

THE PAST

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The Ancient Emotion of Disgust

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Not Tonight, Dear, I'm Feeling a Little pig-

ROBERT A. KASTER

OVER THE PAST GENERATION WE HAVE SEEN A GREAT PROFUSION OF studies devoted to the emotions: in classics alone about thirty book-length studies have appeared,¹ and if the tally were extended to take in other fields of literary and cultural studies, along with philosophy, psychology, and anthropology, the number would reach well into three figures. Much of this increased attention is due to an increased sensitivity to the role of cognition in emotion. There is now a broad consensus across disciplines that while the capacity to experience a range of emotions is innate in our species, the actual experience of any given emotion is determined by the judgments and beliefs that engage it and cause it to be *about* something. And since judgments and beliefs are products of culture, even emotions that seem to match up cross-culturally—English “anger” with Latin *ira* with Greek ὀργή—are liable to differ in more or less marked and culturally revealing ways.

To illustrate that point let's consider how the Romans talked about an emotion that is quite peculiar, in this sense: though I am fairly certain that most of us have experienced it at one time or another, in its fully engaged form it matches up with no one English lexical item. Simply put, the Romans had a word for it, we do not. The Romans' word was *piget*.

To start, consider the text that inspired my title for this chapter, where the emotion is fully on display and evoked in helpfully precise terms. At several points in his *Love-cures*, Ovid's *magister amoris* uses a tactic that today we would call “aversive conditioning,” what (for example) some parents used to do if they caught young Johnny smoking: keep him smoking until the very thought of smoking is profoundly unappealing. Here is the way the *magister* adopts the

1. Pride of place goes to Fortenbaugh 1975 (2nd ed., 2003), followed by a virtual flood that began in the early 1990s: Cairns 1993; Barton 1993; Nussbaum 1994; Cooper 1999; Sorabji 2000; Barton 2001; Harris 2001; Konstan 2001; Graver 2002; Toohey 2004; Kaster 2005; Konstan 2006; Graver 2007; Polleichtner 2009; Caston 2012; Budzowska 2012; Fulkerson 2013; Sanders 2014; as well as a number of collective volumes, including Braund and Gill 1997; Sihvola and Engberg-Pedersen 1998; Braund and Most 2003; Konstan and Rutter 2003; Harbsmeier and Möckel 2009; Sanders 2013; Sanders et al. 2013; Munteanu 2011; Chaniotis 2012b; Chaniotis and Ducrey 2013.

approach in one particularly brutal and misogynistic passage, as he sketches a bout of lovemaking:²

I blush, but I'll say it: have sex in the position
 that you think most unbecoming to the woman in question. . . .
 Then too I bid you open wide the windows and
 in the full flood of light remark the base body-parts.
 But as soon as your pleasure has reached its goal and come to an end,
 when body and mind are drained and drooping,
 while you feel *pig-*, so that you'd rather not have touched any girl,
 and think you won't touch one again for a good long while,
 then carefully catalog all her blemishes
 and keep your eyes fixed on her flaws. [1]

The *magister* is obviously trading on the associations that can be formed between various forms of sight-induced aversion and postcoital tristesse, with the expectation that the former will reinforce the latter to produce a lasting repugnance. More important for our purposes is the way Ovid neatly brings out both the psychosomatic and the cognitive components of the emotion. He lodges the statement of the feeling ("while you feel *pig-*": *dum piget*) exactly in the middle of the description: on one side lies the lassitude that the experience entails, "when body and mind are drained and drooping"; on the other side lie the judgments and evaluations associated with regret and repugnance, which look both to the fact of what has happened and to the prospect that it might happen again: "so that you'd rather not have touched any girl / and think you won't touch one again for a good long while."

Ovid's full and vivid evocation of the emotion makes plain its multidimensional nature: the experience of *pig-* entails an unpleasant state of diminished energy in which lassitude and aversion are combined—a weary sigh blended

2. *Ov. Rem. am.* 407–8, 411–18:

Et pudet, et dicam: venerem quoque iunge figura,
 Qua minime iungi quamque decere putas. . . .
 Tunc etiam iubeo totas aperire fenestras,
 Turpique admissis membra notare die.
 At simul ad metas venit finita voluptas,
 Lassaque cum tota corpora mente iacent,
 Dum *piget* ut malles nullam tetigisse puellam,
 Tacturusque tibi non videare diu,
 Tunc animo signa, quaecumque in corpore menda est,
 Luminaque in vitiis illius usque tene.

The Arabic numerals at the end of this and the other examples quoted in the text are used to locate the passages on the taxonomy of *pig-* at the end of this chapter.

with “ugh”—as a result of performing, or at the prospect of performing, some action you regard as both taxing and repugnant. As was remarked earlier, it is likely that most of us have known this emotion: speaking for myself—and to shift the discussion away from sex about as far as possible—it is the emotion that was inspired by every single encounter with a certain colleague at the University of Chicago (*not* from my own department), for it was inevitable that the next forty-five minutes of my life would be lost to a pointless and repetitive conversation that would drain every last spark of energy from my brain and leave me glancing longingly at my second-story office window for a possible exit. I am also confident that it is an emotion that no single English term conveys. It is certainly not conveyed by any of the options presented in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* entry for *piget*, “To affect with revulsion or displeasure, irk”: “displeasure” is far too broad and featureless, while “revulsion” gets at only part of the experience; as for “irk,” try plugging that into the passage from Ovid.³

But I suggest that where *piget* is concerned, the lack of a neat English label is a benefit, not a loss. The lack allows us to concentrate on what the experience is actually about without being tempted by the shortcut that a comfortably familiar label seems to provide: to put it another way, understanding what Roman *pudor* really is about is not much helped by the fact that it corresponds roughly to English “shame,” while understanding Roman *invidia* is positively hindered by the existence of our term “envy” that is derived from it.⁴ Without a similarly distracting English term on hand in the case of *piget*, we can try to grasp the underlying structure of the idea simply by considering the data that the Romans have left us: the instances—just over two hundred of them—in which one or another form of the verb appears in extant Latin texts from Plautus to Apuleius. And as I argued in my book on Roman emotions, the best way to use the data to get at the structure of the idea is to think in terms of “scripts.”

This approach starts by recognizing that any emotional experience is essentially a small drama, with a beginning, a middle, and an end. In this drama, the data of life are processed in a particular way, through a sequence of cause and effect, of perceptions, evaluations, and responses. For example: *hearing* Joe make a comment to Jack (perception), you *believe* the comment was made

3. Still, “irk” is not quite as bad as J. H. Mozley’s hilarious choice of “boredom” in the Loeb translation.

4. On the difficulty caused by the use of lexical “equivalents” in the cross-cultural study of emotions see Kaster 2005: 5–10 and *passim*; and Cairns 2008, esp. 47–51 (my thanks to Dimos Spatharas for pointing me toward the latter discussion).

about you and *judge* it a slur (evaluation). At once, a *desire* to retaliate explodes in your mind, your *chest* tightens, your *face* flushes, your *vision* seems to swim, your *pulse and breathing rates* increase, you *feel* tense or agitated, and you *formulate* some comment while *advancing* upon Joe, as your *hands* ball into fists and your *lips part* slightly to *reveal* your *teeth*: your response combines abnormal states in your body (breathing, pulse) and your affect (tension, agitation) with behaviors that are pragmatic (formulating a comment) or expressive (baring your teeth) or potentially both (your aggressive movement and balled fists). If you're tracking your response, you will register the *playing* out of this process by thinking some version of "I do believe I'm angry now," and you will typically connect this *thought*—and the label "anger"—with the last stage of the process, the response, and with your feeling a certain way or displaying a certain behavior. The emotion rightly so-called, however, is the whole process and all its constituent elements, experienced as the little drama that body and mind enact together from start to finish. Subtract any element of the script, and the experience is fundamentally altered: without the response—even one instantly rejected or suppressed—there is *only* the dispassionate evaluation of phenomena; without an evaluation—even one that does not register as such (e.g., in the flight response that precedes the conscious processing of a threat)—there is a mere seizure of mind and body that is about nothing at all.

Applying this understanding of emotion to the Romans means, first of all, reading all the texts in which a given emotion term occurs, two or three times, all the while asking, not what the term means—in the sense of what its English equivalent might be—but what kind of story is being told when that term is invoked. Or rather, what kinds of stories: because it becomes clear fairly quickly that most emotion terms provide cover for more than one sort of story and are in fact best understood as the point on which a set of distinct yet related dramatic scripts converge.

Let's turn, then, to the data that *piget* presents and see what sort of structure emerges. As a preliminary note, I should say that I am concerned only with the verb, not with the adjective derived from the same verbal root—*piger*, "sluggish," "lazy"—or the noun *pigritia*—"sluggishness," "laziness"—derived from the adjective. Though those terms clearly inhabit part of the semantic field of *piget* that we glimpsed already in the passage from Ovid, they do not have anything like the same range and inclusiveness; and this semantic narrowing in the derivation of adjective and noun from a verbal root is familiar from other emotion terms too. Compare the case of *pudet*: the adjective *pudicus* formed from the root *pud-* and the abstract noun *pudicitia* derived from the adjective have a much narrower range of reference than the verb, being concerned only

with sexual propriety. Compare also the case of *amare*: the adjective *amicus* formed from the root *am-* and the abstract noun *amicitia* formed from the adjective again have a much narrower range of reference than the verb. It happens that both *puget* and *amare* also have common cognate nouns—*pudor* and *amor*—that are less limited than *pudicitia* and *amicitia* and are accordingly as helpful as the verb in approaching the thought as a whole. But since the root *pig-* generated no comparable common noun—the noun *pigror* occurs only as a *jeu desprit* of Lucilius (fr. 391 M., *obrepsitque pigror torporque quietis*)—we are left with the verb.

To start, we need to identify the relevant perception and the resulting response, the aspects of *piget* that correspond, say, to the thought, “Upon perceiving that I have been wronged I experience a painful desire for revenge,” in the case of anger. For the perception and response we have a good starting point in the passage from the *Remedia*, which as we have seen imagines a state of lassitude and aversion brought on by behavior perceived to be more than a bit taxing and more than a bit repugnant—indeed, behavior that, when perceived through the emotion’s lens, is seen to be unbearable. Other texts that reveal how the emotion is generated and embodied point in the same direction.

Consider, for example, Ovid again, now speaking of the labor entailed in revising what he has written:⁵

Revising, and enduring the burden of long toil,
 often causes *pig-*—for why balk at telling the truth?
 When you’re writing, the very effort gives a pleasant boost and makes the
 effort less.
 But just as revising is as much less a challenge as
 great Homer was greater than Aristarchus,
 so it strikes the mind with a dull chill and does it hurt. [2]

Ovid’s spirits droop at the thought of self-correction, and it is not mere laziness—not just the prospect of hard work—that produces the feeling: it is

5. Ov. *Pont.* 3.9.19–25:

saepe *piget*—quid enim dubitem tibi vera fateri?—
 corrigere et longi ferre laboris onus.
 Scribentem iuvat ipse labor minuitque laborem
 cumque suo crescens pectore fervet opus.
 Corrigere ut res est tanto minus ardua quanto
 magnus Aristarcho maior Homerus erat,
 sic animum lento curarum frigore laedit.

the contrast with the joy of writing. In the first flush of creation, the very effort, *ipse labor*, gives him a lift and literally warms his heart: the line "*cumque suo crescens pectore fervet opus*" is especially telling, as is the contrast with the *lentus frigor*—the chill that dulls the mind—which revision is said to inspire at the passage's end. As Ovid might have said if he had our idiom available, the thought of revision is just too damned depressing, and he wants no part of it. Much the same feeling is shared, in quite different circumstances, by the cow who has lost her calf, as imagined in highly humanized form by Statius. Depressed, unable to eat, she finds unbearable the thought of returning to the stable:⁶

The mother, bereft, stirs now the valley, now the streams with lament,
now the herds, and seeks among the empty pastures;
the prospect of returning home causes *pig-*, then, and from the field of
mourning
she's last to leave, from the grasses that come her way she turns aside
unfed. [3]

Or take the disgraced consul Terentius Varro conjured up by Silius Italicus:⁷

Nonetheless aggrieved by his failure, and vastly distraught
in his shame, the consul walked unsteadily toward the walls
in tears: he felt *pig-* at the prospect of raising his downcast glance
and, by looking on his homeland, stirring his pain anew. [4]

Varro already feels *pudor* because of a *culpa*, an action that was "up to him," for which he believes he is morally responsible. He embodies that emotion through tears, an unsteady gait, and a downcast visage; and because he feels *pudor* thus embodied, he also experiences *pig-* feelings: dispiritedness, depression, and the sense that he just cannot bring himself to perform

6. Stat. *Theb.* 6.189–92:

nunc vallem spoliata parens, nunc flumina questu,
nunc armenta movet vacuosque interrogat agros;
tunc *piget* ire domum, maestoque novissima campo
exit et oppositas impasta avertitur herbas.

7. Sil. *Pun.* 10.630–33:

nec minus infelix culpa grandique pudore
turbatus, consul titubantem ad moenia gressum
portabat lacrimans: deiectum attollere vultum
ac patriam aspicere et luctus renovare *pigebat*.

actions that would remind him of his pain. Or consider, finally, the force of *piget* found, for example, when Livy comes to speak of Alexander the Great's megalomania:⁸

When speaking of so great a king, I feel *pig-* at the thought of reporting the arrogant style of dress he adopted, his demands that men prostrate themselves to pay their respects, . . . foul forms of punishment, friends slaughtered at drunken banquets, the empty folly of lineage falsely claimed. [5]

Because he is a decent person (we are to understand), Livy feels a kind of dispirited distaste at the prospect of saying such things about so great a figure: the emotion provides Livy with a form of *praeteritio*, so that he can say what he needs to say while saying he has no desire to say it.⁹

So let us say that the fundamental perception and response that *piget* means to convey can typically be expressed in these terms: "I *experience* some form of *dispirited aversion* when I *perceive* as *deeply undesirable* . . ."—what? What decisive plot-points then follow in the various narratives of *pig-*?

My combing of the data suggests that three general distinctions are important in determining the sort of *piget* narrative we are facing: first, and most important, whether the deeply undesirable action or state of affairs is merely a *prospect* or a *matter of fact*; second, whether that action or state of affairs is my responsibility or someone else's; third, whether or not there is something ethically at stake for me—whether experiencing the emotion says something about my worth as a person. Let's consider just a few examples of each of these distinctions in turn, before I try to draw the whole picture together.

The first of these distinctions has a fundamentally temporal dimension: is the emotion aroused by contemplating some action that lies in the future (typically, the immediate future), or does it emerge from something already done, that is, an action completed or now underway? This distinction between behavior that is merely in prospect or already a matter of fact underlies the earliest definition of *piget* that we have, preserved in Pompeius Festus' epitome of the first and greatest Latin dictionary of antiquity, created by Verrius Flaccus at the end of the 1st century BCE: "*pigere* is accustomed to

8. Livy 9.18.4, *referre in tanto rege piget superbam mutationem vestis et desideratas humi iacentium adulationes, . . . et foeda supplicia et inter vinum et epulas caedes amicorum et vanitatem ementiendae stirpis* (cf., e.g., Livy 23.51.2; Columella, *Rust.* 6 pr. 5).

9. On Livy's negotiation of the "politics" of disgust more generally, see Ayelet Haimson Lushkov's essay in this volume.

being used sometimes in place of *tardari*, sometimes in place of *paenitere*.¹⁰ What Flaccus clearly meant is that *pigere* takes on the sense of *paenitere*, “regret,” when the relevant action is a matter of fact, for the realm of fact is the natural home of regret (anticipatory regret might in principle be possible, though in practice it would probably be experienced most often as some form of “caution”).¹¹ In contrast, the sense of being “slowed” or “held in check,” *tardari*, is plainly relevant to the prospect of undertaking some action not yet begun.

The distinction could easily be illustrated from any of the passages I’ve cited so far, but let me give you a few new examples. Thus in Plautus’ *Trinummus* (127) one character asks, “Did you pay the money?” and the other replies, “I did, and I don’t feel *pig-* that I did” (MEGARONIDES *dedistin argentum?* CALLICLES *factum, neque facti piget* [6]). Or Livy, writing of an unpleasant turn of events for the Carthaginians in the Second Punic War, says:¹²

As the Carthaginians counted it glorious that they had come all the way to Rome’s walls with no opposition, so it was causing them *pig-* that their undertaking had come to naught, and *pudor* at being held in such contempt that while they themselves were encamped at the city’s walls, a Roman army was led out of another gate and off to Spain. [7]

And when the nymph Byblis first makes a botch of telling her twin brother Caunus of her more-than-sisterly love, but nonetheless decides to press on, the narrator of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* remarks, “So she spoke, and—such is the discord of an irresolute mind—though she feels *pig-* at having tried, she feels pleasure at the thought of trying again” (9.630–31, *dixit et (incertae tanta est discordia mentis) / cum pigeat temptasse, libet temptare* [8]).

And for illustration of the other side of the distinction, the prospective force of *piget*, consider three passages from the same authors. So in Plautus, again, one character says to another, “Please don’t feel *pig-* at answering clearly the question I’ll ask you” (*Aul.* 210, *quaeso, quod te percontabor, ne id te pigeat proloqui* [9]).

10. Festus 213 L. “*Pigere interdum pro tardari, interdum pro paenitere poni solet.*” Festus’ distinction is taken over in the *TLL* article on *piget* (10, 1: 2111.38–2114.38), *significatur motus animi eius, qui gravatur aliqua re, aegre fert vel repudiat, non vult aliquid. . . . sc. saepe ad praesentia vel instantia, ut praevaleat notio pudoris, taedii, cunctationis sim. . . . paulo rarius ad praeterita, ut praevaleat color paenitentiae, doloris sim.*

11. On the concept of “prospective *metanoia*,” a theoretical construct found in late philosophical writings, see Fulkerson 2013: 33 and n. 101.

12. Livy 26.37.6, *Carthaginienses . . . ut ad moenia urbis Romanae nullo prohibente se pervenisse in gloria ponebant, ita pigebat inviti incepti, pudebatque adeo se spreto ut sedentibus ipsis ad Romana moenia alia porta exercitus Romanus in Hispaniam duceretur.*

sometimes in place of *paenitere*.¹⁰ *re* takes on the sense of *paenitere*, matter of fact, for the realm of fact is regret might in principle be possible, experienced most often as some form being “slowed” or “held in check,” act of undertaking some action not

and from any of the passages I've cited. Thus in Plautus' *Trinummus* (127) “why?” and the other replies, “I did, and *medistin argentum?* CALLICLES *factum*, an unpleasant turn of events for the *ys*:¹²

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urbis Romanae nullo prohibente se pervenisse in o se spreto ut sedentibus ipsis ad Romana moenia

Or Livy, writing in his character as a scrupulous historian of the Third Samnite War, says,¹³

I find it stated in three annalistic accounts that a letter was sent [sc. by the consul Appius Claudius] to summon his colleague [Volumnius] from Samnium; yet I feel *pig-* at treating it as a matter of fact, since that very point was a subject of disagreement between the two consuls, with Appius denying, Volumnius affirming that the letter had been sent. [10]

And Ovid's *magister amoris*, suggesting travel as a cure for lovesickness, warns the victim that he'll need to be resolute:¹⁴

Perhaps you'll feel *pig-* at leaving your father's house,
But still you will leave; and when next you want to return,
It will not be your father's house that calls you back but the love for your girl. [11]

In each case the emotion is assumed to be provoked not in response to something the person has done or is doing, but at the very thought of doing it.

As the emotion is organized around the distinction between action performed and action in prospect, we can see that the response to an anticipated action is a more or less keenly felt form of aversion—a matter of “can't bring oneself to,” of “not having the heart” or “not having the stomach”—while the response to a matter of fact is a form of regret that is essentially a retrospective, counterfactual species of aversion: the thought is, “Given it to do over again, I certainly wouldn't do *that*, or want *that* outcome.” It is important to note, however, that though the distinction is clear, the two alternatives are not mutually exclusive: it is possible to experience *pig-* simultaneously at what one has done *and* at the prospect of doing it again. The very first text we examined, from the *Remedia amoris*, makes this plain: recall the *magister's* words,

while you feel *pig-*, so that you'd *rather not have touched* any girl,
and think you won't touch one again for a good long while, [1]

13. 10.18.7, *litteras ad collegam accersendum ex Samnio missas in trinis annalibus invenio; piget tamen in certo ponere, cum ea ipsa inter consules populi Romani, iam iterum eodem honore fungentes, disceptatio fuerit, Appio abnuente missas, Volumnio adfirmante.*

14. *Rem. am.* 237–39:

Forsitan a laribus patriis exire pigebit
Sed tamen exibus: deinde redire voles;
Nec te Lar patrius, sed amor revocabit amicae.

where the feeling looks both to what the lover has done and what he might do again. For another example, consider the sage advice the slave Tranio gives himself in Plautus' *Mostellaria*:¹⁵

This calls for attention, this is the duty of a shrewd man: that one's rascally plans and deeds may all turn out smoothly and without mishap, lest he come to have a reason to feel *pig-* at living. [12]

Plainly, if the rascal's plans and deeds did not turn out smoothly, his emotion would respond to the wreckage, the way his life's course had gone to that point: we might say that he was "sorry he'd been born" or "sorry to be alive." But equally plainly, he could well "feel *pig-* at living" in the sense of being reluctant for that state to continue: in his aversion at the prospect of living amid the wreckage, he might wish he were dead. Though the distinction between fact and prospect is an important fault line in the data that allows us to describe different scripts of *piget*, it is also characteristic of any emotion's scripts that more than one of them can be experienced simultaneously.

I can more briefly treat the next important point of distinction—whether the relevant action or state of affairs is my responsibility or someone else's—since what primarily needs to be shown is that the distinction exists at all: if *piget* is all about more or less dispirited forms of aversion, of regret and repugnance, can it really be about the actions of anyone other than the person experiencing it? The answer is yes, it really can, but—as it turns out—in only a limited set of circumstances, as three examples can illustrate. In the first, from Terence's *Adelphoe*, the morose brother, Demea, is being goaded by the slave Syrus with reports of his brother Micio's liberality and its consequences:¹⁶

DEM. That such things should happen!

SYR. It's the foolish laxity of [your brother] and his wicked leniency.

DEM. Indeed, I feel shame and *pig-* at my brother.

SYR. Between the two of you, Demea, (I don't say this just because you're here) there's all too great a difference. [13]

15. *Mostell.* 412–15:

verum id videndum est, id viri docti est opus,
quae designata sint et facta nequiter,
tranquille cuncta et ut proveniant sine malo,
ne quid potiat, quam ob rem pigeat vivere.

16. *Ad.* 390–93:

DEM. haecin fieri!
SYR. inepta lenitas patris et facilitas prava.
DEM. fratri' me quidem pudet *piget*que.
SYR. nimium inter vos, Demea, ac (non quia ades praesens dico hoc) pernimum interest.

We should by now feel justified in identifying Demea's *pig-* as a form of heart-sick regret, which here keeps company with shame: both of these emotions would plainly be appropriate if the foolish laxity and wicked leniency in question were his own; that they are appropriate when the alleged vices are his brother's is due, no less plainly, to the kind of bond that exists between brothers, which can cause each to regard the other as an extension of himself. This is the sort of identification familiar in the case of parents and children, though it is by no means limited to family members. So in the second example, from Plautus' *Trinummus*, the upright young man Lysiteles responds to his wastrel friend, Lesbonicus, whom he has assisted:¹⁷

LESB. I knew the appropriate behavior, I just couldn't bring it off, wretch that I am: so, held fast by Venus' power, a slave to idleness, I came to grief. And now—just as you deserve—I could not be more grateful.

LYS. Still, that my efforts go to waste and you don't take to heart what I say is beyond endurance, and at the same time I feel *pig-* that you feel too little shame. [14]

The one friend says that he feels heartsick regret because the other doesn't feel sufficient *pudor*, and I think we would be justified in supposing that the statement would be equally valid were the verbs *piget* and *puget* reversed: the identification between friends is such that the one could appropriately say he feels shame because the other is insufficiently heartsick with regret. For a last example, consider the way that Sallust rounds off his moralizing excursus at the beginning of the *Bellum Iugurthinum*: "But I have gone on too freely and too far, while experiencing *pig-* at the civil community's character and feeling that I've had it up to here. I now return to my subject" (4. 9 *verum ego liberius altiusque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget taedetque. nunc ad inceptum redeo* [15]). We are to understand that Sallust feels what he feels—regret, joined with a sense of being at the end of his tether—as a loyal Roman citizen faced with behavior unworthy of the Roman *civitas*: the implied premise is that there are times when any decent patriot experiences that emotion, just as a friend or brother might; also implied, I suspect, is the notion that there are times when experiencing that emotion shows by itself that you are a decent patriot.

Indeed, in each of these cases we could say that the person's feeling *pig-* has ethical implications: it is evidence that he is playing the role of brother, friend,

17. *Trin.* 657–61:

LES. scibam ut esse me deceret, facere non quibam miser; ita vi Veneris vincitus, otio captus in fraudem incidi. et tibi nunc, proinde ut merere, summas habeo gratias.

LYS. At operam perire meam sic et te haec dicta corde spernere perpeti nequeo, simul me *piget* parum pudere te.

or patriot in an appropriate way, and it should cause an observer to think well of him in that role. And that in fact brings us to the last important point of distinction in understanding the basic structure of *piget*: whether or not there is something ethically at stake—whether my experiencing the emotion says something about my worth as a person.

As it happens, about one-third of the time the matter is ethically neutral: whether or not one experiences *pig-* depends simply upon a calculation of utility or advantage. The calculation is particularly clear in this exchange between the wily slave Pseudolus and the pimp Ballio:¹⁸

PSE. He [viz., the youth Calidorus] is quite ashamed about what he promised you, . . . that he hasn't even yet paid you those twenty minæ for his mistress.
BAL. What causes shame is much more easily borne than what causes *pig-*: he feels shame for not having paid the money, I feel *pig-* because I haven't got it. [16]

This dimension of *piget* also emerges nicely when Ovid imagines the reaction of a grief-stricken Phoebus after his son Phaethon's fiery death:¹⁹

He hates the light and the day and himself,
he surrenders his thoughts to mourning, with anger added in,

and refuses to do his duty for the world. "Enough," he says, "from time's

beginning my lot has been thankless enough, and I feel *pig-*
at the labors I've performed without end, without honor!" [17]

Phoebus, we would say, is "sick and tired" of performing the same act day in, day out: this is heartfelt regret, and it is felt not only because the situation has lasted so long but also because it has lacked adequate compensation. As commonly with the statement "I am sick and tired of doing X" in English, the regret is tinged with resentment and indignation, which implies a judgment that

18. Plaut. *Pseud.* 279–82:

PSE. Hunc pudet, quod tibi promisit, . . . quia tibi minas viginti pro amica etiam non dedit.
BAL. Nimio id quod pudet facilius fertur quam illud quod *piget*, non dedisse istunc pudet: me quia non accepi *piget*.

19. *Met.* 2.383–87:

lucemque odit seque ipse diemque
datque animum in luctus et luctibus adicit iram
officiumque negat mundo. "satis" inquit "ab aevi
sors mea principiis fuit inrequieta, *piget*que
actorum sine fine mihi, sine honore laborum!"

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someone is at fault or at least that the circumstances are blameworthy. But it entails no overt judgment on Phoebus himself.²⁰

But about twice as often as not, experiencing *pig-* does entail or invite some sort of ethical judgment; and the judgment is differently colored depending on whether the emotion is prompted by a matter of fact—a completed or ongoing action—or by the mere prospect of some action. There is no need to spend much time on the variety of ethical *pig-* that concerns matters of fact, since it has figured already in a number of the examples we've seen; but let me add one more. The rhetorician and imperial confidant Fronto wishes to commend a friend to the emperor Verus, and commending him requires that Fronto describe their relations.²¹

From his early youth Gavius Clarus has looked after me in a friendly fashion, not just through the dutiful attentions by which a senator junior in age and rank cultivates a senior senator and earns his gratitude; but our friendship gradually reached the point that neither he felt *pig-* nor I felt shame in his offering the forms of compliance that loyal and industrious clients and freedman provide—and this out of no arrogance on my part or servility on his, but our mutual affection and true love released each of us from any feeling of resistance that would put a limit on our dutiful attentions. [18]

Fronto's premise is clear. Absent this marvelously transformative affection, he would be expected to feel shame because of the arrogance (*insolentia*) entailed in self-interestedly misusing Gavius—treating him as much more lowly than he was for his own ends—and Gavius would be expected to feel *pig-* at performing actions unworthy of himself but worthy of a freedman—his gorge would rise, and he would feel a profoundly dispirited regret. In fact, we can suppose that Gavius would feel not just *pig-* but shame as well.

When ethical *pig-* is felt at merely prospective behavior, it certainly *can* convey a creditable reluctance to perform a discreditable action (e.g., Livy's scruple at n. 8). More commonly, however, it appears as a culpable reluctance to perform some commendable action: this, in fact, is the one area where there is

20. I say "overt judgment" because (as Don Lateiner has very attractively suggested to me) Phoebus' statement could imply that in allowing himself to be exploited Phoebus believes he has not adequately defended his personhood and so feels shame at having played the fool. That a similar dynamic is at work in Ballio's case is less likely in view of the sharp distinction between *puget* and *piget* that structures the thought.

21. *Ep. ad Ver. imp. 2.7.2, a prima aetate sua me curavit Gavius Clarus familiariter, non modo iis officiis quibus senator aetate et loco minor maiorem gradu atque natu senatorem probe colit ac promeretur, sed paulatim amicitia nostra eo processit ut neque illum pigeret neque me puderet ea illum oboedire mihi, quae clientes, quae liberti fideles ac laboriosi obsequuntur; nulla hoc aut mea insolentia aut illius adulatione, sed mutua caritas nostra et amor verus ademit utrique nostrum in officiis moderandis omnem detractationem.*

complete overlap between the verb *piget* and the adjective and noun derived from it, *piger* and *pigritia*, both of which have almost invariably negative ethical implications. For example, Appius Claudius is imagined by Livy to have spoken in these terms when urging his countrymen to pursue the war against Veii:²²

By God, the very disgrace of it, if no other reason, should have demanded that we keep at it! Once upon a time all of Greece united to besiege a city for ten years for the sake of a single woman—how far from home? with how many lands and seas standing between? But *we* feel *pig-* at the prospect of completing a one-year siege not twenty miles away, nearly in sight of our own city. [19]

Plainly, Appius Claudius is engaging in a shaming tactic: he wants his audience to see themselves being seen as slackers without gumption, so that they will be moved to prove him wrong. And that is the typical way that this form of *pig-* is spoken of: not as something I feel but as something I attribute to others, either because I want to show them up for the shameful slugs that they are or because I want them to show that they are not shameful slugs after all. Thus one last example, also from Livy, book 5, and the great speech in which Camillus tries to persuade the Romans not to abandon the city after it has been redeemed from the Gauls:²³

When there was nothing in these parts but woods and marshes, our ancestors, refugees and shepherds, built a new city in a trice: do *we*—when Capitol and citadel are intact, when the temples of the gods still stand—do we feel *pig-* at the prospect of rebuilding what has been burned? [20]

The only acceptable answer to such a question is: certainly not.

If we assemble all these pieces, then, what we find is distilled in the partial taxonomy of *piget* scripts shown in figure 7.1.²⁴ Whereas the retrospective and anticipatory incidents of *piget* fall out fairly even (< 10 percent difference in distribution), the distinction at the next level—as to whether the action or state of affairs is or is not “up to me”—could hardly be sharper: overwhelmingly, in

22. 5. 4. 12 *si hercules nulla alia causa, ipsa indignitas perseverantiam imponere debuit. decem quondam annos urbs oppugnata est ob unam mulierem ab universa Graecia, quam procul ab domo? quot terras, quot maria distans? nos intra vicesimum lapidem, in conspectu prope urbis nostrae, annuam oppugnationem perferre piget.*

23. 5.53.9, *maiores nostri, convenae pastoresque, cum in his locis nihil praeter silvas paludesque esset, novam urbem tam brevi aedificarunt: nos Capitolio, arce incolumi, stantibus templis deorum, aedificare incensa piget?*

24. The Packard Humanities Institute Latin database (#5.3) reveals 205 texts in which *piget* and its forms appear in classical Latin. The count at each level in the taxonomy does not add up to 205 (e.g., 93 + 111) because some texts are too fragmentary to analyze, while others present scenarios in which more than one script is enacted simultaneously; the numbers in parentheses (“nos. 1 . . .”) in figure 7.1 refer to the examples cited in the text above.

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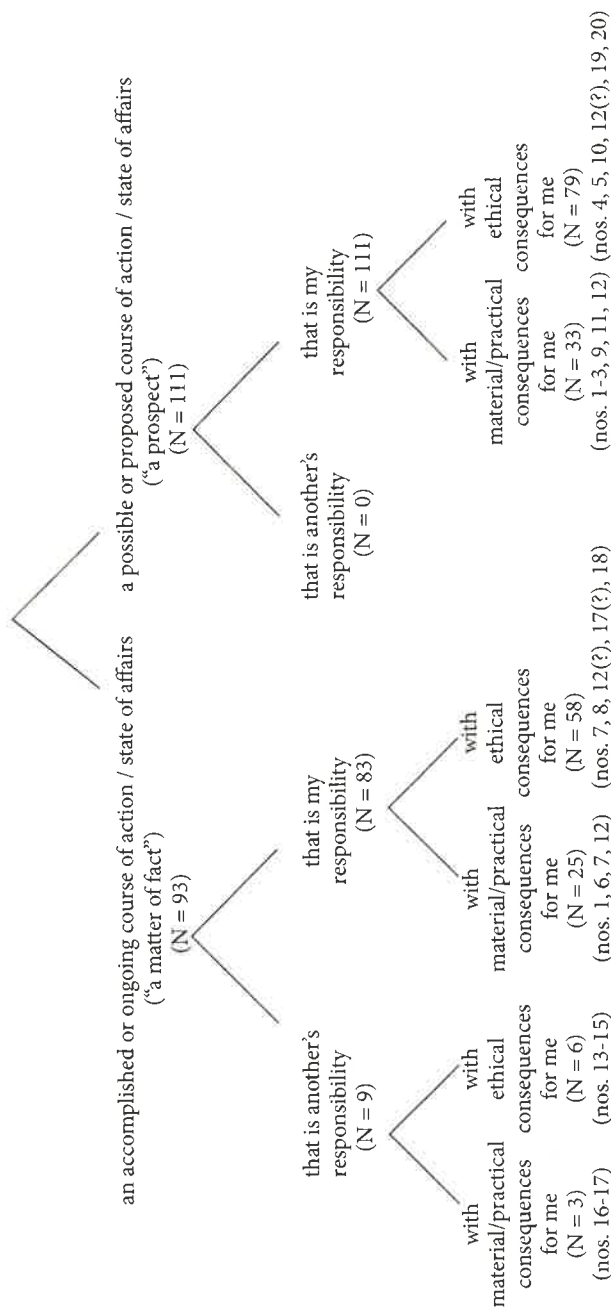


Figure 7.1 *Piget*-Scripts: A Partial Taxonomy

the case of the retrospective emotion, and absolutely, in the case of the anticipatory, I am (or at any rate should be) the master of my own emotional fate. And according to a less strongly weighted but still very clear tendency, whether or not I display that mastery says something about my worth as a person. In this respect we can with every justification add *piget* to the lexicon of ethical emotions that was available to the Romans, a lexicon that was, where this emotion is concerned, somewhat richer than our own.

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