EDWARD KENNEY

Edward John Kenney

29 February 1924 – 23 December 2019

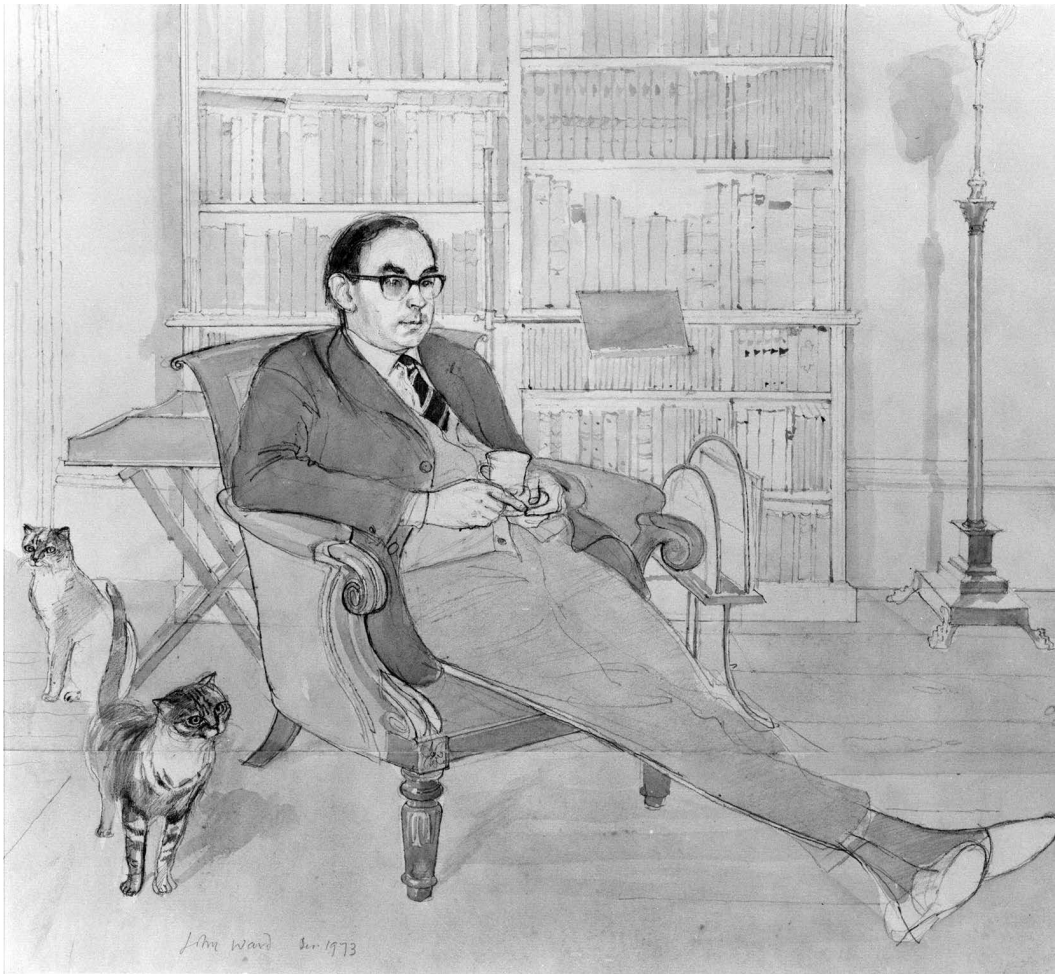
elected Fellow of the British Academy 1968

by

ROLAND MAYER

Summary. Ted Kenney's achievement both as an editor and as an expounder of Latin poetry, especially Ovid's, is unparalleled. His mastery of the traditional skills of the classical philologist served as the foundation of his literary analyses, a combination not previously cultivated by classical scholars. Many of his works have been translated and anthologised. His promotion of literary studies, particularly in the format of the commentary, has borne and continues to bear considerable fruit.

Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy, 23, 151–167
https://doi.org/10.5871/mem/023.151
Posted 20 April 2026.



John Ward (1973)

Edward John Kenney

Edward John Kenney, Ted to everyone, was born in Tufnell Park, London, on 29 February 1924, a birth date he relished. His mother was Emmie Carlina Elfrida Schwenke; his father George was a Post Office Sorter. He attended the Burghley Boys' School, now named Acland Burghley School, Camden. Like a number of London day schools, Burghley had a 'beneficent connexion' with a venerable secondary school, Christ's Hospital. In 1935 Ted's academic achievement secured him a place at CH, then a nursery of classical talent (Russell Meiggs and Jasper Griffin, both FBA, and P.G.W. Glare were alumni). Ted has left appreciative accounts of his education there.[1] His Latin form-master, L.W. Tidmarsh was a good teacher, and Ted liked the course-book, Gray–Jenkins's *Latin for Today.* German was mandated at the school as the first modern language to be learned, an asset for a future classical scholar. Somewhat later his house-master informed him that he'd soon start Greek, choice clearly not being an option, but that was exactly what he wanted anyway. Rote-learning he found easy and enjoyable; reciting the paradigm of λύω against the stopwatch was good fun. The master of the Classical Grecians (i.e., the sixth form) was Derrick Somerset Macnutt, alias 'Ximenes', the setter of the *Observer* newspaper's crossword puzzles. Macnutt's linguistic instruction was traditional and rigorous. Mastery of verbal technique especially attracted Ted, and so he enjoyed translation into and out of the classical languages; verse composition, at which he was very deft, was a particular delight. (The skill, however, betrayed him into intruding synonyms of Ovid's Latin into the first printing of his edition of the amatory poems; these were picked up in D.E.W. Wormell).[2] Ted composed verses throughout his life and mounted a vigorous defence of the practice in his comprehensive account of Ovid's poetic style.[3] The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies naturally turned to Ted for the composition of a congratulatory poem upon the centenary of the senior Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.[4] There is also an engaging account entitled 'The Bird Has Flown' of a couplet of iambic *senarii* he composed to be inscribed on a *pigeonnier* in France.[5]

It was at Christ's Hospital from 1935 to 1943 that the foundations not only of his later scholarly interests were firmly laid, but also his devotion to English literature. He related that when the Headmaster, Henry Leal Oswald Flecker, the brother of the poet James Elroy, read Horace *Odes* 3.5 with the upper forms, he took time out to read to

[1] '"A little of it sticks": the Englishman's Horace', in N. Mann & C. Burnett (eds), *Britannia Latina: Latin in the culture of Great Britain from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century* (Warburg Institute Colloquia 5; London, 2005), p. 183, n. 23; and 'Then and now (and some of the bits between)', in P. Pattenden (ed.), *Peterhouse Annual Record*, 2006/2007, 137–46 (with engaging illustrations).

[2] *Journal of Roman Studies*, 52 (1962), 286; for Ted's reaction see 'Two Footnotes' in *Classical Review*, ns 14 (1964), 13.

[3] See B.W. Boyd (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Ovid* (2002), p. 53, n. 36.

[4] *Journal of Roman Studies*, 69 (1979), xi.

[5] *Peterhouse Annual Record*, 2003/2004, 104–5.

them Kipling's fine story 'Regulus'; Kipling became one of Ted's favourite writers, and that story provided him with the title of the work cited in the first footnote. Ted also defended 'set texts', thanks to his own introduction to the poetry of William Cowper by way of 'The Task'. He acknowledged that the lessons in English literature and the Anglican liturgy of the school's chapel produced in him an enhanced feel for language. Ted left Christ's Hospital as Senior Grecian (i.e. head boy) with the *Lewis and Short* and *Liddell and Scott* dictionaries under either arm, and a devotion to the school that was life-long. Years later his old school provided financial assistance to enable him to inspect personally Mss of Ovid's amatory poems, a generosity he acknowledged in the *praefatio* of his Oxford Classical Text (1961, p. xi). He frequently referred to CH in the inaugural lecture he delivered as the Kennedy Professor of Latin at Cambridge,[6] and in 1993 when he was both a benefactor and an almoner, Christ's Hospital commissioned John Stanton Ward to paint his portrait (with cats).[7]

Ted secured a scholarship at Trinity College, but before going up to Cambridge he served for three years in the Royal Corps of Signals, an intermission he briefly described for the Second World War Experience Centre. After basic (and in his view largely useless) training, he was posted to Poona (now Pune), India in January 1945; he returned to England in August 1946. He admitted to being occasionally revisited by a feeling of guilt at having survived the war in a colonial backwater; this gave him a sense of incompleteness, since his mettle as an infantry platoon commander remained untested: what would his life have been like if he'd been posted to the 14th Army rather than Poona? (One can see Ted's point after reading Hugh Lloyd-Jones's account of his friend Geoffrey Kirk's varied service in the Navy in the Second World War.)[8] At least he was later able to tell 'real' Signals officers that he had been Signalmaster, Poona, which impressed them. The Corps tie was something he was always proud to wear, alternated with that of the 'First and Third Trinity' boat club (the oar he was awarded for success in the bumping races on the Cam hung in his study at home in Belvoir Terrace).

His director of studies at Trinity was Francis Henry Sandbach; Ted wrote his obituary notice for the British Academy,[9] and composed the Latin text for his memorial brass in Trinity College chapel. To improve Ted's verse composition Sandbach recommended Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* – the rest, as may be said, is history. During his undergraduate career he secured a number of university prizes: Porson Scholar 1948, Craven Scholar and Student 1949, Chancellor's Medallist 1950. The medals are now in the Fitzwilliam Museum.[10] After securing his BA in 1949, he and two friends bought an old London taxi

[6] *New frameworks for old: the place of literature in the Cambridge classical course* (1975), pp. 4–5, 21.
[7] https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/professor-edward-kenney–69868
[8] *Proceedings of the British Academy* (*PBA*), 124 (2004), 141–8.
[9] *PBA*, 84 (1994), 485–95.
[10] https://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/275145

and jaunted across Europe to Athens, an extraordinary feat in the immediate post-war period. He has left an amusing illustrated account of the escapade, during which he grew an impressive beard.[11]

On returning from the trans-European jaunt, Ted began postgraduate research under the Kennedy Professor of Latin, Roger Mynors (FBA), who suggested he prepare a new text with commentary on the first book of the *Ars Amatoria*. Research was briefly paused when he accepted an assistant lectureship at Leeds University in 1951–2. He returned to Trinity as a research fellow in 1952–3, a fellowship that meant a great deal to him, not least because it provided him with a key for life to the college's fine gardens. (It was in the gardens that Anne Harris accepted his proposal of marriage.) In 1953 he became a fellow of Peterhouse, where he remained until 1991, serving there as Director of Studies in Classics 1953–74, Librarian 1953–82, Tutor 1956–62, Senior Tutor 1962–5, and Domestic Bursar 1987–8. Of the college offices he held the most personally satisfying must have been that of Perne Librarian 1987–91, since that handsome library, named for an Elizabethan Master of Peterhouse, Andrew Perne (*c.* 1519–89), contained the rare books. Within the wider classical world he was joint editor of the *Classical Quarterly* 1959–65, President of the Joint Association of Classical Teachers 1977–9, and of the Classical Association 1982–3. He was president of the Horatian Society 1998–2007.

In 1967–8 Ted was the James C. Loeb Fellow in Classical Philology at Harvard University (he returned in 1980 as Carl Newell Jackson lecturer). In 1968 he then crossed the continent to hold the Sather Chair of Classical Literature at the University of California, Berkeley. In 1968 he was also elected to a Fellowship of the British Academy, and in 1976 he became a foreign member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1974 he succeeded Charles Brink (FBA) as Kennedy Professor of Latin in Cambridge University, a post he held until 1982, when he retired early, as did the Regius Professor of Greek, Geoffrey Kirk (FBA). Something needs to be said about these unexpected moves. The worldwide economic recession of the early 1980s was particularly severe in the United Kingdom, and its repercussions struck educational institutions hard. At Cambridge for instance the university press, of which Ted was at the time a syndic, found itself in financial difficulties and the physical qualities of its publications declined. To ensure the succession of the Classics faculty's professors some of them resigned their posts early in order that successors might be appointed.

Retirement, however, did not bring peace of mind owing to financial concerns at Christ's Hospital, where he was Chairman of the Education Committee. The school, originally located in the City of London, was founded to educate both boys and girls. In 1902 the boys were transferred to a new site in healthier Horsham, West Sussex, while a branch for the girls was established at Hertford. During the recession it became clear that

[11] 'To Greece and Back by Taxi', *Peterhouse Annual Record*, 2009/2010, 22–6.

Image of the 'prelum Ascensianum', the press of Jodocus Badius Ascensius, used on the dustjacket of E.J. Kenney's *The classical text: aspects of editing in the age of the printed book* (1974).

supporting two separate boarding establishments would prove financially ruinous, and so some of the school's governors favoured closure of the girls' school. Ted would have none of it: girls deserved an education no less than boys, an entitlement he personally supported by encouraging many women in their research and professional careers, as well as in his advocacy of the admission of women to Peterhouse in 1983. But more particularly, the school's foundation statutes had to be honoured to the letter. Ted fought every inch of the way to secure this position, and the battle took up a vast amount of his time and energy. In 1984–6 he reluctantly became Chairman and Treasurer of the Council of Almoners upon the death of his good friend Angus Ross. Finally in 1985 the Hertford site was closed, and the girls were transferred to Horsham, so that Christ's Hospital once again became co-educational, as its founder had intended it to be.

In 1974 the series of revised lectures he had delivered as Sather Professor at Berkeley was published, *The classical text: aspects of editing in the age of the printed book*. The dustjacket's image of the 'prelum Ascensianum', the press of Jodocus Badius Ascensius, especially pleased him. This project charted the slow evolution from the Renaissance to the present day of a body of critical doctrine regarding the theory and practice of the editing of classical texts. Ted argued that textual criticism is essentially an historical science; his argument synthesised an impressive array of specialist research. In her review of the book Silvia Rizzo expressed the hope that the book would be read by

Italian students,[12] a hope finally realised thanks to a translation by Giovanni Ravenna of a revised text by Aldo Lunelli, *Testo e metodo*, published in Rome, 1995. Other reviews were also favourable, but there was one dissenting voice, that of A.T. Grafton (Corresponding FBA),[13] who felt that the treatment of certain scholars, for instance Nicolaas Heinsius, was lopsided; he also found much to be desired in both the methodology and the contents of the book. The review irritated Ted's firm friend Sebastiano Timpanaro (FBA), who in the preface to the second edition of his foundational study, *La genesi del metodo di Lachmann* (Padua, 1981), pointed out (p. xi) that Ted's book, notable for its lucidity of exposition and sureness of judgment, was a history of textual criticism from the Renaissance to the present, something hitherto unattempted, a fact neglected by 'certain reviewers'.[14] Timpanaro even succeeded in extorting from Ted a short 'Rejoinder',[15] of which he was not proud, but it did enable him to clarify the fundamental issue of his lectures and book (in fact clarification, if necessary at all, had earlier been provided in a paper entitled 'The character of humanist philology', and delivered in Cambridge in 1969, just after the Sather lectures).[16] To be brief: when Heinsius produced his edition of Ovid (1658–61) he was in a position to supersede the text published by his own father in 1629 and start afresh, thanks to his use of the crucial Paris Ms of the amatory poems. But he did not, a point also taken up by Timpanaro.[17] It may be conjectured that it was Heinsius' editorial conservatism, which Ted will have noticed when he was editing Ovid in the 1950s, that prompted the extensive enquiry into the development of editorial practice in the age of the printed book.

Ted's education had fitted him for the traditional 'high and dry' discipline of textual criticism. Indeed, it left him with little alternative, for as he said in an address at an international conference in 1984, literary interpretation and criticism had not figured at all in the Cambridge Tripos.[18] What is more, so far as Latin literature was concerned, what was once known as 'Silver Latin' was largely shunned. Sandbach, it will be recalled, urged Ted to read Ovid for the sake of verse composition, not for any other merits the poet might possess. Mynors had seen the need for an up-to-date text, but again, the poet's literary quality was not an issue. But for Ted it was, and his choice of that poet exposes his underlying passion for verbal flair.

[12] *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*, 104 (1976), 479–84.
[13] 'From Politian to Pasquali' in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 67 (1977), 171–6.
[14] Cf. S. Timpanaro, *The genesis of Lachmann's method*, edited & translated by Glenn W. Most (Chicago and London, 2005), p. 39.
[15] *Giornale Italiano di Filologia*, ns 11(32):2 (1981), 321–3.
[16] R.R. Bolgar (ed.), *Classical influences on European culture A.D. 500–1500* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 119–28.
[17] Timpanaro, p. 53.
[18] 'Great Britain: Latin Philology', in *La filologia greca e Latina nel secolo xx: Atti del Congresso Internazionale, Roma, 1984*, Vol. 2 (Pisa, 1989), pp. 619–49.

It may surprise any young readers of this memorial to learn that Ovid was once a rather neglected writer, dismissed as frivolous and flashy; the Preface to L.P. Wilkinson's pioneering book *Ovid recalled* (Cambridge, 1955) established that point. Despite scholarly neglect, Ted was drawn to Ovid by a number of the poet's characteristics: his sense of humour, his originality and independence of mind, the sheer cleverness displayed in his masterly control of the Latin language, and his undeviating commitment to the profession of poetry, especially as manifested in his later poetry of exile. We have thus come to what constituted the originality of Ted's approach to classical scholarship: on the one hand there would be sound philological works, critical editions, and on the other these would support literary studies, which would set out the special qualities of his favoured authors. One of his first ventures as a literary critic was an article entitled '*Nequitiae Poeta*' ('Miss Behaviour's Poet'),[19] in which he drew attention to Ovid's parodic appropriation of didactic phraseology as found in Lucretius and Virgil; the parody was designed to mock not his great poetic predecessors, but Rome's hypocritical values of sexual morality (a mockery for which Ovid would pay heavily later). Alessandro Barchiesi has claimed (perhaps a bit unfairly to Wilkinson) that this groundbreaking paper marked the rejuvenation of literary studies of Ovid;[20] he also saw that Ted's scholarship established lines of communication between literary criticism and traditional scholarship.

Literary criticism, especially of authors whose texts were transmitted in manuscript, must be founded upon reliable critical editions. Ted publicly announced his intention of editing all of Ovid's amatory poetry in an article entitled 'Notes on Ovid',[21] after which further articles on the textual tradition were published.[22] His Oxford Classical Text of the *amatoria* (without the *Heroides*) duly appeared in 1961. It was reprinted a number of times with corrections, and finally a revised edition was published in 1994. Revision had become necessary after the discovery in Berlin of an important Ms, the Hamiltonensis, now styled Y in editions, published by Ted's friend Franco Munari. (Though the appearance of the Hamiltonensis did not materially alter the textual picture, its readings of *diducere* in *Am*. 1.7.47 and of *quod erat* in *Am*. 2.7.25 anticipated and confirmed Ted's own proposed emendations; its readings also confirmed two conjectures accepted in *Ars Amatoria* 3.232.) The final article in this series was 'Notes on Ovid: III, corrections and interpretations in the *Heroides*';[23] Ted lectured on the text of these poems as Kennedy

[19] N.I. Herescu (ed.), *Ovidiana: recherches sur Ovide* (Paris, 1958), pp. 201–9.
[20] Introduction to E.J. Kenney & J.D. Reed (eds), *A commentary on Ovid's* Metamorphoses, Vol. 2: Books 7–12, (Cambridge, 2024), p. vii.
[21] *Classical Quarterly* (*CQ*), ns 8 (1958), 54, n. 1.
[22] 'Notes on Ovid: II', *CQ*, ns 9 (1959), 240–60; 'The manuscript tradition of Ovid's *Amores*, *Ars Amatoria*, and *Remedia Amoris*', *CQ*, ns 12 (1962), 1–31. See also Richard Tarrant's account of the tradition in L. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 259–62.
[23] *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 74 (1968), 169–85.

Professor, but he never produced an edition of the first fourteen poems. One aim of the survey of the Mss upon which the texts are founded was the justification of Ted's eclectic approach to their constitution, an approach reaffirmed in the second edition (1994, p. xiv): he was guided by the Muses and Apollo in the choice of readings, not by stemmatic theory. In addition, one may detect a subtext in the three articles: it is occasionally complained of editors of classical texts that they are a taciturn lot, rarely giving reasons for their choice of readings. Ted wanted to be absolutely 'transparent' (as we might now say) about what he regarded as difficulties, and the way to deal with them.

One poem in the collection of Ovid's *Amores*, 3.5, now entitled 'Somnium' ('The Dream'), specially drew Ted's attention, in the first instance because it was manifestly not written by Ovid, but Ovid-adjacent.[24] He had given a foretaste of his appreciation of the quality of the poem,[25] but he wanted to demonstrate more fully that despite its technical faults it was quite unlike any other poem known to him in Latin or Greek literature. The poem is dramatic in form, the narrator is a husband, a fact overlooked by the few who had previously noticed the poem at all. He has had a frightening dream of his wife's infidelity, and so he is consulting a dream interpreter. His symbolic interpretation is unfavourable and the husband faints away. It was Ted's close reading of this short, neglected piece which rescued it from undeserved obscurity.

Ted opened a window on his views about the most fruitful ways to engage with classical literature in a paper delivered to the Cambridge Philological Society on 'The poetry of Ovid's exile'.[26] He urged that a just appreciation of Ovid's late poetry depended on the reader's awareness of its experimental character, experiments conducted 'by the use of conventional devices invoked in an original way, by symbols, and by an implicit dependence on or relationship with earlier poetry' (what Ted had once described as Ovid's 'sheer literariness', something that would nowadays be deemed intertextuality). In short, the modern reader had to be as well informed on a number of issues as was Ovid's Augustan reader in order to grasp what the poet was trying to achieve.

Ted drew attention to one such issue in an 'aside' in which he claimed that the last word had not been said on Ovid's well-known 'penchant for legal phrases'.[27] He got round to addressing himself to the issue in a lecture to the Virgil Society in 1966; it was first published in German in 1967, and then in English in 1970.[28] Then a related article,

[24] 'On the *Somnium* attributed to Ovid', ΑΓΩΝ, 3 (1969), 1–14.
[25] *CQ*, ns 12 (1962), 12–13.
[26] *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, ns 11 (1965), 37–49 = 'Ovids Exildichtung', in M. von Albrecht & E. Zinn (eds), *Ovid* (Wege der Forschung 92; Darmstadt, 1968), pp. 526–35.
[27] *CQ*, ns 9 (1959), 250–1, n. 1; *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 74 (1970), 169, n. 1.
[28] 'Liebe als juristisches Problem', *Philologus*, 111 (1967), 212–32 = 'Love and legalism: Ovid, *Heroides* 20 and 21', *Arion*, 9:4 (1970), 388–414.

'Ovid and the law', appeared in 1969.[29] The former article is one of Ted's most impressive pieces of literary analysis, for in it he stresses Ovid's sympathy with young women put under pressure by their ardent lovers. The law and forensic oratory were of paramount importance to an élite Roman male citizen, and the demonstration of Ovid's appropriation of the legal language and arguments of his class had been underplayed. These essays too show the need for attention to the writer's context.

Ted never edited the text of all the *Heroides*, perhaps due to a measure of disenchantment with the 'single' epistles; he admitted that they were after all monotonous, and that it was only in the 'double letters' between the men and the women that Ovid could give free rein to his talent for characterisation and the psychological dramaturgy of opposing viewpoints, especially that of the women. He did, however, prepare a critical apparatus that proved useful to an editor of a selection of the single epistles.[30] In his retirement he published a commentary on the 'double' epistles, XVI-XXI (Cambridge, 1996), dedicating the book to Patrick Wilkinson 'in grateful and affectionate memory'. One basic issue that a student of the double *Heroides* must consider is the authorship, since the poems used to be denied to Ovid (the matter has probably now been decided in Ovid's favour). The style of the writing is one obvious matter calling for analysis, and Ted devoted an essay to it.[31] He had already produced a focused study of Ovid's style in the *Metamorphoses*,[32] and a still more comprehensive essay brought his Ovidian 'Stilstudien' to an impressive close, particularly with an extensive account and defence of the poet's addiction to the rhetorical figure which Ted insisted must be called syllepsis, not zeugma.[33]

Of particular value are the introductory essays and notes which Ted provided for the three volumes of translations by A.D. Melville of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Oxford, 1986), the amatory poems (Oxford, 1990), and the *Tristia* ('Sorrows of an Exile', Oxford, 1992), since in them he was able to set out at length what he believed made Ovid the considerable poet he had at long last been recognised to be. In his inaugural lecture (n. 6, pp. 13–14) he had commented that 'it was something of a struggle to convince those who had to be convinced that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was a suitable subject for special study in Part II of the Classical Tripos'. In fact, as Ted's long engagement with

[29] *Yale Classical Studies*, 21 (1969), 243–63.
[30] See Peter E. Knox (ed.), *Ovid*, Heroides: *Select Epistles* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 37.
[31] '*Ut erat novator*: anomaly, innovation and genre in Ovid, *Heroides* 16–21' in J.N. Adams & R.G. Mayer (eds), *Aspects of the language of Latin poetry* (*PBA*, 93; 1999), pp. 399–414.
[32] 'The style of the *Metamorphoses*', in J.W. Binns (ed.), *Ovid* (Greek and Latin Studies, London, 1973), pp. 116–53.
[33] 'Ovid's language and style', in Barbara Weiden Boyd (ed.), Brill's *Companion to Ovid* (Leiden – Boston – Cologne, 2002), pp. 27–89, especially pp. 45–7.

the poet has demonstrated, for good or ill, all of Ovid's poetry was 'a suitable subject for special study'.

In 2009 appeared his commentary on *Metamorphoses* VII-IX in an Italian translation by Ilaria Marchesi. In the introduction to the English version referred to in n. 20 Alessandro Barchiesi's appreciation of Ted's scholarly style deserves to be quoted at length (pp. viii-ix):

> Kenney's voice as a scholar is unique and his crisp style is ideal for a commentator … There is much to be learned from his constant adoption of the point of view of the creative writer (strategic choices, technique, style, character development, adaptation, 'spin', 'pitch' … Kenney's (implicitly postmodern) grasp of irony, his awareness of Ovid's self-conscious Muse, and his command of poetic diction will be useful no matter what the new centre of interest is.

It has seemed expedient to bring together all of what Ted had to say about Ovid during more than half a century, but he had many other strings to his bow. In 1966 a new Oxford Classical Text of the so-called 'Appendix Vergiliana' appeared, the product of the collaboration of a quartet of editors. Ted edited the *Dirae* (*Lydia*), the *Copa*, the *Elegiae in Maecenatem*, and most significantly the *Moretum*. In 1984 he returned to this remarkable short poem and published an edition of the text with translation, introduction and commentary.[34] A highlight of the introduction is the section entitled 'Treatment, Tone, Intention', in which Ted expressed his conviction that this mock-heroic poem, a description of a poor farmer's lunch, was far from a skit on a contemporary poetical fad for the supposedly simple life of the countryside. He urged that the depiction of rural life as a perpetual struggle was sharp and precise, and so it created in the reader a sense of participation, a feeling of what it might be like to exist at subsistence level. He found the impression of the Roman countryside left by the unknown poet more authentic than that of Virgil's *Georgics*, and oddly moving.

Ted did not often engage closely in print with the poems of Virgil himself, but one piece, 'Virgil and the elegiac sensibility', has achieved classic status.[35] Many critics and literary historians had noted the poet's involvement in the emerging genre of love-elegy in Rome, thanks to some eclogues in which the 'inventor' of the genre Cornelius Gallus is mentioned. But Ted was the first to unravel the complex tradition of imitation and originality, starting with Callimachus' tale of Acontius and Cydippe and Theocritus' lament of the Cyclops as filtered through Gallus and finally domiciled within Virgilian bucolic, chiefly in the second poem of the collection. One of the particular charms of the article is that it retains the informal tone of the lecture (undelivered in the event) upon which it was based. One really hears Ted talking.

[34] *The ploughman's lunch:* Moretum, *a poem ascribed to Virgil* (Bristol, 1984).
[35] *Illinois Classical Studies,* 8 (1983), 44–59.

Another of the 'conventional devices invoked in an original way' referred to earlier was rhetoric, a characteristic of a good deal of classical Latin poetry, especially in the post-Augustan period, but one which had long proved a stumbling block to modern readers brought up in the romantic tradition of authorial authenticity. A masterly defence of the fundamental role rhetoric played was set out in a classic piece, 'Juvenal: satirist or rhetorician'.[36] The title itself was something of a tease, since it evoked a lost work of Florus entitled 'Vergilius orator an poeta', and thus set up a false dilemma. 'False', because as Ted would argue, for Juvenal and many of the poets of the post-Augustan period rhetoric, and specifically declamatory rhetoric, the rhetoric of the schools, was their preferred idiom. To deem that idiom insincere, as older literary critics tended to do, was to miss the point entirely. Declamatory rhetoric was designed to produce a desired effect on a hearer or reader, and Ted widened the focus of this essay to embrace Senecan tragedy ('complete technical mastery devoid of passion') and Lucan ('lofty indignation', 'truly noble ideas', combined with 'febrile rant' and 'utter absurdity'). He recognised Lucan's attempt to write a non-Virgilian, modern epic, which included the novelty of elevated political satire. Likewise, Juvenal had to set his own seal upon the tradition of Roman satire, and rhetoric served his purpose. The article in effect turned into a survey of 1st-century AD Latin poetry. In addition to the deployment of declamatory rhetoric, the metrical technique of the two poets is assessed, with Lucan coming off poorly as compared with Juvenal, so far as the hexameter is concerned: Juvenal shows a more controlled use of his medium than the occasionally monotonous Lucan. It is important to point out that Ted was not overdoing his defence of the post-Augustan poets; he could see their faults, but he regarded them as less important than their strengths. A further issue that had to be addressed was the nature of satire, since the most recent English-language work on Juvenal, Gilbert Highet's *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford, 1954) had rather muddled the Roman tradition, and adjustments were needed if Juvenal's own voice was to be adequately heard. Yet again, a survey of the tradition was in order.

That survey had actually been initiated in an earlier paper, 'The First Satire of Juvenal'.[37] Each of the Roman satirists before Juvenal whose work we still have, Lucilius, Horace, and Persius had struck what might be called a personal note. Juvenal broke with this 'subjective' tradition and produced 'a new style of satirical writing, generalized, impersonal, formal, tense, tightly organized, … dramatic, sonorous, occasionally magnificent, declamatory, denunciatory'. Juvenal's vehement style was what he brought to the table. In arguing the merits of this 'new model' satire, Ted had to cross swords with a contemporary non-classicist literary critic, James Sutherland (*English Satire*,

[36] *Latomus*, 22 (1963), 704–20.

[37] *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, ns 8 (1962), 29–40 = 'Juvenals erste Satire', in D. Korzeniewski (ed.), *Die römische Satire* (Wege der Forschung 238; Darmstadt, 1970), pp. 473–95.

Cambridge, 1962). Sutherland had identified as the hallmark of satire a persuasiveness towards reform, but Ted felt this was too narrow. In passing he made an observation which exposed his own evolving position as a literary critic: classical scholars could with profit keep themselves more fully abreast of critical work in other fields, especially English literature (this position would be moderated some twenty years later, when he averred that structuralist, post-structuralist, and semiotic interpretations had little to offer the student of Latin literature).[38] Juvenal's 'keynote', as stated in the first satire, was *indignatio*, an outrage that demanded expression, and declamatory rhetoric was the readiest medium of that expression, because it suited the poet and his age. Ted concluded that Juvenal (and post-Augustan writers generally) had to be appraised for what they had to offer, not for what they could not offer and had no intention of offering. What they had to offer might well be deemed limited, even distorted, but the fact of its survival demonstrated its appeal to the Roman readers for whom it was written. The writing has power, and the task of the literary critic is to trace that power to its sources, by asking the right rather than the wrong questions about authors.

The sort of approach to the critical study of classical literature which Ted desiderated required development, since it was not generally available to students of Greek and Latin in their schools nor was it practised much, if at all, in British universities. The thaw began with the publication of *Aestimanda: practical criticism of Latin and Greek poetry and prose* (Oxford, 1965) by two Harrow School assistant masters, M.G. Balme and M.S. Warman. Their Introduction (pp. 5–10) clearly sets out the problems which their groundbreaking book aimed to remove for students in schools. What matters for this memorial piece is their expression of a debt to Ted, 'whose encouragement and advice [had] been a constant stimulus'. To encourage critical literary analysis among university students, Ted along with Patricia Easterling (FBA) founded and edited the Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics series of commentaries, now known worldwide as the 'Green & Yellow' series. (Their long and friendly collaboration had begun in 1965 with *Ovidiana Graeca*.) Alessandro Barchiesi, in the passage mentioned earlier (p. viii), insists that this series has changed the classical commentary tradition in enduring ways and helped to shape better daily practices in teaching and research. In 1971 in the introduction of his own commentary on *Lucretius, De Rerum Natura III* (p. vii) Ted defined his aim as being 'to provide the student with the guidance that he needs for the interpretation and understanding of the book as a work of literature'. That was and remains the headline aim of every contribution to the Cambridge series of commentaries, which now numbers about two hundred volumes. Helping the reader with the nuts and bolts of the language and style was of course fundamental, but that was just what it was, a foundation. Upon that foundation the reader had to be helped to build a critical analysis and interpretation

[38] See the address cited in n. 18, p. 637.

through an understanding and, it might be added, an appreciation of the work in hand as a literary artefact.

The last initiative in Ted's campaign to focus attention upon the literary quality of ancient literature was *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, a two-volume work again projected with Pat Easterling. The history aimed to break with the traditional forms of literary history in that its emphasis was to be 'critical', that is to say 'literary critical'.[39] The Preface of the history of Latin literature also offered an apology for the inclusion of an 'obtrusive anomaly', namely the devotion of the final chapter, written by P.G. Walsh, to Apuleius, a 2nd-century AD writer. The inclusion was justified as 'an aesthetic rather than a historical decision' on Ted's part; he had read for pleasure the whole of *The Golden Ass*, in the Budé edition, during his preparation for Part I of the classical tripos. That 'aesthetic decision' bore fruit in 1990 with the publication of a commentary on the 'Cupid & Psyche' narrative embedded in the middle of the novel. This volume was designed to initiate the Imperial Library, a series of Greek and Latin texts dating from the later Roman Empire which would be complementary to the 'Green & Yellow' series; unfortunately, the scheme foundered on the indifference of teachers and the failure of some contributors to produce the advertised texts. In 1998, however, appeared Ted's translation of the whole of *The Golden Ass* for Penguin Classics with a scintillating introduction and notes (reprinted with corrections in 2004). This was his only excursion into Latin prose, but there was no break in the consistency of what he most admired in a writer: the 'almost insolent assurance' of Apuleius' control of diverse literary materials and of language. And of course the novel is funny too.

The fullest expression of Ted's thinking about the modern study of classical literature is to be found in his inaugural lecture of 1975, already mentioned (n. 6). This is a highly personal document, testimony to his attachment to his old school, to his sense of taking his place in the long tradition of British classical scholarship, and to his love of English literature. One comment in the inaugural stands out (p. 7): he chanced his arm with the observation that 'it seems to me to be a weakness … that our approach to Greek and Latin literature does not generate … moral fervour'. Moral fervour had conspicuously animated his commentary on the third book of Lucretius, perhaps his most personal piece of scholarship. Nor could his own 'moral fervour' be missed in the final section of his survey of Lucretius, entitled 'The Message and the Mission'.[40] Here Ted urged that Lucretius, rather like Ovid, spurned idealism and revelation in favour of materialism and rationality. Lucretius' great poem remained for Ted a 'tract for the times', and so he did not hesitate at the close of the pamphlet to avow his own materialist atheism.

[39] See E.J. Kenney & W.V. Clausen (eds), *The Cambridge history of Classical literature, Volume II: Latin Literature* (Cambridge, 1982), p. xiii.

[40] *Lucretius* (*Greece & Rome* New Surveys in the Classics, 11; Oxford, 1977), p. 38; reprinted in 1995 with addenda by M.R. Gale.

Lucretius occasioned one of Ted's most successful studies, 'Doctus Lucretius', in which he set out to demonstrate that the poet, for all his ardent Epicureanism, was fully alive to the contemporary requirements that poetic style be 'learned', as it so manifestly was in Catullus and the Augustan poets.[41] It was translated into German with addenda, and it reappeared with yet more addenda thirty-six years after its debut.[42]

The Ovid of the exilic poetry also kindled in Ted a moral fervour, expressed in the introduction to A.D. Melville's translation of the *Tristia*.[43] He drew attention to the link between Lucretius and Ovid, and he credited Ovid with 'courage and principle' and a 'controlled but unsleeping indignation' in his literary campaign of 'psychological warfare against Augustus'. He asserted that '*Tristia* II … deserves to rank high in the annals of protest against the tyranny of censorship'. Of course, by the time Ted wrote that, the notion that Ovid should be taken seriously and that classical literature should be treated 'as such' was firmly established within the scholarly community. But in the mid–1970s his personal credo was a calculated challenge to a complacent acceptance of the status quo.

The inaugural lecture was also a public avowal of Ted's love of English literature (among his recreations in *Who's Who* he mentioned 'discursive reading'). Dickens's Mr Micawber put in an early appearance on p. 2, and P.G. Wodehouse was quoted on p. 10, Kipling on p. 20. These writers are all high stylists, unmistakable in their individual ways. This rollcall of the English literary classics was not however window-dressing, since Ted regarded all sound literature as one. For instance, in a late essay on the style of Juvenal he ranked the satirist's vivid description of a tenement flat in 3.203–7 with Dickens's descriptions of Sarah Gamp's apartment or Todgers's in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, or the Veneerings' dinner-party in *Our Mutual Friend*.[44] Another favoured author was T.B. Macaulay, whose opinion that the *Ars Amatoria* was Ovid's best work was noted.[45] In the Introduction to *Sorrows of an Exile* (1992, pp. xiii-xiv and xxiv), Ted also made good use of Macaulay's sense of being an exile when he was in India by way of contrast with Ovid's very real banishment.

Ted's own command of English and his insistence that it be at least correctly and if possible stylishly used, proved something of a hazard during undergraduate supervisions. The mispronunciation of words, 'deity' (de is pronounced dee, not day), for instance, or 'sonor'ous' or 'consumm'ate', would be briskly corrected, with confirmation of the 'correct' pronunciation by apt quotation of some verse from Pope or W.S. Gilbert. This

[41] *Mnemosyne*, 23 (1970), 366–92.
[42] C.J. Classen (ed.), *Probleme der Lukrezforschung* (Hildesheim, 1986), pp. 237–65; M. Gale (ed.), *Lucretius* (Oxford Readings in Classical Studies; Oxford, 2007), pp. 300–27.
[43] *Sorrows of an exile* (Oxford, 1992), pp. xvii-xviii.
[44] S. Braund & J. Osgood (eds), *A companion to Persius and Juvenal* (2012), p. 128.
[45] *Ovid, the Amatory Poems* (Oxford, 1990), p. xxiv, n. 31

robust defence of linguistic purism was of course what one might call Ted's 'day job' as a textual critic. Had he not in his preface to the edition of Ovid's *amatoria* complained about the textual critic's misuse of the Latin word *contaminatio*, and about the faulty but traditional title of one poem, *De medicamine*? It need hardly be said that Ted's own English prose style was impeccable.

In the second edition of the commentary on Lucretius' Book III, dated May 2014, Ted concluded the Preface thus: 'My wife has never spared herself in the labour of retrieving books from shelves now inaccessible to me, and this edition is dedicated to her in love and gratitude.' It is therefore time to say something of Anne. Gwyneth Anne Harris was born in Highgate, London. Her father, Henry Albert Harris, an eminent paediatrician, was a fellow of St John's College and held the Chair of Anatomy in Cambridge from 1934. The family home at 5, Selwyn Gardens, was built by the classical scholar and King Edward VII professor of English literature, A.W. Verrall. Anne was an artist and studied painting at the Cambridge School of Arts and Technology (now Anglia Ruskin University). She was a beauty. On her marriage to Ted in 1955 her father felt that his youngest child had come down in the world, married as she was to a fellow of Peterhouse and living in a house with only one staircase on the 'wrong' side of the Cam. (Ted nonetheless had vast respect for his ironical father-in-law, and it amused the Dickensian in him that his mother-in-law was a genuine 'Mrs Harris'.) After first living at 4, St Peter's Terrace, with two Siamese cats, Ted and Anne moved to 4, Belvoir Terrace, on the Trumpington Road opposite the Botanic Garden. The location particularly suited Anne, since she was an inspired gardener. (Ted helped her with the gardening, an activity which may have prompted his tart question in a review whether anybody concerned with the publication of a commentary in which *falx* was translated as 'pruning fork' had ever pruned a rose or a fruit tree.[46]) Anne wrote a charming account of being taken regularly to the Garden as a child, which was published in a newsletter of the Garden's Friends. Their tall house was usually populated by numerous cats, though one of them had refused to move from Peterhouse to Belvoir Terrace, so Fuff-Fuff, as he was chiefly known, took up residence in Ted's set on L staircase for the remainder of his life (there is an account of this legendary feline with photographs in the *Peterhouse Annual Record*, 2003/2004, 102–3). Anne recognised that a sedentary scholar with easy access to a loaded college table needed a sound dietary regime, and as she was also an accomplished cook, she made sure that Ted ate sensibly, thus contributing much to his longevity. They shared a love of music, especially the operas of Handel, Mozart, Verdi and Strauss (Wagner and Puccini didn't make the cut).[47] They were also both great collectors of books. Anne put

[46] *Classical Review*, 26 (1976), 187.

[47] See Ted's review in *Hermathena*, 173/4 (2002/3), 278–81 of M. McDonald, *Sing Sorrow: classics, history, and heroines in opera* (Westport CT and London, 2001).

together an impressive library of illustrated works on plants and gardens, whilst Ted's collection of classical volumes was little short of amazing for a private scholar's library. They particularly liked fine printing and lettering, and so the work of Will Carter and David Kindersley, a pupil of Eric Gill, had a special appeal for them; each had bookplates designed by Carter. They also commissioned Kindersley to produce a round plaque to be inserted into the garden-side wall of their house as a memorial of the numerous dear cats 'laid in earth' under the flagstone walk. Their marriage was happy, and Anne's support of an increasingly frail Ted in their final years was valorous, as attested in the preface and dedication mentioned above. It was no surprise that she did not wish to survive him for long, and indeed a few months after his death on 23 December 2019 she followed him on 25 April 2020 during the Covid pandemic.

Ted's academic manner could be forbidding, since he had no time for the lazy or mediocre (such as a commentator dismissed for his 'downright bad English'). Yet the affection he secured from friends and students is testimony of the basic geniality of his nature. Thomas Gould for instance dedicated his book, *Platonic Love* (1963), to Ted. A group of his former undergraduates at Peterhouse clubbed together to pay for a bookcase in his honour in the new college library. A dozen of his postgraduate students produced a Festschrift, entitled *Amor: Roma*, *Love and Latin literature*, to celebrate his 65th birthday in 1999. What stands out is the persistent expression of gratitude from contributors to the 'Green & Yellow' commentaries. As Rhiannon Ash put it in the Preface to her commentary on Tacitus, *Histories* II (2007: viii): 'It is something of a convention for those working on Latin texts in this series to offer him warm thanks, but I now know at first hand what an extraordinary privilege and pleasure it is to work with someone whose erudition, humour and patience have such a beneficial impact on every word of the commentary.' Ted's former student, the justly lamented Neil Hopkinson, dedicated the revised Loeb edition of his collection of Hellenistic poetry (2020) to the memory of Ted and Anne Kenney.

Note on the author: Roland Mayer is Emeritus Professor of Classics at King's College London.

Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy (ISSN 2753–6777) are published by
The British Academy, 10–11 Carlton House Terrace, London, SW1Y 5AH
www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk