

account of Being and Not Being in the *Sophist*"; paper read at the 1979 Western Division meeting of the American Philosophical Association. Abstract was first published in *APA Proceedings*, 52, No. 4, March 1979.

6. "Koinonia genon", 47
7. See Bertrad Russell, "On Denoting", reprinted in Irving M. Copi and James a Gould (eds), *Contemporary readings in logical theory* New York: The Macmillan Company, (1967), 93 - 105.
8. See Peter F. Strawson, "On Referring" in Irving, M. Copi and James A Gould, op. cit in note 7 above, 105 - 132.
9. Dennis Rohatyn, 'Bodunnin on the *Sophist*' *Second Order: An Africa Journal of Philosophy*. V. 1 1976, 75-90.
10. G.E.L. Owen, op.cit not 5 p. 225.
11. W.K.C. Guthrie, op. cit. in note 5, 151.
12. W. A. Prior, op. cit in not 5, 11.
13. Ibid. 16- 17.
14. Paul Seligman, op. cit. in note 5, 45 and 47.
15. Op. cit., 150
16. Seligman, op. cit., 56.
17. Op. cit., 159.
18. Ibid.
19. Prior, op. cit., 1-3
20. Julius M. E. Moravosik, "Being and Meaning in the *Sophist*", *Acta Philosophica Fennica XIV* (1962), 37.
21. G. E. L. Owen, "Plato on Not-Being," Loc. cit., 232.
22. Ibid., 225.

THE CONCEPT OF PURITY OF BLOOD IN SUETONIUS' LIFE OF AUGUSTUS

Suetonius' account of the reforms of the emperor Augustus includes the following sentence:

*magnum praeterea existimans sincerum atque ab omni collu-
vione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum servare
populum et civitatem Romanam parcissime dedit et manu-
mittendi modum terminavit.*¹

To the modern mind this statement, with its reference to purity of blood, immediately suggests that the biographer is here attributing to the emperor a racialist policy. The suggestion is reinforced by translations like that of Robert Graves:

Augustus thought it most important not to let the native Roman stock be tainted with foreign or servile blood, and was therefore very unwilling to create new Roman citizens, or to permit the manumission of more than a limited number of slaves.²

This notion of a racialist policy has inevitably insinuated itself into several modern accounts of the social programme of Augustus. Tenney Frank, for example, in the context of what he called "race suicide", observed that the legislation of Augustus "aimed at preserving the native stock."³ Hugh Last, under the rubric "race and culture", drew attention to the manace posed (from the emperor's point of view) by "the steady flow of slaves into Italy and their prolific unions", and by uncontrolled manumission. As Last saw it, "if the population of Italy was only maintained by immigration, it must soon become a nondescript farrago, with the Roman element too weak to leaven the whole lump. The traditions of the Latin stock would not readily be communicated to the rest of Italy if the free population of the country were penetrated by heirs of the Hellenistic culture." Augustus therefore took measures to arrest the extension of Roman citizenship

to *peregrini* and above all, set limits to "the numbers of those Greeks and Orientals who, coming to Italy as slaves, were merged on manumission into the general body of Roman citizens." These measures were designed to preserve the Italian "stock" from "uncontrolled contamination".⁴ Here, it is true, the nature of the dreaded "contamination" is not categorically specified, and most of what Last says can be read as referring to cultural contamination, with no more sinister meaning than that Augustus aimed at confirming imperial Italy and her culture in a privileged and dominant position in the Roman world, and that he saw the culture and values of the Hellenistic East as posing a serious threat to Latin culture and values. But Last's rubric, "race and culture", and his reference to "stock" indicate that the notion of purity of blood is also operative here; and, some pages later, Last in fact attributes to Augustus a fear of the prospect of the Roman ruling class becoming "contaminated" by non-Italian "blood", and a consciousness of "the need for the aristocracy to keep itself free from dangerous admixtures of foreign blood."⁵ Last's discussion (like Robert Graves' translation of the Suetonius passage) thus betrays a racial vision of the issue, and it ascribes to Augustus a racialist attitude as part, at least, of the motivation behind the social legislation which imposed restrictions on manumission and behind the emperor's citizenship policy. Lewis and Reinhold⁶ similarly refer to Augustus' "policy of preserving and invigorating the Italian stock", while Madeleine Bonjour⁷, citing Suetonius and Dio Cassius, observes that Augustus, faced with the influx of new citizens from the provinces who "were altering the substance of the Roman people", took measures "to defend the purity of the 'Roman race'." Roman race."

Brunt, however, rightly points out that when the grants of citizenship actually made by Augustus are considered together with the provisions in his marriage legislation relating to freedmen and with the statutes by which he sought to put a brake on over-generous manumissions, it becomes clear that the emperor's practice contradicts the policy that is usually deduced from the Suetonius passage. The attested grants of citizenship to provincial communities and "the provisions in his marriage laws which encouraged freedmen citizens to increase and multiply" show that

Augustus "had no strictly racial prejudices".⁸ But even Brunt sees no way of resolving the contradiction other than to conclude that Suetonius must have misinterpreted the mind of the emperor. That absolves the emperor from the charge of racialism, but implicitly leaves the same charge hanging over the head of the imperial biographer (and presumably also, over the heads of other Romans of Suetonius' time). The truth, however, is that it is modern readers who have misinterpreted Suetonius. Conditioned as we are by modern society and history to think in racial terms as soon as we come across an expression like "purity of blood", we unwarrantedly read our own preconceptions into the words of Suetonius.

In the first place, in the phrase *sincerrum atque ab omni colitione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum servare populum*, Robert Graves rendering of *populum* as "the native Roman stock" is inaccurate. J. C. Rolfe's rendering, "the people", accurately retains the vagueness of the Latin.⁹ It is true that, a few lines earlier, Suetonius uses *populus* in the restricted sense of "the people of the City of Rome". But, in the sentence with which we are here concerned, the word *populus* must mean "the Roman citizen-body". Suetonius is here speaking precisely about the enlargement of this citizen-body by the creation of new citizens (former *peregrini* and slaves). In the time of Augustus, not to speak of that of Suetonius, this citizen-body was synonymous neither with Robert Graves' "native Roman stock" nor with "native Italian stock". By AD 14 this *populus*, numbering about 6.2 million, included over a million persons of non-Italian "stock" resident outside Italy and countless others, mostly of slave ancestry, resident in Italy.¹⁰ Suetonius is not contrasting Roman or Italian stock with new or recent citizens of free or servile origin. He is merely saying that Augustus thought it important to keep the Roman citizen-body "pure and un sullied by any contaminating accretion of peregrine or servile blood" (in practical terms, from any *further* contamination of the sort which the emperor had in mind).¹¹

What, then, is the precise nature of the dreaded contamination? After stating the (apparently racialist) outlook of Augustus, Suetonius adds that this attitude inspired a policy of extreme parsimony in granting citizenship to *peregrini* and also measures designed to restrict the freeing of slaves. It is difficult to see how these restrictions can have satisfied a desire to keep the *populus* "pure and unsullied by any taint of foreign or servile blood", in the sense in which we ordinarily understand such language. If Suetonius concept of purity of blood means what it seems to the modern mind to mean, we should be forced to conclude that the emperor's policy was to admit to the citizen-body only such provincials and ex-slaves as were deemed racially suitable; or, at the very least, that the policy was one of reducing racial contamination to acceptable limits (as Last's phrase "*uncontrolled contamination*" would suggest), presumably because the emperor was well aware that it was already too late to achieve complete avoidance of such contamination. But that is not all. Suetonius himself, immediately after this, gives two examples to illustrate the citizenship policy in practice. The emperor's stepson, Tiberius, requested a grant of citizenship for one of his Greek dependants. The emperor insisted on a personal interview with the man, since he could see no other way of "becoming convinced of the merits of the case". The empress, Livia, made a similar request on behalf of a man from one of the backward provinces collectively known as Gallia Comata. Augustus flatly rejected the application. To please his wife, he was prepared to exempt the fellow from taxation, whatever loss to the treasury that might involve. But he adamantly refused "to cheapen the honour of the Roman citizenship" (*civitatis Romanae vulgari honorem*).¹² As Brunt points out,¹³ these examples made it clear that the criteria on which Augustus operated were not racial, but cultural and moral. As Suetonius himself well knew, Augustus even made block grants of citizenship to a number of provincial communities, not on grounds of consanguinity or race, but (according to Suetonius) as a reward for services rendered to Rome (*merita erga populum Romanum allegantes*).¹⁴ In the same paragraph in which he explains the emperor's attitude and policy towards *peregrini*, Suetonius

also goes on to emphasize the fact that the operative principles in regard to the admission of ex-slaves to the citizen-body were moral and cultural in nature.

*Servos non contentus multis difficultatibus a libertate et multo pluribus a libertate iusta remouisse, cum et de numero et de condicione ac differentia eorum qui manumitterentur curiose cavisset, hoc quoque adiecit, ne vincetus umquam torturæ quis ullo libertatis genere civitatem adipisceretur.*¹⁵

Not content with making it difficult for slaves to acquire freedom, and still more so for them to acquire full rights, by making careful provision as to the number, condition and status of those who were manumitted, he added the proviso that no one who had ever been put in irons or subjected to torture should acquire citizenship by any grade of freedom.

These observations of Suetonius should have been enough in themselves to make a stillborn baby of the notion of a racialist policy. They are reminiscent of the point made by a contemporary of Augustus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who presents the freedom problem in the light in which it must have appeared to Augustus before he embarked on his reforms: that is, as a moral and cultural issue deserving serious and immediate censorial attention. To Dionysius it seemed highly anomalous that, whereas admission to the senatorial and equestrian orders was subject to careful screening, slaves were then passing unscrutinized and in very large numbers into the citizen-body. Dionysius' anger is not directed against any race or races, nor is it directed against manumission and freedmen as such. It is directed against what he calls "the foul and corrupt herd", which probably represented (in his view) the majority of new and recent freedmen at the time. This "herd" included ex-slaves "who have made a fortune by robbery, house-braking, prostitution, and every other base means." The seemingly unimpeded entry of such people into the citizen-body in the early years of Augustus' reign is linked by Dionysius to what he calls the "confusion and debasement and *sully*ing of the noble traditions of the Roman commonwealth." He strongly believed that the only

ex-slaves who should enter the citizen-body were those whom the censors "found worthy of citizenship". The rest should even be expelled from the city of Rome. This unworthy "herd" also included ex-slaves "who have been confidants and accomplices of their masters in poisonings, murders, and crimes against the gods or the state."¹⁶ The problem, as contemporaries like Dionysius saw it, was primarily a moral one. This is also the assent of Augustus' warning to his successor (as reported by Dio Cassius¹⁷) against excessive manumissions, "lest the city should become filled with a mottled rabble."

The Suetonius passage, taken as a whole, suggests that Augustus and his biographer shared the same concept of "purity of blood". But it is clear that this concept cannot have been a racial one. On that interpretation it would be necessary to condemn the biographer as an utter fool who blatantly contradicts himself in this important matter, and in one and the same paragraph, without being aware of the contradiction. Much the same terminology as Suetonius uses in this passage is to be found in Livy's account of that phase in the "struggle of the orders" in which the Plebeians demanded the right to be elected to the consulship and to intermarry (*conubium*) with Patricians. Livy, like all good practitioners of bogus history,¹⁸ tells us rather more about his own times than he does about the past (in this case, early Rome). In this particular episode his historical characters speak the language and voice the ideas of Augustan Rome.¹⁹

*C. Canuleius tribunus plebis rogationem promulgavit, qua contaminari sanguinem suum patris confundi que iura gentium rebantur id vero si fieret, non volgari modo cum infamis, sed prorsus auferri a primoribus ad plebem summum imperium credebant. . . Canuleium . . . conluvionem gentium, perturbationem auspicionum publicorum privato-rumque adferre, ne quid sinceri, ne quod incontaminati sit.*²⁰

sit²⁰ The tribune C. Canuleius introduced a bill which, in the view of the senators, aimed at *contaminating their blood* and confounding family rights. . . If the proposal succeeded, they believed, not only would the highest office be *cheapened* by being shared with the lowest of the low. It would straightaway be taken from the upper class and given to the plebs. . . Canuleius was introducing a *contamination* of families, a disturbance of the public and private auspices, that nothing might remain *pure*, nothing *uncontaminated*.

Livy similarly makes Canuleius speak of "that nobility of yours which you were unable to keep *pure*" (*nobilitatem istam vestram quam sinceram servare non poteratis*).²¹

Unlike the matter discussed by Suetonius, the issue in these passages of Livy is partly one of intermarriage and biological mingling of "blood". But it is not a question of race. It is a matter of aristocratic social exclusiveness. The underlying concept of purity of blood, of course, includes the belief that blood is the part of the organism that determines a person's quality -- a very ancient belief that can be traced from prehistoric to modern times.²² But it is not a concept of "Reinblutigkeit" in any racialist sense. The dominant considerations are social and cultural. In the same way, it was from social and moral considerations that the legislation of Augustus debarred members of the senatorial order from marriage with ex-slaves.²³ Again, the Augustan ban on marriage of members of this order with actors or actresses, or children of such, stemmed from social and moral considerations. These legal provisions have nothing to do with fear of "dangerous admixtures of foreign blood"²⁴ in the sense in which such a phrase is ordinarily understood. Similarly the Augustan ban on marriage of freeborn men with prostitutes, procuresses, convicted adulteresses, and actresses rested on moral prejudices.

The concept of purity of blood also appears in Tacitus, whose apparently "biological" reference to the peoples of Germany as a *sincera gens*, unmingled by intermarriage with other peoples, is elucidated by the indication that "blood" determines human

qualities and is somehow linked with culture: language, customs and character (*sermo, instituti, mores*)²⁵ Dominant in the concept as it appears in the Suetonius passage is the idea of cultural and moral integrity. It is not a racial concept, whether one thinks of a "race" in the modern sociological sense of a human group socially defined on the basis of physical criteria,²⁶ or in the sense of a group whose members possess by biological inheritance certain similarities in somatic characteristics,²⁷ or, in the Roman sense of *genus* as the totality of ethnic or national characteristics — a conception which indeed persisted into modern times.²⁸ The concept has to do with individuals and their real or supposed qualities, and with social distance and class prejudice. However strange this may seem to minds consciously or unconsciously attuned to modern racialism and racism,²⁹ it is the only rational interpretation of the paragraph of Suetonius, taken as a whole — other than to condemn its author as an utter fool.

J. Pitt-Rivers draws attention to a similar difficulty found by Anglo-Saxons in understanding concepts of race and of purity of blood in Hispanic and Ibero-American history. In 16th century Spain, for instance, "purity of blood" meant purity of religious descent.³⁰ A Spaniard of that era would probably have grasped without difficulty the true sense of Suetonius' *sincerum atque ab omni colluvione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum* ("pure and unsullied by any contaminating accretion of foreign or servile blood"). The purity of blood which Augustus sought to maintain, and which his biographer perfectly understood, was merely the cultural and moral integrity of the Roman citizen-body. Suetonius' *colluvione sanguinis* refers precisely to moral pollution and cultural contamination. The crux of Augustus' policy, as set forth by Suetonius, was the principle that a Roman citizen must be Roman in culture and sentiment, and that the citizenship was an honour to be conferred only on persons who were deemed morally worthy of it.³¹ Later the emperor Claudius would say in plain and blunt terms that "it was not proper for a man to be a Roman citizen if he had no knowledge of the Roman tongue."³² A notion of purity very similar to that of Suetonius is to be found in the so-called Boule papyrus³³ where the leading citizens of

Alexandria, in praying the emperor Claudius to re-establish their city council, seek to allay the emperor's anxiety by assuring him (*inter alia*) that the council, if established, "will take care that the pure citizen-body of Alexandria is not sullied by the admission of uncultured and uneducated men." Similar too is the obvious cultural and moral contrast made by the Alexandrian Hermaiscus between Greeks and Jews: the Greeks of the empire are part of an in-group which may appropriately be described as the emperor's 'own people', but the Jews of the empire are an impious out-group.³⁴

Livy's Canuleius serves as a mouthpiece of Augustan sentiment when he is made to say 'So long as no race was rejected wherein there appeared sparks of virtue, the Roman empire grew strong and flourished' (*dum nullum fastiditit genus, in quo eniteret virtus, crevit imperium Romanum*).³⁵ Tacitus looks back on Augustus' extension of citizenship to provincials from the same cultural-moral perspective: those admitted to the citizenship were the finest elements in the provinces (*validissimi provincialium*).³⁶ Regarding the policy of Augustus, Brunt rightly concludes that "it seems sufficient to say that he wished to limit the flow, to the extent that the new citizens could more easily be absorbed into the Italian culture, and to do so by regulations to make it more likely that slaves freed were those worthy of the citizenship. On the same principle Augustus should not have been averse to enfranchising foreigners who had rendered services to Rome or who had Romanized themselves."³⁷ Dio, it is true, reports that Augustus' final advice to his successor included the warning "not to enrol new citizens in large numbers, in order that there should be a marked difference between Romans and subjects."³⁸ This, as Brunt suggests, probably represents a xenophobia and a hardening of attitude that took hold of Augustus in his old age,³⁹ after the shattering experience of the military disaster in Germany in AD 6. The old emperor may well have begun to reason there- after that, if new citizens could react with the disloyalty of an Arminius, there was no point in treating provincials as other than "subjects". Even so, Augustus was conscious of the necessity of

turning increasingly to provincials for military service in the legions as well as in the *auxilia*, and this meant extending the citizenship increasingly to provincials, whose admission to the citizen-body thus became the essential means of "re-invigorating the exhausted empire."⁴⁰

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NOTES

1. Suet., *Aug.* 40.3.
2. Robert Graves, *Suetonius: the twelve Caesars* (Harmondsworth 1957) 73.
3. T. Frank, "Race mixture in the Roman empire", in M. Chambers (ed.) *The fall of Rome*, New York 1963, 47-54, at 53 (article originally published in *American Historical Review* XXI, 1916, 689-708).
4. H. Last, in *Cambridge ancient history* X, 429, citing Frank's article.
5. *Ibid.* 449.
6. N. Lewis and M. Reinhold, *Roman civilization*, New York 1955, II, 52.
7. Madelein Bonjour, *Terre natale: études sur une composante affective du patriotisme romain*, Paris 1975, 31.
8. P. A. Brunt, *Italian manpower*, Oxford 1971, 240.
9. Loeb translation (London 1914), *ad loc.*
10. Brunt, *op. cit.* 113f., 121f., 264-5.
11. Cf. Bonjour, *op. cit.* 31.
12. Suet., *Aug.* 40.3.

13. Brunt, *op. cit.* 240.
14. Suet., *Aug.* 47.
15. Suet., *Aug.* 40.4, with Rolfe's Loeb translation.
16. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* IV. 24. 4-8.
17. Dio Cassius LVI. 33.3.
18. Cf. L. A. Thompson, "The menace of bogus history", *Ibadan J. Hum. Stud.*, (1980).
19. Cf. L. Storoni Mazzolani, *The idea of the city in Roman thought*, Bloomington-London 1970, 38.
20. Livy IV. 1-2.
21. Livy IV. 4. 7.
22. A Montagu, *Man's most dangerous myth: the fallacy of race*, London-Oxford-New York 1974, 305.
23. Cf. *Dig.* XXV 7. 1 pr. (Ulpian): use of the term *honestus* stresses the social aspect.
24. Last, *op. cit.* 449.
25. Tac., *Germ.* 4. 1, 28. 3-4.
26. Cf. P. L. Van den Berghe, *Race and racism: a Comparative perspective*, London 1967, 11: O.C. Cox. *Caste, class and race, a study in social dynamics*, New York 2: 1959, 319. 320.
27. Cf. E. Pittard, *Les races et l'histoire*, Paris 1924, 3-4.
28. Cf. P. Mason, "An approach to race relations", *Race* I (1959) 44; M. Radin, *The Jews among the Greeks and the Romans*, Philadelphia 1915, 48f.

29. For the distinction between these two concepts, see A Sivanandan "Race, class and power", *Race* XIV (1973) 383.

30. J. Pitt Rivers, Review of Magnus Morner, *Race mixture in the history of Latin America*, in *Race* IX (1968) 100-401.

31. Cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 40. 3-4.

32. Dio Cassius LX. 17. 4.

33. PSI 1160 col. II, 5-6; H. A. Musurillo, *Acts of the pagan Martyrs: acta Alexandrinorum*, Oxford 1954, 1-2, 83-92.

34. *P. Oxy.* 1242; Musurillo, op. cit. 161f.

35. *Livy* IV. 3. 13.

36. *Tac., Ann.* XI. 24.

37. *Brunt*, op. cit. 240.

38. Dio Cassius LVI. 33.3.

39. *Brunt*, loc. cit.

40. *Tac., Ann.* XI. 24

THE FACES OF LOVE IN EPHESIACA OR ANTHIA AND HABROCOMES

BY XENOPHON OF EPHEBUS

To the question "What is the theme of *Anthia and Habrocomes*?" one may give a simple answer, namely "The impediments to love and its final triumph" or even more simply, in Vergil's words, "omnia uincit Amor". And very obviously most of the twists of this curiously compressed novel represent threats to the physical fidelity or even the survival of the wedded lovers as they seek to end their separation. The recurrent crises, ever punctuated by tears and laments over beauty's fatal spell, are caused by a whole host of secondary characters harbouring designs on Anthia or Habrocomes. These designs tend to rest on sincere but occasionally uncontrolled passion whose origin Xenophon seldom elaborates since it is taken for granted that the mere sight of the protagonists will inspire love. Yet there are many sides to the novel's love interest. Not only do the minor characters experience emotions engrossing in themselves and of direct relevance to the fate of Habrocomes and Anthia, but, ironically, the whole story has as its source the very hostility to love of Habrocomes, who is later to become so ardent a champion of it. And it will be seen how in various characters love is allied to piety, charity, violence or a sense of timelessness. But if, after all, a certain sameness surrounds the threat to Habrocomes' and Anthia's conjugal fidelity, studied variety in the manner of their escape from that threat gives each episode an individual stamp precluding monotony in the work as a whole. Indeed it gains from its own internal rhythm of hero or heroine constantly approaching a similar and predictable brink from which the way of retreat is often novel and full of surprises. In a number of episodes Xenophon shows both a keen interest in the motives underlying human behaviour and considerable skill in construction. The fact that the means of escape from one peril are frequently the cause of the next gives

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