wales, Otago and Victoria, and are glad to number their Presidents among our Vice-Presidents.'

Patron : H. E. The Rt Hon Viscount Soulbury

President : L. W. de Silva

Vice-President : A. B. Perera

Joint Sec : E. F. C. Pereira

Joint Sec & Treasurer : M. St S. Casie Chetty

Committee : Prof J. L. C. Rodrigo, R. Sri Pathmanathan, C. W. Amerasinghe, G. H. Wikramanayake, Dr J. Dadabhoy

Lectures, see under 1955.

1955

Reports and letters have been received from officers of sister Associations—from Mr C. W. Amerasinghe and Mr M. St S. Casie Chetty (Ceylon).

79 members.

Patron : H. E. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke

President : Sir Arthur Ranasingha

Vice-President : A. B. Perera

Joint Sec & Treasurer : M. St S. Casie Chetty, 161-3 Hultsdorp, Colombo 12

Joint Sec : E. F. C. Pereira

Committee : Prof J. L. C. Rodrigo, L. W. de Silva, D. G. L. Misso, D. N. Pereira, S. S. Wijesinha

Lectures (1953-4) :

The Classical Tradition in the 17th Century

French Drama

R. Sri Pathmanathan

Some Reflections on Ancient and Modern

Oratory

Lord Soulbury

Knowledge and Belief

G. H. Wikramanayake

What I Owe to the Classics

Sir Cecil Syers

Since the last report (*Proceedings* 1952) the translation of the University of Ceylon from Colombo to Peradeniya raised difficulties of accommodation, but room for meetings has been found in the Royal College. Lord Soulbury's paper (above) and his previous Address "What is the Good of a Classical Education?" have been printed, and copies distributed to members. Sir Cecil Syers' paper (above) was also published in *New Lanka. A Cena Viatica*, with the President Mr L. W. de Silva as symposiarch and the menu in Latin, was held on 26th June 1954 as a farewell to the Patron, Lord Soulbury. There were over 60 diners present. A Conference with Classical Teachers was also held.

1956

Patron : H. E. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke

President : Sir Cecil Syers

Vice-President : A. B. Perera

Joint Sec : E. F. C. Pereira

Joint Sec & Treasurer : M. St S. Casie Chetty

Committee : Sir Arthur Ranasinha, Prof J. L. C. Rodrigo, L. W. de Silva, I. H. Wijesinghe, H. E. R. Abeysekera

Lectures, see under 1957.

1957

Membership List published this year separately as a supplement to *Proceedings*. The address and style now given, with date of joining, for the copy sent to the library are '1938 University of Ceylon, The Librarian, Peradeniya, Ceylon'. 112 members.

Patron : H. E. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke

President : Sir Cecil Syers

Past President : Sir Arthur Ranasinha

Vice-President : S. F. Amerasinghe

Joint Sec : E. F. C. Pereira

Joint Sec & Treasurer : M. St S. Casie Chetty

Committee : Sir Arthur Ranasinha, Prof J. L. C. Rodrigo, A. B. Perera, L. W. de Silva, H. E. R. Abeysekera

Lectures (1954-7)

Theme and Design in the Roman Odes
—Towards a Study in Horace
Gatherings from Greece
Stories from Homer
My Prop in These Bad Days—The Classics
Justinian
The Unity of the Classics
The Cleverness of the Greeks

W. B. C. Senarath Nanda-Deva
T. W. Roberts
Sir John Sheppard
Sir Arthur Ranasinha
A. B. Perera
R. W. L. Wilding
The Rt. Rev. A. R. Graham-Campbell,
Bishop of Colombo

Since the last report (*Proceedings* 1955) the number of members has risen from 79 to 112. The *Cena Viatica* in honour of Lord Soulbury (reported in 1955) has been followed by another, with the President as symposiarch and the menu in Latin, held on 12th April 1957. The occasion was the departure of Professor J. L. C. Rodrigo, who had been Professor of Classics in the University of Ceylon for over ten years, to take up an appointment in London as Education Officer.

1958

Number of members not given in report from Ceylon CA.

Patron : H. E. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke

President : E. B. Wikramanayake

Past President : Sir Cecil Syers

Vice-President : Professor C. W. Amerasinghe

Joint Sec : E. F. C. Pereira, 21-2 Frances Rd., Wellawatte, Colombo 6.

Joint Sec & Treas : Mervyn St S. Casie Chetty

Committee : Sir Arthur Ranasinha, L. W. de Silva, E. C. S. Perera, S. C. Fernando, H. E. R. Abeysekera

Lecture :

Nature in Virgil

E. B. Wikramanayake

A *Cena Viatica* in honour of Sir Cecil Syers, with the President as symposiarch and the menu in Latin, was held on 2nd October, 1957. Sir Cecil Syers had been the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Ceylon and President of the Association since 1955.

1959

105 members.

Patron : H. E. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke

President : D. G. L. Misso, Registrar General

Past President : E. B. Wikramanayake

Vice-President : G. H. Wikramanayake

Joint Sec : E. C. S. Perera, Theodoron, De Alwis Place, Dehiwela, Ceylon

Joint Sec & Treas : Mervyn St S. Casie Chetty

Committee : H. E. R. Abeysekera, C. H. Davidson, E. B. Wikramanayake, L. W. de Silva, E. F. C. Pereira

Lectures :

The Greek Experience and Ourselves

Prof C. W. Amerasinghe

The Message of the Greeks
 A Great Indian Classic
 Cicero's Political Ideals
 The Mystery of Tiberius Caesar
 Odysseus, Aeneas and Others

E. B. Wikramanayake
 S. J. Gunasegaram
 Rev. Fr. Ignatius Perera
 Dr Lucian de Zilwa
 D. G. L. Misso

It is hoped to hold a Conference of Teachers of Latin and Greek in Schools and at the University, and to arrange a series of Radio Talks on the Classics to be given both in English and Sinhalese.

Mr R. W. L. Wilding's paper on "The Unity of the Classics", read before the Association in 1956, has been recently published. A very notable publication (1958) by a former President, Mr L. W. de Silva, is a charming collection of translations into Latin Elegiac Verse under the title *A Garland of the Muses*.

The following appears under *Notices*: The attention of members is drawn to two books of strong classical interest, which by their nature and under present-day conditions may not be widely reviewed. The first is *A Garland of the Muses*, a collection of some 45 versions into Latin verse, mostly elegiac, by Mr L. W. de Silva, who recently retired from the judicial bench in Ceylon. These charming and elegant renderings are a remarkable achievement in this severe discipline coming from an unexpected quarter. Sir Richard Livingstone contributes a foreword.

The other book is a volume of reminiscences by a Vice-President of the Association, Mr A. L. Irvine, who succeeded T. E. Page at Charterhouse.

1960

110 members.

Patron : H. E. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke

President : D. G. L. Misso, Registrar General

Vice-President : C. H. Davidson

Joint Sec : E. C. S. Perera

Joint Sec. & Treas : Mervyn St S. Casie Chetty

Committee : Prof J. L. C. Rodrigo, S. J. Gunasegaram, L. W. de Silva, E. F. C. Pereira, H. E. R. Abeysekera

Lectures :

The Classics in a German University

How Horace read his Odes

The Classics in Israel

Some Aspects of Thucydides

The Elephant in Classical Literature

Socratic Irony

Greek and Roman Connections with Ceylon

How Government in Ancient Rome dealt

with some Modern Problems

G. H. Wikramanayake

A. C. d'A Seneviratne

H. E. Mr N. Lorch

C. E. Mackenzie Pereira

Prof C. A. McGaughey

S. J. Gunasegaram

The Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris

John Gooneratne

Mr Wikramanayake's paper was summarized in the *Ceylon Fortnightly Review*, and Professor McGaughey's paper serialized in five issues. A Conference of teachers doing Latin and Greek in the Secondary School was held on 18th July, 1959, at which there was a discussion on the Place and the Value of the Classics in the National System of Education in Ceylon today.

110 members.

Patron : H. E. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke

President : C. H. Davidson

Past President : D. G. L. Misso, Registrar General

Vice-President : T. W. Rajaratnam

Joint Sec : E. C. S. Perera

Joint Sec. & Treas : Mervyn St S. Casie Chetty

Committee : Prof J. L. C. Rodrigo, L. W. de Silva, D. G. L. Misso, E. F. C. Pereira, H. E. R. Abeysekera

Lectures :

Greek Notions of Reincarnation and
Metempsychosis

Merlin Peris

The Georgics of Virgil

C. H. Davidson

The Contribution that the Classics could
make to Sinhalese Literature

Rev. Fr. G. Q. Perera

The Art and Craft of Homer

C. W. Amerasinghe

Greek Education

B. I. Gunatunga

Besides the above, the following Radio Talks were arranged by the Association and broadcast over the National Service of Radio Ceylon :

The Value of the Classics

D. G. L. Misso

Some Aspects of Greek Life (2 Talks)

C. W. Amerasinghe

The Course given by the department of
Western Classics at the University of
Ceylon and their Value (2 Talks)

G. H. Wikramanayake

The Western Classics in Swabhasha
Education

Merlin Peris

Why Latin ?

L. W. de Silva

The Teaching of the Classics in Ceylon

L. W. de Silva

Why Greek ?

C. de Fonseka

Many of the above Lectures and Radio Talks were published in the *Ceylon Fortnightly Review*, and some published as separate pamphlets.

The Association celebrated its Silver Jubilee on October 8th, 1960, with a Dinner held at the Grand Oriental Hotel, Colombo, at which the Chief Guest, the Hon. Hema H. Basnayake, Chief Justice of Ceylon, proposed the Toast of the Classical Association of Ceylon. There were eighty, including guests, present at this Dinner. The Menu was in Latin and bore on its cover this inscription : *sermone laetitiaque/annorum seriem quinquiens quinque/Societatis Lankae Classicae/prava iuventium negligentis/celebrandi causa/magnifice et ornate/hoc convivium comparatur*. The following is an extract from an historical sketch prepared for the occasion : "The Inaugural Minute made on 27th September 1935 details the aims and objects of the Classical Association. The Minute was prepared by Prof Whiteley, the first Secretary. He was Professor of Classics at the Ceylon University College, as it then was. The first President was Sir Philip Macdonell, Chief Justice. He was a contemporary of Lord Birkenhead. Among the original

members were four judges of the Supreme Court of Ceylon. This number constituted half the Bench.

The Association was formed on the initiative of Englishmen who were scholars and who were in Ceylon doing educational work. Since their departure, the Association is almost entirely Ceylonese. There are today one hundred and ten members. A little over one fourth of these are lawyers. The rest are teachers, including members of the University staff, judges and magistrates, civil servants, medical practitioners, diplomats, journalists, bankers, accountants, and several in mercantile business.

The Association owes a great deal to the former Patron, the Rt. Hon. Viscount Soulbury, whose presence in Ceylon has been regarded as a humanizing influence.

The following have been Presidents: Sir Philip Macdonell, Professor R. Marrs, Justice Soertsz, Canon R. S. de Saram, Fr. Le Jeune, Professor J. L. C. Rodrigo, Mr E. L. Bradby, Dr J. R. Blaze, Professor C. W. Amerasinghe, Mr L. W. de Silva, Sir Arthur Ranasinha, Sir Cecil Syers, Mr E. B. Wikramanayake and Mr D. G. L. Misso.

1962

110 members.

Patron : H. E. Sir. Oliver Goonetilleke

President : C. H. Davidson

Past President : D. G. L. Misso, Registrar General

Vice-President : T. W. Rajaratnam

Joint Sec : E. C. S. Perera

Joint Sec & Treas : Mervyn St S. Casie Chetty

Committee : Prof J. L. C. Rodrigo, L. W. de Silva, D. G. L. Misso, H. E. R. Abeyesekera, V. L. Wirasinha

Lectures :

Some Impressions of Italy and Greece
(illustrated talk)

H. A. J. Hulugalle

What's new in Classics

R. Sri Pathmanathan

An Evening with a Greek Philosopher

T. W. Rajaratnam

The Association welcomed the first Western Classic to be published as a paperback in Ceylon. This was the *Symposium* of Plato translated into Sinhalese by D. P. Ponnampuruma.

1963

125 members.

Patron : H. E. William Gopallawa

President : V. L. Wirasinha

Past President : C. H. Davidson

Vice-President : E. F. C. Pereira

Joint Sec : E. C. S. Perera

Joint Sec & Treas : Mervyn St S. Casie Chetty

Committee : Prof J. L. C. Rodrigo, L. W. de Silva, C. H. Davidson, D. G. L. Misso, S. S. Wijesinha

Lectures :

Wife and Husband in Greek Tragedy

V. L. Wirasinha

Lucretius, the Atom and the Doctrine of
Extinction

Sir Arthur Ranasinha

Ceylon and Western Classics

Dr C. E. Godakumbure

In addition to the above a Classical Quiz on "The Trojan War" between Royal College, Colombo, and C. M. S. Ladies' College, Colombo, was arranged by the Association. A wooden replica of the Trojan Horse was presented to the Royal College team who were the winners. Copies of *A Garland of the Muses* by L. W. de Silva were presented to the members of both teams. Mr de Silva has also recently contributed an elegiac version to *Mamucium* (Manchester Branch of the CA).

The General Meetings of the Association were held in the British Council Buildings in Colombo.

The Association bade goodbye to Mr D. G. L. Misso, a former President, and Mrs Misso on their leaving Ceylon at a farewell party held at the Galle Face Hotel, Colombo, on 10th January 1963.

The *Ceylon Fortnightly Review* published two articles on J. A. C. T.

1964

137 members.

Patron : H. E. William Gopallawa

President : S. F. Amerasinghe

Past President : V. L. Wirasinha

Vice-President : R. K. Brady

Joint Sec : H. A. Nonis, c/o Mackwoods Ltd., P.O. Box 91, Colombo, Ceylon.

Joint Sec & Treas : Mervyn St S. Casie Chetty

Committee : C. H. Davidson, S. S. Wijesinha, V. L. Wirasinha, E. F. C. Pereira, E. C. S. Perera.

Lectures :

On not Forming Part of the Roman Empire

R. K. Brady

Greek Influences on Arabic Literature

Dr S. A. Imam

The Eccentric Horace

A. C. d'A Seneviratne

In addition a Quiz was organized by Mr L. W. de Silva under the auspices of the Classical Association and the British Council. It was open to students from schools and colleges, divided into three groups; the winners and runners up in each group were presented with books kindly donated by the British Council through its representative Mr R. K. Brady.

During the year under review the Association compiled a list of schools and colleges doing Latin and Greek and also obtained from the Department of Education the numbers of candidates who offered Latin and Greek at the G. C. E. Examination in December 1961 and December 1962 and also the schools from which they came. It is a matter for great regret that at the moment the total number of students doing Greek in all the classes in all the schools in Ceylon is less than six, while Latin is still taught in most of the big schools like St Thomas' College, Royal College, St Joseph's and Trinity, Bishop's and Ladies' Colleges, St Aloysius College, Galle, and St Michael's, Batticaloa.

It is with deep regret that we record here the passing away of A. B. Perera, President-elect for 1963. We also record the death of Dr M. D. D. Jayawardena, a member of the Association.

1965

125 members.

Patron : H. E. William Gopallawa

President : S. F. Amerasinghe

Vice-President : R. K. Brady

Joint Sec : H. A. Nonis

Joint Sec & Treas : M. St S. Casie Chetty

Committee : A. E. Gogerley Moragoda, V. L. Wirasinha, E. F. C. Pereira, S. S. Wijesinha, E. C. S. Perera.

Lectures :

The Poetry of Form in Aeschylean Drama

Prof C. W. Amerasinghe

Roman Legal Thinking and the Modern World

C. F. Amerasinghe

The Meaning of Myths : Some Greek and Hindu Examples

Mrs James George

T. S. Eliot and Greek Tragedy

R. Sri Pathmanathan

All meetings were well attended, and a lively interest was shown by the audience in the papers read. A past President, L. W. de Silva, has been elected President of the Orbilian Society.

1966

136 members.

Patron : His Excellency the Governor-General Mr W. Gopallawa

President : S. F. Amerasinghe

Vice-President : R. K. Brady

Joint Sec : H. A. Nonis

Joint Sec & Treas : M. St S. Casie Chetty

Committee : S. S. Wijesinha, A. E. Gogerley Moragoda, V. L. Wirasinha, E. F. C. Pereira, S. F. Amerasinghe

Lectures :

Pythagoras and the Soul of Malvolio's Grandam

Dr Merlin Peris

Extinct Man-like Being of Ceylon

Dr P. E. P. Deraniyagala

Plato and the Democracy of his Day

R. K. Brady

All the General Meetings, which were held in Colombo, were well attended, and in addition to the addresses a Classical Variety and Quiz was held in August.

The first two numbers of the Association's Bulletin have been published ; they contain various items of news, notes and competitions, and are very lively and interesting.

1967

148 members.

Patron : His Excellency the Governor-General Mr W. Gopallawa

President : R. K. Brady

Vice-President : E. C. S. Perera

Joint Sec : U. A. Gunaratne

Joint Sec & Treas : Mervyn St S. Casie Chetty

Committee : Dr Merlin Peris, V. L. Wirasinha, H. A. Nonis, Harold Pieris, Mrs N. L. Rajasingham

Lectures :

Humour in the Classics	V. L. Wirasinha
The Place of Latin and Greek in our National Scheme of Education	Mackenzie Pereira
Literary Criticism and the Classics	Roland Sri Pathmanathan
Some Aspects of the Second <i>Aeneid</i>	V. L. Wirasinha

Apart from these addresses a Classical Variety and Quiz was held in January, and a record of Latin Readings in Prose and Verse was played to the members in March.

1968

145 members.

Patron : His Excellency Mr William Gopallawa, Governor-General

President : E. C. S. Perera

Past President : Robert K. Brady

Vice-President : Professor T. Nadaraja

Joint Sec : Mrs N. Rajasingham, 8 Selbourne Rd., Colombo 3

Joint Sec & Treas : V. L. Wirasinha

Committee : Mervyn St S. Casie Chetty, E. F. C. Pereira, L. W. de Silva, Mrs W. T. Jayasinghe, Mrs N. MacIntyre

Lectures :

The Oedipus Myth	Dr Merlin Peris
Founders of the Greek Kingdom in the Punjab	Dr S. Paranavitana

A notable feature of the year's activities was a Colloquium of Classical Teachers held in Colombo in September 1967 under the auspices of the Classical Association. The purpose of the colloquium was to enlighten teachers in the big schools in Ceylon on the significance of the new course, 'Classics in Translation', now organized by the Western Classics Department in the University of Ceylon. Professor C. W. Amerasinghe and Dr Merlin Peris participated in the seminar, which was attended by a large gathering of teachers and others. Resolutions were passed requesting that 'Classics in Translation' be made a subject in schools and in the G.C.E. O level examination.

The Association owes a deep debt of gratitude to the British Council whose representative, Mr Robert K. Brady, was President in 1967. The British Council gave the Association a great deal of help and encouragement by providing a meeting place and by undertaking considerable publicity for the work of the Association.

1969

147 members.

Patron : His Excellency Mr William Gopallawa, Governor-General

President : E. C. S. Perera

Past President : Robert K. Brady

Vice-President : Professor T. Nadaraja

Joint Sec : Mrs N. Rajasingham

Joint Sec & Treas : V. L. Wirasinha

Committee : L. W. de Silva, Mrs N. MacIntyre, Mrs W. T. Jayasinghe, Dr Merlin Peris, E. F. C. Pereira

Lectures :

East and West, the Meeting of the Twain
Archaeology and Legend
Lanka Way and the Classics
The Roman Philosopher Poet
Epicurus and Christianity
Platonic Love

Dr G. P. Malalasekera
Dr Marjorie Reeves
D. C. R. Gunawardena
T. W. Rajaratnam
Sir Arthur Ranasinha
Dr Merlin Peris

One of the Ordinary Meetings of the year had on its Agenda a Classical Quiz in English and for the first time in Ceylon a Latin Reading Competition for Schoolchildren. There was a good response from the schools where Latin is taught.

The Committee, of which three members are senior teachers of Classics in Colombo, met five times during this period.

Two notable achievements of the Classical Association during the period under review were, first the success of its efforts to persuade the Department of Examinations to introduce as a subject at the G.C.E. (Ordinary Level) Examination a course in Greek and Roman Civilization which is already a subject at the G.C.E. (Advanced Level) Examination; and secondly to persuade the National Council of Higher Education to continue the Department of Western Classics at the University of Ceylon as a separate Department instead of bringing it under the Department of English, which was the earlier recommendation made by the National Council. We may now confidently look forward to the continuance of the study of Western Classics both in Schools and at the University.

Mr L. W. de Silva was responsible for both these and for the publication of Bulletin No 5 in July 1968 and Bulletin No 6 in January 1969 and also for two lectures on the Classics which he delivered to Bishop's College and Ladies College, Colombo, for which the Association is grateful to him. Mr V. L. Wirasinha delivered a lecture to the students of Holy Family Convent, Bambalapitiya.

The thanks of the Association are also due to the British Council for the publicity it gave to our work and to the British High Commission in Colombo, which lent us its Hall for our meetings.

1970

147 members.

Patron : His Excellency the Governor-General Mr William Gopallawa

President : Professor T. Nadaraja

Vice-President : S. C. Fernando

Joint Sec & Treas : V. L. Wirasinha

Joint Sec : W. T. Jayasinghe

Committee : L. W. de Silva, Mrs N. MacIntyre, Mrs W. T. Jayasinghe, Dr Merlin Peris, E. C. S. Perera, E. F. C. Pereira, Frank Jayasinghe

The activities of the Association have continued with unabated vigour. Bulletin No 8 appeared in January 1970, with news of various developments in the education field, and a number of interesting reflections on the relationship between the Arts and the Humanities; it was edited by Mr L. W. de Silva. The previous President of the Association, Mr E. C. S. Perera, gave a paper on the Delphic Oracle. In June 1969 the Association held an all-island Essay

Competition in English for schools, for which there were 51 entrants. Six prizes were awarded, one for each age group 13+ to 18+. A great deal of work is being done by classical scholars in Ceylon to translate Greek and Latin authors into Sinhala.

Reports from 30 of the 31 local Branches of the Association were published in *Proceedings*, and the great work done by both professionals and laymen under difficulties and with restricted financial resources has been recorded with appreciation. The report of the Council has this paragraph: "Reports were also published in *Proceedings* from Allied Associations overseas; special mention should perhaps be made of the Classical Association of Ceylon, and of Mr L. W. de Silva, the editor of their *Bulletin* which appears twice a year. Many of us know Mr de Silva as an inspired writer of Latin elegiacs; he is also a very vigorous and vocal champion of the Classics in a part of the world where, as here, such champions are urgently needed."

The other activities for the year not covered by *Proceedings* for 1970 are as follows. On 5th September Mr V. L. Wirasinha read a paper on *Creek political thought and some modern instances* of which a summary appeared in Bulletin No 10.

For the second year in succession the CA held an All-Island Essay Competition in English on set classical topics for schools, 26 of which had been given three months' notice including the set subjects to enable candidates to prepare the topics of their choice without cramming. 57 candidates from 7 schools took part of which 4 were girls' schools with 24 competitors. The rest were from 3 boys' schools. The essays had to be written within an hour by the candidates in their respective schools under the usual examination conditions. The candidates were placed in age groups by the two judges Messrs V. L. Wirasinha and E. F. C. Pereira. Books on classical studies were awarded to the prize-winners after they had read their essays at a prize-giving. The names of the winners and other details appeared in Bulletin No 10. The competition has become popular in schools. Some of the prize-winning essays appear in Appendix viii.

A Classical Quiz for schools was conducted by Mr E. F. C. Perera. We quote the following paragraph from Bulletin No 10: "Teams from St Thomas', Royal, Ladies', & Bishop's Colleges took part in the eliminating Quiz competition held on 1st October 1970. It was the first time that a contest for teams had been arranged by the CA. We are glad to be able to say that the competition was very enthusiastically supported by the contestants as well as the teachers present. The occasional sprinkling of *sal Atticum* by the Quiz-Master, whose excellence in the teaching of the classics & the vigour of his oral methods (without the burdens of silly homework so dear to many) are well known, made it a memorable occasion. Those who recalled their own schools-days might have said—*labitur ex oculis nunc quoque gutta meis*. The senior winning team was from the Ladies' College & the Junior from St Thomas' College. Two handsome challenge-cups were presented to the two teams—one by Mr Anton Wickremasinghe & the other by Mr V. L. Wirasinha who remained anonymous at the time. We do not know why anyone who does good in this way should want to be anonymous when so much bad work is done by people under their own name. The challenge-cups are compulsory savings (not under the new Bill of that name) for the future of the classics. We hope our boys & girls will

hold to the low lintel up
The still-defended challenge-cup.

Appendix II

Medium of instruction in schools

Editor's note: The regulations which first became effective in 1945 (quoted below) were revised from time to time. The later regulations which appeared in a *Schedule* attached to the *Education (Amendment) Act No 5 of 1951* which repealed the regulations of 1945 with effect from March 31, 1951, indicate the changes made.

The 1951 regulations numbered 4 to 7 which we reproduce deal with the three media of instruction. These regulations came into operation on 1st April 1951 and are printed also in *volume iii (1956) of Subsidiary Legislation of General Application under the Legislative Enactments of Ceylon.*

The Free Scheme of Education was introduced on 1st October 1945. Under it, all government schools are free schools. A large number of assisted English schools joined the scheme.

An *assisted school* means a school to which aid is contributed from State funds.

The regulations made by the Minister of Education are known as the *Education Code*, sometimes referred to as the *Code*.

Extract from the *School Grants (Revised Conditions) Regulations 1945* published in *Sessional Paper vii-1946 Free Scheme of Education (Correspondence with the Secretary of State for the Colonies):—*

[Repealed in 1951]

7 (2) The mother tongue of each pupil shall be made the medium of instruction in the primary classes of the school in accordance with such directions as may be issued by the Director of Education, and in such stages and within such periods as may be specified by him, either specially in respect of that school or generally in respect of all such schools; and English shall be taught as a compulsory second language in the primary classes from the 3rd standard upwards: Provided that, where the mother tongue of any pupil is English, the compulsory second language to be taught to that pupil shall be either Sinhalese, or Tamil, at the option of the parent of the pupils.

For the purposes of this regulation, "mother tongue" in relation to any pupil whose parents are not both Sinhalese or both Tamils, shall be deemed to be that one of the three languages, Sinhalese, Tamil and English, which is ordinarily spoken in the home of that pupil, or which, in the case of a Muslim pupil, is approved by the parent of that pupil.

Extract from paragraph 152 of *Sessional Paper xxii (1946)* which is the report of the select committee of the State Council appointed 'to consider and report on the steps necessary to effect

the transition from English to Sinhalese and Tamil with the object of making Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages of the country'.

"The State Council on 28th August and 20th September 1945 amended the Education Code applicable to Assisted English Schools and provided *inter alia* that from the 1st October 1945 'the mother tongue of each pupil shall be made the medium of instruction in all classes up to Standard V... and English shall be taught as a compulsory second language in all schools from Standard iii upwards.'"

SCHEDULE TO THE EDUCATION (AMENDMENT) ACT NO 5 OF 1951 MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

4 (1) Where there are not less than fifteen Sinhalese pupils in all the classes of any primary school, instruction shall be given to all such Sinhalese pupils through the medium of the Sinhalese language.

(2) Where there are not less than fifteen Tamil pupils in all the classes of any primary school, instruction shall be given to all such Tamil pupils through the medium of the Tamil language.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in the preceding paragraphs of this regulation, instruction shall be given, in a primary school, to a Sinhalese pupil through the medium of the Tamil language, or to a Tamil pupil through the medium of the Sinhalese language, if the parent of the pupil so requests.

(4) Where the parents of at least fifteen Muslim pupils in any primary school, or of at least fifteen pupils in any primary school who are neither Sinhalese nor Tamil, request that instruction shall be given to each of those pupils in any specified one of the following languages, that is to say, Sinhalese, English or Tamil, instruction shall be so given to all those pupils through the medium of the specified language.

(5) In the case of every pupil in a primary school to whom instruction is given as provided in any of the preceding paragraphs of this regulation in Sinhalese or Tamil, English shall be taught to such pupil as a compulsory second language from Standard III upwards.

(6) Every pupil in a primary school, to whom instruction is given as provided in paragraph (4) of this regulation in English, shall be taught Sinhalese or Tamil, according as the parent shall select, as a compulsory second language from Standard II upwards.

5 (1) Subject as hereinafter provided—

(a) every pupil in a secondary school which, on March 31, 1951, was registered for the purposes of the Code as a Sinhalese school, shall be given instruction through the medium of the Sinhalese language;

(b) every pupil in a secondary school which, on March 31, 1951, was registered for the purposes of the Code as a Tamil school, shall be given instruction through the medium of the Tamil language:

Provided, however, that the Minister may authorise or direct instruction in any subject specified by him to be given in any specified class of any such school through the medium of the English language, if the Minister is satisfied having regard to all the circumstances that the use of the appropriate national language is not practicable.

The Minister shall in any such direction specify the date, not being earlier than twelve months after the date on which the direction is given, from and after which the direction shall be operative.

(2) Subject to the provisions of paragraph (3) of this regulation, every pupil in a secondary school which, on March 31, 1951, was registered for the purposes of the Code as an English school, shall for the time being be given instruction through the medium of the English language.

(3) The Minister may from time to time, if satisfied having regard to all the circumstances that the use of the appropriate national language is practicable, direct that in any specified class in a secondary school referred to in paragraph (2) of this regulation, instruction in any specified subject shall be given through the appropriate national language to Sinhalese or Tamil pupils. The Minister shall in every such direction specify the date, not being earlier than twelve months after the date on which the direction is given, from and after which the direction shall be operative.

6. There shall be provided in every secondary school a compulsory course in English complying with such minimum requirements as may be prescribed by the Director, unless the school is in exceptional circumstances exempted by the Director from the operation of this regulation.

7. There shall be provided in every school—

(a) a course in Sinhalese, if there are not less than fifteen pupils who are required under regulation 4 or regulation 5, as the case may be, to be instructed through the medium of Sinhalese; and

(b) a course in Tamil, if there are not less than fifteen pupils who are required under regulation 4 or regulation 5, as the case may be, to be instructed through the medium of Tamil.

Appendix III

A Bulletin farrago

Bulletin No 1 January 1966

This is the first issue of our Bulletin. The reasons for the existence of a Classical Association, whatever the language of the country, have been eloquently stated in the inaugural minute which we hope to reproduce in a later issue. Like the protestations of lovers, they bear repetition. It is relevant to the present occasion to remind ourselves that Greek and Latin have been the opening batsmen of western civilization. We continue to be attracted by their record stand. Our membership is not drawn from any particular group. Officers in the Public Service, teachers and students and the leisured class, men and women, those who have retreated from Grammar as well as those who have not, have gladly accepted life membership at the modest price of Rs 10. Fifteen years ago we had only 26 members. In spite of the social revolutions which our country has gone through since then, we have today 137 members. If during the last 30 years we have played a humble part in keeping the classics alive in Ceylon, we have some cause to rejoice. The time has come when we find it necessary to espouse the cause of the classics with greater vigour, not forgetting *victrix causa deis placuit sed victa Catoni*, and to spread information about the classics to our members, and others who may have interests akin to our own. We have decided upon a periodical Bulletin as a suitable medium for this purpose.

* * * *

According to the custom of the Orbilian Society, the outgoing President Mr L. W. de Silva invited the President elect Dr Goodwin B. Beach (*Bonamicus Actensis*) of Hartford, Connecticut, USA, to take office (1966):—

Bonamico Actensi
Viro Doctissimo
Praesidi Futuro
Societatis Orbilianae
s.p.d.

forte Britannorum tulerat gratissimus error
praesidis hoc nobis, o Bonamice, decus;
praesidis officium non est fecisse, sed esse:
sic ego nil feci: sumque fuique nihil.
non tibi Taprobanes quamquam praeconia prosunt,
te mihi contingit, docte, vocare tamen.
quis facundior est quam tu sermone Latino?
lingua Latina diu vixit in ore tuo;
Romana te forte satum de gente putamus,
teque salutamus "Tullius alter adest."

accipe nunc munus. niteat tibi plusque magisque
per mare, per terras Orbilianus honor.

* * * *

Bulletin No 2 April 1966

Here is a version of Martial v, 56, on a problem which is very acute in Ceylon. According to the proposals for a national system of education recommended hardly a week ago by our Minister of Education as notified in the Press, the GCE (O) is to be scrapped. In its place there are to be four new examinations—the National Certificate of Technicians, the National Certificate of Craftsmen, the National Certificate of Fisheries, and the National Certificate of Agriculture. There are some who welcome the proposal as a radical change. Martial had anticipated them and the Minister. The version is by Mr T. W. Melliush, Joint Secretary of the Classical Association of England:—

On choosing a career

How often you've inquired of me, and anxiously desired of me,
To which of all the public schools your son had better go;
Avoid it for the curse it is! Shun schools and universities!
O keep him off his Virgil, and forbid him Cicero!
To rival Burke is vanity. Verse Composition? Ban it, he
Would learn to make some money if he learnt the saxophone;
He'd make a pile by fiddling, but if his brain's but middling
In commerce or house-agency he'll surely hold his own.

* * * *

Bulletin No 3 July 1966

One of the best ways of introducing the culture of Greece and Rome to those who have no knowledge of Greek and Latin is to bring to their notice such books as "The Mind of Rome" and "The Legacy of Rome" edited by Cyril Bailey (OUP), "The Legacy of Greece" ed by R. W. Livingstone (OUP), and nearly all the books written by Sir Richard Livingstone e.g. "The Mission of Greece", "The Pageant of Greece", "Greek Ideals & Modern Life", "The Greek Genius & Its Meaning to Us" (OUP), "The Rainbow Bridge & Other Essays on Education" (Pall Mall Press), "Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero" by W. Warde Fowler (Macmillan), and a host of other books of a like kind. For the young, there are specially suitable books to grip their imagination e.g. "Classic Myth & Legend" by A. R. Hope Moncrieff (Gresham Publishing Co), "Tales of Troy" & "Tales of the Greek Seas", both by Andrew Lang (Longmans), "Stories from Homer" by A. J. Church (Dodd, Mead & Co), "Stories from Virgil" by A. J. Church (Seeley, Jackson & Halliday), "Stories from Herodotus" by H. L. Havell (Harrap) and a multitude of others. Many of them may be out of print but should be available second-hand. Some of these books have been printed thousands of times. Most of the books for the young have excellent illustrations.

These books, particularly those by Cyril Bailey, Livingstone, and Warde Fowler, should be translated into Sinhala and Tamil if the classics are to reach the increasing school going population of today. The first requirement is to give a background knowledge of the classical world to point out what it means. Translations of individual classical authors into Sinhala and Tamil are not likely to produce the same result, though these should follow the background literature. The work of a single classical author, for instance, is not a gateway leading to the history, habits,

thoughts and actions of the classical world. More than one source is necessary. The spirit of Greece and the mind of Rome should be brought together in single volumes wherever possible. A knowledge of the cities and minds of men of Greece and Rome need not make one languish for the purple seas. The longing of that restless wanderer Odysseus was always to return to his own native island, taking full advantage of adventure. When Sir Richard Livingstone began to teach Greek and Latin, a friend asked him what he supposed he had learnt from them and what he was trying to teach others. "The Greek Genius and its Meaning to us" was written by him as an attempt to answer the question so far as Greek was concerned. "It was written", he says, "to inform, primarily myself, secondarily my pupils. It is therefore intentionally popular, and like the poems of Lucilius, designed *neque indoctissimis neque doctissimis*." The legitimate desire to know the literatures of the Sinhalese and Tamil peoples should not shut out a knowledge of the practical wisdom and assimilative genius of the Romans. Referring to the patriotism of the Romans, Cyril Bailey has remarked it was "not a braggart, self-exalting patriotism, but a just sense of Rome's mission in the world". These words should keep ringing in our ears. It is not enough for governments to rise and fall. They must examine our mission in the world and act accordingly. The works of the ancient authors are timeless. It is worth while pondering over the line "Dead is Augustus: Maro is alive" preliminary to action.

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Bulletin No 4 October 1966

The reasons why the classics have failed to reach a much larger number of Ceylonese are not far to seek. We refer to one or two. Even at the beginning of this century, literacy was at a very low ebb. Even today it has now swelled like the Solway. The schools which taught Sinhalese and Tamil were very few. Teachers who were well versed in these two languages were not proficient in or were totally ignorant of English. The position is not much better today. The classics could not be reached by these teachers except through English. The teachers of English could hardly read or write Sinhalese or Tamil. English was considered the best medium for attaining the universal element in education. Sinhala was neglected. The motives for the neglect are many and are not relevant for our present purpose. Nor may we set them down without fear of raising a peasants' revolt. It is only in very recent times that Sinhala found a place in the curriculum as a regular subject in English schools. Now the country is grappling with the problem of restoring good English. Our thoughts go back to the domestic policy of Augustus: *delicta maiorum immeritus lues*.

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Bulletin No 5 July 1968

The Guest Speaker at the Horatian Society Dinner last year was Lord Annan, Provost of King's College, Cambridge. In his most entertaining speech he said he had first met Horace in Kennedy's Latin Grammar. He raised the question: "what will happen when most educated people will read him *only* in translation?" and proceeded to say: "There is indeed something even more inimical to the survival of Horace than the transformation of our culture and the decline in the study of the classics. That is the development of poetry today. The revolution which Eliot began has produced a kind of poetry which might almost have been designed as a manifesto against the qualities of Horace's art. Violence of language, peculiarity of image, eccentricity of theme, extreme looseness of metre, the intensely personal and private reference, obscurity and ambiguity of meaning, the preference for bathos, anti-climax, the throw-away line and the non-

heroic, suspicion of making music with words, imposition of the duty to communicate upon the reader rather than upon the poet, — above all the relentless emphasis upon content has stood the old aphorism upon its head, so that today it would be truer to say that poetry is the thing said and not the way of saying it. What is more, the revolution in criticism which accompanied the revolution in poetry and which moulds taste, is hostile to the tag, the miraculously turned phrase, hostile to the achievement of blending metre and rhythm, hostile to the lyric which says little and exists by virtue of the pattern of words that the poet imposes. How can Horace survive in such a world? And yet he will survive. So long as learning continues, so long as the past is studied for whatever reason, men will come across Horace in as haphazard a way as I have done, and be forced to ask themselves why it was that for so long he cast such a spell upon not only the educated class of past centuries but upon the poets themselves of those times. And in answering that question they will read him and marvel.”

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Bulletin No 6 January 1969

Obiter: If the Ionian scientists and the teaching of the Hippocratic school had won the day, the divisions and disparities between grammar schools, secondary modern and technical schools, and the dilemma of the eleven plus examination might never have emerged: *Lord Soulbury*. Matthew Arnold went to his grave under the impression that the proper way to spell *lacrima* was to spell it with a *y*: *A. E. Housman*. When the spokesman of Kentish hop-growers a few years back complained of competition, declaring that it was a case of ‘ops from ‘ere and ops from there but never a ‘op from Kent’, F. E. Smith whispered to his fellow-Ministers the line *magnas inter opes inops*: *Lord Simon*. It was Quintilian or Mr Max Beerbohm who said ‘History repeats itself: historians repeat each other.’ The saying is full of the mellow wisdom of either writer and stamped with the peculiar veracity of the Silver Age of Roman or British epigram: *Philip Guedalla*. To the public Latin and Greek are ‘the classics’, grouped together without discrimination, ranked chronologically in the wrong order and labelled ‘dead languages’, which, thanks to the mortmain of tradition and the conservatism of the schools, a large number of boys and girls still learn: *Sir Richard Livingstone*. A translator of Virgil into English verse finds the road along which he has undertaken to travel strewn with the bleaching bones of unfortunate pilgrims who have preceded him: *Lord Bowen*. I remember the case of a boy who, allowed to drop Greek for carpentry, returned in a brief period to his classical instructor with his hand in a sling. Handicraft punishes inaccuracy more sharply than the classics: *C. A. Alington*. What disqualified Ovid as a writer of *vers de societe* is not so much his lack of “decorum” as the monotonous singsong of his eternal elegiacs: *Andrew Lang*. Ever since I have been able to read Latin, it has been the sound and movement and architectonics of the language that have fascinated me, at least as much as the substance of anything most Romans had to say: *L. P. Wilkinson*. It is significant that Hitler banned the teaching of the classics, for it needed no great linguistic subtlety to see through his verbal fallacies: *T. W. Meluish*. The pot-hunter’s is recognised as among the most glorious of careers; and Pindar, like Lord Verulam in a graver field, seems quite to regard these winnings as a suitable method of house furnishing: *Prof R. W. Bond*. The only love tragedy in the *Iliad* is the story of Anteia and Bellerophon which occupies six lines out of fifteen thousand: *John Buchan*.

In the latter part of last year a fresh wound was inflicted on classical studies by the NCHE by a resolution to merge the Dept. of Western Classics at Peradeniya University in the Dept. of English with the Professor of English as the head. The aim was to drown the Professorship of Western Classics deeper than did ever plummet sound. Appropriately enough our Roman-Dutch law term for merger is *confusio*. Our CA lost no time in sending a Memorandum over the signature of the President to the NCHE through its Chairman. We questioned the legality of the decision and pointed out in detail that the proposed merger was a consummation devoutly to be avoided. The silence and inactivity of the Chairman, coupled with his failure to reply to the specific inquiry whether the Memorandum had been placed before the Council, made us wonder whether the one or the other had taken the *iter tenebricosum* of Lesbia's sparrow. The CA decided to release the whole proceeding to the Press as a matter of public importance. Only *The Times of Ceylon* and *Sun* gave the desired publicity. We enclose with this Bulletin the Times reprint of the Memorandum, the President's letter to the Press, and the editorial which has commented on the "ludicrous decision" and "the side-tracking and cavalier treatment" accorded to the CA. The *Sun* editorial also supported us. Since no reply has been received by the President from the NCHE Chairman after his Delphian letter of 30th Nov., we continue to remain ignorant of the nature of the action taken. Such are the ways of higher education. The dispatch of the Memorandum by the Chairman to the Vice-Chancellor for his observations was silly since he is also a member of the NCHE. His views would have been in any case available along with those of the other members. Public criticism has challenged the competence of the majority of the members. We have never flattered Neptune for his trident. The Higher Education Act itself has failed to take adequate account of the pathology of human affairs and their rebellious trends in our country. At the same time we echo the Horatian sentiment "What can laws, which needs must fail, / Shorn of the aid of manners formed within?" After sending the Memorandum, we were not prepared to allow the claims of justice to be muffled. In the words of Lord Atkin, "Justice is not a cloistered virtue: she must be allowed to suffer the scrutiny and respectful, even though outspoken, comments of ordinary men.

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Bulletin No 7 July 1969

In 1961 on the invitation of the Rotary Club of Colombo we gave a talk on *The Place of the Classics in Education*. We add a few more facts to what we said on that occasion in particular reference to classical education in Ceylon. Classical studies in Ceylon are traceable to the time of the Portuguese [1505-1658] some 4 or 5 centuries ago, or even perhaps earlier when traders from the West calling at our ports in the north brought Roman coins. Latin appears to have been one of the subjects taught at the Franciscan and Jesuit colleges in those early days. The Dutch kept these studies alive during their occupation [1658-1796]. The Roman-Dutch Law, by which we are governed for the most part, is in Latin. Its usefulness has always been of considerable importance to determine accuracy of thought in matters of legal interpretation. Even today some of the judgments of our courts have extracts from the Latin texts. The Christian Institution at Kotte inaugurated by the Governor Sir Edward Barnes during the British period [1796-1948] taught not only Sinhala and Tamil to the students, but also Greek and Latin to "such of them as showed a desire to become acquainted with the classical literature of Europe." The increasing enthusiasm of our students for classical studies induced the Governor Sir Wilmot Horton

to visit the Kotte school in 1831 and even test the students in Greek and Latin translation. The Kotte Mission Press gave them encouragement in a practical way by publishing for their use *A Plain and Compendious Grammar of the Greek Language*. From early times the schools in Ceylon have given an honoured place to classical studies. In 1902 the Rev W. A. Stone, Warden of St Thomas' College, published *Elementary Latin Exercises* which ran into several editions. Later he published for the use of Middle Forms *Latin Intermediate Exercises* in collaboration with an assistant master, C. V. Pereira, one of the best teachers of Latin that Ceylon ever produced. These books were widely used in our schools but went the way of Lycidas even before the demagogue came on the scene. The Public Service, the professions of Law and Medicine, Teaching, the Civil Service (now called the Administrative Service), and nearly every other calling of note have been distinguished by Ceylonese who had gone through a classical training. Even the humbler ranks of the General Clerical Service have not regretted learning Greek and Latin or only Latin. Clerks with some classical training called upon to work in the offices of our Law Courts have shown a remarkable quickness in grasping the subjects they were required to handle. Small Latin and less Greek have been of greater value than a smattering in other subjects.

The influence of Greek and Latin, both of which were taught in our large schools throughout the country, fostered a true appreciation of literature in our students. St Thomas' College, which always had a great reputation for classical studies, put on its boards in Greek the *Cyclops* in 1885 and the *Alcestis* in 1887. In 1893 the College produced the *Wasps*, also in Greek. They were the first performances in Greek in Ceylon and would not have been possible unless the pupils of the College were keen students of Greek and the Greek drama. In 1910 Warden Stone remarked publicly on Prize Day at St Thomas': "The subject of Greek has of late been warmly debated by those who consider it useless to learn that difficult language. It must not be forgotten that there is growing slowly and quietly a body of educated opinion which will not consent to be cut off from this tap-root of literature and ideas which appeal strongly to a cultivated taste. The area of Greek reading has just been widened for the Ceylon boy by the Director himself, and here there are as many learning Greek as Science."

Except for one brief period of aberration in 1909 when Sir Henry MacCallum, Governor of Ceylon, attempted to commercialize the education of Ceylonese, the study of the classics was treated with uninterrupted respect even after Ceylon was granted political Independence. Sir Henry was an army engineer who, like many of our educators of today, was innocent of the meaning of education. His attempts were denounced in some of the newspapers of the day, and even later. *The Ceylon Morning Leader* (now extinct) of 25th February 1918, in an editorial on the winning of the Government Arts and Science School Scholarships at the time, referred to the old proposal to drive out Greek for carpentry and Latin for masonry. The newspaper went on to say: "It is evident that Sir Henry MacCallum's influence upon the quality of the education imparted in Ceylon has left St Thomas' unchanged and still faithful to its best traditions. It was a very powerful influence at the time and it set quite a new fashion. Men began to deride a classical education and to profess themselves admirers of strange new cults. We are told in the Press and in official documents that the summit of our lads' ambitions ought to be the 'B. Comm.' of Birmingham. Latin was doomed, Greek was at its last gasp, and the old literary ideals were in discredit. The Royal College succumbed to the new worship. St Joseph's truculently denounced it. St Thomas' said nothing but pursued its old ways, placid and undismayed. The commu-

nity has grown out of the short-lived creed, and though we certainly do not underestimate commercial training, we do not underestimate the old ideals of education either."

Classical studies began to decline in our schools from 1957, about 9 years after we were granted political independence. They were elbowed out in many schools to make room for the national languages. It is true these had suffered neglect. It is part of the history of education in Ceylon. But there was no need to stifle classical studies in order to keep Sinhala and Tamil in the curriculum. In fact some schools today teach all four languages though the number learning Greek or Latin is small. Three years ago we gave statistics. The truth of the matter is that our rabid politicians sabotaged the arts that came from the West and dealt a mortal blow to the Periclean ideal but did not for selfish reasons scorn the creature comforts provided by Western science.

The conditions which prevailed in the country and the manner in which they influenced education were admirably stated by Canon R. S. de Saram, Warden of St Thomas' College, on Prize Day in 1958. We quote one paragraph from his speech, a large part of which sounded like something that might have come out of Thucydides. It infuriated the ruling politicians of the day: "This is said to be the age of the common man. It may be so. But it is certainly also the age of the demagogue, the man with the loud voice and fluent vocabulary and specious tongue who debases his gifts by devoting them to the misrepresentation of facts, the stirring up of hatred, the vilifying of persons and causes to which he is opposed; the man with much cleverness but little wisdom who is prepared to sacrifice the peace and prosperity of the country to the gaining of some petty personal or party triumph. Our time has been described as a period of transition. If it is not to be a period of breakdown we must bend ourselves to put before our people values which are of permanent and abiding worth. The persons of whom I speak want to run the country on slogans or what are vulgarly described as 'stunts'."

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Bulletin No 8 January 1970

We are grateful to several scholars of many lands for the encouragement they continue to give our Association in its uphill tasks. It is a most pleasing thought that England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, British Columbia, New Orleans, Lisbon, Durban, Cyprus, Ghana, Jamaica and a few other places have been brought closer to us by our Bulletin despite the *Oceanus dissociabilis*—the unplumbed, salt, estranging sea. We also appreciate very much the references in *JACT* Bulletin No 20 (June 1969) to our Joint Secretary Mr V. L. Wirasinha's Annual Report for 1967-8 and to ourselves. In our own country (which is called a democracy) it is heartening to note that our efforts receive support from the English Press. (By the way, the other night we happened to turn to some of the prose writings of the poet Wordsworth and alighted by chance on something with which we could readily agree. In a letter written in 1833 to Henry Crabb Robinson, Wordsworth had remarked "It is a fixed judgment of my mind that an unbridled Democracy is the worst of all Tyrannies".) We are obliged to *Wayfarer* who in *The Times of Ceylon* of the 24th August 1969 quoted from our Bulletin No 7 and touched on some of its features. We are also obliged to *The Ceylon Daily News* of the 29th August which had a racy review (unsigned) of the Bulletin under the caption *The age of the demagogue*. Referring to the ideals cherished by ancient Greece and Rome, the reviewer has remarked: "They can be made to speak today for the younger generation of Ceylon in an accent loud and clear if Latin and Greek were not so ruth-

tionary, Tooke's *Pantheon*, translations of classical works, and by his attention to pictures and vases. Since digressions are (as claimed by the author of *Tristram Shandy*) the sunshine, the life, the soul of reading, we reproduce the epigram on Keats in Latin elegiacs written by Warden Stone of St Thomas' College and published in the August 1915 number of the College Magazine with his own translation:

nonnullis datur ut pleno sua carmina fundant
 ore, senesque domos Elysias videant,
 te, Line, primaevum iaculo percussit Apollo
 atque ait, "Aurorae florida prata tene."

To some is given to sing with a full throat
 Till age, and in Elysium be reborn;
 Thee, Linus, in thy prime Apollo smote
 And said: "Haunt aye the flowery meads
 of Morn."

Coming nearer to the theme of humanism and happiness we must make even the barest mention of the Oxford scholar and founder of the Royal College of Physicians, Thomas Linaere (c 1460-1524), English humanist and physician, regarded as a consummate master of Greek and a philosopher. By founding the College of Physicians he organized the medical profession in England. It was on the initiative of this humanist that Readerships in medicine at Oxford and Cambridge were established and valuable endowments obtained for them. Among his patients was Cardinal Wolsey. Among his pupils were Erasmus and Sir Thomas More.

The *Inaugural Address* delivered to the University of St Andrews on 1st February 1867 by John Stuart Mill, Rector of the University, began thus: "In complying with the custom which prescribes that the person whom you have called by your suffrages to the honorary presidency of your University should embody in an Address a few thoughts on the subjects which most nearly concern a seat of liberal education, let me begin by saying that this usage appears to me highly commendable." The views which were held on educational problems in the West more than a hundred years ago have a meaning for today. We quote briefly from the Address:

"The proper function of an University in national education is tolerably well understood. At least there is a tolerably general agreement about what an University is not. It is not a place of professional education. . . What professional men should carry away with them from an University is not professional knowledge but that which should direct the use of their professional knowledge and bring the light of general culture to illuminate the technicalities of a special pursuit. Men may be competent lawyers without general education, but it depends on general education to make them philosophic lawyers—who demand, and are capable of apprehending, principles instead of merely cramming their memory with details. And so of all other useful pursuits, mechanical included. Education makes a man a more intelligent shoemaker, if that be his occupation, but not by teaching him how to make shoes; it does so by the mental exercise it gives and the habits it impresses. . . Let me first say a few words on the vexed question between the ancient languages and the modern sciences and arts; whether general education should be classical—let me use a wider expression and say literary—or scientific. A dispute as endlessly, and often as fruitlessly agitated as that old controversy which it resembles, made memorable by the names of Swift and Sir William Temple in England and Fontenelle in France—the contest for superiority between the ancients and the moderns. This question, whether we should be taught the classics or the sciences, seems to me, I confess, very like a dispute whether painters should cultivate drawing or colouring, or, to use a more homely illustration, whether a tailor should make coats or trousers. I can only reply by the question, why not both?"

The President of the Classical Association of England in 1918 was Sir William Osler, Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford. In his Presidential Address he examined what his University meant by the *Literae Humaniores* and pointed out that the studies in Arts from the year 1267 were practically the seven liberal Arts and raised the question "Why this invariableness in an ever-turning world?" He proceeded to show that it was not the dominance of the *Lit. Hum.* but the unequal dominance that was a cause of just complaint. Though the extent and variety of the knowledge demanded by the School of *Lit. Hum.* excited wonder, he said, it paled before the gasping astonishment at what was not there:

"The moving forces which have made the modern world are simply ignored. Yet they are all Hellenic, all part and parcel of the Humanities in the true sense and all of prime importance in modern education. Twin berries on one stem, grievous damage has been done to both in regarding the Humanities and Science in any other light than complementary. Perhaps the anomalous position of science in our philosophical school is due to the necessary filtration, indeed the preservation, of our classical knowledge, through ecclesiastical channels. Of this the persistence of the Augustinian questions until late in the 18th century is an interesting indication. The moulder of Western Christianity had not much use for science, and the Greek spirit was stifled in the atmosphere of the Middle Ages."

While Sir William maintained that "to infect the average man with the spirit of the Humanities is the greatest single gift in education", he commented on the absence of biological works in the *Lit. Hum.* papers at his University:

"In biology Aristotle speaks for the first time the language of modern science and indeed he seems to have been first and foremost a biologist, and his natural history studies influenced profoundly his sociology, his psychology, and his philosophy in general . . . For 2000 years the founder of the science of embryology had neither rival nor worthy follower. There is no reference, I believe, to the biological works in the *Literae Humaniores* papers for the past ten years, yet they form the very foundations of discoveries that have turned our philosophies topsy-turvy."

Sir William touched on the practical question of "how to give the science school the leaven of an old philosophy, how to leaven the old philosophical school with the thoughts of science," and dwelt on some of the dangers and tendencies of modern science when it is divorced from the humanities:

"The extraordinary development of modern science may be her undoing. Specialism, now a necessity, has fragmented the specialities themselves in a way that makes the outlook hazardous. The workers lose all sense of proportion in a maze of minutiae. Everywhere men are in small coteries intensely absorbed in subjects of deep interest, but of very limited scope. Chemistry, a century ago an appanage of the Chair of Medicine or even of Divinity, has now a dozen departments, each with its laboratory and literature, sometimes its own society. Applying themselves early to research, young men get into backwaters far from the main stream. They quickly lose the sense of proportion, become hypercritical, and the smaller the field, the greater the tendency to megalomania. The study for fourteen years of the variations of the colour-scheme of the 1300 species of tiger-beetles scattered over the earth may sterilize a man into a sticker of pins and a paster of labels; on the other hand, he may be a modern biologist whose interest is in the experimental modification of types,

and in the mysterious insulation of hereditary characters from the environment. Only in one direction does the modern specialist acknowledge his debt to the dead languages. Men of science pay homage, as do no others, to the god of words whose magic power is nowhere so manifest as in the plastic language of Greece. The only visit many students pay to Parnassus is to get an intelligible label for a fact or form newly discovered. Turn the pages of such a dictionary of chemical terms as Morley and Muir, and you meet in close-set columns countless names unknown a decade ago, and unintelligible to the specialist in another department unless familiar with Greek, and as meaningless as the Arabic jargon in such mediæval collections as the *Synonyma* of Simon Janueusis or the *Pandects* of Matheas Sylvaticus . . . From overspecialization scientific men are in a more parlous state than are the Humanists from neglect of classical tradition. The salvation of science lies in a recognition of a new philosophy—the *scientia scientiarum*, of which Plato speaks.”

In July 1959 Lord Soulbury, former Governor-General of Ceylon and Patron of the Classical Association of Ceylon, and President of the Classical Association of England in 1948, read a paper at the Osler Club of London on *The Physician and the Humanities* (published in *The Canadian Medical Association Journal* of April 2, 1960 and reprinted). In that remarkable Address he said:

“The separation implied between the humanities and science prompts the question ‘How did they ever come to be separated? Why and when was the scientist differentiated from the humanist?’ . . . It must be regretfully admitted that science and the humanities have been at odds for over two thousand years. Their divorce has bedevilled the progress of Western civilization and disturbed the balance of education in its schools and universities for many centuries. Indeed it is only during the last few decades that signs of reconciliation have appeared, and no single individual has done more to reconcile them than Sir William Osler.”

After taking “a brief look at the early history of Europe, for as Aristotle says: ‘He who sees things grow from the beginning will have the finest view of them,’” Lord Soulbury referred to the part played by Plato and Aristotle and commented:

“It is to the immense influence of these two philosophers, and particularly Aristotle, on Western thought that we can ascribe much of the separation of technology from the humanities that has only commenced to disappear in recent times. Everyone’s philosophy of life, however gifted he may be, is to some extent conditioned by his social background and environment, by the politics of his age and his outlook on the future. Plato and Aristotle were no exceptions . . . In writing of Aristotle that ‘no man has swayed such an intellectual empire in logic, metaphysics, rhetoric, psychology, ethics, poetry, politics and natural history—in all a creator and in all still a master’, Osler was indisputably correct. So in venturing to make any criticism of Aristotle, I can only rely on a precedent furnished by George III who remarked that ‘some of Shakespeare was sad stuff, but one must not say so’, and as regards Plato, I get a shade of support from Bertrand Russel’s statement in his *Unpopular Essays*: “That Plato’s *Republic* should have been admired on its political side by decent people is perhaps the most outstanding example of literary snobbery in history.”

The historical importance of “the separation implied between the humanities and science” is a topic of absorbing interest which has received a special emphasis in Lord Soulbury’s Address,

and which is related to several practical problems as we see them today such as the necessity for the large mass of humanity to have their vocations outside the science laboratory, and what should be suitable methods for preventing a cleavage in our society. Since the matter we have raised is the relevance of the humanities to science, the question arises whether there are signs of reconciliation today. Has the idea been implemented at university level anywhere? Or is it one more instance of *video meliora proboque, /deteriora sequor?*

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Catullus xxxiv Hymn to Diana in Sinhala by V. L. Wirasinha

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Bulletin No 9 July 1970

A good deal has been written and spoken from time to time on the value of a liberal education. It is a common experience that the manners of the people among whom one has to live are often seen reflected in their actions. We have it from Ovid *abeunt studia in mores*—habits pass over into character. We think the true answer to the question what is the good of a liberal education is in Ovid's couplet *ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes/emollit mores nec sinit esse feros*—a faithful study of the liberal arts refines the character and prevents it from being barbarous. But the emphasis on the word *fideliter*, which is the key to the whole matter, is often overlooked. The essential requisite for the deepest draught of the spirit is a *faithful* study. These lines were written by Ovid when he was in exile and had to live among savages. His thoughts appear to have led him naturally to pause for a moment on the need and value of a liberal education, the arts or sciences worthy of a free man. We have the classic case of a very refined man, Prospero, who, though "reputed in dignity, and for the liberal arts without a parallel", led himself to neglect "worldly ends" by being "transported and rapt in secret studies" and thus failed to make use of his liberal attainments in practical life.

The Greek and Latin languages have engaged the attention of schoolboys for various reasons. Later in life these languages have become the object of scorn to many chiefly because they did not get to the stage of making a *faithful* study of the literature of those languages. *The Ceylon Daily News* published (since our General Election in May) an interview said to have been given by a high-ranking politician. The newspaper report stated: "I studied Greek and Latin" he recalled with amusement 'because one could get a lot of marks in those subjects.' We are reminded of Herbert Spencer's remark that "no philosopher's stone of a constitution can produce golden conduct from leaden instincts." We have known before now that good marks could be one

of the causes of failure in education. There are indeed parents as well as heads of schools in our midst who do not want education. They want good marks, if possible full marks, and the thing is done for life. Prof S. Whiteley, the founder of our Association, made a point for all time when he wrote in the *Inaugural Minute* (quoted fully in our Bulletin No 6): "It is the aim of a sound classical education, not to produce cheap would-be Aristotles or Platos, but to enable each student to enjoy a mental life that is valuable for its own sake, that is, to be a genuine person, to realise himself in his own language, whether that be English, Singhalese or Tamil. . . . Is it fantastic to suggest that a revival of national culture might well begin with a study of the Classics of Greece and Rome conducted, not in the mean peddling spirit of the gerund-grinder, but in the bold piratical mood of Shakespeare, eager to enrich himself with the spoils of the ancient world or of the freebooters of the same period who filled their holds with Spanish treasure?" The debate on what is our national culture has not yet ended.

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Taprobane, identified as Ceylon, is the Greek form of the word, the final *e* being long. Ovid's line *aut ubi Taprobanen Indica tinguit aqua* puts the matter beyond doubt. In later times the poet R. Festus Avienus (fl. 370) in his *Periegesis* or *Descriptio Orbis Terrae* used the same Greek form in one of his hexameters: *insula Taprobane gignit tetros elephantos*. Another form of the word appears to be Taprobana, used by the prose writer Lucius Apuleius (fl. 160?). This form perhaps led to some confusion which made the final *e* short in Taprobane in a Latin Gradus. But Taprobane has had further complications as brought to light by Frederick Oakeley (d. 1880) in *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men* (1559-1850) selected & edited by Lilian M. Quiller Couch. Oakeley had won a college prize for his poem in Latin verse. He has written: "The subject was 'Taprobane' (the Island of Ceylon), a word the prosody of which I do not know to this day, and so am glad that I have to write it instead of pronouncing it. In my poem I made the first three syllables a dactyl; but Gaisford (no mean authority on such a subject) declared that the penultima was long, in spite of the authorities I gave him". Oakeley has not listed the authorities he had cited. We have sometimes used the word Lanka in our verse compositions. C. T. Champion of Oriel College had also used it in his hexameters describing his voyage from Calcutta to Cairo (1898). His explanatory note says: "the ancient Hindoo name of Ceylon." We have not come across any other composer using the word Lanka in Latin verse. It is a matter of local interest that Champion was entertained to dinner in Colombo by the Rev F. H. de Winton, afterwards Archdeacon of Colombo. Some of de Winton's Latin verses have appeared in the St Thomas' College magazine.

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The *advocatus diaboli* is always pleased to refer to the decline of the classics in western countries, particularly in the UK. We wish to emphasize that it is not the whole truth. While there is a decline in some places, there is plainly a resurgence in other places that matter a great deal, — *fortuna saevo laeta negotio*. We have it, for instance, from a high authority in *London University* that the Classics Department (King's College) had in October last year the largest number of new students it has had for fourteen years. From another authoritative source we have some evidence on the state of the classics in some Eastern European countries. Provision is made in *East Germany* for Latin at a late stage as an optional subject in the secondary course. There

Even Horace's ridicule *o imitatores, servum pecus*, has its limits as Horace himself has proved. No one hesitates to answer Brutus: "Who is here so base that would be a bondman?" *Slavish mentality* is a very good phrase & can also be a very good thing sometimes. "There is some soul of goodness in things evil, / Would men observingly distil it out." Haters of colonialism, politicians as well as others, are infected by what they vaguely call 'national culture' as opposed to 'slavish mentality'. For an opposite view characteristic of the practical wisdom of the Romans we turn to Caesar's speech on a memorable occasion:

"Senators, our ancestors never showed themselves wanting in either wisdom or courage, nor did they allow their pride to prevent them imitating the customs of foreign nations so long as they were good. They zealously copied in their own administration all that seemed serviceable among their allies or enemies. They preferred, I may say, to imitate rather than to envy the good."

Today more than ever the cry in our midst at dayrise & at eventide (like the lament of Orpheus) is against the slavish mentality fashioned by colonial rule. When our country attained political independence, the condition from which she was emerging was described in a fine phrase—the slumber of servitude. Since then the slumber of political independence during a period of 23 years has caused the disappearance of many of the most precious endowments of colonialism. We must content ourselves here by making a bare reference to 2 or 3 things which are still sorely in need of the slavish mentality. In the rate of crime our country *proxime accessit* the first place in the world. Discipline & hygiene have vanished. These were not only colonial but ancient virtues. To satisfy the social need for a decent life the Greeks went so far as to set up an altar for the worship of Hygeia while the Romans conferred on her the same attributes which made her the goddess of public welfare. There is a great deal to be said for the Greek spirit which humanized their daily life.

The article by the Principal of Uva College in the *Ceylon Observer* of 14/X/70 is a splendid tirade against the fanaticism which is ingrained in our prevailing brand of education. Here are one or two snippets: "The hatred against the colonialism of the British was irrationally transferred to the English language... The elite of resurgent Lanka apparently have two mouths. With one they sing the dirge of the English language and with the other they sing paeans in praise of it." Thus we have those who would bear the pangs of despised love & feel the torment which Catullus felt—*odi et amo*.

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A startling Press Release (no date, presumably December 1970) from the Ministry of Education under the title *Admissions to the University* is really a thesis on *Equality in Education* as seen & decided upon by the Minister & based on his directive issued "to the Higher Education authorities that the medium of instruction should be in Swabasha for all the faculties". The thesis propounds in detail what is claimed to be "a necessary corollary" i.e. admission to the universities should be on the basis of medium. The 3 media of instruction are Sinhala, Tamil & English & are operative on a racial basis. Far from being a 'corollary' it is a *non sequitur*. Stripped of its verbiage the Ministerial proposal to get rid of the plague of inequality in education is designed to act in 2 ways—by a reservation of 50% of the vacancies for rural school pupils, & by the allocation of the remaining 50% according to the medium of instruction received by urban as well as rural school pupils, priority being given to the Sinhala medium. Rural & urban schools

have not been defined. The choice of medium priority confers a double advantage on the rural pupil. The overall admissions are so manoeuvred that rural pupils who have obtained a lower percentage of pass marks than the urban at the qualifying tests take precedence over urban pupils who have obtained a higher percentage. A ministerial table shows the nicely calculated loss or more which varies according to the faculty chosen.

The 'corollary' declares that "more students have to be admitted to the Sinhala medium" & that, owing to "the acute shortage of Sinhala qualified science teachers to man the schools in rural areas, it is essential that opportunities for more Sinhala medium students should be provided in order to produce the required number of Sinhala qualified science teachers. Even in other faculties, to a certain extent, this medium requirement cannot be overlooked". Surely no Sibylline leaves are necessary to foretell that there is no guarantee at all that such opportunities will produce the required number of teachers of the required kind, for there will be even in the new republic other occupations in life for such worthies than those destined by the Minister. The *ad valorem* scale in the ministerial tariff for admissions to the different faculties is as useful as the moderately rare endowment which confers the power of moving the ears voluntarily. All this bother is enshrined in the ministerial summing-up:

"There is a vicious circle that operates against the rural child particularly in the field of science & technical education. He has neither the facilities nor the competent teachers that would enable him to compete on an equal footing with his more fortunate counterparts from the urban areas. Admittedly, facilities for Science, Medicine & Engineering are confined to a few schools in the bigger towns. The expenditure involved in getting an education in these areas is something the average rural parent can hardly afford. However brilliant the rural child may be, he is denied a place in the sun. It is this vicious circle the Hon. Minister is determined to break."

The moral in the story of Phaethon should be a warning to the Minister in his ill-conceived attempt to find a place in the sun. The former disobeyed a salutary warning against the dangers to both heaven & earth & paid the penalty. All we may do is to repeat the counsel of prudence—*parce, puer, stimulis et fortius utere loris! — go easy on the whip, my lad, & tighter on the reins!*

The Minister's enthusiasm (like Phaethon's) has led him out of his course to create the 'vicious circle' himself. The 3 media of instruction introduced to meet the demands of our multi-racial community cannot, on grounds of natural justice, be made the basis of admissions to the universities to gratify ministerial prognostications. Such a step unrighteously diverts the purpose of the media into a new & undesirable course which will be drawn into an evil precedent in the future for other degradations in the name of education. The resulting policy will be to reserve the plums of office in the state on a racial basis. The Periclean ideal is worth recalling:

"While the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognised: and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit."

It is important to note that the word *urban* in the directive or 'corollary' has been construed to mean *rich*, & *rural* to mean *poor* though it is claimed that our country is committed to 'socialism'. Pericles (unlike our Minister) took a different view of poverty: "To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it". Now the *Compulsory Savings Bill* about to become law will reduce the inequality between golden lads & chimney-sweepers and place a higher price on Agathocles' pot. The Minister cannot be ignorant that there are many

schools in urban areas which are very poorly equipped & are therefore 'rural' having neither facilities nor competent teachers. Several schools 'in the bigger towns' have some facilities & incompetent teachers. Physical delimitations mark out electoral areas for political purposes & the exercise of jurisdiction, not for educational experiments. The Minister cannot be ignorant that the money necessary for providing 'facilities' with a view to removing what he calls inequality in education has not been made available in good measure by our governments in power (in one of which he played the same part as Minister of Education). But our rulers somehow have provided funds for periodical ministerial migrations abroad. We do not know whether the Minister had ever before put forward a plea for the provision of 'facilities' for rural schools. But the Minister appears to be ignorant that man stains the handiwork of nature by his own unworthiness. Now to atone for the sins of the state's omissions (democratic as well as socialist) a scapegoat has been found. The 'corollary' does not deviate into relevancy with the plea that "the plans of the Ministry are circumscribed by certain factors which cannot be removed overnight."

The ministerial decisions we have seen, including the Press Release, do not refer to any legislative provisions under which the Minister makes his rulings. The omission places the public at a great disadvantage. Our inquiries reveal that he purports to derive his authority from the *Higher Education Act No 20 of 1966* by section 3 of which the Minister is made *responsible for the GENERAL direction of higher education* & the administration of the Act. Section 4 enacts:

"The Minister, in his capacity as such, may from time to time issue to the National Council of Higher Education such GENERAL written directions as he may deem necessary to enable him to discharge effectively his responsibility for higher education and the administration of this Act."

There is provision that it shall be the duty of the Council to comply with *such* directions. The Council in turn instructs the Vice-Chancellors to act on the directions. There are at least 3 fundamental problems. Firstly it is clear as daylight that section 3 of the Act vests in the Minister the responsibility to give *general directions* & not any other. The aim in the provision is against a usurpation of powers. Secondly what the Minister has purported to do under section 4 is to give *not general directions* but to formulate a *detailed scheme* with a scale of operations with racial discrimination thrown in, thus nullifying the law & negating the very existence of the Council. We are humbly but firmly of the view that the Minister's directions are *ultra vires* the Act & are null & void. Thirdly racial discrimination is prohibited by the *Ceylon Constitution* (not yet scrapped) which lays down that

"No law shall make persons of any community or religion liable to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of other communities or religions are not made liable, or confer on persons of any community or religion any privilege or advantage which is not conferred on persons of other communities or religions."

Resort to subterfuges such as the use of the word *medium* does not help to circumvent the law. The stream of justice cannot be dammed even to a trickle.

There is a further point which is a 'corollary' to the others. It is plain from the language of section 4 of the Act that it does no more than give a *discretion* to the Minister to act in the manner prescribed. He has no wider powers. The meaning of *discretion* has been misapprehended by persons in many walks of life. According to legal decisions in England from Shakespeare's day up to modern times, the phrase *according to one's discretion* means according to the rules of reason

& justice, not private opinion; according to law & not humour; not arbitrary, vague & fanciful but legal & regular; to be exercised not capriciously but on judicial grounds & for substantial reasons. These views have been expressed by a line of distinguished judges including Willes, Lord Mansfield & Lord Halsbury. Their reasoning has been adopted & summed up by Lord Esher who laid down that the discretion must be exercised without taking into account any reason which is not a legal one. It is both law & common sense still, even in Ceylon. No schoolmaster or Minister may be heard to say he has a *discretion* to lower the earned marks of a pupil from an urban area or enhance those of a pupil from a rural area. The meanings of words cannot be changed to suit the needs of a 'democratic socialism' or a 'social democracy'. It makes no difference whether the adjective qualifying the noun be excellent or pejorative.

We do not recall any instances in other places under the sun where attempts had been made to cripple ability in the young and maim the careers of their choice. But we recall instances where successful attempts had been made to kill ambition in superb adults both in Ceylon & elsewhere. The flight of talented citizens from our shores is only one example. A classic example has been provided by the arguments of the deposed tribune Flavius for curbing the rise of Julius Caesar: "These growing feathers pluck'd from Caesar's wing/Will make him fly an ordinary pitch/Who else would soar above the view of men/And keep us all in servile fearfulness". Another case is that of Prospero's brother, the usurper, who had perfected himself "how to grant suits,/How to deny them, who to advance, and who/To trash for over-topping". The question arises whether our urban youngsters, for no fault of their own, should be sacrificed for the sins of their fathers—*delicta maiorum immeritus lues*.

Anyone endowed with a grain of worldly wisdom looking round the habitable world sees that the inequalities which nature bestows are intensified by differences in family life & cannot be adjusted by artificial methods. Life does not begin or end on equal terms. The occupations of parents, the conditions of home life, the upbringing of children, whether in urban or rural areas, are not *eiusdem generis*. Inequality cannot be got rid of by the commission of a new injustice which denies to one the opportunity of making the best use of one's performances. Justinian's definition of Justice: *Iustitia est constans et perpetua voluntas ius suum cuique tribuens*—Justice is the set & constant purpose giving every man his due—enshrines a moral virtue as old as Simonides. It is not too late for the Ministry to realize that when the worth of a pupil's performance is reduced by the ruling class, the worth of the nation is impoverished & democracy becomes not only an unbridled tyranny but a mockery of human achievement. No one wants inequality in anything, not even in potatoes. Now here comes The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table: "Only remember this—that, if a bushel of potatoes is shaken in a market-cart without springs to it, the small potatoes always get to the bottom. Believe me, etc., etc."

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Though the government has now done away with the unconscionable levy of 55% on imported books, it has to be paid on subscriptions sent abroad e.g. membership of associations. We went the other day to the Exchange Control Dept with a written application to remit the amounts due for the renewal of our membership in JACT & the CA of England. The interviewing officer read our application & interrogated us with that corrosive ill-temper which is a distinguishing trait in many of our (non-colonial) government departments. The following conversation took place:—*Officer*: Of what benefit is this to our country? *We*: Prevents it from becoming barba-

vous. *Officer*: Don't you know things have changed? *We*: There are no changes in the Exchange Control Act. *Officer*: But times have changed. Your application cannot be allowed. *We*: Please give me your reasons in writing for your order.

At that moment another official whispered to the other: He belongs to the old school. *We*: I belong to both. *Officer*: We will allow this As we were taking our leave we inquired in what way the times had changed. *Officer*: Now your application has been allowed. Why do you want to discuss that? And we went away wondering whether we should like Teucer go in search of another Salamis.

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On a Henpecked Country Squire

As father Adam first was fooled,
(A case that's still too common),
Here lies a man a woman ruled—
The Devil ruled the woman.

Robert Burns (1759-1796)

ut grandaevus Adam quondam est delusus ab Eva
(nunc quoque deludit femina saepe virum)
quem tegit hoc marmor, sic illum femina rexit;
uxorem rexit zabulus arte sua.

H. H. Huxley

The Crimean Heroes 1858

Hail, ye indomitable heroes, hail!
Despite of all your generals, ye prevail.

W. S. Landor (1775-1864)

salvete, invicti, fortissima corda, Britannii!
vos leto insciti paene dedere duces.

H. H. Huxley

The Nut-Tree

I had a little nut-tree,
Nothing would it bear
But a silver nutmeg
And a golden pear.
The King of Spain's daughter
Came to visit me,
All for the sake
Of my little nut-tree.

nux

nux mihi parva fuit, fuerat cui argentea baca
Hesperidumque pirus praetereaue nihil.
Hesperii regis, grata hospita, filia venit:
quid? quoniam tantum nux mihi parva fuit.

L. W. de S.

Appendix IV

Magistorum quisquiliae
From the Bulletins

Bulletin No 4 October 1966

The school teacher in Ceylon has acquired an unenviable reputation during the last 10 years or more. Official statements have disclosed that about the middle of 1965 there were 94,000 teachers, many of whom had been recruited as a result of pressures exerted by politicians and Unions of Teachers. 74% of these teachers were untrained. The increase in the school-going population appears to have provided a political opportunity. Gradually the standard of English, now a compulsory second language, has deteriorated. Only 20% of 60,000 candidates who offered English at the GCE (O) examination last December were able to obtain a pass in the lower paper. GCE candidates have been found to be unable to frame a sentence in English correctly. But there is the clamour for more and better English. *it clamor caelo*. As *The Times of Ceylon* of 24th September has put it: "The importance of English is acknowledged. An English Unit is set up in the Education Department; there are specialist courses at two training colleges; inservice training is offered with the expert assistance of such as the British Council. But all these seem to be vitiated because, at influential levels, there is a feeling that it is unnatural to teach a foreign language well."

About forty years ago, the Rev W. A. Stone, Warden of St Thomas' College, remarked in the course of his farewell speech to the Old Boys: "I have no intellectual giants as teachers, as the morning papers would call them. I do not believe in them. Giants are monstrosities, I believe in having masters who get the spirit of working hard and sticking by the school till they drop. The man who puts his heart into the work is the man I want, and the man who has the heart of a gentleman. I do not believe in the existence of stupidity."

Times have changed. What are teachers trying to teach today? Here is a sample of sotchiness by no means uncommon. One of the words in a dictation passage was "recognized". Several pupils in the class spelt the word with the letter 'z' but it was marked wrong. When the dictionary used by the class was shown to the teacher, he said the word in the passage he had read out was spelt with the letter 's'. He stuck grimly to his decision. Why do teachers not take the trouble to teach what is right? This is not even a case of missing the bull's-eye as Aristotle would have it. The answer in many cases is *vis inertiae*.

But what of the teaching of Latin today in the few schools in Ceylon where the language is struggling for survival? We know Latin to be an uncompromising opponent of cant and humbug. It is the sworn enemy of shaky knowledge and slovenliness. Latin is taught through the medium of English. But among the instructors there are easily identifiable monstrosities. We have come face to face with some of them. One of these had set the Latin question paper at the August term examination for boys who had done Latin in the school for less than seven months. Out of a farrago of aberrance, we pick the following sentences set for translation into Latin: "They

will have saved many towns of the huge citizens by their advice." Here is another specimen of a different kind taken from the same paper, in fact the very first question: "Decline in the Plural only, without meanings, URBS PULCHER". Indeed, should it have been 'without meaning'? What a terrible sweat of death is brewing for our young ones! We do not have to look for agreement whether hemlock is too mild for some of our 'intellectual giants'.

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Bulletin No 5 July 1968

We have referred in the past to the shocking manner in which Latin is taught in some of our schools where that stately language, the opponent of shaky knowledge and slovenliness, is struggling for survival. The position has not improved. Teachers whose work has come to our notice continue to play havoc from the elementary stage. One consequence is that pupils abandon Latin after the first or second year. But teachers make the charge that their pupils are dull. The excuse is as old as Quintilian who was a schoolmaster for 20 years. He made the point that the dull and the unteachable are abnormal and few in number; boys generally show promise of many accomplishments, and when such promise dies away as they grow up, the cause is not the failure of natural gifts but the lack of requisite care. This point is well illustrated by the pattern of teaching adopted (to take a specific instance) by a trained teacher in one of our large schools. His class began Latin with Hillard & Botting's *Elementary Latin Exercises*. At the very beginning of each section in the book there are specific references to Kennedy's *Revised Latin Primer*. Since no progress may be made without grammar, H & B have laid down in the very first paragraph of their Preface the indispensable requirement that Accidence must be learnt as planned in their book. But the teacher has ignored this caution so that his pupils do not know the grammar which they need to keep pace with the book. The alternatives are self-study or private tuition. But the boys are condemned as unfit to learn Latin. A Latin class which began with about 20 pupils has dwindled to about 6.

With the passage of time the pupils were confronted with Unseens only because the syllabus had to be covered somehow by them. They were not taught how to split up a sentence. Even after the second year they were not made aware of the elementary rules for identifying gender. Unseens were treated as homework without any previous instruction in class. In short there was no oral teaching. Everything became homework and selfstudy.

When the pupils scrambled on to the subjunctive mood the teacher marked as wrong the English meaning "we may withstand" and substituted "let us withstand". Similarly "you may be hindered" was marked wrong and "may you be hindered" was substituted by the teacher. While he was thus hindering his pupils, one of them showed him the section in Kennedy which states that the meanings of the tenses of the subjunctive vary so much according to the context that any one rendering is misleading and the subjunctive tenses are therefore given without any English translation. But poor Kennedy was summarily overruled. What is the remedy for a teacher's incompetence and indolence when detected singly or in partnership? The legal maxim which is as old as the hills has it in this form: *ubi ius, ibi remedium*—where there is a right there is a remedy. The offence is rank and smells to heaven, for every Latin class today is a very small one. The teacher of Latin cannot even avail himself of the common excuse given by his delinquent colleagues today that the overcrowding of classes is the sole cause of poor results. Parents are generally reluctant to make complaints to the head of the school, because

when they do, the teacher starts a vendetta against the pupils. We have given only a very few out of a multitude of sins which drive away boys from the course of study they have chosen. The causes are seldom or never examined or are superficially attributed to other problems by those who see only the symptoms of the disease and we hear the periodical wail that the classics have slumped. In our Bulletin No 2 we published statistics to show that the total number of learners of Latin in our schools in 1965 did not exceed 625. We do not have the figures for the last two years but we should not be far wrong in thinking that, for the reasons we have given, Latin will soon be a native of the rocks. We leave Greek out of the reckoning. Those who have "shone at ancient Greek" (so the phrase goes) are disqualified if not disdained by some of our local pundits whose views on that language are (quite reasonably) not unlike those of a pundit of bygone times in another land:

"You see me, young man, I never learned Greek and I don't find that I ever missed it. I have a Doctor's cap and gown without Greek; I have ten thousand florins a year without Greek; I eat heartily without Greek; and as I don't know Greek, I do not believe there is any good in it".

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Bulletin No 6 January 1969

Latin teaching continues to flourish in our midst. Here are a few samples which have come to light. *Scene*: Pre-GCE (O) class—Latin Unseen. *Boy*: Sir, what does *stetere* come from? *Teacher*: Must be a misprint. *Boy*: Sir, what is the perfect of *student*? *T*: *studi*. *B*: Sir, is it *studui*? *T*: Have you a dictionary? *B*: No, Sir. What does L stand for in L. Manlius? *T*: Livy.

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Bulletin No 8 January 1970

Latin "teaching" goes on in the manner which we have brought to light except that delinquents have sometimes varied their methods and produced new problems:—e.g. we have seen *Grammar* at the head of a Latin Grammar paper set for a special prize at a school. We have also seen very indistinctly cyclostyled question papers in several subjects, including Latin, on which pupils are tested for promotions in their school. Some heads of schools do not take notice of such delinquencies because they want to be popular with the staff. Several instances of indiscipline in the staff have been brought to our notice. A common remark in school reports is *Weak*. The greatest contribution to the *Weakness* is made invariably by the teacher who is a regular absentee but the school head is unwilling to listen to distressed parents. The pupil must suffer.

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Bulletin No 9 July 1970

In these immelodious days the fates and the good gods can give no greater gift than excellence in teachers. It is distressing to learn from members as well as others some of the things which go on in certain schools, mostly fee-levying. Many of the complaints against teachers are concerned with their (i) incompetence (ii) lack of qualifications (iii) frequent absence (iv) sudden disappearance from class. There is a great variety of defaults condoned by certain heads of schools. Disraeli's remark that variety is the mother of enjoyment needs revision. There is a common, erroneous belief that private fee-levying schools are entitled to be a law unto themselves. Our *Education Ordinance* provides that officers of the Department of Education may lawfully "enter

and inspect *any* school" and satisfy itself "that the school is open to the complaint (inter alia) that the education and training at the school does not accord effectively with the national interest or with the general educational policy of the Government, including the policy regarding the medium of instruction in schools." It is a preliminary step before drastic action. If complaints are addressed to the Minister of Education, opportunities will be given to schools to remove the evils which infect them. It should be possible for the Minister in a glaring case to act *ex mero motu*, but it is impossible for him to have a constant surveillance of several of such schools in order to discover their malpractices. Some heads of schools (to adapt a phrase of Gilbert Murray) grow stiff and deaf in what they consider to be their favourite orthodoxies. In recent times one of our University professors suggested a code of ethics for teachers. We do not know whether there is a code. It is not likely that they themselves will demand one. We recall what George Spencer Bower, classical scholar, lawyer and author, has written: "As early as the time of Lord Mansfield, and probably much earlier, merchants began to solicit the courts to incorporate their knaveries into the common law on the ground that they had been consecrated by long usage. The solicitations were vain."

* * * *

From a school Latin Grammar prize examination paper

Write down in tabular form the Genitive plural, gender and meaning of:—Circe, Delos, Tamesis.

Appendix V

List of books on classical topics in Sinhala

- Theseus Kumaraya by Sirisena Maitipe (for children)
- Jason Kumaraya ditto
- Muhudu Muththa ditto (Old man of the sea)
- Greeka Kathanthara by Kirthi Kalaha (5th Std)
- Greeka Deva Katha ditto
- Julius Sesaruwa ditto
- Greeka Janakatha ditto
- Yavana Purana by Deegoda Piyadasa (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*)
- Shakespeare's Julius Caesar by K. S. Seneviratne
- Troja Pura Sangramaya by Mayaranjan (*Iliad*)
- Ranabima by David Karunaratne (*Iliad*)
- Vira Charikava ditto (*Odyssey*)
- Devathapaya by I. M. R. A. Iriyagolla (*The Last Days of Pompeii*)
- Aesopge Upama Katha by Kirthi Kalaha (*Aesop's Fables*)

Madhu Sadhaya by D. P. Ponnampereuma (Plato's *Symposium*)
 Horatius Kavya by K. H. de Silva (adapted from Macaulay)
 Greeka Dharshanaya by Dias Gunaratna (Greek Philosophy)
 Julius Caesar by M. G. Perera
 Virayo by Dharmasiri Wijayawceera (Charles Kingsley's *The Heroes*)
 Socrates Jeevana Charitaya by Dr Merlin Peris & D. P. Ponnampereuma (Plato's *Euthyphro*
 & *Crito*)
 Pesunu Viya by D. L. Wanigaratne (Cicero's *de Senectute*)
The above works have been published by M. D. Gunasena & Co Ltd
 Greek and Roman Stories (English & Sinhala on facing pages) by L. W. de Silva (The Colombo
 Apothecaries' Co Ltd)
 Greeks and Romans (English & Sinhala on facing pages) by L. W. de Silva (The Colombo Apo-
 thecaries' Co Ltd)
 The following in translations into both Sinhala & Tamil have been published by the Educational
 Publications Department:—
 A History of Greece by Cyril E. Robinson
 Outlines of Roman History by H. F. Pelham
 Early Greek Philosophy by John Burnet

Appendix VI

List of books on classical topics in the British Council Library Colombo*

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|---|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;">Architecture</p> <p>CONANT, K. J.
 Carolingian and Romanesque architecture,
 800 to 1200. 1959.</p> <p>LEWIS, M. J. T.
 Temples in Roman Britain. 1966.</p> <p>SUMMERSON, John
 The classical language of architecture.
 1964.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Dictionaries</p> <p>HARVEY, Sir Paul
 The Oxford companion to classical litera-
 ture.</p> | <p>LEMPRIERE, L.
 Classical dictionary of proper names men-
 tioned in ancient authors. 1951.</p> <p>MARINDIN, G. E.
 A smaller classical dictionary of biography,
 mythology & geography. 1949. A new edi-
 tion of Sir Wm Smith's larger dictionary,
 revised & in part re-written.</p> <p>TREBLE, H. A.
 A classical & biblical reference book. 1948.</p> <p>SMITH, Sir W.
 Everyman's smaller classical dictionary.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Fiction</p> <p>GRAVES, Robert
 I, Claudius: from the autobiography of</p> |
|---|---|

* Compiled by Mr S. Rubasingam and Miss Zern Sally of the British Council, Colombo.

- Tiberius Claudius, Emperor of the Romans. 1953 (repr. 1955).
- GRAVES, Robert
Homer's daughter. 1955.
- RENAULT, Mary
The king must die. 1958 (repr. 1962).
A reconstruction of the story of the youth of the legendary hero Theseus.
- RENAULT, Mary
The bull from the sea. 1962. The story of Theseus, king of Athens.
- TREECE, Henry
Electra. 1963.
Shows the many forces which contributed to the downfall of Mycenae's brilliant culture and the coming of the Dorian Dark age.
- TREECE, Henry
Jason. 1961.

History

- BOWRA, C. M.
The Greek experience. 1957.
- BRYCE, J. W.
The Holy Roman empire. New ed. 1904 (repr. 1961).
- BURN, A. R.
Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic World 2nd. ed. 1964.
- BURN, A. R.
Pericles and Athens. 1948. (repr. 1964).
- BURY, J. B.
A History of Greece to the death of Alexander the Great; 3rd. ed. revised by Russel Meiggs. 1963.
The CAMBRIDGE ancient history. Vols 3—12; 1954.
- COTTRELL, Leonard
Seeing Roman Britain. 1956.
- GIBBON, Edward
The decline and fall of the Roman Empire. 4 vols. 1910. (repr. 1951).
- GIBBON, Edward
Selections from the decline and fall of the Roman Empire; edited with introduction and notes by J. W. Saunders. 1949.
- GIBBON, Edward
The decline and fall of the Roman Empire; an abridgement by D. M. Low. 1961.
- JONES, A. H. M.
Constantine and the conversion of Europe. 1948 (repr. 1961).
- KITTO, H. D. F.
The Greeks. 1951. (repr. 1952).
- LIVINGSTONE, R. W. *ed.*
The Legacy of Greece: essays. 1921. (repr. 1947).
- MONCRIEFF, A. R. H.
European history: great leaders and landmarks from early to modern times. Vol. 1: from early times to the rise of Mohammedanism.
- O'LEARY, De L.
How Greek science passed to the Arabs. 1949. (repr. 1951).
- PAYNE, Robert
The Roman triumph. 1962.
- PEROWNE, Stewart
Caesars and Saints. 1962.
- GRANT, M. *ed.*
The birth of western civilization: Greece and Rome. 1964.
- CARY, M.
A history of Rome down to the reign of Constantine. 2nd ed. 1954.
- FULLER, J. F. C.
Julius Caesar. 1965.
- GRANT, M.
The world of Rome. 1960.
- JONES, A. H. M.
The decline of the ancient world. 1966.
- POWELL, D.
The mirror of the present: presidential address delivered to the Classical Association at the University of Reading 5th April 1967.
- FIELD, G. C.
Plato and his contemporaries. 1967.

Language

- CASELL'S Latin dictionary (Latin-English and English-Latin; revised by J. R. V. Marchant and J. F. Charles. 25th. ed. 1948.
- ELCOCK, W. D.
The Romance languages. 1960.
- HUDSON, D. F.
Teach yourself New Testament Greek. 1960.
Latin for lawyers. 3rd. ed. 1960.
The OXFORD classical dictionary 1949.
Available for reference only.

Law

- BUCKLAND, W. W. & McNAIR, A. D.
Roman law and common law. 2nd. ed. revised by F. H. Lawson. 1952.

- BUCKLAND, W. W.**
A textbook of Roman law from Augustus to Justinian. 3rd. ed. 1963.
- DAUBE, David**
Forms of Roman legislation. 1956.
- JOLOWICZ, H. F.**
Historical introduction to the study of Roman law. 2nd. ed. 1952 (repr. 1965).
- JOLOWICZ, H. F.**
Roman foundations of modern law. 1957.
- JONES, J. W.**
The law and legal theory of the Greeks: an introduction. 1956.
- JUSTINIANUS I, the Great, Emperor of the East (Institutiones).** The Elements of Roman law; with a translation of the Institutiones of Justinian by R. W. Lee. 4th. ed. 1956.
- KELLY, J. M.**
Roman litigation. 1966.
- LEAGE, R. W.**
Roman private law, founded on the Institutes, of Gaius and Justinian. 3rd. ed. by A. M. Prichard. 1961 (repr. 1964).
- LEE, R. W.**
Introduction to Roman-Dutch law. 5th. ed. 1953.
- MAINE, Sir Henry**
Ancient law. 1917 (repr. 1960).
- NICHOLAS, Barry**
An introduction to Roman law. 1962.
- WATSON, Alan**
Contract of mandate in Roman law. 1961.
- WATSON, Alan**
The law of obligations in the later Roman republic. 1965.

Literature

- AESCHYLUS, Prometheus bound, The Suppliants, Seven against Thebes, The Persians;** translated with an introduction by P. Vellacott. 1961.
- ARISTOTLE,**
The Works of Aristotle; translated into English under the editorship of W. D. Ross. Vol 3 consisting of Meteorologica by E. W. Webster, De Mundo by E. S. Forster, De Anima by J. A. Smith, Parva Naturalia by J. I. Beare and G. R. T. Ross, De Spiritu by J. F. Dobson. 1931. (repr. 1951).
- BRADFORD, Ernle**
Ulysses found. 1963.

- CICERO,**
Offices, De Officiis, Laelius, Cato Maior and Select letters; introduction by J. War-rington. 1909. (repr. 1960).
- DRIVER, T. F.**
The sense of history in Greek and Shakes-pearean drama. 1960.
- EURIPIDES,**
Electra; translated into English rhyming verse with explanatory notes by Gilbert Murray. 1905 (repr. 1965).
- EURIPIDES,**
The Medea; translated into English rhyming verse with explanatory notes by Gilbert Murray. 1910. (repr. 1956).
- FOX, Adam**
Plato for pleasure. rev. ed. 1962.
- GREEN, Peter**
Essays in antiquity. 1960.
- HOMER,**
(Iliad) The anger of Achilles: Homer's Iliad translated by Robert Graves. 2nd. ed. 1960.
- DE SILVA, L. W.**
Latin elegiac versions. 1966.
- KITTO, H. D. F.**
Form and meaning in drama; a study of six Greek plays and of Hamlet. 1956.
- KIRK, G. S.**
The songs of Homer. 1962.
- LEVER, Katherine**
The art of Greek comedy. 1956.
- McKEON, R. ed.**
The basic works of Aristotle. 1941.
- PLINY, (Epistolae)**
The letters of the younger Pliny; translated with an introduction by Betty Radice. 1963.
- SELTMAN, Charles**
The Twelve Olympians. 1952. (repr. 1961).
- SOPHOCLES**
Three tragedies: Antigone, Oedipus the King, Electra; translated into English verse by H. D. F. Kitto. 1962.
- WILKINSON, L. P.**
Ovid surveyed: an abridgement for the general reader of 'Ovid recalled'. 1962.
- Mythology**
- CUMONT, Franz**
Astrology and religion among the Greeks and Romans. 1960.

- GRAVES, Robert
The Greek myths. 2 vols. rev. ed. 1960.
- GRAVES, Robert
The Siege and fall of Troy. 1962.
- GREEN, R. L.
Old Greek fairy tales. 1958.
- HAWTHORNE, Nathaniel
The complete Greek stories from the Wonder Book and Tanglewood Tales. 1963.
- JAMES, E. O.
Comparative religion: an introductory and historical study. rev. ed. 1961. Includes a chapter on "Greece and the mystery religions".
- SELTMAN, Charles
The Twelve Olympians and their guests. 1952.
- WARREN, R. P.
The Gods of Mount Olympus. 1962.

Philosophy

- ARISTOTLE,
Metaphysics; edited and translated by John Warrington. 1956.
- ARMSTRONG, A. H.
An Introduction to ancient philosophy. 3rd. ed. 1957.
- AURELIUS, Marcus
Meditations; translated by A. S. L. Farquharson. 1961.
- BOETHIUS.
The theologicl tractates; with an English translation by H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand. 1918. (repr. 1946).
Includes the Consolation of Philosophy with an English translation of "I.T." (1609).
- CICERO,
The thought of Cicero: philosophical selections. 1964.
- CORNFORD, F. M.
The unwritten philosophy and other essays. 1950.
- FIELD, G. C.
The philosophy of Plato. 1949. (repr. 1951).
- JOSEPH, H. W. B.
Essays in ancient and modern philosophy 1935.
- MONTAGUE, W. P.
The ways of knowing or the methods of philosophy. 1953.
- MUIRHEAD, J. H.
The Platonic tradition in Anglo-Saxon philosophy: studies in the history of idealism in England and America. 1931.

- PATCH, H. R.
The tradition of Boethius: a study of his importance in medieval culture. 1935.
- PLATO,
Theory of knowledge: the Theaetetus and the Sophist of Plato; translated with a running commentary by F. M. Cornford. 1935. (repr. 1964).
- ROSS, Sir David
Aristotle. 5th ed. 1964.
- RUNCIMAN, W. G.
Plato's later epistemology. 1962.
- RYLE, Gilbert
Dilemmas: the Turner lectures. 1953.
- SARTON, George
Ancient science and modern civilization. 1954. Contents include Euclid and his time, Ptolemy and his time and the end of Greek science and culture.
- TAYLOR, A. E.
Plato: the man and his work. 1960.

Politics

- ARISTOTLE,
The Politics of Aristotle; translated with an introduction, notes and appendices by Ernest Barker. rev. ed. 1961.
- CROSS, R. C., and WOZZLEY, A. D. Plato's Republic; a philosophical commentary. 1964.
- DUNNING, W. A.
A History of political theories: ancient and mediaeval. 1902 (repr. 1959). The first four chapters deal with Greek political theories.
- NETTLESHIP, R. L.
Lectures on the "Republic" of Plato. 2nd ed. 1901 (repr. 1961).
- PLATO
The Republic of Plato. 2nd ed. edited with critical notes, commentary and appendices by James Adam with an introduction by D. A. Rees. Vol. II, Books VI-X and indexes. 1965.
- PLATO,
Plato's Republic for today; selected and translated with an educational commentary by William Boyd. 1962.
- PLATO,
The Republic of Plato; translated with introduction and notes by F. M. Cornford. 1941. (repr. 1961).
- PLATO,
Plato's statesman; a translation of the *Politicus* of Plato with introductory essays and footnotes by J. B. Skemp. 1952.

Appendix VII

List of classical journals

Editor's note: There are over 200 classical journals in spite of the alleged decline in the classics. An attempt has been made to give a representative though brief list. We are indebted to Mrs June Redhouse, Assistant Secretary of JACT, for much of this information. *Ed.*

GREAT BRITAIN

Classical Quarterly, Classical Review, Greece & Rome, the Clarendon Press, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP.

Didaskalos, Journals Dept, Basil Blackwell & Mott Ltd, 108 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1JF.

JACT Bulletins, 31-34 Gordon Square, London WC1.

Journal of Hellenic Studies 31-34 Gordon Square, London WC1.

Journal of Roman Studies 31-34 Gordon Square, London WC1.

The Classics Group Broadsheet, the Society of Assistants Teaching in Preparatory Schools (SATIPS), St George's School, Windsor Castle, Berks.

Mamucium, Dept of Greek & Latin, the University, Manchester.

IRELAND

Hermathena, A Dublin University review, Hodges Figgis & Co Ltd, Dublin.

Handbook of the Association of Classical Teachers [Ireland], St Patrick's College, Maynooth, Co Kildare.

AUSTRALIA

Antichthon, Australian Society for Classical Studies, Sydney University Press.

SOUTH AFRICA

Newsletter (Nuusbrief), the University, Stellenbosch.

PORTUGAL

Evphrosyne, Centro de Estudos Classicos, Lisbon (4).

USA

Arion, the University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas 78712.

American Journal of Philology, the John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md. 21218.

The Classical Journal, Dept of Classics, Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

The Classical World, OUP 200 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016.

CANADA

Echos du Monde Classique, Classical Assn. of Canada, Garth Lambert, Althouse College of Education, Univ. of West Ontario, London, Canada.

EUROPE

France-Ancienne, M. Demoule, 10 rue Gabrielle-d'Estrees, Vanves, Seine 75, France.

Revue des Etudes Grecques, Assn. des Etudes Grecques, 16 rue de la Sorbonne, Paris 5e, France.

Revue de Etudes Latines, Societie des Etudes Latines, 28 rue du Temple, 95-Argenteuil, France.

Didaskalikon, rue des Clarisses 13, Liege, Belgium.

Lampas, c/o R. Van Amerongen, Westerhoutstraat 25, Haarlem, Holland.

Latomus, M. G. Cambier, rue Colonel Chaltim 60-1180, Brussels, Belgium.

Das Altertum Akademie-Verlag, 108 Berlin, Leipziger Strasse, 3-4 E. Berlin.

Gymnasium, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, gegr. 1822, GmbH, 69, Heidelberg 1, W. Germany.

Palaestra Latina, Conde 2, Barbastro, Huesca, Spain.

Gnomon, C. H. Beek'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (Oscar Beck), 8 Munchen 23, Wilhelmstrasse 9, W. Germany.

Appendix VIII

The All-Island English Essay Competition on classical topics for schools
Five prize-winning essays

Editor's note: The following is a selection of five of the prize-winning essays on classical topics in the All-Island English Essay Competition (1969 & 1970) organized for schools by the Classical Association of Ceylon. After notice of the topics had been given to allow candidates sufficient time for preparation, the essays were written in their respective schools under the usual examination conditions. When the competition was first held in 1969 there were 51 candidates, 22 being girls. Of the 57 candidates in 1970, 24 were girls. Full details appeared in Bulletins 8 and 10. The keenness shown has been remarkable. It must be mentioned that English was not the medium of instruction of most of the candidates, including the prize-winners.

Why study the classics?

Ajit Alles

Age group 14-15 years

St Joseph's College Colombo (1970)

Most people are under the impression that the classics are a dead subject. "Classics" is the convenient name for a large complex of subjects which, if imaginatively studied, are far from dead. The Classics cover an immense tract of time, about 3000 years and embrace two great languages, Greek and Latin, and their two great literatures. But since the world of Greece and Rome is remote from ours it is all the more important when studying those languages and literatures to also study their historical and cultural background. In fact the classics are the study of a dual civilization. The Greek and Roman components were vastly different, and each is worth studying in its own right.

Primacy, excellence and relevance are the three main reasons why the classics demand our utmost attention. The Greeks and Romans were so often first in every field, succeeded in doing so much supremely well, and faced so many problems that furnish precedents for those we face today.

The Greeks evolving from an obscure jumble of prehistoric peoples and cultures created a common language and mythology which continue to fertilize the thought and speech of the western world. They were pioneers in politics, philosophy, science and history. Under Alexander the Great they carried their culture to most parts of the world.

The ancestors of the Romans seem to have been plain-living, pastoral folk from the north who entered the sophisticated world of the Mediterranean. The Romans were a hard-headed, tenacious people. They created the greatest empire of the ancient world, regulating but not changing the Greek east, and ruled it with an iron hand, everywhere imposing a Roman peace. They laid the foundations of European civilization in the barbarian west. Latin was introduced as a

common language. The Romans left arts, crafts and other professional skills to hired or captured Greeks. They took great pains to master the art of oratory and modified their language to serve its needs. The amazing scale of aqueducts and public baths in Roman cities testifies to their talent for civil engineering and their interest in hygiene.

In all this scholars in many fields find an inexhaustible mine of information. But why should the person who has to earn a living in the everyday world study the Classics? The reason must surely be that the value of the classics is not primarily linguistic, literary, aesthetic or moral but historical. The human experiences of the past are a valid guide to the present and the future. The Classics are a unique, comprehensive record. To the person whose work is concerned with people rather than things, this record can be of practical value. The people of today can profit directly if they will by studying the Classics. Not that the study of antiquity will directly solve problems but it will make it easier to see basic principles. The aesthetic satisfaction to be gained from this study is a pleasant experience. And in learning to understand the Greeks and Romans we may learn to understand ourselves.

Our debt to Greece

L. W. de Silva (jun)
Age group 15-16 years
St Thomas' College
Mount Lavinia (1970)

Every great nation has had a culture of some kind reflecting its own peculiar genius. Many of the achievements of the Egyptians and the Chinese, for instance, have been great. In modern times, if civilization is to be measured in terms of dollars and horsepower and the conquest of space, the achievements of the Americans must take the highest place. But only the ancient Greeks had a civilization complete in all walks of life with lessons and warnings in every one of them. It is an imperishable possession for mankind. Since the excellence of the Greeks is something unique, our debt to them is incalculable. It has been said that history does not repeat itself. Tragedy does. The Greeks saw life steadily and saw it whole. They made a harmonious whole of life. They were artists rather than artisans. It is chiefly from this point of view that our debt to Greece has to be assessed.

The Greeks used their natural gifts as nature intended them. To them, humanity meant the exercise of natural gifts. "Know thyself" was a Greek maxim. It means that the knowledge of what a man is, both in private and public life is essential to human progress. Hence it was that the Greeks were pioneers in everything of importance under the sun. The western world has inherited a Graeco-Roman civilization. But the unique contributions of Greece are clearly distinguishable from those of Rome. It was the Greek spirit that awakened the intellect of man and brought about the renaissance in Europe. The thirst for knowledge led men to test their own intelligence. Truth, justice, freedom, beauty, simplicity and the quality of being young were the ideals of the Greek spirit. The creative influence of that spirit which has an eternal bloom is seen in the works which have survived for more than two thousand years. The guiding principle of that spirit is expressed in the motto "Nothing in Excess." These words signify a love of proportion, a restraint in conduct or a middle way in all matters and were carved in letters of gold at the entrance to the temple of the oracle at Delphi.

Our debt to Greece is unlimited. It has to be reckoned under six or seven broad headings. Apart from the Greek spirit there are lessons of a fundamental kind to be learnt from Greek history, Greek philosophy, Greek drama, Greek art, Greek science, Greek athletics and Greek literature in general. The greatest historians of the world were Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon. All of them were much travelled men. As a story-teller, the art of Herodotus, who is known as the father of history has not been eclipsed. The sole aim of Thucydides was truth. He was the first scientific historian. His impartiality has become a watchword. Xenophon has brought us into close touch with a wonderful military adventure, the Anabasis, and with the social life of his times.

Even as a language, Greek is pre-eminent. English has today become a world language. The staple of its vocabulary in all fields of thought and knowledge is Greek. Words like politics, philosophy, physics, physiology, anarchism, democracy, geology, history and tyranny are of Greek origin. Nearly every European language has drawn freely from the Greek. It is indispensable for the formation of new scientific terms. The Greek love of truth meant seeing things as they were, not as they ought to be. Aristotle was the world's first biologist. We are indebted to him for his biological works, to Hippocrates for medicine, to Euclid and Archimedes for mathematics, to Heraclitus for astronomy.

Our debt to Greece for philosophy is immeasurable. The great master was Socrates who sought truth by discussions with ordinary people. His famous pupil Plato was the first great idealist from the West. He and Aristotle taught a way of life which still inspires the world.

Greek drama, chiefly the thirty three extant tragedies of Aeschylus, Euripides and Sophocles, was based on the legends of Greece. Some of the most acute problems of life are treated and solved according to the laws of human nature and give a vivid picture of the social history of Greece in majestic poetry. These dramas have moral lessons such as the primitive law of blood for blood, the insolence that brings punishment, the golden mean or *aurea mediocritas*.

The Greek spirit as seen in Greek art is freely revealed in sculpture, vase-painting and Greek poetry. The Greeks identified the beautiful with the good. Their aim was harmony. Homer has been acclaimed the greatest of all poets. Later epic poets are in his debt. The lyric poetry of Pindar and Sappho and the oratory of Demosthenes have not been equalled. The Greeks adorned everything they touched. In a word, all their works make up a complete culture, the most valuable element of a liberal education.

Even the best achievements of the Roman Empire were made possible through Greek culture. Romans completed their education in Greek schools. The relation of the Greek achievements to modern life is the significance of our debt. Greek literature continues to pose fundamental questions and force them on our attention. When Greece was conquered by the Romans, Greece conquered her rude conqueror when her arts were introduced into rustic Latium. Horace the great Roman poet has acknowledged the debt of Rome to Greece. His own ambition was to rank among the lyric bards of Greece. He drew the attention of his countrymen to the greatness of Greek literature, *exemplaria Graeca*:

"My friends, make Greece your model when you write,
And turn her pages over day and night."

In our world of unrest today, the timeless quality of the Greek achievements is alive, while the works of authors of today are dead tomorrow. The age of technology has been powerless to take away the eternal verities which Greece has bequeathed to the world. They provide a spring which does not wither and a golden age which does not tarnish.

Slavery in ancient Greece and Rome

Sunila Abeyesekera

Age group 16-17 years

Bishop's College Colombo (1969)

Slavery is a word that is rapidly vanishing from our modern vocabulary. The standard dictionary defines 'slave' as one human being who belongs to another—in other words, a chattel. With today's trend of basic human rights, it is very difficult to even imagine how one man can possess another—human rights are held to be so sacred today. However, until a few centuries ago, slavery was widespread. It was prevalent in almost every country in the world. Slaves were those who had committed some heinous crime, and had been sentenced to slavery as a punishment; or else, prisoners of war. As with the rest of the world, so it was with ancient Greece and Rome; they too used slaves.

From facts gleaned from available literature, it is evident that slaves were a common sight in ancient Greece and Rome. Most of these slaves came across the Mediterranean Sea from Africa. Others came from the European countries that the Roman and Greek armies invaded. These slaves travelled to market under inhuman conditions. They were herded like cattle on to cargo boats; they walked hundreds of miles without a rest while they were chained together hand and foot; they got the bare minimum of food and water. Many of them died along the way. When at last they reached the market-place, for instance Delos, they were half-dead. There they were exhibited like animals to their prospective buyers; if they were up to expectations, they were bought and then led off to serve their owner. It is estimated that by the fourth century B.C., more than half the Greek population consisted of slaves. From this, it is clearly seen what an important role in society was played by the slave in the ancient Greek and Roman kingdoms.

Slaves in ancient Greece and Rome served their masters in many different ways. Those who were originally prisoners of war more often than not had had experience in battle. They served their liege as private bodyguards and sentinels. They guarded his house and accompanied him when he sallied forth to the market-place, the stadium or a friend's house. Other slaves worked in their master's fields and orchards. All the strenuous work was done by them; ploughing, sowing, harvesting, fruit-picking, weeding and many other tasks were allotted to them. Still others, who were reasonably educated, served as scribes or clerks. They kept his accounts, wrote his letters, transcribed books, and taught his children. Others, who had managed to gain their masters' confidence to a certain degree, became trusted personal servants or valets. Such a slave attended to all his master's private business; he carried his master's money to the betting booths in the stadium; he preserved his master's dignity and respect, and extricated him from uncomfortable situations. This kind of slave was the one who was treated best—and that was not too well. The slaves who were subjected to the most terrible conditions were those who were sentenced to row galleys; their life was spent in a twilight zone: their only movement was the action of rowing. Their overseers did not allow them to pause a moment because that would have delayed the boat and inconvenienced the passengers. Another class of slave who led an awful life was one who was condemned to mine salt. Once a slave was sent into a salt-mine, he was never let out again. After living perpetually in the darkness of the caves, most of them went blind. The type of slave who led the best life also led the shortest. He was one who was bought by the organizer of a stadium to be made a gladiator. He was very well looked after for a short time;

then he was led out into the stadium either to wrestle with some ferocious beast, or a man who had proved himself to be a champion in that field. He was sent into combat unarmed and the chances of his leading such a life successfully for more than a week were almost non-existent.

The status of a slave in ancient Greece and Rome was equal to that of an animal. He belonged body and soul to his owner. He was not regarded as a human being; as someone with emotions; he was not supposed to feel tired or hungry, or display any other human feelings; if he did, he was severely punished. And severe punishment in those times meant much more than it does now; it involved flogging, branding and many other inhumanities which are abhorred today. A slave had no rights; he could be used just as his master wished and nobody could object. A slave was free to marry another slave; but any children born to them automatically became slaves themselves. Romans and Greeks gave each other slaves as gifts, and bartered them for material gains. If a man suspected that he was being poisoned, he would instantly order a slave to eat his food, to see if it was so. This disregard for a slave's life clearly demonstrates with what contempt they treated it. A slave was an inanimate object; something to be bought, used, and disposed of when no longer required. All that was required from a slave was that he sweat for his master; that he perform all the menial, strenuous tasks that his master had no time to devote to. Therefore it is not entirely surprising to learn that the economic systems of ancient Greece and Rome were based fully on slavery and serfdom. The slaves worked tirelessly; yet the harvest of their sweat went to swell their masters' coffers. It was possible in some cases to emancipate slaves. Solon instituted new laws during his regime to redeem debt-slaves; in other words, those who had been sentenced to slavery because they could not pay their debts. However, since their economy was entirely dependent on the success of the slaves' tasks, it is understandable why very few people actually freed their slaves. If they had done so, in all probability, they would have become paupers within a very short period.

Thus it is seen that slavery in ancient Greece and Rome was conducted on a very inhuman basis. Slaves were regarded as 'things', and unfeeling 'things', at that. However, it must also be said that if there had been no slaves, we probably wouldn't have heard of the Greek and Roman civilizations. The Greeks and Romans would have been far too busy attending to their own affairs to spare much time for art, architecture, literature, science, and all the other component parts of a truly magnificent culture. As it was, slaves did all the strenuous work, and left their masters free to devote their time to culture.

The Trojan Women*

Nirmala Nadarajathurai
Age group 17-18 years
Veimbadi Girls' High School
Jaffna (1970)

The atrocities of the Peloponnesian War inspired Euripides to write the simplest and saddest of his tragedies, *The Trojan Women*. A mighty denunciation of war and the first major literary work of its kind, it was written in 415 B.C. shortly after the infamous Melian episode; in 416 the Athenians besieged and took the island of Melos which was trying to preserve its neutrality in the

*The topic was: Discuss a Greek or Roman play you have read.

Peloponnesian War, and in a surge of totalitarian hate, killed all the men and took all the women and children into slavery. These actions which betrayed all democratic principles prompted Euripides to write his play as an appeal to the civilized ideals of his countrymen, and a year later when the leaders were preparing a similar expedition to Sicily, the play was performed. This performance probably cost Euripides his Athenian citizenship, for shortly afterwards he went into voluntary exile and lived out the rest of his life in Macedon at the court of King Archelaus.

The Trojan Women is a picture of the horror and destruction caused by war. The play is set in Troy; defeated by the Greeks in a senseless war which took many long, long years and which originated in the folly of one beautiful woman, the play depicts Troy caught up in the terrible aftermath of the Trojan War. Their men dead and themselves slaves, the women of Troy watch the topless towers of Ilium crumble in smoke and dust. They realise that this is the end of their old life. A Trojan woman bitterly laments the fate of her country:

O ill-starred Troy! For one alien woman,
One abhorred kiss,
How are thy hosts undone!

The whole play is a portrayal of the suffering of the Trojan women, their city destroyed, destined henceforth to slavery in alien lands. The play has no plot; a pageant of sorrow it moves from the tragic to the more tragic. There is no reversal of fortunes, no denouement, no dramatic conflict—there can be none, since the whole point of the play lies in the utter helplessness of the Trojan women. In the face of such overwhelming adversity the only comfort, if comfort it can be called, lies in steadfast endurance, as the characters show. It is this pulse of courage, this heroic capacity for suffering greatly which makes the play tragic and not merely sad.

Hecabe, once the proud queen of Troy, now a slave, is the dominant figure in the action. She embodies the qualities of compassion, loyalty and love which can soften grief, but above all, the fortitude that can endure the worst. She sees her whole life being destroyed in her husband, children and grandchildren; her city, her countrymen vanquished, and herself a poor slave, fated to serve the hated Greeks, the murderers of those whom she held dear. The aged queen bewails her fate in a poignant passage:

Whose wretched slave
shall I be?
Poor image of a corpse,
weak shining among dead men? Shall
I stand guard at their doors,
shall I nurse their children, I who in Troy
held state...

Her sense of degradation is clear in these words. How bitter for this proud woman, this woman of nobility and high state, this woman of Troy, the unconquered to be reduced to the meanness of servitude? Yet she faces her new life with steadfast courage and fortitude; Forward: into the slave's life! she cries as she leaves the stage but in slavery she will still be a queen in spirit; tragedy sits on her as a crown, her nobility no whit diminished.

One of the most harrowing scenes in the whole play is the murder of Astyanax, son of Hector and Andromache. Andromache is told that her son is to be hurled to his death from the palace tower. Full of grief she takes him in her arms and despairingly laments his coming fate:

.... Kiss me. This one time.
Not ever again. Put up thine arms and climb
About my neck. Now kiss me lips to lips

Quick! Take him; drag him; cast him from the wall;
If cast ye will! Tear him, ye beasts, be swift!
God has undone me, and I cannot lift
One hand, one hand to save my child from death.

The bitter violence of her sorrow rings out in her words. Euripides portrays the feelings of a mother fated to watch her child die, unable to help him, suffering his agony in herself.

Though the play is a picture of suffering and devastation, it does not merely provoke a rain of pitying tears; it is not content to toy with the emotions of the reader. The whole drama is full of moving passages and lyrics. Hecabe's words, beginning, 'Lo, I have seen the open hand of God' are truly sublime. Euripides shows choral drama at its best in this play of his. Another moving passage is where a Trojan mother points to a distant cloud of smoke and tells her child that it is the only sign by which they may know their home. The simplicity of the plot brings out the best in Greek tragedy. And the fact that Euripides has refrained from introducing his 'Gods on machines' is most welcome; and though it was not one which appealed to popular taste at that time, *The Trojan Women* is considered one of his best plays.

In these troubled times, the play takes on an added significance as it did more than three thousand years ago. It is relevant not only to Troy or Melos, but to every part in the world where peace is unknown today; for it is a picture of the anguish and despair of a war-torn country; a picture universal and dateless of the human spirit in agony, an undying record of the suffering man can bring about on man.

Julius Caesar was the greatest Roman

Manique Jayatilaka
Age group 18 years and over
Ladies' College Colombo (1970)

By the first century B.C. it had become apparent that the Republican institutions that had been used to govern the city-state of Rome were inadequate for the government of an Empire. The Republican system with its elaborate laws to curtail a single ruler from wielding too much power had become antiquated and unsuitable for the governing of an Empire and a central form of government was necessary in order to rule the widespread lands that now belonged to Rome.

The system that had existed up to the time that Julius Caesar took up the reins of government had resulted in the maladministration of the provinces by local governors, who, not having to answer to a central government for their actions, tended to behave more like corrupt, despotic monarchs than magistrates appointed by the senate on behalf of Rome, often ruining provinces by draining them of all their resources.

The government within Rome had been weakened by party faction and civil strife, and clearly the firm rule of one man was needed in order to unite Rome and its provinces. It was at this stage in the history of Rome that Caius Julius Caesar, nephew of Marius and son-in-law of Cinna, appeared on the scene.

Julius Caesar was born in about the year 102 B.C. into an aristocratic family to whom politics was nothing strange or unusual. (Both Marius and Cinna had figured prominently in this sphere.) Yet he was late in rising to the front ranks of politics, and, until his consulship in 59, was somewhat of a dark horse, even though he had shown superior military and administrative ability as praetor of Spain in 61.

It was after this consulship of 59 (prior to which he had formed the first Triumvirate with Pompey, the greatest military commander of the day, and Crassus, reputed to be the richest man in Rome), that the genius of Julius Caesar really became apparent. The Lex Vatinia had granted him proconsular authority over transalpine and cisalpine Gaul, and now, backed by a large, loyal, well trained and versatile army, Caesar's military genius began to flower. It was he, who, having conquered the tribes of Gaul extended the boundaries of Rome to the Euphrates and Caucasus in the north and the sea in the west, curbing these restless, semi-barbaric tribes which, if allowed to exist unchecked, could have overrun Rome. Caesar's invasions and wars were military masterpieces, and included the invasion of Britain, a feat which would have been incredible in those days. Yet, although he was a military genius, Caesar did not employ military tactics alone in his conquest of Gaul, but also used to the fullest his skill as a diplomat, binding first one, and then another Gallic tribe to him, so that he never had to fight all the tribes of Gaul at the same time.

Caesar's career as proconsul of Gaul ended in 49 B.C., when, having crossed the Rubicon and declared war on the senate of Rome and on Pompey, he declared himself dictator, following the flight of Pompey and many of the Roman nobles, who, remembering the massacres and proscriptions of Marius and Sulla, feared Caesar.

But Julius Caesar was noted for his clemency to his fellow countrymen. He refrained from proscriptions, confiscations and massacres, and in distributing land to his veterans, respected the rights of the existing owners. This behaviour won him the support of the Romans, and, after his defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia in 48, the senate conferred many honours upon him, among which was the power of dictatorship for life.

Caesar tried to solve the pressing problems of the day, and his failure, in so far as he failed, was due more to the limited tenure of his power than to anything else. He provided a form of central government for Rome, and united the Romans under him, accepting no authority other than his own throughout the Empire. The provinces were governed by his legates who had to answer directly to him, and as Tribune, Chief Magistrate, and later Dictator, all power within Rome and in the provinces, and all matters concerning war or the defence of the lands of Rome were in his hands. All his offices e.g. those of Chief Magistrate, Tribune, etc, were conferred on him by the senate, and therefore, his rule had an appearance of legality.

Thus we see that the foundation for the formation of the Principate was laid by Julius Caesar, and that Augustus Caesar, his successor, merely continued the work begun by him. Although his achievements merely represent the initial stages of the system of imperial government, "they determined the lines on which the Roman world was governed for centuries,"—the rule of one man through his personally appointed officers, the effective control of provincial administration and of the legions, "the extension of citizen privileges throughout the empire, the maintenance of internal peace and equal law, the delimitation of the frontiers", and their defence against semi-barbarous tribes that might have invaded Rome.

Thus we see that Julius Caesar had broken new ground in the political and administrative field and effectively instituted the initial stages of a system of government, which, once it was further developed by Augustus Caesar, was the means by which the Roman world was governed for three centuries.

It was the work of Julius Caesar, which, by disposing of the initial difficulties involved in the transition of Rome's government from a republic to a monarchy, paved the way for the foundation of the principate with a minimum of difficulty. Augustus Caesar's work would undoubtedly have been more difficult and more complicated had not Julius Caesar paved the way to imperial government in his time. According to Burgh "The swiftness and energy with which he (Julius Caesar) designed and effected a great historic reconstruction were as amazing as his movements in the field"—for he had but five years and that too interrupted by wars with the supporters of Pompey in which to carry out his work.

In legislation, Caesar instituted a vast body of measures, many of which had far-reaching results. He restored the rights of the children of the proscribed and passed laws to settle debts. He inquired into and revised the monthly corn dole, and attempted to mitigate the twin evils which were ruining the prosperity of Italy—the denudation of the country, and the concentration of a pauper colony in Rome. He attempted to boost Roman trade and industry, and the calendar that he revised is accepted even today. He began a collection of Greek and Latin books, and gave citizenship to those of the conquered who would appreciate it. Great public works were planned and carried out by him in Italy and the provinces. The Pontine marshes were drained, and aqueduct, road and canal built, and transmarine colonies were planted at Corinth and on the site of Carthage.

This work of Julius Caesar was brought to a sudden halt on the 15th of March 44 B.C. by his assassination which plunged the Roman world into 13 years of civil strife. This murder, committed by Brutus, Cassius and their allies, did more harm than good to the republican institutions they were trying to protect, and brought to a grinding halt the work of the greatest Roman of them all. If Caesar had been allowed to continue, he would undoubtedly have forged ahead brilliantly. As it is his work was halted by Brutus and Cassius, and their act was considered to be such a crime by later ages that Dante included them with Judas Iscariot in the lowest depths of his 'Inferno' as the three arch-malefactors of history.

Appendix IX—Five articles from *The Times of Ceylon*
Trends in classical studies*

L. W. de Silva

One of the distinguishing characteristics of 'unpopular' school subjects as designated by the Ceylon Department of Examinations, e.g. Greek and Latin, is that a study of these languages and literatures imparts a knowledge which can be applied to many problems of today and which in a high degree facilitates the handling of those problems. This is how learning is related to the world around us.

An education which fails to achieve this result or hinders its attainment is not worth having. It is for the student to decide what his aim should be—whether he should fit himself to work in a limited range or in a much broader field. It is not the function of the Department of Examinations, for the sake of providing creature comforts to itself, to tinker with the structure of education, the aim of which is the growth of individual culture from which a healthy society springs.

One immediate result of such tinkering is to deprive our students of the equality of opportunity to which they are entitled. One of the slogans in recent years has been the poor man's children had been denied equal opportunities in the past. The refusal to examine in subjects such as handicrafts, weaving, and oriental music because these involve practical work is not based on reason, for their efficacy depends on practical work. What is required for all school subjects is a continuous overhauling of educational methods by the appropriate authorities, not a perpetual enslavement to routine. Teachers have a large part to play in such re-interpretation. The first requisite is they must be willing workers. They, as well as students, have to be provided with opportunities to enlarge their knowledge of subjects and plumb their depths.

It is useful to know the trends in classical studies in other countries. In America, for instance, these studies do not have the deep roots which are found in Britain. While the classics have an important place in American universities, the Americans are impatient of highly specialised work in Greek and Latin at school because of the time which has to be spent on them. For this reason, social studies seem to receive greater attention. The demand of a large percentage of the student population is for classics in translation through which Greek and Roman civilisation is studied. Evidence of this is to be found in the increasing number of translations of classical authors by American scholars. But there are colleges where a full classical training is available, though the number of authors selected for study appears to fall into a much smaller group than in England.

About three years ago, about 55 per cent of the student population were found to be engaged in classical studies in Soviet Russia. It is a recognition of the real aim of education. A few years ago Indian educators examined the value of the classical tradition in India. Indian professors

* *The Times of Ceylon* 26th June 1965. By courtesy of the Editor,

touched on the cultural contact between India and Greece and referred to the close kinship with the ancient Greeks and Romans. One of the professors said: "The classical tradition of Europe has a deep significance for us. We have to preserve our national excellence and at the same time cultivate an international outlook." The value of Greek as a school subject for the study of Sanskrit needs competent scrutiny.

Let us take New Zealand, the population of which is about a third of that of Ceylon. One of the chief occupations is agriculture. Greek and Latin flourish in New Zealand schools, though Greek is taught in only a few of them. But non-linguistic courses in Greek studies are freely provided. A senior lecturer in classics at the University of Canterbury in New Zealand remarked last year: "On the whole, what turns the New Zealand student towards Greek is not acquaintance with Greek life or Greek literature in translation but the enthusiasm and perceptiveness of a head of a Classics Department who gives the right advice at the right time."

This is precisely what we lack in Ceylon. Instead, we have a Department of Examinations which has taken upon itself the responsibility of constricting the horizons of the students and stunting their cultural growth. The attitudes of academic departments in other lands are concerned with the educational welfare of the students and they come first. At Canterbury University in New Zealand, for instance, Greek studies are kept at 7 p.m. to avoid clashes. The lecturer we have quoted has observed:

"These students are our greatest challenge and responsibility. We believe we have something of value to offer them; we cannot in the climate of opinion now prevailing and likely to prevail, compel them to come and get it, but we can make it easier to get (as in the matter of time-table, where one suits the convenience of students, not staff) without at the same time lowering standards to produce an 'easy' subject What do the students get from us? Reading their examination papers I sometimes wonder. But I know that at sometime during the year to a varying extent a mind has been trained, a taste has been formed or an imagination caught; some understanding has been gained."

And these are valid reasons why there is a respect for 'unpopular' school subjects in other countries.

The concern in England today for the classics is the consequence attendant on the contemplated reorganisation of the grammar and public schools, where, as is well known, classical studies have taken deep root. The probabilities are that some reorganization would take place within the next ten or fifteen years. How Greek and Latin are to be transplanted successfully in the new environment is engaging the attention of JACT and others who would be obliged to deal with new problems as they arise. The matter of reorganization is closely connected with the division of schools in relation to age groups. Such division does not have the same relevance to the cultivation of the classics in Ceylon. Whether grammar and similar schools in Britain would have to undergo fundamental changes of a far-reaching character it is too early to say.

In 1912, a public schoolmaster, in an article entitled *Classics and the Average Boy* contributed to *The Times Educational Supplement*, launched a vigorous attack on the educational aim and the methods used to achieve it. Criticising the indirect effects of the large endowments devoted to the cultivation of the classics in England, he declared that the whole educational aim and the methods used to achieve it were the result of the "system of bribery by endowments". He raised the question whether the average boy at a public school got an education suited to his powers. *The Times* regarded the problem as a question for the nation and invited the opinions

of headmasters, professors and other scholars, pointing out at the same time the failure of the writer of the article to give the answer to the question he had raised. It affected in fact not only classics but mathematics and other subjects as well, for arguments used against one problem are often also readily available against another. *The Times*, in summing up the situation, made this simple observation: "The pity of it is that, in far too many cases, no special interest is desired either by the average boy or by the average parent of the average boy. They are quite content with things as they are, and there in reality lies the rub".

The problem in Ceylon today is what it was in Britain more than fifty years ago. The average parent of the average boy is content with things as they are, but the reasons for this complacency are somewhat different from those which prevailed in England and strike at the very roots of our existence. One main reason for this parental "contentment" is fear since the first question is: does the average pupil in Ceylon receive average tuition? Today the average parent is afraid to complain of what goes on in school because the immediate result of any complaint is to make the teacher take it out of the little victim, and a vendetta begins. In a large number of cases, the chief concern of heads of schools is the maintenance of popularity with the teachers, and what goes on in school does not matter very much to these tutelary deities. Often the teacher has his own avocations during school hours and fails to provide the lesson to which he is appointed. He allows the pupils to relieve the vacancies of their little life with amusement and laughter. A game of darts (as some one lately pointed out), or the reading of comics in class is a common indulgence. Much more may be revealed, much that is within the knowledge of the average boy or girl and the average parent, to show the very age and body of the time, its form and pressure.

Warden Stone in his farewell speech to the Old Boys of St Thomas' College remarked: "I cannot say how much I loved the boys. I have no intellectual giants as teachers as the morning papers would call them. I do not believe in them. Giants are monstrosities. I believe in having masters who get the spirit of working hard and sticking by the school till they drop. The man who puts his heart into the work is the man I want and the man who has the heart of a gentleman. I do not believe in the existence of stupidity".

When that tale is told what Myrmidon or Dolopian can withhold a tear?

Freezing the stream of English*

L. W. de Silva

A correspondent in *The Times of Ceylon* recently asked the question whether the mess in education was going to be "cleared by freezing the still small stream of English" in the schools. Emphasizing the admitted need for national unity, he pointed out that English is still a common language in Ceylon, that there is no apter language to arrest the disintegration of national unity, that if English goes the way of Greek and Latin there is hardly a hope for national unity to escape destruction in this land of many racial groups. This human aspect, one presumes, is not likely to be unheeded.

The question whether the stream of English should be frozen has to be considered from every possible angle free from all prejudice and partisan feelings. Some years ago, a Professor of

**The Times of Ceylon* 30th August 1965. Slightly abridged. By courtesy of the Editor. The stream has not yet been frozen. *Ed.*

Italian at Oxford remarked: — "There are two sources of error which must be guarded against in considering the connexion of ancient with modern civilization: unreasoned worship of the past and unjustified pride in the present. It is as pernicious to overrate the value of ancient civilization which the modern world has actually received, as it is foolish to ignore the great achievements of the ancients and to deny that a portion of their assets has leavened progress in later days." The pith and marrow of the idea could not be brought out better.

One of the objections to the continuance of the English stream in schools is that it tends to create an educational isolation. This appears to be a question of degree from more than one point of view since the need for English is recognized. There are two other concurrent streams in Sinhala and Tamil, which are open to the same criticism of the tendency to isolate. It is for obviously good reasons that English will continue to be taught in our schools, though as a second language, for it would be foolish to cut ourselves off from three-fourths of the world's knowledge. But the teaching of English as a second language does not, we presume, mean that the result will be second-rate.

Part performance in the teaching of a language on a *quantum meruit* scale is to be deprecated as being of no value. Some sort of English taught somehow cannot be the object when it is said that English is taught as a second language, whatever the medium of instruction. At least one hard point has come to light. Investigations recently carried out by the Ministry of Education have revealed that the teaching of English through the Sinhala medium is very poor. It follows that the results obtained by such teaching are also very poor. How poor they must be may be gathered from the fact that the teaching of English today through the English medium is poor in many schools even outside the rural areas. The whole situation is pathetic.

The question arises whether a highly developed language can be taught effectively at all stages through the medium of an undeveloped or partly developed language. In considering this problem we have to guard against "unreasoned worship of the past and unjustified pride in the present". Those who are called upon to teach one language through another must be thoroughly conversant with both languages. The number of such persons dwindles as English declines. Sinhala has not had the opportunity to keep pace with modern thought owing to neglect. Glossaries and the like are being prepared to supply the deficiencies in the Sinhala vocabulary. These are both necessary and commendable, though the main purpose of some of these works and even of their contents is to enable public officers (many of whom get overtime pay for clearing accumulated work) to earn their increments during the period of transition, as the phrase goes.

Whether it will be a case of *sic transit gloria* is too early to say, for new words and phrases take an incredibly long time for assimilation into a language, particularly Sinhala, which has a written as well as a spoken form. But vocabulary alone is an inadequate tool for the handling of another language. The entire linguistic equipment of the medium used has to be sound and adaptable. There can be no waiting for spare parts.

Prof Wilhelm Geiger in his *A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language* (1938) says: "We must keep in mind that the Sinhalese literature is an artificial one, based on the knowledge of grammar and rhetoric." After referring to certain differences in the language, he says that "the most essential point now is the difference between the literary and the colloquial Sinhalese. While the former is constant, the latter changes and develops in the course of the centuries and deviates more and more from the literary language. The verbal inflection, e.g., is greatly simplified and many forms

are obsolete in the daily conversation, whilst they are still used in books. Nevertheless the literary language was also influenced to a certain extent by that development." Whichever of the two forms, the literary or the colloquial, is used as a medium of teaching English, both forms, used as a medium, are beset with pitfall and with gin.

The practical difficulties encountered in making discoveries and advances in the Sinhalese vocabulary have been stated by Charles Carter in his preface to his *English-Sinhalese Dictionary* printed in 1891. He produced some five or six thousand terms which had to be submitted to competent native scholarship. His work was a considerable advance on its predecessors and was an important step taken towards the making and shaping of the Sinhalese language, for the advancement of which the selected words were necessary. These he brought to light, most of them having been used in the literature of the learned. Carter's remarks point to two things—the material necessary was not easily accessible, and the language in common use as late as 1891 was very inadequate. A reliable conspectus of linguistic development is necessary to find out the state of affairs during the last 75 years.

Greek and Latin are sometimes referred to as 'dead' languages as they are not now spoken but they are very much alive. Their validity has been tested over several centuries and they have survived. Among other numerous advantages, they continue to be the base for new scientific terms. We are apt to forget that it was the spoken form of Latin which became the parent of the modern languages of Western Europe. The evolution of the Latin language was a slow process. Like Sinhala, it was influenced by dialects though in a different way. Affected by local idiom, it spread gradually through Italy, and it took a long time to oust persisting dialects. A long survival of dialects points to the presence of a deep influence on the language which is trying to assert itself. Oscan, for instance, was not easily ousted for it was spoken in many parts of Italy even after Latin had asserted itself in other places, e.g. Spain. Virgil, far from despising non-Latin words, adopted them. The early language was rugged and not easily handled, but it began to develop with conquest and colonisation until it became the best instrument for clear, straightforward exposition. And yet, in spite of its highly developed character Latin lacks the lightness and variety of the Greek language. It is a truism that a language does not gain strength or lustre by being buried for centuries.

Aristotle has observed that under thought is included every effect which has to be produced by speech. When a spoken language is taught through any medium the pupil must become able to express himself correctly and effectively. One of the purposes of teaching anything is to stir the mind to examine its own activities, not to cause deeper slumbers. What one has to guard against in the teaching or learning of English through an ineffective medium or otherwise ineffectively may be illustrated by the picturesque paraphrase by someone of Mark Antony's speech over Caesar's body, beginning "O, pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth," which was transmuted into "Forgive me, thou sanguinary clod."

For more sustained eloquence of a similar kind, we may turn to the address delivered in court by a Bengali Pleader at Burisal:—

"My learned friend with mere wind from a teapot thinks to browbeat me from my legs. But this is mere gorilla warfare. I stand under the shoes of my client and only seek to place my bone of contention clearly in your honour's eye. My learned friend vainly runs amuck upon the sheet anchors of my case. Your honour will be pleased enough to observe that my client is a widow.

a poor chap with one post-mortem son. A widow of this country, your honour will be pleased enough to observe, is not like a widow of your honour's country. A widow of this country is not able to eat more than one meal a day or to wear clean clothes, or to look after a man. So my poor client had not such physic or mind as to be able to assault the lusty complainant. Yet she has been deprived of some of her more valuable leather, the leather of her nose. My learned friend has only thrown an argument a hominy upon my teeth, that my client's witnesses are all her own relations. But they are not near relations. Their relationship is only homoeopathic. So the misty arguments of my learned friend will not hold water. At least they will not hold good water.

Then my learned friend has said that there is on the side of his client a respectable witness, viz., a pleader, and since this witness is independent so he should be believed. But your honour, with your honour's vast experience, is pleased enough to observe that truthfulness is not as plentiful as blackberries in this country. And I am sorry to say though this witness is a man of my own feathers, that there are in my profession black sheep of every complexion, and some of them do not always speak Gospel truth. Until the witness explains what has become of my client's nose leather, he cannot be believed. He cannot be allowed to raise a castle in the air by beating upon a bush. So trusting in that administration of British justice on which the sun never sits, I close my case."

The classics and employment*

L. W. de Silva

"It is the distinguishing characteristic of a healthy higher education that, even when it is concerned with practical techniques, it imparts them on a plane of generality that makes possible their application to many problems—to find the one in the many, the general characteristic in the collection of particulars. It is this that the world of affairs demands of the world of learning. And it is this, and not conformity with traditional categories, that furnishes the criterion of what institutions of higher education may properly teach."

This is an excerpt from the Robbins Report. Those who are responsible for preparing the framework of higher education in Ceylon should make a close study of certain parts of that Report, asking the question at all stages: what is it that the world of affairs demands of the world of learning? In order to obtain the true answer to the question, it is important to remember what Pericles told his countrymen: "The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action."

Up to about ten years ago, a high percentage of the school-going population in Ceylon schools, where the medium of instruction was English, studied Greek and Latin. A still higher percentage studied Latin without Greek, the alternative to Greek being science. Not only graduates but those who did not take a degree and who had a sound general education entered the professions and held other high ranking positions in the country. Those who did not go far in their school studies joined the humbler ranks, but their grasp as well as appreciation of English was firm. Many who bear the burdens of the public service today are of the old vintage. Those who go through the new process are bound to succeed them in due course.

* *The Times of Ceylon* 6 June 1966. By courtesy of the Editor.

In England and other western countries, the seekers after a university education are few. On leaving school, the greater number is anxious to obtain employment. In Ceylon, there are hordes seeking a university education. Even the meaning of the word 'university' has not remained constant for a reasonable length of time. No attempt has been made to make the school syllabus reasonably short. The only way in which this may be done is by thoughtful planning, which must take account of prevailing conditions. In some schools, for instance, no attempt is made at all to teach Ethics though this appears as a subject in the time table. The teacher knows nothing of this subject and leaves the pupils to do as they please. It is a sheer waste of time. Students do not know even the meaning of the word Ethics.

In western countries, a genuine attempt is made to shorten the school course without loss to the pupil. In England, for example, the aim today is to make it possible for the pupil to start reading an original Latin author after eighteen months. It helps the pupil to advance rapidly into higher studies. This is one reason why the classics continue to attract students in that country. There are of course, as an Oxford Don has remarked, voices that speak against the classics and want to reserve them as a luxury for the eccentric few. A Cambridge Don has stated that the number of candidates offering Greek and Latin has not fallen in recent years, though the University has grown in size. These statements are borne out by facts and figures. The formation of the Joint Association of Classical Teachers (JACT) and the continuity of its activities, which are not confined to the United Kingdom, have added strength to the classical cause during the last three years and created a new confidence. Inducements for the pursuit of classical studies in the Junior High School in England are many and varied. The aim is not to give pupils a nodding acquaintance with the Greeks and Romans but to help the students to appreciate Greek and Roman culture on which western civilization was founded. Touching on this aspect, the Headmaster of a school in England has said: "In our syllabus, therefore, the Tale of Troy will be more important than the story of Icarus, however well Ovid may have told it, and the Persian Wars more important than the Peloponnesian and, let us face it, things Greek more important than things Roman. Our approach will be to tell our pupils these stories and show them what impact they had on the minds of men, and what institutions and works of art arose from this impact. Let us not underestimate the impact that the first rate can make on even the lowest intellect of the young, provided that it is not clouded by our own sophisticated difficulties. Pupils in the B stream of a Girls' Secondary Modern School have been reduced to tears by a reading of the Death of Hector from the Iliad in a suitable translation. Suitable translations are of course the crux of the matter. They would have to contain the essence of the original expressed in a style suited to the age and abilities of our pupils and the mood of their generation." It is not difficult to multiply examples of work in Humanities in English schools. It is such work that makes the classics live and help those who study them to find positions of emolument in various walks of life.

In recent times, a Research Officer of the University of London Research Unit for Student Problems made an analysis of what happens to classics students after they have graduated. During the period 1961-1962, a relatively high proportion of classics graduates undertook research or further academic study. What occupations they chose we do not know. A fifth of the men and about two-fifths of the women went into teacher training. The following percentages and categories are only a selection and throw considerable light on the problem of employ-

ment, though they relate to one year only. We have no information for other years. The analysis to which we have referred covers eight subjects and about fifteen categories. The subjects are Classic, Economics, English, History, Geography, Modern Language (West European), Combined or Gen. Courses, All Arts and Social Studies. Considerations of space prevent us from giving the figures for all the subjects and categories. We restrict our selection to Classics and Economics and a few categories.

<i>Men</i>	<i>Classics</i>	<i>Economics</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Classics</i>	<i>Economics</i>
Home Civil Service & Foreign Service ..	13.2%	4.2%	12.8%	5.4%	
Schools	24.6%	8.8%	53.8%	18.9%	
Engineering & allied in- dustries	10.2%	17.6%	—	8.1%	
Commerce	16.2%	29.5%	10.3%	16.2%	
Local Govt. & Hospital Services	7.8%	5.9%	10.3%	21.6%	
Legal Profession ..	2.4%	0.3%	2.6%	2.7%	

It is hardly necessary to say that classics graduates found employment in other categories as well, including oil, chemical and other manufacturing industries, public utility and transport, book and other publishers, etc.

Some aspects of Roman administration and price control*

L. W. de Silva

There is much to be gained from a study of the past when it is set in the light of historical truth. Examples of types are guides to the selection of what should be imitated and avoided. Antiquity provides a rewarding study. At the very beginning of his *History*, Herodotus, the Father of History, refers to his work as an inquiry or investigation, for that is what the Greek word *historia* means. To him and his successors, history has been an investigation of human behaviour. The same word was used by Heraclitus to describe philosophic inquiry in relation to Pythagoras. Livy refers to "the dark dawning of our modern day when we can neither endure our vices nor face the remedies needed to cure them. The study of history is the best medicine for a sick mind, for in history you have a record of the infinite variety of human experience plainly set out for all to see; and in that record you can find for yourself and your country both examples and warnings."

The history of Rome provides a complete picture of its evolution from the beginning to the end. Rome began as a single city and grew into an empire. Every stage of development is traceable, military, political, social. There is no fragmentation. The Roman soldier played an important part in the administration. He discharged his duty to the state not only by the sword but by the spade as well. He improved his province by making canals, roads and bridges and

* *The Times of Ceylon* 23 August 1966. By courtesy of the Editor.

by building amphitheatres. His contribution was not wholly a part of army discipline. Augustus, regarded as the author of the standing army, did a great deal to ensure its stability. He formed the military treasury and augmented it with the proceeds of two new taxes. One of them was the tax of five per cent on legacies except those bequeathed to near relatives or those less than a certain stipulated sum. The other tax was one per cent on goods bought or sold in Italy, not unlike the modern purchase tax levied in some countries. Augustus supported his own convictions by making personal contributions to the fund and obtaining promises of subscriptions from foreign countries in the form of foreign aid to add to the sources of revenue. These were only a few of the methods adopted to find money for the maintenance of the army, the expenditure on which was never considered excessive. A soldier, on being honourably discharged at the end of his national service, received bounties which had to be provided by special measures which were a trifle compared with the security of nearly 200 years provided by the standing army.

In classical times, when there was a shrinkage in the national revenue, private individuals who had augmented their patrimony by generously undertaking certain contracts for the government, e.g. for supplying clothing and corn to the army in time of war, lent considerable sums of money to the government. Livy refers to the moral tone and lofty patriotism which pervaded the ranks of Roman society when the administration of the government was carried on with private money.

Public work, as in modern times, was done by contract. But contractors joined in partnership with a view to diminishing the risks involved. The practice was to put up contracts for auction openly. Secret tenders do not appear to have existed.

In later times, during the rule of the emperor Diocletian, who reorganized the administration of Justice, the cost of living increased eightfold. A soldier found his pay and bonus hardly sufficient for the purchase of a single article. Prices and wages soared without any apparent cause. Drastic measures were required to meet the situation. Diocletian issued an Edict, regarded as his most celebrated work in the field of political economy. The preamble to the Edict lashed the unconscionable dealings of traders. They were characterized as enemies of the State. The Edict was aimed at regulating supply with demand and suppressing profiteering, and fixed the maximum price of provisions and other goods. The list included even services ranging from labourer to lawyer. The goods included cereals, vegetables, meat, fruits, articles of dress etc. The penalty imposed by the Edict for any infringement of the maxima was death. The Christian writer Lactantius, who had a bias against Diocletian, has recorded that it was equally expensive to live as well as to die. The Edict appears to have applied only to provinces which were under Diocletian's direct rule and to have been enforced only for a few years. The evils resulting from the state control of everything had become manifest. Fragments of the Edict were discovered as late as 1890.

The black market and price and textile control were only a few of the problems which received the personal attention of Diocletian. He did a great deal to improve the coinage which had become lighter and baser since the time of Nero and had been plain pewter. Diocletian made the silver pure again. It is interesting to note that money derived its designation from the goddess Juno Moneta as it was coined in her temple which was the Mint situated on the Capitol. Moneta means admonisher or Adviser. According to a story related by Cicero¹, this designation was given when during an earthquake a voice from Juno's temple on the citadel commanded

1. *de divinat.* 1, 45.

an expiatory sacrifice of a pregnant sow. Diocletian took a realistic view of what he had to do. He was thorough in all he undertook. His survey of the Empire was the prelude to a better form of taxation. Assessment had to take into account the productivity of land on the principle that who feels the advantage ought to feel the cost. As a writer has remarked, few systems of taxation are greeted with applause. In Roman times, taxes were called the sinews² of the commonwealth. During some periods, the system of credit and finance which operated in Rome was bound up in capital invested in Asia. The loss of the one caused a collapse of the other.

Diocletian took a practical view of the difficult times experienced by Rome at various periods of her history when he introduced measures with the object of providing a stable government. Nor could he have been unmindful of the excessive luxury of former times which led Horace in one of his Odes³ to complain of the need for social legislation, for princely mansions, pleasure-gardens and fish ponds hardly left sufficient ground for the cultivation of homely crops of corn, olives and grapes, in place of which violet-beds and rare blooms were tended to tickle the sense of smell. Poets and prose writers have from time to time inveighed against excesses which were considered unpatriotic or un-Roman. Hoarding of money was forbidden. Black marks were placed against the names of persons whose mode of life was regarded as unpatriotic. In the year following the battle of Cannae, a law⁴ was passed limiting the possession of jewellery by Roman women to a half ounce of gold for each and forbidding expensive dresses and the unnecessary use of horse and carriage. Sallust,⁵ referring to the times of Sulla, made a vehement attack on luxurious living when mansions and villas were built on the scale of towns. "Sea and land were ransacked to supply the table. Men went to rest before they felt a desire for sleep. They did not wait for hunger or thirst, cold or weariness, but anticipated them all by luxurious expedients. Such a life, when means had failed, spurred youth into crime." Referring to the means adopted by Sulla to secure the loyalty of the army, Sallust has remarked: "As a result the edge of virtue was dulled, poverty was accounted a disgrace and uprightiness a kind of ill-nature."

Tacitus⁶ has referred to boundless excesses in the time of Tiberius when even expenses, though very heavy, were generally kept very secret by a concealment of the real prices. But the costly preparations for dissipation could not remain secret. When the subject was opened in the Senate, it referred the whole matter to the Emperor. After weighing every circumstance, Tiberius sent his thoughts in writing to the Senate. Explaining his difficulties in finding remedies, he asked, "If a reform is in truth intended, where must it begin, and how am I to restore the simplicity of ancient times? Must I abridge your villas, those vast domains where tracts of land are laid out for ornament? Must I retrench the number of slaves, so great at present that every family seems a nation in itself? What shall be said of the masses of gold and silver? The perfection of art in bronze and painting? How shall we reform the taste for dress which, according to the reigning fashion, is so exquisitely nice that the sexes are scarce distinguished? How are we to deal with the peculiar articles of female vanity, and in particular, with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets which drains the empire of its wealth and sends in exchange for baubles the money of the commonwealth to foreign nations and even to the enemies of Rome?" The return of more temperate habits took a century.

2. *de imp. Gn. Pomp.* 7.

3. *Odes* 2, 15.

4. *Lex Oppia.*

5. *Catiline* 12, 13.

6. *Annals* 3, 52, 53.

The decline in the standard of English*

L. W. de Silva

While the daily clamour for more English and better English goes on, it is worthwhile examining the causes which have led to the deterioration in the standard of English in our country during the last ten years or more. No attempt is made here to provide a complete catalogue of causes. Those enumerated fall under fifteen heads, many of which speak for themselves and need no comment in detail.

(1) The attainment of Independence has been regarded by many politicians as the dawn of an era to get rid of everything (except creature comforts) that is not national, English being one of them. With this open encouragement, the decline in the standard of English in our schools began. The take-over of many leading schools by the government has been a contributory cause. (2) Political interference caused the employment of extraordinarily large numbers of untrained teachers, including those whose knowledge of English was shockingly poor. When the present government came into power, it was found that about the middle of 1965 there were 94,000 teachers, many of whom had been hurriedly recruited to meet the increase in the number of school-going children. 74% of these teachers were untrained. Politicians and Unions of Teachers had exerted considerable pressure on the Department of Education. (3) The apathy and failure of governments for over ten years to make adequate provision for the teaching of English. (4) Changes in the medium of instruction led to the retirement of numbers of teachers of English who were not well versed in Sinhalese and Tamil. Competent teachers of English have gradually begun to disappear. (5) Basically wrong and ineffective methods of teaching English. The results are scattered throughout the country. (6) Lack of appreciation of good English in the teacher with the result that he is unable to distinguish between good and bad English. (7) The decline of Latin in the schools, to which reference is made later. (8) Wrong pronunciation of words in common use e.g. invalid (according to meaning), apart from words such as mauve, Peru, Leicestershire. (9) The literal transference of Sinhalese idiom into English e.g. go and come. (10) The use of text books written in poor and unidiomatic English, e.g. history and geography. (11) Lack of interest in the teacher causing the same condition in the pupil. (12) Laziness of the teacher not devoting the time allotted to teaching. This is a very common thing in our schools today, including fee-levying private schools whose reputation for honest work was never assailed in former times. (13) The use of abridged books in higher forms, e.g. Dickens, removes the cultural setting to which the student should be acclimatized. The result blocks the appreciation of literature and kills incentive. (14) The failure of teachers to understand and communicate to the pupils the significance of recitation of prose as well as verse. (15) The ignorance of the teacher, very often colossal.

Official statements published in the Press have revealed that, out of about sixty thousand candidates offering English at the G.C.E. (O) examination in December 1965, only 20% secured a pass in the lower paper. Another revelation is that G.C.E. students have furnished proof of their inability to frame a sentence correctly. It is in this condition of English that Higher Education is to be pushed down the throats of students. The University, with the best of intentions, can hardly be expected to perform the functions of a mediocre secondary school.

School-going children are not the only ones who are unable today to frame a sentence

* *The Times of Ceylon* 11 October 1966. By courtesy of the Editor.

correctly or in good English. Teachers of these little victims are in a class by themselves and are a law unto themselves. Their English is even lower than what is known as Babu English. One of these worthies teaching Latin in one of the biggest schools where that language is struggling for survival, set the Latin question paper at the August term examination for boys who had done Latin in the school for less than seven months. One of several aberrations in the paper was this sentence set for translation into Latin: "They will have saved many towns of the huge citizens by their advice." Parents struggle hard to give their children every opportunity for a reasonably good education. If teachers do not co-operate in this aim, a suitable remedy must be found. There is presumably no one to educate our educators. Often the efforts made by the young are set at naught by the teacher's stupidity. Here is one instance. A word in a passage recited for dictation in a class was "recognized." More than one boy spelt the word with the letter z, but it was marked wrong. When the dictionary was shown to the teacher, he said the word in the book was spelt with the letter s. He refused to change his decision. It is not at all difficult to give numerous instances of monstrosities. One wonders whether a training school could ever reform such offenders.

A hundred years ago, very few schools taught Sinhalese and Tamil. The prejudice was in favour of an English education, and there were many reasons and excuses for this prejudice. English was, as it now is, a convenient and desirable medium for establishing the universal element in education, and English continued to be the medium of instruction in English schools. Men and women who were in the teaching profession had had a sound education in English, whether trained or not, and appreciated both the language and the literature. The untrained teacher of English was often superior to the trained. It was then not necessary to send teachers abroad for training in methods devised to teach English to foreigners and those whose mother tongue was not English. Englishmen entrusted with the duty of training teachers in Ceylon lived here for many years and in a short time thoroughly understood the problems which faced them. It was not a mechanically performed service in those days.

Greek and Latin were taught in the English schools. The educational value in the study of both these languages was recognized. Greek was an alternative to science. The study of Latin by all pupils helped the quick mastery of English grammar and composition. English grammar was not taught as a separate subject in the big schools but was learnt as a matter of course through Latin which students had begun to learn from their tenth year. There was thus a gradual and systematic grasp of both English and Latin at one and the same time. The grasp of idiom and usage, so vital for the learning of any language, was inevitable. The study of Latin gave the student an excellent mental training in his early years, enabling him in a linguistic environment to attain the qualities of lucidity, precision, order, and balance, all of which contribute to clear thinking, coherence, arrangement and stability, and later play their part in practical life. The alertness of mind so acquired became a linguistic aid to the comprehension and appreciation of English. Out of twenty thousand words most commonly used in written English, more than half that number, it has been estimated, are of Latin origin. This number does not include technical and scientific words. The decline of Latin in our schools is one of the causes of the deterioration in the standard of English today.

A mastery of the elements of accidence and syntax of the English language is insufficient for its correct use. An analysis of the component parts of English idioms and phrases leads to

confusion and does not produce the desired result. Schools often make the mistake of not going beyond the elementary stage, and the product is a lame duck. Private schools, especially the fee-levying ones, should be in a better position than the others to ensure a high standard of English. They are not enslaved by the uniformity of a programme. But some of these big schools which live on the prestige of the past have not given sufficient thought for the future. For instance, a regulation insisted upon for boys in the Pre-GCE (O) Form compels them to choose only one of the following alternatives: English Literature/Latin/Civics/Sinhalese Literature/Tamil Literature, if he is a Science student. If he is an Arts student, English Literature/Latin/Sinhalese Literature. It is obvious that the cultural value which a student should get at Pre-GCE level is denied to him, and the so-called higher education becomes a farce. It is this kind of syllabus which stunts the knowledge of English and lowers the standard and prevents a student from becoming proficient in both English and Sinhalese or Tamil.

Musical setting for first chorus in Oedipus Tyrannus

Appendix x

Moderato

Strophe and Antistrophe f

Word of our God, O in ac cents so sweet from his Py thian
first on thee, laughter of Zeus do I call, holy Deathless At

shine of Gold, I come to glorious There's a
the ve, Call next thy sister, Ar - te

far,
- his,

What is thy message, my heart all a-tremble a-
Queen of our land, in the centre en throned of our

scape with forebo-ding cries, Hear me, O Healer of
meet in her glory, Thee, Lord of the bow, do I

De los, Tell me, I pray thee, what wilt thou accomplish that?
Call, come swift to our aid, O defend us all three in your

New or per haps once a gain gleaned, fashioned a-
Might as in days that are past, plague pesti- lence,

fresh from the rounding years' Store, or wilt thou tell me,
All you did fend from our hand as with fire they ad-

daughter of gold-en Hope, Voice lever last ing?
ranced to as-sail us, O Come yet a-gain, come.

Larghetto

Strophe and Antistrophe 2

None barless in our midst do woes a bound,
None barless in our midst are they that die

None of all our host the plague hath spared, There is
Children on the ground a ban doned lie, For to

naught of a plan, there is naught found Weapon to ward us from
touch them is death, and of tears none Shed for them, Silver-haired

death. Not the mothers, our fruit of our fields wives too, alas, ripeus to harvest our thronqing the altars with

wives in their labour prayer and pe ti - tion wail, wail, "Woe, a - las!" "Woe, a - las,"

for their torment is vain and their strength is spent from our torment re lease we im plore.' Chant peat

One by one, Swiftly as birds on the wing may you
 out for cure, Joined by the chorus of matrons la

see them, Fleeter than fire all unquenchable, Speeding their
 meeting, Send for their sake, golden daughter of Zeus, of thy

Way, off to seek the shores of night
 Grace, strength with cheerful visage bright.

Allegretto

Strophe and Antistrophe 3

Turn the so-vage god of war to flight
Speed from out thy gold en stringed bow,

Though no braz-en shield he bears, Our
Ly-cian lord thy shafts re-sist-less.

land with ravening plague he sets a blaze
Hear our prayer to thee, our strength do thou

roars His hate, a round us wheeling. Drive him
firmly stand in our defence, and Ar te

back in haste A way, O Lord, thrust him
mis with spear Of flame she wields when she

down, Deep into Am - phi - tri - te's Halls,
leaps over the Ly - cian moun - tains. Haste

out on the dreary un-havened Thracian main a-
 Lord of the chaplet of gold, great Patron Lord of

far. Thebes, Aught of woe the night may leave un-
 bright-eyed Bacchus, god of wine and

wrought song, Day succeeding brings to pass. Do
 Comrade gay of Aeolian choirs, Ap'

thou, Zeus, God of gods, Lord of Lightning's
proach, hurl, flame on flame, blazing from thy

flaming torch of pine, Hurl down on that hated
Hurl, fling them upon his

head thy crashing bolt of doom
head, the god whom gods detest

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JOHN MURRAY

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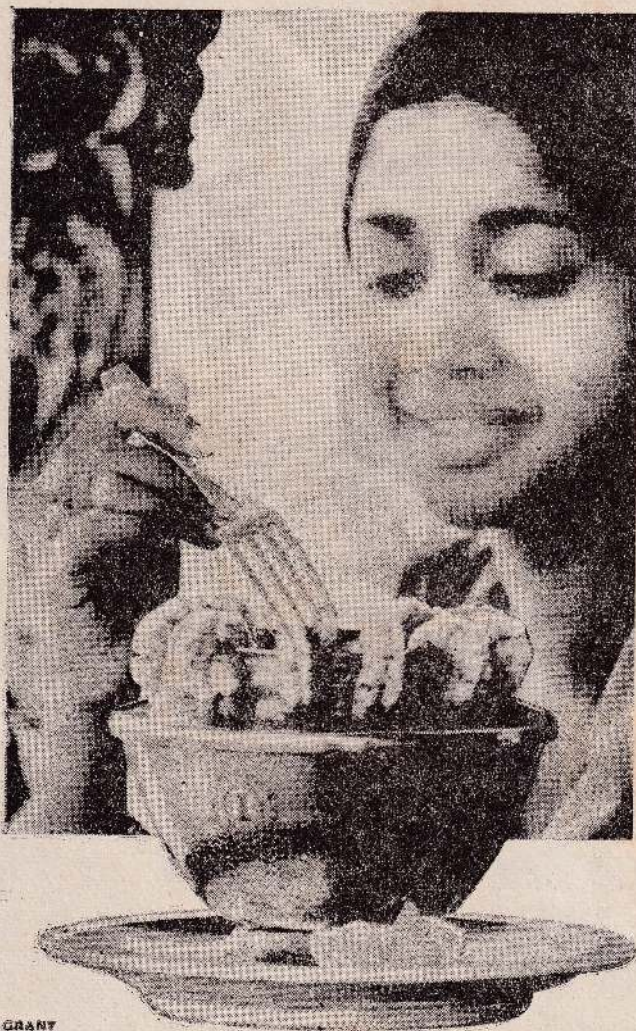


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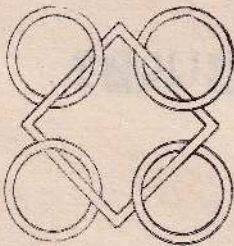
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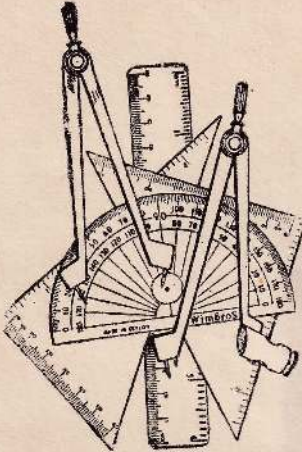
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When the library from Bernard Shaw's London flat comes up for sale at Sotheby's this month, it will be seen that he is a great annotator. His marginal comments are typical of him. One in his Dante, for instance, ends with the criticism: "Except sexually, only fools can love one another. I preach justice instead, even to those we hate."

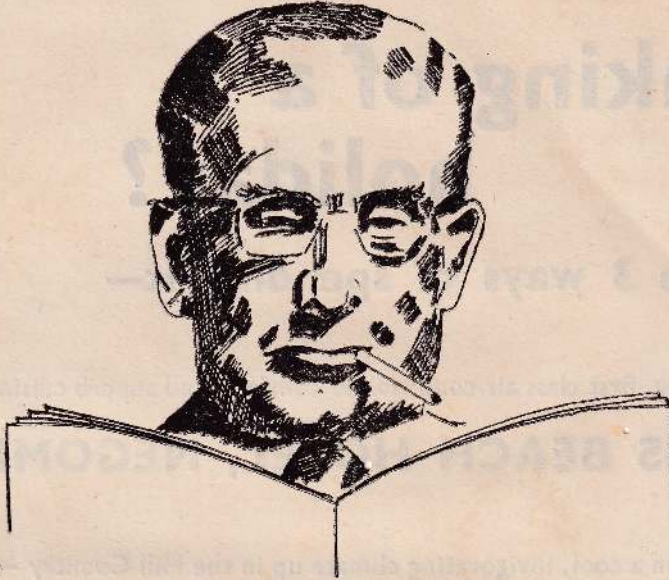
The most costly book in the sale is his privately printed copy of Lawrence's "Seven Pillars of Wisdom". Previous copies of this edition have fetched more than £500. In his, Shaw has written some fresh information about Lawrence and a curious account of his own interview with Stanley Baldwin in an unsuccessful attempt to get Parliament to grant Lawrence a pension.

Shaw's Shakespeare (facsimile of the first folio) is also in the sale. On the back of the leaf containing Ben Jonson's well-known verses to the reader, G.B.S. has pasted a bust portrait of himself and below it his own parody of Jonson's verse.—L.P.S.

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