

# The African-American Poet, Jupiter Hammon: A Home-born Slave and his Classical Name<sup>1</sup>

MARGARET A. BRUCIA

This article argues for a Vergilian origin of the name of the eighteenth-century African-American slave Jupiter Hammon, considered the first published black American poet. Names from classical antiquity were often bestowed on American slaves. The most prominent reference in classical literature to the god Jupiter Hammon, whose name is the conflation of Jupiter and an aspirated form of the Egyptian god Ammon, occurs in Vergil's *Aeneid*. Henry Lloyd, the master of Jupiter Hammon, owned a copy of what he refers to as "Ogilby's Vergil." This popular sixteenth-century translation of the complete works of Vergil into rhyming couplets with commentary by the Scotsman John Ogilby was probably Henry Lloyd's source for his slave's unusual name.

Jupiter Hammon, an eighteenth-century Long Island slave who lived to an advanced age, is best known for having written the first published poem by a black American.<sup>2</sup> His classical name, however, rather than his fervid poetry, provides the impetus for this study. Investigation of the naming patterns of slaves in colonial America

1. I would like to thank my student, Justin Crowe, who first brought Jupiter Hammon to my attention and *IJCT*'s anonymous readers, whose helpful suggestions brought my article into sharper focus. Natalie A. Naylor, Director of the Long Island Studies Institute at Hofstra University, Shirley Hibbard, author of the Historic Structure Report for the Joseph Lloyd house, Ward Briggs, Professor of Classics at the University of South Carolina, and Ceil Stepanian, Director of Education for the Lloyd Harbor Historical Society, answered many questions and suggested helpful resources. Joan McGee, Lloyd Harbor Village Historian, provided me with an introduction to the library of the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities. I am especially grateful to the entire reference staff at the Harborfields Public Library whose assistance and enthusiasm for my project made this study possible. Any errors of fact or judgment are, of course, my own.
2. Phillis Wheatley, a well-educated Boston slave whose first poem, "An Elegiac Poem on George Whitfield," appeared in print in 1770, was considered the first black published poet in America until the early twentieth century. (For information and bibliographical references about Phillis Wheatley and other African-American poets of the eighteenth century, including Jupiter Hammon, see V. Carretta [ed.], *Phillis Wheatley: Complete Writings* [New York, London, and Ringwood (Australia): Penguin Putnam, 2001].) Jupiter Hammon's priority was established when Oscar Wegelin brought to light a broadside in the New York Historical Society dating from 1760 with a poem by Jupiter Hammon entitled "An Evening Thought, Salvation by Christ, with Penitential [*sic*] Cries" (see O. Wegelin, *Jupiter Hammon:*

---

Margaret A. Brucia, Earl L. Vandermeulen High School, Old Post Road, Port Jefferson, NY 11777 USA

*International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Spring 2001, pp. 515–522.

leads to further speculation about Jupiter Hammon's position in the family of Henry Lloyd.

For lack of an equivalent English term, Jupiter Hammon was a *verna*,<sup>3</sup> a Latin word for a home-born slave. Spared the trauma of loss of freedom through abduction, the presumably more malleable and docile *vernae* were highly prized as house slaves in ancient Rome, and they customarily received preferential treatment. America also had its share of *vernae* and, if Jupiter Hammon is a typical example, American masters, like their ancient counterparts, favored them.<sup>4</sup>

The paucity of information about Jupiter Hammon, an important yet elusive figure in American cultural and literary history, continues to frustrate researchers. He lived and worked on the estate of Henry Lloyd in what is today Lloyd Neck, Long Island, then known as Queens Village. The few known details of Jupiter Hammon's life, gleaned from the collected papers of the Lloyd family, from the unpublished account books of Henry Lloyd, and from Jupiter Hammon's own prose and poetry,<sup>5</sup> can be briefly summarized.

Jupiter Hammon was born on October 17, 1711; his name (recorded only as Jupiter) and birth date were listed in 1716 by Henry Lloyd in the inside cover of his account book under the heading "Negros birth."<sup>6</sup> In December 1714 and again in December 1720, three shillings were spent on shoes for Jupiter.<sup>7</sup> Though other slaves owned by Henry Lloyd were hired for work on neighboring farms, we have no record for Jupiter's services being similarly farmed out. In May 1730, Jupiter was treated

---

*American Negro Poet* [Miami: Mnemosyne, 1969 (Copyright 1915)] 7-10); Jupiter Hammon remains the first known black poet to have published his work, although the slave Lucy Terry wrote a poem entitled "Bars Fight" in 1746 which was not published until 1893. The subject of her 28-line poem is a bloody Indian raid on the settlers of Deerfield, Massachusetts in 1746. In 1760 Briton Hammon, an African American from Massachusetts, published a prose account of his travails of capture and imprisonment by "Indians." (In 1759 Francis Williams, a Jamaican, wrote the first poem to be published in Latin in the Western Hemisphere by a person of African descent. See M. V. Ronnick, "Francis Williams: An Eighteenth Century Tertium Quid," *The Negro History Bulletin* 61 [1998]: 19-29.)

3. For the definitive work on *vernae* in Rome, see E. Herrmann-Otto, *Ex ancilla natus: Untersuchungen zu den "hausgeborenen" Sklaven und Sklavinnen im Westen des Römischen Kaiserreiches*, *Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei* 24 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1994) especially 7-83.
4. K. Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, reprinted 1996) 34.
5. *Papers of the Lloyd Family of the Manor of Queens Village, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, New York 1654-1826*, 1-2 (New York: New York Historical Society, 1927); the account books of Henry Lloyd in the Brooklyn Historical Society, Brooklyn, New York (unpublished); for the writings of Jupiter Hammon, see S. O'Neale, *Jupiter Hammon and the Biblical Beginnings of African-American Literature* (Metuchen, NJ and London: The American Theological Library Association and The Scarecrow Press, 1993) and S. Ransom, Jr., *America's First Negro Poet: The Complete Works of Jupiter Hammon of Long Island* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1970); see also G. Bowen, *James Lloyd II, M. D. (1728-1810) and his Family on Lloyd Neck* (Privately printed, no city listed, 1988), appendix 3, "Jupiter Hammon," 197-201.
6. The entry appears in an account book of Henry Lloyd in the library of the Brooklyn Historical Society. A photograph is published in J. Osann, *Henry Lloyd's Salt Box Manor House* (Huntington, NY: Lloyd Harbor Historical Society, 1972, revised 1982) 23.
7. Shoes were routinely purchased in late fall or early winter for Long Island slaves, cf. R. Moss, *Slavery on Long Island* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1993) 83.

aggressively by the Lloyd family's doctor for pains in his legs and a malady in his bowels. In May 1733, Jupiter had cash on hand sufficient to purchase a Bible from Henry Lloyd. His first poem, "An Evening Thought, Salvation by Christ with Penetential Cries," was published in broadside in his forty-ninth year, together with the statement, "Composed by Jupiter Hammon, a Negro belonging to Mr Lloyd, of Queen's Village, on Long-Island, the 25th of December, 1760." Here is the first recorded reference to him as Jupiter Hammon, the name he employed in all his subsequent publications.

Henry Lloyd included a codicil in his will bequeathing to his son Joseph his "moveable or personal Estate,"<sup>8</sup> and Jupiter Hammon became Joseph's property at his father's demise in 1763. We know that, when the British occupied Long Island, Joseph took Jupiter with him to Connecticut, and that after Joseph Lloyd committed suicide, Jupiter was passed on to John Lloyd, Joseph's nephew.<sup>9</sup>

In August 1778, now sixty-seven, Jupiter Hammon published a poem in Hartford, Connecticut, entitled "An Address to Phillis Wheatley Ethiopian Poetess in Boston." His next piece, "An Essay on the Ten Virgins," published in 1779, has been lost. In 1782 "A Winter Piece," a prose work, appeared along with "A Poem for Children with thoughts on Death." His last two works, published together, were an essay entitled "An Evening's Improvement" and a poem in dialogue form entitled, "The Kind Master and Dutiful Servant." In 1787, after returning to Long Island, he wrote a prose tract entitled "An Address to the Negroes in the State of New York" which was reprinted in 1806. Jupiter Hammon probably died between 1793 and 1806.<sup>10</sup>

Jupiter Hammon's parents are not identified, but the name of Rose, a slave whose services were sold by Henry's father to his tenant in 1688,<sup>11</sup> appears several times in Henry's records. She is often considered the likeliest candidate for Jupiter Hammon's mother. O'Neale has proposed that Obium, an often mentioned and apparently rebellious and defiant slave, was Jupiter Hammon's father and Rose his mother. Her suggestions are based on the long tenure of Obium in the Lloyd family and the fact that the presence of Obium and Rose on the manor could have coincided with the date of Jupiter's conception.<sup>12</sup> Plausible as this suggestion may be, the possibility that Henry Lloyd himself was the father of Jupiter Hammon and for this reason indulged the slave cannot be overlooked.

No matter what prompted the attention he received, Jupiter Hammon's extraordinary talents and intelligence were clearly fostered by a sympathetic master who not only spared him from field work, but provided for his education. Acknowledging his preferential treatment compared to slaves in general (and slaves in the South in particular),<sup>13</sup> in his last work Jupiter Hammon states:

8. S. Hibbard, "The Joseph Lloyd House, an Historic Structure Report," prepared for the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities [SPLIA], 1999, appendix 8. (This official but unpublished document is located in the SPLIA research library.)

9. Bowen 199.

10. Hibbard I: 21 sets the earliest date for his death in 1793 based on the latest reference to Jupiter in preserved Lloyd family papers, and Wegelin 15 sets the latest in 1806 when an affidavit was signed by three neighbors attesting to Jupiter's good character, shortly after his "Address" was republished. There is nothing about this affidavit, however, that suggests that Jupiter was alive when it was signed.

11. Hibbard I: 15.

12. O'Neale 20-22.

13. For a discussion of the education of Negroes in eighteenth-century New York with specific reference to Jupiter Hammon see C. Mabee, *Black Education in New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1979) 12-16.

I have great reason to be thankful that my lot has been so much better than that of most slaves. I suppose I have had more advantages and privileges than most of you who are slaves have ever known and more, I believe, than many white people have enjoyed—for which I desire to bless God, and pray that he may bless those who have given them to me.<sup>14</sup>

And continues:

Now I acknowledge that liberty is a great thing and worth seeking for if we can get it honestly and by our good conduct to prevail upon our masters to set us free. For my own part I do not wish to be free, yet I should be glad if others, especially the young Negroes, were to be free . . . .<sup>15</sup>

What was the background of this master who earned Jupiter Hammon's respect?

Henry Lloyd's father, James Lloyd (1653-1693), left England when he was seventeen and came to the colonies to seek his fortune. Six years later, now a suitably prosperous merchant, he met and married Henry's mother, Grizzell Sylvester of Shelter Island. Before she married James Lloyd in 1676, Grizzell Sylvester inherited from her deceased previous fiancé a large tract of land in Horse Neck, later named Queens Village. By 1684 the shrewd James Lloyd had bought or inherited all the land on Horse Neck, and had become lord of the manor at Queens Village. But James and Grizzell Lloyd resided in Boston and managed their property through agents. When James died in 1693 (Grizzell having predeceased him), their son Henry was only eight years old. Not until 1709 did Henry finally become the new lord of the manor. Henry had married Rebecca Nelson of Boston in 1708, and in May 1711, the same year Jupiter Hammon was born, he, his wife and their two young sons, Henry (b. 1709) and John (b. 1711), moved to Queens Village (later eponymously known as Lloyd Neck) where their new house was under construction.

'Hammon' is an unusual name but not unprecedented;<sup>16</sup> most scholars consider it a cognomen of unknown origin with no discernable connection to the poet's majestic first name.<sup>17</sup> But it is precisely the coupling of 'Hammon' with 'Jupiter' and the similarity of this double name to that of the Romanized ancient Egyptian god, Jupiter Hammon, that gives the name special significance. Robinson, the only scholar who has made this connection, offers no suggestion as to how Henry Lloyd or Jupiter himself

---

14. O'Neale 231-32.

15. O'Neale 236.

16. Jupiter Hammon's contemporary, Briton Hammon, is mentioned in n. 2. The details of his life before he left his "master" or sea captain, General Winslow of Marshfield, Massachusetts, and was held captive for thirteen years first by Native Americans and then by Cubans are unknown, thus leaving no opportunity even for speculation about the origin of his name. For Briton Hammon's own account of his captivity, see *A Narrative of Sufferings and Deliverance*, ed. William Fleming (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1978).

17. See, for example, S. O'Neale, *Dictionary of Literary Biography* 50 (1986), 162 and *Jupiter Hammon* 47. O'Neale posits that 'Hammon' is biblical in origin, both an extension of 'Ham' (the son of Noah who was cursed by his father and whose descendants, the Canaanites, were to become slaves) and a derivative of Ammon or Aman (an evil minister who figures prominently in the book of Esther).

might have learned about the god Jupiter Hammon, the apparent source of the slave's name.<sup>18</sup>

The most prominent mention of Jupiter Hammon in classical literature occurs in Vergil's *Aeneid* 4.198-200. In book four, the fleet of Aeneas is driven off its course for Italy by a storm arranged by Juno, and Aeneas and his followers are stranded on the shore of Carthage. With the help of his divine mother Venus, Aeneas meets and falls in love with Dido, queen of Carthage. Dido, having vowed to remain true to the memory of her murdered husband, had rejected the suit of a local African potentate, Iarbas, who claimed descent from Hammon (the aspirated Roman version of Ammon, an adaptation of the name of the god Amun-Re of Egyptian Thebes). A major figure of the Egyptian pantheon, Ammon/Hammon was sometimes conflated with Zeus or Jupiter in Graeco-Roman sources and referred to as Zeus Ammon or Jupiter Hammon.<sup>19</sup> When Iarbas hears the rumor that Dido and Aeneas have fallen in love, in outrage he prays to his powerful father<sup>20</sup> and seeks retribution. Jupiter Hammon hears his son's prayer and dispatches his messenger Mercury who commands Aeneas to leave Carthage and proceed to Italy. Dutiful Aeneas obeys the gods and his abrupt departure from Carthage leads to Dido's tragic suicide. Was either Henry Lloyd or Jupiter Hammon familiar with the *Aeneid*?

Henry Lloyd, like most gentlemen of his day, was certainly well versed in the Bible and doubtless familiar too with some of the literature and culture of classical antiquity.<sup>21</sup> The inventory of books entered in Henry Lloyd's account book under the title "Boston in New England, January 15, 1706"<sup>22</sup> offers the clue to the source of Jupiter Hammon's unusual name. The collection covers a variety of topics including European history, biography, and warfare. Many of the volumes are religious in nature and written in English, French, and Latin; one work of classical literature, "Ogilby's Virgil,"<sup>23</sup> a translation of the complete works of Vergil, graces the list. This is not surprising when we consider that no other classical author was so universally read, usually in translation, by educated Americans of the eighteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Vergil's *Georgics* would have appealed to any astute farmer with pretensions to culture; his

18. W. Robinson, *Early Black American Poets* (Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown, 1970) 5, n. 1.

19. For the association of Ammon with both Zeus and Jupiter and for references in classical literature see J. Leclant and G. Clerc, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (= LIMC), vol. 1, pt. 1 (1981): 666-69 and C. Bailey, *Religion in Vergil* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969 [First printed 1935]) 138-39.

20. At *Aen.* 4.198-200 Vergil writes *Hic Hammone satus, rapta Garamantide Nympha, templa Iovi centum latis immania regnis, centum aras posuit* ["Fathered by Hammon, after the Garamantian Nymph was abducted, he built a hundred temples, a hundred altars to Jupiter in his wide realms"]. Cf. the commentary *ad locum* by A. S. Pease, *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967) 225.

21. See *Papers* I:143. Here, in the accounts of Francis Brinley, Executor of James Lloyd, an entry dated November 1699 refers to money paid to Henry (age fourteen) on the occasion of his Commencement.

22. See Bowen 12.

23. Although we do not know which edition of "Ogilby's Virgil" (see n. 28) Henry Lloyd owned and some editions were without commentary, all future references to this work are from the 1654 edition, a translation with commentary: J. Ogilby, *The Works of Publius Vergilius Maro* (London: Warren, 1654).

24. See R. Gentilcore, "Ann Eliza Bleeker's Wildernes Pastoral: Reading Vergil in Colonial



*Eclogues* were used as models for American pastoral poetry;<sup>25</sup> his *Aeneid*, chronicling Aeneas' first efforts that would ultimately lead to the foundation of Rome as a new political identity, surely offered similar incentives to colonists in nascent America<sup>26</sup> (although similarities between Aeneas' plight and that of early colonists do not appear to occur as often as one might expect in colonial literature<sup>27</sup>).

Henry Lloyd may have inherited his edition of "Ogilby's Virgil" from his father, a contemporary of the Scottish author John Ogilby. Poet, translator, printer, and renowned cartographer and cosmographer to King Charles II, John Ogilby (1600-1676) translated the works of Vergil into rhyming couplets. This book was published first in 1649 and thoroughly revised and reprinted in 1654, 1666, and 1675.<sup>28</sup> Although the date of Henry's copy, now lost, is uncertain, one of the earlier editions may have been acquired in England by James Lloyd and brought with him on his journey to America in 1670. Featuring the epic poem about Aeneas, a seafaring hero who transplanted the old traditions of Troy to a new homeland in Italy, "Ogilby's Virgil" would have had particular relevance for James Lloyd.

That Henry Lloyd was familiar with the *Aeneid* is a reasonable assumption even if his list of books had not survived; that he had the opportunity to read the *Aeneid* in English in John Ogilby's annotated edition is particularly significant. Naturally interested in exotic people and places, Ogilby was also the author of many atlases, including one on Africa. Displaying his knowledge in his commentary on the *Aeneid* and naming Sallust as his source, Ogilby paraphrases *Bellum Jugurthinum* 18.1-2 when he describes the African nations surrounding Carthage:

Afrik was first . . . inhabited by the Getulians, and rough, uncivilized Libyans, whose Meat was Beasts Flesh, and Grafs, as Cattle. They were rul'd neither by Civility, Law, nor King. Wandring and straggling, where the Night took them, they lay.<sup>29</sup>

Of Iarbas' lineage Ogilby reports:

Iarbas was Son of the Nymph Garamantis, by Jupiter Hammon taken away from her Father Garamas (Son of Apollo) and ravish'd.<sup>30</sup>

---

America," *IJCT* 1.4 (Spring 1995): 88 and n. 3; see also M. Reinhold, *Classica Americana* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984) 221-24.

25. Gentilcore 86-98.

26. See E. Emerson, "The Cultural Context of the American Revolution," in E. Emerson, ed., *American Literature 1764-1789: The Revolutionary Years* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1977) 10-11.

27. Gentilcore 95.

28. For references to each edition see K. Van Eerde, *John Ogilby and the Taste of His Times* (Folkestone, Kent, England: Wm Dawson and Sons, 1976) *passim*, but especially 171; for further information about translations of Vergil in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see C. Burrow, "Virgil in English Translation," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. C. Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 26-31, for specific references to Ogilby 26-28.

29. Ogilby 263.

30. Ogilby 269.

Henry Lloyd's inspiration for naming his slave came directly from Ogilby's commentary in his "Virgil."

What precedent was there for giving slaves classical names? Understandably, little information is available on the onomastic practices of slave owners in the northern states, since slavery had been abolished there by 1827, with New York the last northern state to abandon the practice. Studies of slave names in the eighteenth-century South, however, may offer some insights. One investigation calculates the percentage of classical names given to Carolina slaves at birth from the earliest records until 1865.<sup>31</sup> Statistics reveal that the earlier the time period, the higher the percentage of classical names. During the period prior to 1750, 21% of Carolina slaves bore classical names that ranged from gods and goddesses to emperors, heroes and heroines, generals, authors, and politicians. Bacchus, Jupiter, Minerva, Augustus, Titus, Nero, Hercules, Hector, Dido, Cleopatra, Hannibal, Scipio, Sappho, Virgil, Cicero, and Cato were common names among slaves in the eighteenth century, but appear less frequently in the nineteenth. It has been argued that this decrease in the occurrence of classical names was the result of conscious rejection on the part of slaves themselves who believed that such names had been bestowed to further demean them.<sup>32</sup> Although occasionally names were changed later in a slave's life to mock aspects of his or her habits or personality,<sup>33</sup> the use of classical names also reflected the erudition of the owner and an enthusiasm for things classical; they will have frequently been conferred with little regard for the bearer of the name.

Although the name Hammon does not appear in the record of the slave's birth, and in the papers of the Lloyd family he is referred to only as Jupiter, all his works are published under the name Jupiter Hammon. Moreover, in one of his poems he refers to himself playfully as Hammon, suggesting that he was known by this name:

Believe me now my Christian friends,  
Believe your friend call'd Hammon:  
You cannot to your God attend,  
And serve the God of Mammon.<sup>34</sup>

Was Hammon a later appendage to the name Jupiter, a sort of nickname? Did Henry Lloyd choose the sobriquet, or did Jupiter himself, given access to Henry's library, read Ogilby and add his own second name?<sup>35</sup> We know that Jupiter purchased a Bible

31. J. Inscoe, "Carolina Slave Names: An Index to Acculturation," *Journal of Southern History* 49 (1983): 541-43. (A children's book about a heroic and peripatetic slave named Eneas Africanus, though an early twentieth-century work of fiction, may be seen as a noteworthy reflection of the influence of the classics in general and Vergil in particular on the naming of slaves. Cf. H. Edwards, *Aeneas Africanus* [Macon, GA: J. W. Burke Co., 1920; repr. NY: Grosset & Dunlap, 1940].)

32. H. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York: Random, 1976) 186.

33. Inscoe cites occasional examples of slaves criticized for mental ineptitude named Plato or Socrates and a sexually active slave woman named Venus. These examples obviously refer to slaves re-named upon acquisition rather than at birth.

34. From "The Kind Master and Dutiful Servant" (O'Neale 209). The last two lines of the stanza refer to Matthew 6:24 and Luke 16:13.

35. For references to slaves naming themselves and their descendants, see Inscoe *passim*, but especially 538-41.

from Henry Lloyd when he was twenty-one. If we can believe his published words, Jupiter was so imbued with religious fervor that he chose to read little else. In his "Address to the Negroes" he urges his fellow slaves to become literate for the sole purpose of reading the Bible:

. . . I will beg of you to spare no pains in trying to learn to read. If you are once engaged, you may learn. Let all the time you can get be spent in trying to learn to read. Get those who can read to teach you; but remember that what you learn for is to read the Bible. If there were no Bible, it would be no matter whether you could read or not. Reading other books would do you no good.<sup>36</sup>

Though his advice is clear, it seems unlikely that Jupiter, avid proponent of reading as he was, had always eschewed all other works of literature, especially if he had the library of his master at his disposal. And yet, the corpus of his extant work contains no discernable allusion to Vergil. Jupiter's first work, it must be remembered, was not published until he was forty-nine, and by that time it appears that his fervor for things biblical dominated his writing.

Jupiter Hammon apparently never married and no record of offspring exists, nor has his grave-site been preserved. Nevertheless this talented and accomplished slave appears to have been considered a valued member of the extended Lloyd family, as his unusually privileged position, obvious educational advantages, and remarkably significant name suggest. Although the word 'family' surely means 'household' in this context, it is perhaps indicative of his affection that on May 2, 1766, James Lloyd II, Henry's youngest son, closed a letter to his brother Joseph Lloyd II, then master of Jupiter, age 55, with the words, "Pray remember Mrs. Lloyd & Me as due to all the Famely both white & Black."<sup>37</sup>

I conclude that the name Hammon is a classically-inspired epithet. Its presence shifts the allusion from the Roman king of the gods to a powerful African equivalent whose double name was coined in classical antiquity. The most prominent reference to Jupiter Hammon in classical literature occurs in Vergil's *Aeneid*, a work that Henry Lloyd, and possibly Jupiter Hammon, had access to through Ogilby's translation, if not in the original Latin. Vergil's *Aeneid*, in all likelihood, is the source of Jupiter Hammon's majestic name. Although we cannot determine at what point in Jupiter's life the name Hammon was added, the bestowal of this name may be one of the earliest respectful acknowledgments of the ethnic origin of a black American slave.

---

36. O'Neale 237.

37. *Papers* II: 697.



Copyright of International Journal of the Classical Tradition is the property of Springer Science & Business Media B.V. and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.