

PEGASUS

Featuring The Jackson Knight Lecture by
James Zetzel

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PEGASUS

The Journal of the Exeter University Classics Society

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EDITORIAL

Happy Birthday *Pegasus*! This edition marks the 30th birthday of the Exeter University Classics magazine – quite an achievement, and almost unique for a student rag.

In previous years our fine magazine has attempted to square the circle in trying to appeal to both a student audience and a more adult academic one. This year we have attempted to steer *Pegasus* in a more serious direction in the hope that we may reach both our readerships through the quality of our material, and by a livelier style and presentation. In this latter aspect we are grateful to our typesetters and printers, BPCC Techset Ltd, of Exeter. Subscribers to the magazine will, no doubt, notice improvements in the lay-out and presentation, owing to the considerable leaps in printing technology which have enabled us to improve the magazine without increasing the price.

Pegasus, although a student publication, would never reach your hands without the help and support of Peter Wiseman and David Harvey and, as all editors in the past have been, we are extremely grateful for all their efforts on our behalf.

Life seems to be improving at the moment: *Pegasus* is ready, our essays are completed, summer is coming and we have just bought a washing machine for £10. Despite the failure of the England football team to reach the World Cup, under the guidance of the new manager, the squad seems to be flourishing once again. The rest of the country reflects our present situation: Michael Atherton's century against the Windies was superb, as was Rory Underwood's try against Wales, we sincerely hope that our other sportsmen will emulate such successes (even Frank Bruno is still knocking them out!). On the political front we wish John Major all the best with regard to his plans for peace both in Bosnia and Northern Ireland, and pray that he is successful.

Whilst on this tack we would both like to say how much we enjoy university life – our commitment to *Pegasus* is a manifestation of our enjoyment at being at Exeter and in the Classics Department. Most of our readers will be able to share in our enthusiasm for the subject, and thus we hope you will appreciate this year's edition: we have an interesting selection of material for your consumption, the Jackson Knight lecture by James Zetzel, being our prize article.

We wish those of you attending the Classical Association Conference at Exeter a stimulating and fun few days, and we would like to thank you and every one who buys this edition for supporting *Pegasus*.

Pete and Ed



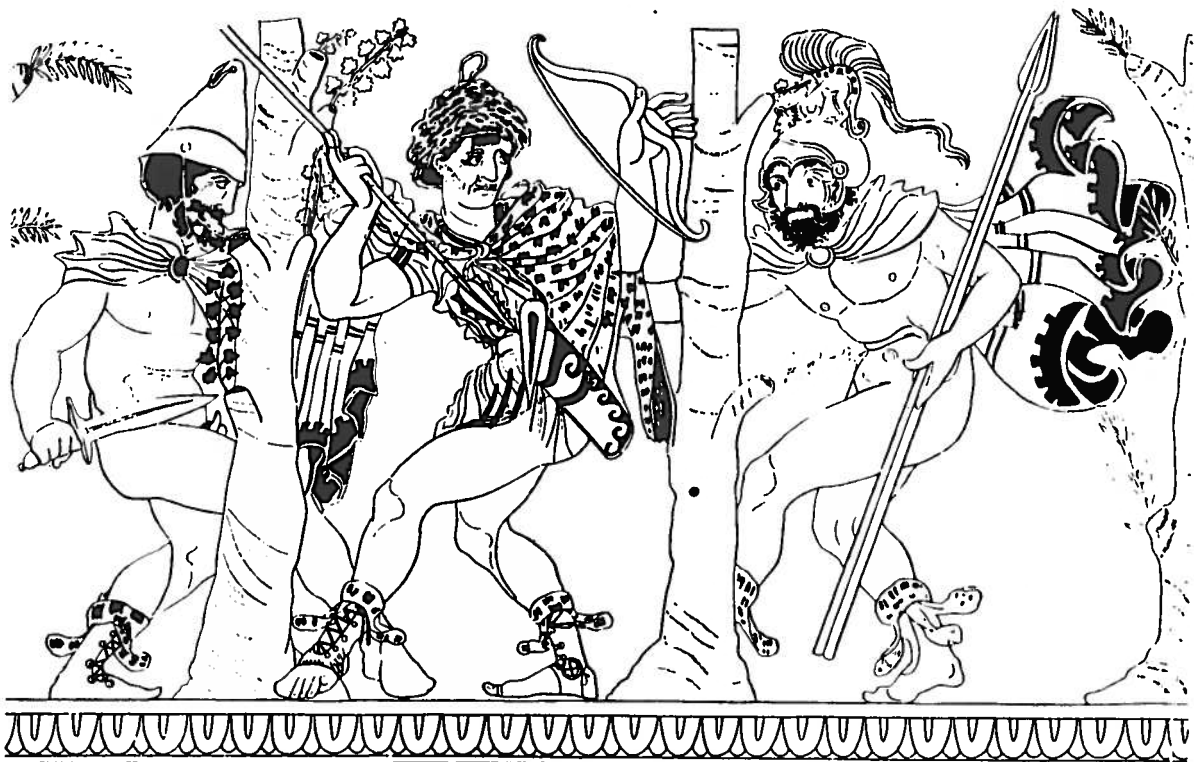
ROMAN SATIRE IN THE CICERONIAN AGE

By Amanda Rigali

Although only fragments of this genre have survived from antiquity, it is still an area of great interest, because of the nature and subject-matter of what survives, and the character of the author. M. Terentius Varro was a prominent figure in his time, and a prolific writer, and for him to choose such a genre as Menippean satire to convey some of his ideas in shows its importance. So, first by examining the character of the author, and then of his work, I hope to shed some light on the place of this literature in Ciceronian society.

Varro was a wealthy and influential man, and came from a good family. He was not, therefore, a professional artist, he had no patron that he was dependent on. This means that what he wrote he wrote mainly for personal reasons, and not through the instigation of an outsider. However, he was not a Catullus; he did not write to prove his

own literary worth to his circle; indeed, one of the greatest differences between them seems to be that, while Catullus was concerned with form and style, Varro was more interested in the content of his work. This is because of their opposing life styles; Catullus was part of an insular aristocratic clique whose literary aims were a mark of their education and status; Varro was involved in the wider political world, in which literature had the more fundamental use of communicating the ideas of the author in a digestible way to a large body of people from all levels of society. Varro himself must have been aware of the power of such works as Caesar's *Gallic Wars* and Cicero's *Pro Lege Manilia* had on the populace; it is no surprise then that he chose to attack the First Triumvirate with the prose pamphlet *Trikaranos* (The Three Headed Monster); the Greek title suggests it was in itself an early Menippean satire,



perhaps, as the *Apocolosyntosis* was to do, showing the power of laughter and ridicule as weapons for political opposition. He still supported Pompey, however, during the redistribution of land in 59 BC, and in the Civil Wars in 49 BC he commanded two legions. When Ceasar came into power he had the good sense not to kill Varro, but to put him in charge of the library instead, and Varro continued with his literary activities until his death in 27 BC.

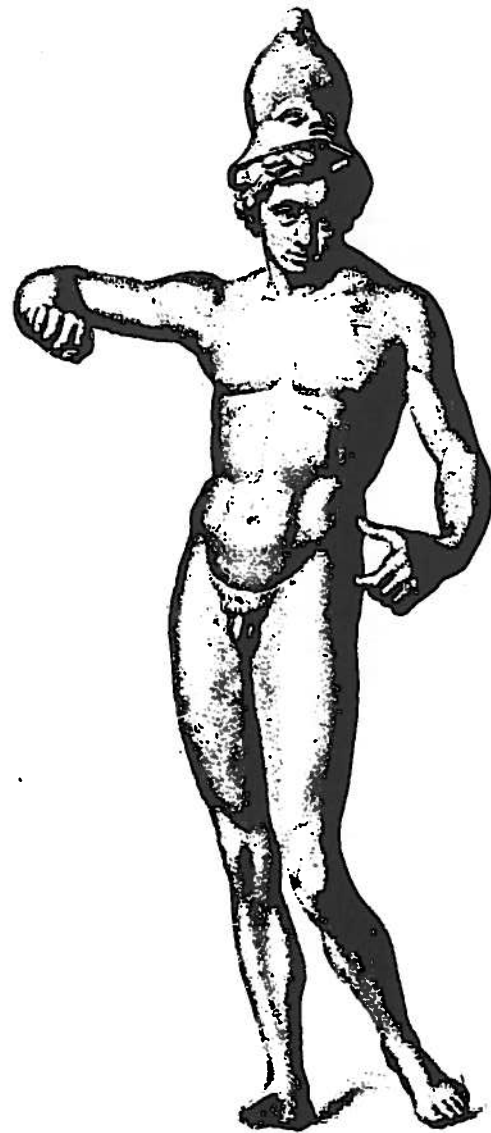
Varro was a man who lived a life of conflicts. Although a great patriot and passionately addicted to the Roman morals and customs, he knew that therein did not lie the answer to life. Like Cornelius Nepos, he scorned the xenophobic Romans who: "think nothing right unless it squares with their own morality", and from his time in Athens gained the knowledge of the works of Menippus, an obscure writer even for an educated Roman audience. We know that Menippus "combined Cynicism with profitable usury but in the end committed suicide"; he was therefore the role-model for an author trying to find a happy mean between a spiritual and materialistic existence; the fact that it eventually led to his own death must have struck Varro as a comment on the impossibility, and yet the inevitable necessity, of such a task. The fact also that Menippus laughed at life, with all its tragedy, is in itself a symbol of the ineffectuality of any philosophy to stop the fundamentally flawed human being from making mistakes; instead of bewailing our imperfect state, he glorified it as the common bonding of all humanity. We know that Varro's own views on religion – on the one hand aware, of the necessity of a state religion, on the other, intellectually critical of its nature – made him come to the conclusion that: "in a state, religion was useful, even when untrue"; the basis of government in any society is deception, and if any writer exposes that deception he is liable to cause chaos. However, a writer that supports the government is being false to his own nature, and must be held himself responsible in some way for the continuation of the deception; Varro, like Cicero, lived with this conflict, and while Cicero in the end could stand it no more and composed the *Second Philippic Against Marcus Antonius*, Varro to the end clung to the hope of reconciliation between the old and new order.

That his work should reflect the conflicts inherent in his life is no great surprise; it is

surprising, however, that such a great personage should be interested in directing his literature at such a wide group of people. In the *Academica*, Varro says of his work that:

In order that men of no great education might understand them more easily they were induced to read by a certain attractiveness of presentation.

Literature directed at the less educated populace during this period was usually either political (Caesar), or in itself educational (Nepos); entertainment for the populace was mainly through theatrical performance. It seems, however, that Varro was carrying on from his political interest in literature as communication and making it applicable to wider philosophical ideas. In saying this, though, one would still expect to find



Never scratch your hip without your helmet on

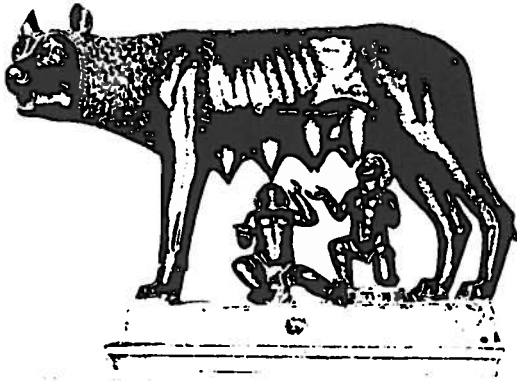
more of a didactic emphasis in the satires, which, although they do cover the subject of *How To Live*, do so in a very self-deprecating way; Varro never shuns from revealing his own doubts and inadequacies on this question. So, for example, in the *Sesculixes*, where the speaker boasts of his return to civil life, it is possible that Varro had recounted his own adventures in Spain, where he had been defeated by Caesar – he now has to live life under a dictator he did not support. In the *Sexagesis* he represents himself as a man who slept through fifty years, awakening in 70 BC to a totally changed Rome. Here the obvious theme is escapism and the shunning of responsibility; the narrator was asleep, so nothing that happened was his fault, he can be the morally outraged onlooker; Varro's situation was of course very different, and therein lies the conflict. In the *Gerontodidaskalos*, the teacher of the old criticizes contemporary life: "Do my eyes deceive me, or do I see slaves against their masters?" This seems to be a reference to the revolt of Spartacus; but again the narrator is in a morally superior – and yet passive and ineffectual – role, because only the "old" listen to him. There seems to be a hint in both these satires that the persona taken on by the narrator was as much the object of satire as the subject he speaks of.

Varro's *Eumenides* is the longest extant satire we have of his. In it, he seems to be following the symposiastic form of Plato, something that other writers were doing at the same time; Cicero mentions the author of *Poets' and Philosophers' Dinner-table Discussions* in which opposing artists argue for their theories although this would not seem to have been aimed at such a general audience as Varro's work was. The range in metre and style could mean that the work was meant for recitation; it would be an appropriate means for the audience to digest some of the weighty philosophy while still enjoying the general humour and diversity of the satire, which starts at a philosopher's dining club, and then moves to successive bizarre locations; Varro's "*hic modus scaenatilis*" does suggest some sort of "live" audience awareness on his side. The self-deprecation of the author is found in fr. 117:

Since it was my turn to be host that day, I had "Beware of the dog" written on the door.



First, we notice the equality of the satire; presumably other "hosts" have appeared or been inferred, the narrator is just one of many, as is his philosophy. He alerts the audience to his particular philosophic stance by introducing it as something that will make them think: "Oh no, not another Cynic"; in fact, he presupposes that few will be on his side and gets in first with the joke in order to keep both the internal and external audience on his side. This comic treatment of philosophy marks the way for the treatment of other religions in the fragments, such as the priests of Cybele (fr. 142), and shows that he considers himself to be as much part of the general deception by religion as anyone he meets. He then satirises philosophers who charge huge fees, comparing them perhaps to prostitutes – the more they please, the more they get: "**he gets 20 sesterces a time**" (fr. 119). The conversation then moves onto the general theme which dominates the satire, that of madness and sanity; how can man find sanity in a world that is un-ordered and immoral? The three vices are used as examples of madness; materialism destroys man's power for reason, and makes him inhuman. However, while moralizing in high tones, the guests themselves are not strangers to these vices; the narrator has obviously been enjoying himself: "**As for me, full of wine and love as I was**" (fr. 123), and a slave, Strobilus, seems to be very concerned about their activities: "**Why don't you give up wrinkling your brow at me, Strobilus?**" (fr. 124). The courtesan Flora is also present (fr. 125), and this all suggests that while the guests have been criticizing everyone else, they themselves are presenting to the audience the epitome of everything they are supposed to be against. The question raised by this is, of course, that of the sanity of the narrator; he is just as fallible as the audience to the vices of the world. At one point he imagines that the Furies are surrounding him



(fr. 129), only to discover that they are “**slaves and servant girls**”; they question his mental state (though they themselves seem to have been acting in quite a manic way), and he decides to go in quest of purification. The narrator then reveals and laughs at his own gullibility in falling for different philosophical and religious sects; in fr. 131 the physical meal at the start of the work which satisfied their hunger is contrasted with the spiritual meal he is searching for to satisfy his soul:

And the rest of us scholars, our ears stuffed with academic diet and drunk with sophisticated verbiage, got up with hungry eyes.

The imagery suggests that the “food” is bad for them; they are “stuffed” by a “diet”, but are still “hungry”; the use of the title “scholars” is almost ironic, because they are participating in such a ridiculous act, but it also suggests their vulnerability to such ideas in their pursuit of knowledge – the extract is in fact reminiscent of the Academy scenes in *Gulliver’s Travels*, where Swift relates the actual practices of the Academy because he felt they were stupid enough as they were without satirising them.

The narrator then joins the cult of Cybele; he refuses to become a Gallus, though, and has to take refuge at the altar (fr. 143), in a parody of Orestes’ action in Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*. He moves from religions to philosophy, and tries Stoicism and Pythagoreanism before realising that it just is not helping him:

In the end, no sick man could dream anything so awful that some philosopher wouldn’t say it. (fr. 155)

Philosophy is as bizarre and terrifying as nightmares; it is also as hard to believe. He is then taken in hand by a Cynic philosopher, whom we suppose teaches him the “right” way to live; however, as the audience is still not sure whether or

not this man is sane, this solution does not have to be accepted as final; all it means is that this particular man has found the form of deception which best suits him. They then retreat to the top of a watch-tower, away from the public, where:

We saw the populace driven by three Furies in all directions, out of its mind with terror. (fr. 160)

This suggests that the narrator feels that he is no more under the power of these women; he has conquered his passions and is no more susceptible to the vices that they have come to punish. He is considered mad, however, precisely because he has managed to rise above them:

The people in the Forum decided that Good Reputation should enter my name in the list of the insane. (fr. 163)

In this state, he feels that he has found **Truth** (fr. 164).

Interpretation of the *Eumenides* is dependent on how you understand the nature of the action: is the narrator experiencing this progression for the first time, or is this his narrative of what happened to him in the past, the reason why he is a cynic? Considering that he begins by drawing our attention to his philosophy, I think the latter is the most plausible option; this implies that Varro is presenting us with a character who, while purporting to have found the true way to live is in fact still not averse to the odd prostitute and glass of wine. The point could then be implied that, while Cynicism may offer man the answers, man himself is incapable, through his humanity/fallibility, of finding them or keeping hold of them. So, while the narrator’s search was not in vain on a personal level, he is no Everyman.

While the satire of this period has not survived, what remains is an idea of the appeal of the genre to its audience and its use in highlighting contemporary issues in a digestible form, which probably explains its use by Seneca and Petronius in later years. Varro himself stands as proof of the diversity of literature available for an author to draw from, and as a mark of the range of tastes there was among the Roman readership, and for the satires, possibly an audience also. It is unfortunate that such a potentially rich source of information has been lost to us, and of the Fate that allowed so many of Cicero’s letters to survive, and so much of Varro’s work escape.

THE DEATH OF ZEUS IN CRETE

By Norman Postlethwaite

Excavations in 1979 at the site of Anemospilia in central Crete by Y. Sakellarakis and E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis revealed a structure which the excavators suggested was a temple, the only temple thus far discovered from the Minoan Bronze Age in Crete; buried within this structure were the remains of what they argued was a human sacrifice. A preliminary report of the discoveries was published, in Modern Greek, in *Praktika* (1979), 331-392, and, more popularly and with a number of illustrations, in *National Geographic* 159.2 (1981), 204-222. In this paper I shall examine one piece of the evidence within the broader context of Minoan religious belief and practice, in the hope that it may provide a fresh insight into the significance of the discoveries.

The site of Anemospilia lies on the northern slopes of Mt. Juktas (847m.), some 3 km. from the village of Arkhanes, and some 19 km. south of Herakleion. The structure has been dated to the period Middle Minoan II/IIIA, and appears to have been destroyed by earthquake and fire about 1700 BC. Since the first (Old) Minoan palaces were themselves destroyed by earthquake at about this same date, and were then almost completely rebuilt as the New Palaces whose remains are visible today at Knossos, Phaistos, Mallia, and Zakros, an economical explanation would be that one and the same earthquake accounted for the collapse of all the structures and that this earthquake was a very severe one. In the structure at Anemospilia four persons lost their lives in the earthquake and the conflagration



which ensued, and the site was thereafter abandoned.

The structure lies on an east-west axis and faces north towards the Palace of Minos at Knossos, which is generally considered to have been the most important of the Minoan palaces and possibly also the capital of the island in the Bronze Age. As excavated, the structure comprises three rooms without connecting doors; each room has a door opening on its north side into a connecting corridor, which has been termed a *prothamos* by the excavators; at the eastern end of this corridor there is a door which opens to the outside; facing the three rooms on the north side of the corridor were found a further three doors, which seem likely to have been the entrances to three matching rooms opposite. It also appears likely that there was an upper storey, and it has been suggested recently that some of the debris which will be discussed in some detail below may have fallen from this upper storey at the time of the collapse of the building. Surrounding the site were discovered the remains of what the excavators took to be a *temenos* wall and this, in addition to the contents of the corridor and the three rooms, persuaded the excavators that the structure was to be identified as a temple.

In the corridor were found the fragments of a large number of pots – estimated at least 155 – some containing the remains of fruits, grains, and peas; there were also considerable quantities of animal bones. A badly crushed and burned skeleton was found near the door to the central chamber and associated with it were the fragments of a Kamares ware vase; this was of a similar bucket shape to those illustrated on the famous sarcophagus from Hagia Triadha depicting, amongst other scenes, an animal sacrifice. Since those vases are shown as the receptacles of the blood of the sacrificial animals, and since the vase in the corridor is itself decorated with a bull motif, it was suggested by the excavators that bull sacrifice must have been part of the rituals enacted in the building, and that its preparation took place in the corridor. They further suggested that, when struck and crushed by falling masonry, the dead person had been in the act of removing this prized vase from the temple.

The back wall of the east chamber housed a raised stone bench, in association with which were found large quantities of pottery; here too remains of fruits and grains were discovered. It

was suggested that the most likely function of this east chamber was that of storage room for the temple, containing the materials required for bloodless offerings.

There was a raised area also by the back wall of the central chamber. On this there rested two life-sized feet made of clay, stylized but nevertheless life-like in appearance, but lozenge-shaped at the ankles; associated with these two feet was a deposit of carbon. A similarly shaped pair of clay feet, though only half life-sized, was found at the palace of Mallia. It has been suggested from the shape of the ankles that the feet were designed to support an attachment, and the associated carbon deposit suggests that this would have been a wooden statue, or *xoanon*: if the structure is indeed to be identified as a temple, it is reasonable to suppose that this statue would have been that of its presiding deity. A mound of natural rock had been exposed and preserved close to the feet, and the excavators suggested that this had been symbolic of the earth: they therefore concluded that the cult statue would itself have been that of the Earth Mother, and that the temple was sacred to her.

In the west chamber three skeletons were discovered. The first, in the SW corner of the chamber, was that of a female, aged approximately 28, and 154 cm tall. She was lying face down with her hands raised towards her head, as though in an instinctive reaction to break her fall. The skeleton was badly crushed and the bones had been blackened by the ensuing fire. Along the west wall of the chamber was found a second skeleton, that of a male, aged approximately 38 and, at 178 cm, very tall by Minoan standards. He was lying on his back with his hands raised to his chest, again as though in an instinctive reaction to fend off the falling masonry. This skeleton too was badly crushed and blackened. On the little finger of his left hand he was wearing a ring of silver and of iron, this latter a very valuable commodity in the Bronze Age, which seems to indicate that he was a figure of some considerable importance. On his left wrist he was wearing an agate sealstone: pictured on this seal was a figure, probably that of a man, punting a boat whose prow was fashioned in the shape of the head of a bird looking back in the direction of the man. Near the corridor door in the northern part of this west chamber a third skeleton was found, resting upon a slightly elevated area; this area measured

76 x 63 cm. and was formed from stones bound together by a clay cement. The skeleton was that of a male, aged approximately 18, and 165 cm. tall. He was lying on his right side, with his hands at his chest, but with his left leg bent back so that the heel was almost in contact with the back of the thigh: so unnatural was this position that the excavators suggested that he may have been trussed. When the skeleton was raised it was discovered that the bones on the right, the lower, side were blackened by the fire, whereas those on the left, the upper, side were white. The excavators were advised that this might be explained by the presence of blood in the lower side only at the time of cremation, and they concluded that the young man had died, prior to the conflagration, as a result of blood loss, probably following the severing of the carotid artery. Lying across the chest of this badly crushed skeleton was a bronze blade, described by the excavators as a knife, but from the presence of two attachment slots more convincingly identified as a spear blade. This blade was 40 cm. in length and weighed 633 grams, and it had incised decoration in the shape of an animal's head: "it had the snout and tusks of a boar, ears like butterfly wings, and the slanted eyes of a fox. Apparently the artist had symbolized, in this composite rendition, animals in general" (Sakellerakis & Sapouna-Sakelleraki 1981.218).

The discoveries were interpreted by the excavators as an example of human sacrifice: the young man showed no signs of ill health at the time of his death, a necessary requirement of the victim of sacrifice, and his position, apparently trussed, on an area of ground which they interpreted as an altar, in direct association with the blade, left them little grounds for doubt. The presence nearby of the second skeleton, that of the male 'priest', likewise left no doubt in their minds as to who had perpetrated the act, with the female found in the SW corner of the chamber as his 'priestess' assistant. The distinctive sealstone worn by the 'priest', with its representation of the man punting a boat, might be interpreted as a portrait of the final journey of the dead, transported by a Charon-like figure. The presence of animal bones elsewhere in the building, in addition to the remains of grains and fruits, marked the temple as a place of both blood and bloodless sacrifice. That the participants should, exceptionally, on this occasion have sacrificed a

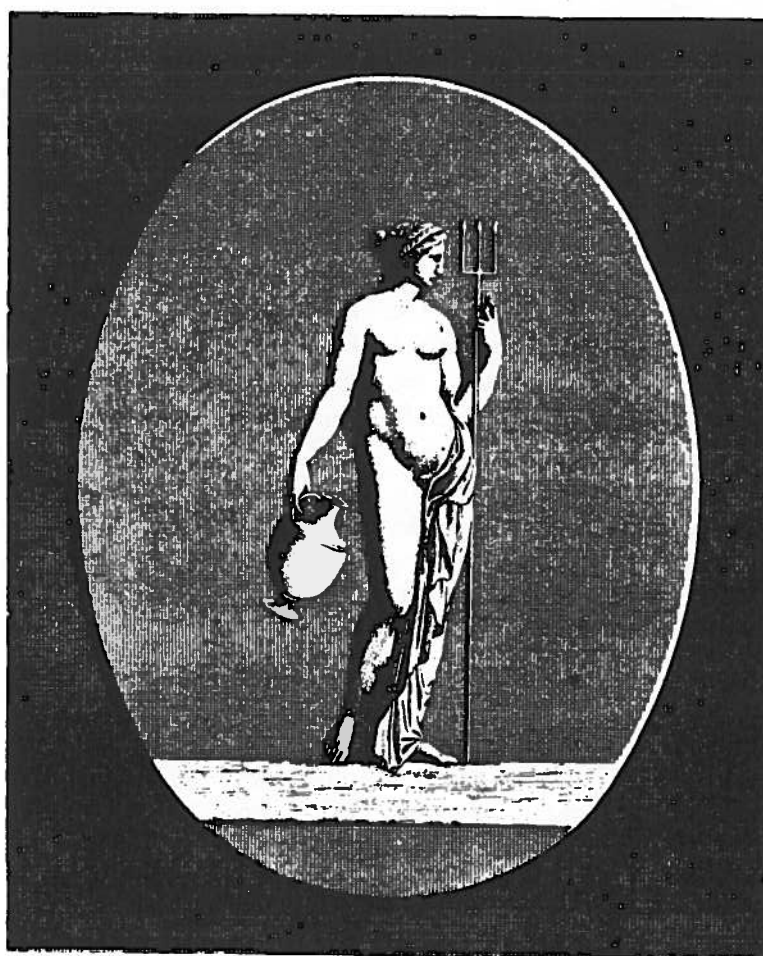
human rather than an animal was to be explained by the nature of the destruction: the young man was in effect a scape-goat, a *pharmakos*, whose death was intended to ward off the very earthquake which brought about the destruction of the building and sealed in its unique contents until their chance discovery.

This interpretation of the finds at Anemospilia has been challenged recently by D.D. Hughes *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece* (London, 1991). Hughes has called into question both the overall conclusion drawn by the excavators and also a number of the details. Whilst acknowledging the building's connections with cult, he disputes the suggestion that bull sacrifice could have taken place actually within such a small and congested area, either in the corridor itself or in any of the three adjoining chambers: the presence of (probably well in excess of) 155 vases in the corridor alone makes it most unlikely that such an unwieldy operation could have taken place there. He therefore argues that any bull sacrifice must have been performed in the open air. Hughes also challenges the designation of the low structure on which the skeleton of the young man was resting as an altar: he points out that Minoan artistic representation of animal sacrifice, particularly that featured on the Hagia Triadha sarcophagus, shows the sacrifice of large animals taking place on a table-like structure with legs, with the animal firmly strapped down on it. More controversially however Hughes suggests that the presence of the blade across the young man's torso may be merely the result of accident: he claims that the blade, which he denies emphatically is a knife, could as easily have fallen from an upper storey, or could simply have been a spear resting against one of the walls which was dislodged by the earthquake and came to rest on the body of the young man who had himself been stricken by the catastrophe. I defer consideration of this latter point for the moment, other than to remark that in the only photograph of the circumstances of the find published by the excavators the blade does have much more the appearance of having been carefully placed across the young man's torso than having randomly fallen into that position. Hughes then questions the description of the position of the young man's body: he points out that no indication is given by the excavators of the position of the man's other leg, presumably because it was crushed by falling masonry, and he

ventures the suggestion that the position of the body is to be explained by his having tripped during the general confusion of the earthquake, coming to rest in the very awkward pose in which he was discovered on the elevated area. Finally he denies the suggestion that the different degrees of discolouration of the young man's bones are to be connected with the quantity of blood present in the different parts of the body, and he suggests that they may rather be explained by, for example, different degrees of fire intensity, or by the relative protection from the fire afforded to the lower part of the body by its proximity to the ground.

To these objections of Hughes' it would seem reasonable to add at least two more. Firstly it is surely apparent, even to persons who may not have direct experience of earthquake, that the one place to be avoided during one is the shelter of a building, to the truth of which the fate of these four individuals is ample testimony: it is hard to

understand how people with such every-day experience of earthquake as the inhabitants of Crete should have so miscalculated as to actually move indoors in an attempt to ward off the earthquake by their rituals, assuming that they had been granted some warning of its imminence. A second objection is to be found in the location of these events: the structure appears to be well removed from the nearest habitation and it would presumably have taken some considerable time to transport the unfortunate young man, even if he were a willing party, to the northern slopes of Mt. Juktas. It seems *prima facie* an unlikely suggestion that so much warning was given of the impending earthquake that there was time to get everything, in particular the victim, in place for the sacrifice; even more unlikely would be the suggestion that everything, including the victim, was already in place on the mountainside against the moment when catastrophe might strike. I would wish therefore to suggest that either, as



Hughes argues, there was no sacrifice taking place, and that the unfortunate victims of the earthquake were simply people going about their daily business within the structure, whatever that might have been; or else the excavators are correct in their identification of the events, but mistaken in the motives which they attribute to them. In the remainder of this paper I wish to argue for this second suggestion, by placing the events in the broader context of Minoan religion.

It was of course entirely reasonable that the excavators of Anemospilia, having once identified the structure, and particularly its central chamber, as a place of veneration and sacrifice, should have identified the object of that veneration as the Earth Mother. Her appearance as the central presence in the religion of the island of Crete is attested from the earliest times, and she is to be observed particularly in the form of figurines and in graphic representations of cult scenes on finger-rings and sealstones. A discussion of all but a couple of such representations is beyond the scope of this paper, as also is the question whether they represent one or more deities. The essential feature of them is a palpable emphasis upon fertility, in particular upon the bare, and usually very full, breasts of the central female figure; in addition this female figure is sometimes found in association with a young male who adopts an attitude of reverence and allegiance. One might instance the 'Mother of the Mountains' seal from Knossos, on which the female figure with pronounced bare breasts and wearing the characteristic flounced skirt stands atop a mountain, or perhaps a cairn; she holds out her left arm straight in front of her, holding a staff or spear; on each side of the mountain a lion rests its forepaws, and behind her is a shrine of two storeys each topped by horns of consecration; in front of her stands a male figure, in the pose typical of Minoan males, leaning backwards slightly from the waist, with his bent arm raised to his forehead in a salute to her. As a second example one might consider the famous electrum ring from Mycenae named, after its subject matter, *sacra conversazione*: once again the female figure, who sits on a stool, has bare and pronounced breasts, though she appears in other respects also to be very generously proportioned; behind this seated figure there is a tree, and in front of her a male figure, probably naked, and again leaning back slightly from the waist; in one hand he

carries a spear or staff, whilst he extends his other hand, open, to the female figure. The female's right arm is bent, and the forefinger and thumb are brought together, as if stressing a point in conversation or giving instruction to the attendant male; her left arm is also bent and a bag is suspended from the wrist. As an alternative interpretation of this scene it might be suggested that the female figure, the life-generating Earth Mother, is here distributing to the young man from the bag over her wrist the seed of the new season, rather as Demeter did to Triptolemos.

The association of the Earth Mother figure with this apparently subordinate male figure in some of the artistic representations from Minoan Crete has long been interpreted as an indication of her relationship with a young male consort in the form of an annual sacred marriage, or *hieros gamos*, the purpose of which was to promote the fertility of the earth for the new year's season. Such a relationship is to be observed elsewhere, for example in the case of Cybele and Attis, Ishtar and Tammuz, Aphrodite and Adonis. Homer himself tells of the coupling of Demeter with Iasion in a thrice-ploughed field in Crete (*Odyssey* 5. 125-127), and it is entirely possible that in the same relationship of Earth Mother and consort lies the origin of the sojourn of Odysseus with both Calypso and Circe. Such stories came to represent the death and regeneration of nature, which were enacted through the death and resurrection of the consort: the impregnation of the Earth Mother during the *hieros gamos* would be followed by the consort's death, to be replaced by the male child of this marriage.

If the *hieros gamos* and the death and resurrection of the consort were indeed substantial elements of the religion of Minoan Crete, it is surprising how little direct trace they have left in the archaeological record, although it may be that a gold ring from Arkhanes, below Mt. Juktas and just a short distance from Anemospilia, portrays ecstatic lamentation accompanying the consort's death. The central figure on this ring appears to be the Earth Mother, wearing the flounced skirt found on other such representations, but bare from the waist up. To her left a male figure is grasping a tree which grows within an enclosure surmounted by pillars, probably a shrine; the vigour of the actions of this male, who appears to be attempting to uproot the tree, is shown by the representation of the rapid movement of his legs.

To the right of the female figure another male kneels to clasp an object which matches his own body size, possibly a large stone, but more likely a large pithos jar such as the Minoans used for storage and, on occasion, burial. It is often suggested that this figure strikes a pose of lamentation in thus grasping the pithos, and it is tempting to view this scene as the representation of the death of the season's vegetation, symbolised on the one side of the ring by the tree and on the other by the death of the goddess' consort, either in the form of burial in the pithos, or else the storage in it of the year's seed for regeneration in the new year.

It seems very likely that the rituals of the *hieros gamos* and the dying consort of the Earth Mother provide the origin of the strange tradition of the birth and death of Zeus on Crete. That the great sky god of the Indo-Europeans should by tradition have had his birth on the island of the non-Indo-European Minoans, whose religion was given over to the worship of an earth goddess, is itself a curiosity; however the tradition that he also died and was buried in Crete appeared sufficiently outrageous to other Greeks to cause them to view the inhabitants of that island as liars:

"O Zeus, some say that you were born on Ida's ranges, others say in Arcadia; which ones, o father, lie?"

"Cretans were always liars"; "And they say, o lord, that they built your tomb; but you are not dead, you live forever."

(Callimachus *Hymn to Zeus* 8f.)

The association of the birth of Zeus with Crete was made by Hesiod at *Theogony* 477f., who told that Zeus' grandparents Gaia and Ouranos sent their daughter Rhea, when she was ready to give birth to him, to Lyktos in Crete, substituting for him a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes which his father Kronos swallowed. In consequence a number of places became associated with the birth of Zeus, none more so than the Diktaian cave, to which he was taken immediately afterwards, and the Idaean cave.

In Crete however the tomb of Zeus was also displayed to visiting travellers. Various authors mention the tomb, although they do not all give the same location for it: Ennius (quoted by Lactantius *Institutiones Divinae* 1.11) says that it was at Knossos itself, Varro (quoted by Solinus 11.7) places it on Mt. Ida as does Porphyrius *Vita*

Pythagorae 17, whilst Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 8.114f. says it was on Mt. Dikte, in each case the place of burial being seen to reflect the places associated with Zeus' birth. However the most persistent tradition placed the tomb on Mt. Juktas, where it was said to have carried a marker complete with the inscription "Here lies mighty Zan whom men call Zeus". Travellers through the Middle Ages told of a cave which bore an inscription, and Robin Pashley (*Travels in Crete* i, Cambridge 1837, 211f.) describes his visit to the summit of the mountain where, in the peak shrine later excavated by Sir Arthur Evans, he saw the remains of a moderate-sized cave. Evans himself recalled that at the turn of this century the inhabitants of the area referred to these remains as the *Mnema tou Zia*, the Tomb of Zeus. The remains are located on the northern summit of Mt. Juktas: that is, directly above the structure excavated at Anemospilia.

In his account of the association of Zeus' death and burial with Mt. Juktas (*Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, Cambridge, 1914.157), A.B. Cook quotes Rendel Harris, himself quoting from the *Gannat Busame*: "The Cretans used to say of Zeus, that he was a prince and was ripped up by a wild boar, and he was buried: and lo! his grave is with us". This of course brings to mind one of the alternative accounts of the Cybele/Attis tale: of the two accounts, the Phrygian version, which is adapted to such effect in Catullus' Poem 63, tells that the young man in a moment of ecstatic frenzy castrated himself with a sharp stone and bled to death; in the other, the Lydian version, the young man is slain by a boar. Similarly in the tale of Aphrodite and Adonis, or more accurately, of Ishtar and Tammuz, the young male consort is killed by a boar. An interesting rationalisation of the tale is to be found at Herodotus 1.34f., where the divine punishment of Croesus for his shabby treatment of the wise Solon takes the form of the death of his son Atys, whose name is a corruption of that of the young consort. Having had a dream that his son would be killed by a spear, Croesus forbade him to take part in any war and even ordered that all javelins and spears be removed from the walls of the palace, lest his son be killed accidentally by one of them falling upon him: one may be struck by certain similarities to Hughes' explanation of the presence of the blade across the young man's torso at Anemospilia. However when a wild boar began to terrorise the neighbourhood,



Croesus was finally persuaded to allow Atys to take part in the hunt, alongside an exile, named Adrastus, whom he had received as a suppliant in his palace and whom he had cleansed of blood-guilt. When the wild boar had been encircled on the slopes of Olympos, Adrastus hurled his spear but missed, and struck and killed Atys instead.

That the manner of Zeus' death should so resemble that of the young consort of the Earth Mother elsewhere strongly suggests that the death and burial of Zeus in Crete had its origin in the same ritual of death and regeneration of the seasons. It seems likely that the association of this tale with Mt. Juktas arose because of the appearance of that mountain, for when viewed from the NW its outline is that of the face of a man reclining in sleep or in death. It is a

reasonable supposition therefore that behind the (much later) tale of Zeus' death and burial beneath the mountain there lies a Minoan religious ritual, in which the Earth Mother and her young male consort performed a sacred marriage, after which the consort died to represent the death of the season. This ritual, designed to ensure the returning fertility of the earth, in time was adulterated by the inclusion in it of the Indo-European Zeus. The most likely time for this to have occurred is after the arrival of the Mycenaeans in the island, following the general destruction of the Minoan sites, and their occupation of Knossos in the 15th century BC. As a result, the name of their principal divinity became attached to the Earth Mother's consort and hence arose the tradition of the dying Zeus.

If the above reconstruction even approximates to the truth, then it appears to be more than mere chance that the first indisputable example of human sacrifice (*pace* Hughes) should be that of a healthy 18 year old youth, and that the sacrifice should have been performed on the northern slopes of the very mountain beneath which, it was claimed, lay buried the later derivative of the Earth Mother's consort. That the events at Anemospilia c. 1700 BC were an attempt to ward off an earthquake was always an unlikely proposition, if only for the reasons given earlier. An equally serious objection however to the excavators' interpretation of those events is their inability to explain adequately the ornate blade which, according to their reconstruction, was employed to put the young man to death. It will be recalled that they considered the incised decoration to be a composite rendition, symbolic of animals in general. In fact however it is, quite unmistakably, a representation of just one animal – a boar, the same creature which accounted for Attis, Tammuz and, in Crete, Zeus. So the human sacrifice on the slopes of Mt. Juktas had nothing to do with the earthquake; the earthquake merely preserved, by a quite extraordinary piece of good fortune, that which, with hindsight, might perfectly reasonably have been assumed to have occurred – the ritual enactment of the death of the Earth Mother's consort, killed by the boar in the form of a spear, just like Attis/Atys.

A FRAGMENT FROM THE HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

Sometimes scholars are not entirely suitable for their chosen subject. More than a century ago, in 1876, a detailed commentary on Catullus (the author of many love poems and several obscene ones) was produced by Robinson Ellis. The famous papyrologist Edgar Lobel, who died a few years ago in his 90's, once told me of a meeting he had had as a young man with the elderly Robinson Ellis. "Robinson Ellis

once said to me" (and here Edgar made his voice quaver even more than it normally did) "Mr. Lobel, I must tell you that never in my life have I smoked a cigar or seen a woman quite close".

Richard Seaford

Richard Seaford was born in 1949. Edgar Lobel was born in 1888 (and died in 1982). Robinson Ellis was born in 1834 (and died in 1913).



'PENTEKONTAETIA'

The Virgil Society too is celebrating an anniversary: it was fifty years old in January 1993. To mark the occasion its unofficial archivist, Mr D.W. Blandford of Trinity School, Croydon, gave a talk on the Society's origins and history, which is now published – along with much supporting documentary material – as *Pentekontaetia: the Virgil Society 1943-1993* (145 pages). It is a fascinating account, entertaining and appropriately quirky,

and it is available at £8.50 including postage (cheques payable to The Virgil Society) from Professor M.M. Willcock, 1 Lancaster Avenue, West Norwood, London SE27 9EL. An editorial note firmly announces that 'no account has been taken of events subsequent to 12 January 1993; they belong to the next fifty years.' Exeter readers will be pleased to know that the first event of the rest of the Society's life was a lecture on 23 January 1993 given by our own Matthew Leigh.



THE J. K. LECTURES

Pegasus' thirtieth birthday is also the thirtieth anniversary of the death of W.F. Jackson Knight, spiritualist and Virgilian scholar, who taught at Exeter from 1935 to 1961. His Penguin translation of the *Aeneid* has sold about half a million copies, and is still in print after 38 years. He was a wonderfully inspiring teacher, and when he died in 1964, the Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture Fund was raised as much by the students in the Department as by his friends and colleagues.

The Fund was set up 'with the object of perpetuating the memory of the work and ideas of Jackson Knight, and for the purpose of establishing lectures on topics connected with Latin and Greek literature, its influence on modern literature, classical anthropology, and ancient thought in all its aspects'; the lectures were to be

given 'by lecturers who have achieved distinction in academic or literary work or in public life, known for their interest in classical learning, who shall be appointed by the Senate of the University of Exeter on the recommendation of the Head of the Department of Classics, after consultation if practicable with the President of the Classical Society of the University.'

At first there was a lecture every year (even two in one year!), but inflation overtook the Fund, and now the J.K. Lecture is a biennial event. As the founders of the Fund intended, the lecturers have included not only classical scholars but also poets (one of them later Poet Laureate), literary critics, a novelist and even a sculptor. (Michael Ayrton's 'End Maze III' can be seen on the wall next to room MR1 in Queen's Building.) Here is the full list:

| | | | |
|-----|---------------|---|------------------|
| 1. | 8 March 1968: | Letters in the New Age | Basil Blackwell |
| 2. | 7 March 1969: | On Translating Poetry | Cecil Day-Lewis |
| 3. | 20 March 1970 | The Georgics: a Transitional Poem | Colin Hardie |
| 4. | 5 March 1971: | Thoughts on Poetic Time | Francis Berry |
| 5. | 18 Feb. 1972 | The Augustan Poets and the Permissive Society | Gavin Townend |
| 6. | 27 Oct. 1972: | Dido v. Aeneas: the Case for the Defence | John Sparrow |
| 7. | 18 May 1973: | A Meaning to the Maze | Michael Ayrton |
| 8. | 27 Feb. 1975: | 'Ginger Hot i' the Mouth': the Realistic Impact of Jacobean Tragedy | S. Gorley Putt |
| 9. | 27 Feb. 1976: | Virgil and Shakespeare | G. Wilson Knight |
| 10. | 13 June 1977: | The Hole in the Wall: a New Look at Shakespeare's Latin Base for 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' | F.W. Clayton |
| 11. | 9 March 1978: | Elysium Revisited | J.J. Lawlor |
| 12. | 2 March 1979: | Antigones | George Steiner |
| 13. | 2 May 1980: | 'But the Queen ...': Conceptual Fields in Virgil's Aeneid | Kenneth Quinn |
| 14. | 29 Oct. 1981: | Virgil and the Sibyl | John Pollard |
| 15. | 6 May 1983: | Agamemnon's Grave in Exeter: Sophoclean Reflections on an Attic Vase in the University Collection | Brian Shefton |
| 16. | 8 Nov. 1984: | The Poet and the Translator | C.H. Sisson |
| 17. | 24 Oct. 1986: | The Bough and the Gate | David West |
| 18. | 27 Apr. 1989: | Dionysus and the Hippy Convoy | John Gould |
| 19. | 25 Apr. 1991: | Imperial Rome and the Historical Novel | Allan Massie |
| 20. | 6 May 1993 | Looking Backward: Past and Present in the Late Roman Republic | James Zetzel |

Nos. 1-14 and 16-17 were published as booklets, but in 1987 the University of Exeter Press decided that that was not financially viable. However, the Department has copies available of nos. 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 16, at £2 each including postage. No. 17 is still in print with U.E.P.; please apply to them, directly or through your bookshop. And for no. 20, just turn the page!

For more information about Jackson Knight, see G. Wilson Knight, *Jackson Knight: a Biography* (Alden Press, 1975), and the title essay in T.P. Wiseman, *Talking to Virgil: a Miscellany* (University of Exeter Press, 1992), pp. 171-209. There is an essay by Jackson Knight, 'Roman Ideas of Death', in H.W. Stubbs (ed.), *Pegasus*:

Classical Essays from the University of Exeter (1981), pp. 38-51; this too is available from the Department at £2 including postage (cheques payable to 'Pegasus', please).

The twentieth J.K. Lecturer is Professor James Zetzel of Columbia University in the City of New York, whose forthcoming commentary on Cicero's *De Republica* is eagerly awaited. Published in 51 B.C., with a dramatic date three generations earlier in 129, Cicero's dialogue includes in Book II a historical analysis of Rome's government from the foundation down to the second century B.C. It is a fundamental document for Cicero as a statesman, a political theorist, and a historical writer. Now read on...



LOOKING BACKWARD

Past and Present in the Late Roman Republic

James E.G. Zetzel
Columbia University

I am very grateful to the Classics Department of the University of Exeter for inviting me to give the twentieth Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture, to honour the memory of an valuable scholar and inspiring teacher. My topic is not one on which Knight himself wrote; but in writing about the relationship between present actions and the interpretation of the past in the authors of the last decade of the Roman Republic—particularly in Cicero's dialogue *De republica*—I kept finding myself drawn back (or rather, forward) to the *Aeneid*, Knight's favorite text, particularly to books 6 and 8.

In anticipation of coming here, I reread *Roman Vergil*; and one of the most appealing things about it to me is Knight's broad and generous sense of the range of Vergil's reading and sympathies. Not just, as one finds so often, Vergil's relationship to one poetic or historical tradition or another, but his (both Vergil's and Knight's) knowledge of the entire compass of the ancient world; the linking of the poetic traditions of Catullus and Lucretius with the philosophy of Plato and of Cicero; Knight's appreciation of the *Aeneid* as a political poem in the best sense, ultimately concerned with the interpretation of Rome's history and destiny; the unapologetic recognition of Vergil as a profoundly moral poet. I will begin by quoting briefly from the opening pages of *Roman Vergil* a passage that is relevant to my own argument:

The Romans themselves in some moods believed the greatness and loveliness of their destiny. But they had to tell themselves, or be told. In the middle of things it is hard to see the broad lines which point to the future, and to the permanent, perhaps even the eternal. Strangely, what we see happening flatly contradicts the truth. It is a familiar paradox. There never were any good old days ... It can be persuasively argued that the record of the march of Rome by heroic virtues to greatness needs no other explanation than the emotional

mind of Livy, with which he uniformly sentimentalized the past, anachronistically deducing its nature from Stoic creeds. The Romans were hard, cynical materialists. Bloodshed was what you saw and the news that you heard. Shameless exploitation was accepted as normal. We could say the same of our times. But just occasionally, even to contemporaries, a window is opened on to the soul of an age. There are hard things, and there are soft things, which last and in the future have their command. These are the things which it takes a poet to see and say. (pp. 1-2).

Knight's understanding of Vergil's sense of his age is right, but what concerns me more here is the sense of the past—in Vergil as in the authors whom I will talk about today—the feeling that “there never were any good old days.” Vergil is not Livy, and does not sentimentalize; but the problem of how to read the past, of how to understand its connections to present problems, is something that pervades the entire poem. Let me take as an instance of this a passage from Book 8 of the *Aeneid* which raises issues related to my topic today. When Aeneas visits the site of Rome, the old king Evander gives him a brief history of the region and a tour of the neighbourhood. Once, he says, indigenous savages lived here, who had no *mos* or *cultus*. Then Saturn came, organized them into society and gave them laws. That was the golden age: *aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere / saecula*; but after Saturn's peaceful rule came degeneration, a *decolor aetas* with war and greed. As Aeneas and Evander walk through Rome, they go past the Capitoline, ‘*aurea nunc, olim siluestribus horrida dumis*’ (8.348)—golden now, at one time bristling with thickets—; they then see the ruins of the cities of Saturn and Janus, ‘*haec duo praeterea disiectis oppida muris, reliquias ueterumque uides monumenta uirorum*.’—two towns with ruined walls, the remains and reminders of men of old.

This evocative passage is important for many reasons, but there is one that I want to emphasize today: that it contains no fewer than three versions of the history of human society. The first is so-called 'hard primitivism'—that mankind began as savages, and gradually—in this case by divine intervention—progressed toward civilization. The second is 'soft primitivism'—the Hesiodic myth of the ages of man, declining from the golden age of Saturn to the *decolor aetas* of his successors. And the third, and most elaborate, is the theory of cycles: the thickets now (in Evander's time) exist on the site of past cities, and will in turn be replaced by the glories of the present (Augustan) age; both Saturn's time and Augustus' are characterized as *aurea*, golden, separated by ages of war, greed, and ruins. But can the cycle be stopped? *nunc*, *olim* in the line describing the Capitol can mean either 'now golden, formerly covered with thickets' or 'now golden, at some future time to be covered by thickets': *olim* is either past or future. Vergil asks, but never answers, whether the destructive cycle of time can be brought to an end, whether Rome's history has a direction or a goal.

I will begin not with Saturn, but with the beginning of Roman history, the reign of Romulus, the founder and first king. His reputation was always checkered, and changed dramatically over time: on the one hand, he is king, warrior, founder, divinely born and deified himself; on the other hand, he is a fratricide whose crime becomes in the triumviral period the precedent for civil war; the organizer of the mass



rape of the Sabines (a precedent pleasing to Ovid alone), a tyrant murdered (like Julius Caesar) by his own senate, which then deified him to avoid the suspicion of murder. Founders, of course, are always in a precarious position, and are reshaped to fit the conscience of the times: the American Founding Fathers are now as frequently execrated as conservative slaveholders as they are praised as statesmen of vision and virtue.

My argument today will largely concern Cicero's portrait of Romulus, but I will start with another text, Catullus' short poem (49) to Cicero:

Disertissime Romuli nepotum
quot sunt quotque fuere, Marce Tulli,
quotque post aliis erunt in annis,
gratias tibi maximas Catullus
agit pessimus omnium poeta
tanto pessimus omnium poeta
quanto tu optimus omnium patronus.

'Most eloquent of the descendants of Romulus, present, past or future, Cicero, Catullus the worst of poets thanks you greatly, as much the worst of poets as you are the best of advocates.'

The occasion for this poem has been much debated, as has its tone—whether it is genuinely complimentary or ironic. My own sense is that it is deliberately ambiguous, and is in fact a parody of Cicero's own style. But the question that interests me here is what it means, for Catullus, to be a descendant of Romulus (or Remus—Catullus seems to use the two interchangeably in various poems). Certainly, in other poems the evocation of Romulus is meant to create a sense of decline: in poem 58 Lesbia is performing unmentionable acts on the descendants of great-souled Remus (acts which their ancestors, one assumes, would not have permitted); in poem 28 the nobles of the present day are a disgrace to Romulus and Remus.

A similar sense of decline is evident in Catullus' use of the language of political relationships in the epigrams to characterize his relationship to Lesbia (and here I follow David Ross's interpretation). In those poems, erotic attachment is weighed against the social values of traditional Roman society — of *fides* and *amicitia*, of *beneficium* and *officium*—and found wanting: the *aeternum sanctae foedus amicitiae* which Catullus desires founders on the decayed morality of contemporary life. The values have been lost, and with them the true meaning of the words.

That, however, is to suggest that the words ever did have the meaning that they are supposed to have had; but an examination of Catullus' longer poems, particularly poems 64 and 68, suggests otherwise. In these more mythological poems, Troy and Achilles replace Rome and Romulus, and Catullus' criticism is less oblique. The Trojan War is not the embodiment of the heroic code, but is caused by adultery, and ends in the death of men and of virtues: *Troia uirum et uirtutum omnium acerba cinis*. Poem 64 on the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis begins with an apostrophe to the great age of heroes, and ends with a lament on the decline between then and now, the loss of contact between gods and men, the end of justice and *pietas*. But within this frame which exalts the past and laments the decline from heroic past to sordid present comes the tapestry of the wedding bed, portraying *heroum virtutes* which in fact include Theseus' deceit and betrayal of Ariadne; and the wedding feast itself is celebrated by the song of the Parcae in which the *virtutes* of Achilles include bloody slaughter and human sacrifice. Catullus may lament decline, but his own narrative reveals that the heroes were no better than we are; the good old days are not real, but the product of wishful thinking. And what about the descendants of Romulus? Read in the light of the longer poems, they are all too true to their ancestors: the corruption of the present is merely the heredity of the corruption of the past: "There never were any good old days." When the past was present, it was just the same as the present is now.

Is there any remedy to all this? Given the historical pessimism of the poems and the sense of decline that is not really even decline, none is likely; and the fact that Catullus' poetry is largely concerned with the private rather than the public, with letters rather than with life, is itself corroboration of that. Poetry itself, a concern with truth to language rather than public life, is the neoteric response; their claim is to restore in private relationships the values that the public world has corrupted.

The rejection of public life and public values in Catullus is a literary stance rather than biographical truth: Catullus' friend and fellow-poet Calvus seems to have adopted the same set of values in his poetry, but he took part in public life none the less. But such a position was not limited to neoterics: it was a philosophical attitude as well

as an aesthetic one, and it is above all exemplified in the powerful attacks on politics of the Epicurean poet Lucretius. It was a maxim of Epicurus that the wise man will take part in public life only if it is necessary; he should live in secret (*lathe biosas*) and cultivate the simple, ascetic pleasures of his own garden. In the preface to book 2, Lucretius contrasts the lofty and calm citadel of philosophy with the pointless struggles of public life: "certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate, noctes atque dies niti praestante labore ad summas emergere opes rerumque potiri"—"pitting their wits against one another, disputing for precedence, struggling night and day with unstinted effort to scale the pinnacles of wealth and power." Part of this passage is repeated in the proem of book 3, in which political activity—among other pointless activities—is described as a pathological state resulting from the fear of death; and in his allegorization of the mythological figures of the underworld later in the book, Sisyphus, forever rolling his rock up the hill, is the model of the politician, the man who is always gaping after office and is always defeated; *imperium* itself is described as *inane*, an empty thing, an image which has no substance behind it. In a few circumstances, it is necessary to pay attention to public life: Lucretius in the proem says that he could not trouble Memmius with his poem *patriai tempore iniquo*; but in general, public service is a psychological aberration (Don Fowler's phrase) in an atomistic world in which individual happiness, not civic good, is the goal.

The same hostility to public life is apparent in the historical account of the growth of civilization in book 5. Lucretius believes neither in progress nor decline; he advocates no form of government, and views all social organization and law as simply a compact neither to harm nor to be harmed. At one point, Lucretius offers his version of the Hesiodic ages of man, ironically disguised as a history of metallurgy: first, he says, gold and silver were used to make tools and weapons; then they were replaced by bronze. "Bronze was more valuable; and gold was neglected because it was useless; now bronze is neglected, and gold has reached the highest honor." And bronze in its turn was replaced by iron. In primitive times, men died horribly through their encounters with wild animals; now, even more die at once through war and shipwreck. Nor is there necessarily any improvement or decline in government: after the

beginnings of family life led men to seek compacts of social organization, the more vigorous and intelligent among them began, as kings, to found cities and distribute property; the origin of property in turn led to the ascendancy of wealth over strength and beauty, and hence to ambition, struggle and competition. Eventually monarchy was replaced by mob rule (Lucretius' version of the foundation of the Republic), but again the desire for mutual protection led to the creation of magistrates and the establishment of laws. Lucretius' account is strictly utilitarian and naturalistic: for him, as for Epicurus, the origin of law and society is neither from the gods nor innate in mankind. Law and government, even human society itself, are not desirable in themselves, merely a necessary means to safety and order. The one significant advancement in the history of mankind is the philosophy of Epicurus, which has permitted men to overcome their fears, to avoid unnecessary desires and passions. And at that future happy time when all men see the light and become Epicureans, there will simply be no society, according to one of the new fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda: "For all things will be full of justice and mutual love, and there will come to be no need of fortification or laws and all the things which we contrive on account of one another." The state will wither away, and so presumably will history; farming and philosophy will be the activities of all.

The attitude of Lucretius, and of Epicureans in general, is distinctly unRoman: no respect for ancestors, no desire to serve the state or achieve military or political glory. Even Catullus acknowledges, while finding it unattainable, the abstract validity of Roman manners, the desire to emulate and to preserve the greatness of Rome; the resignation of the neoteric is itself a political statement, while the retirement of the Epicurean is an anti-political one. The response to Catullus (to the extent that it is one) does not come for a generation, until Vergil; but the reply to Lucretius was, I think, immediate, and it is Cicero's *de republica*, an eloquent statement of the importance of civic life, and an argument in favor of political participation.

For many reasons, Cicero would not find it necessary or appropriate to respond to Catullus. The type of poetry written by the neoterics did not appeal to him: it was not serious in the way Cicero expected poetry to be; it was scornful of the

traditions of earlier Roman poetry, particularly Ennius, whom Cicero admired greatly; and, indeed, so far as one can tell (particularly from the *Pro Caelio*), Cicero had little use for the people who wrote it. But Lucretius and the *De rerum natura* were another matter: it was written in a style and tradition that Cicero honored—the manner of Ennius and the tradition of didactic poetry; Cicero read it (at least parts of it) and he admired it for its combination of *ingenium* and *ars*; and the letter to his brother which refers to it was written only three months before he began work on *De republica*. Then, as a decade later, Cicero was disturbed by the fashion for Epicureanism: aside from the disreputability of a philosophy that named *voluptas* as the highest good and which was represented among the nobility by Caesar's father-in-law Piso, whom Cicero detested, the Epicurean withdrawal from public life was, from Cicero's point of view, simply dangerous.

I confess at once that I can not prove that *De republica* was meant as a reply to *De rerum natura*; several scholars have suggested it, but there is no clear evidence, and if that was Cicero's intention, it was by no means his only one. But there are some suggestive features of *De republica*: in the first place, a large part of the preface is directed specifically against the Epicureans, those who advocate *otium* and *voluptas*; similarly, the conclusion of *De republica*, the Dream of Scipio, offers a theory of the immortality of the soul and the divine order of the universe that is diametrically opposed to Epicurean beliefs, both ethical and physical. Nor, finally, do I think it pure chance that the shape that Cicero finally gave *De republica* (after several revisions) matches closely that of *De rerum natura*: six books, divided into pairs by topic, but moving in opposite directions: Lucretius moves from small to large, from atomic physics, to human perception and psychology, to the visible world, its history and phenomena; Cicero starts from the structure of government, and then moves to social institutions, and finally to the individual human. In a sense, the relationship between the two works is paradoxical: Lucretius, who ought as an Epicurean (if he really is one) to concentrate on the quiet and personal values of tranquility and friendship, leaves the reader oppressed by the coldness and indeed hatefulness of the world; Cicero, who believes in the subordination of



individual happiness to civic success, emphasizes the personal rewards of civic participation and the possibility of being able to affect the world in which we live. And in this, I think, I have to modify the quotation from Jackson Knight with which I began: it is not “poets” in the narrow sense alone who can comprehend and express the complexity and values of an age; Cicero too is a poet, and *De republica* is a prose poem of public life replying in both form and argument to Lucretius’ epic; in that respect, it is both a model for Vergil and itself worthy to stand next to the *Aeneid* in “opening a window on to the soul of the age.”

De republica is a poetic and philosophical fiction, a dialogue with historical characters concerned both with Rome’s past and with its future. It takes place early in the year 129, in the midst of the crisis over the effects of the Gracchan agrarian law of three years earlier. The speakers are major figures in that crisis, notably the protagonist Scipio Aemilianus, who proposed legislation to strip the agrarian commission of its judicial powers. Eight others also take part: Laelius and Furius Philus, Scipio’s closest associates; two older men and three younger ones. The work is unfortunately fragmentary, and so a certain amount of what I have to say is conjectural. Most of the first two books survive, in a palimpsest discovered by Angelo Mai in 1819; we have substantial fragments of the third book, containing a debate on the possibility of justice in government; but almost nothing of the last three

books exists, except for the Dream of Scipio which concluded the whole work.

De republica is often, and wrongly, thought of as a treatise on constitutional theory; and although it contains such a theory, that is only part of the work. Cicero described it to his brother as a work *de optimo statu rei publicae et de optimo ciue*—on the best organization of the commonwealth and on the best citizen, and the emphasis was clearly on the second element. Jackson Knight in *Roman Vergil* translated the title as “Political Theory”, and that is close; I would tentatively prefer “Public Affairs.” The preface, although we have lost the first half of it, makes Cicero’s goal clear: he wishes to encourage the young to participate in public life (as he did also in the *Pro Sestio* of 56) by arguing that (following Aristotle) virtue is active, not contemplative—*virtus in usu sui tota posita est*—and therefore that the life of leisure (Epicureanism) is disgraceful; and that political activity is the highest form of virtue. And, indeed, by the conclusion of the work, political service is rewarded by eternal blessedness and personal immortality.

His argument has two essential elements: on the one hand a historical argument about the nature of Roman government, showing that the Roman ancestral constitution represents the ideal, and that its success has been based on individual participation; and on the other hand a metaphysical argument that there is such a thing as true justice, natural law, that is embedded in each person’s soul and in the universe itself, and that the success and survival of states depends on the transmission of those eternal values from individuals to states. Like Lucretius, Cicero concerns himself with the relationship of the individual to society; but his answer is diametrically opposite. Rejecting firmly utilitarian arguments about the origins of justice and the state, Cicero is the first person to extend arguments about personal morality to the conduct of states. His is the first coherent theory of civic republicanism—and it is ironic that the text was virtually unknown until shortly after the period its greatest influence in the eighteenth century was over. But here I am getting ahead of myself.

As with Catullus, I will begin with the reign of Romulus. The first book of *De republica* contains an exposition of the theory of constitutions: the instability of the three good and the three debased simple forms (monarchy/tyranny, aristocracy/oligarchy, democracy/ochlocracy) and

the permutations among them, contrasted with the stability of the mixed constitution which contains the best elements of all three. At the end of the book, Scipio asserts that no known state is as good in its organization or customs as the one created and handed down by earlier generations of Romans; and he promises to demonstrate this. He does so in the second book, most of which contains his account—the earliest extant continuous history of early Rome — of the development of Roman government from the beginnings to the restoration of government after the fall of the decemvirate in 449.

Cicero's account of Romulus is, to say the least, unusual. He pays little if any attention to some of the more familiar elements in the legend that were so amplified by Livy: the story of the twins and the wolf, the murder of Remus (who is barely mentioned). That is in part because Cicero is interested not in the story, but in the development of institutions; but even given that emphasis, the account is curious. Scipio begins with a long excursus on the site of Rome, discussing the moral and strategic disadvantages of a coastal location and the corresponding advantages of Rome's actual site, emphasizing Romulus' *prudentia* in making such an excellent choice. The first king sounds like the designer of a utopian settlement, well versed in military and commercial strategy and familiar too with the requirements of public health. The same skills in long-term planning are evident in the rest of Romulus' actions: the rape of the Sabines is a crude (*subagreste*) exercise in international diplomacy; his cooperation with Titus Tatius in establishing a proto-senate and his prudent use of *clientela* in organizing the plebs exemplify his policy of ensuring domestic tranquility and social order. This Romulus, in fact, seems to have studied Greek political philosophy, and put it to practical employment. Following his death, Cicero reports his divinization, emphasizing by a chronological comparison of Greece and Rome that this was highly unusual, since it took place at an era of such high civilization (a very strange idea); he is also—something that happens frequently in Cicero's narrative—compared with Lycurgus.

At the end of this account, Scipio's interlocutor Laelius praises him for the novelty of his approach to Roman history, one that is found "nowhere in the books of the Greeks":

Nam princeps ille, quo nemo in scribendo praestantior fuit, aream sibi sumpsit, in qua ciuitatem extrueret arbitrato suo, praeclaram ille quidem fortasse, sed a uita hominum abhorrentem et a moribus; reliqui disseruerunt sine ullo certo exemplari formaque rei publicae de generibus et de rationibus ciuitatum; tu mihi uideris utrumque facturum: es enim ita ingressus ut quae ipse reperias, tribuere aliis malis, quam, ut facit apud Platonem Socrates, ipse fingere, et illa de urbis situ reuoces ad rationem quae a Romulo casu aut necessitate facta sunt, et disputes non uaganti oratione sed defixa in una re publica. (*Rep.* 2.21-22)

Plato (*princeps ille*), the greatest of all writers, took a new territory to build his state as he wished, one that was glorious in its own way, but alien to human life and habits; other philosophers offered general discussions of the types and structures of states with no particular example in mind; while Scipio has set about doing both: "you have begun in such a way as to wish to ascribe to others what you have yourself discovered, rather than following the Platonic Socrates in making it up yourself; and in talking about the placement of the city you attribute to reasons what Romulus did by chance or necessity, and at the same time your discussion does not wander, but sticks to one state..." (2.22) What Scipio has done, according to Laelius, is something quite new. It exemplifies the virtues and avoids the weaknesses of the two principal Greek approaches to political theory, of Plato on the one hand and of the Peripatetics (*reliqui*) on the other. Plato's virtue had been concentration on the creation and government of a single state; his failing had been that that state was imaginary. The Peripatetics talked about real states, but had not paid close attention to the development of any one state. Scipio deals with a single state, and it is a real one.

It is worth dwelling on this passage, which has a significance far broader than its immediate context. The other authors whom I have been discussing are not directly concerned with the interpretation of the past and its relevance to the present; Cicero is; above all, with the application of political theory to historical events. Laelius' particular point concerns Scipio's approach to Roman history—that he interprets the particular actions of Romulus within the framework of political theory—but it applies to the content of

Roman history as well: just as Scipio's method is superior to Greek abstract theorizing, so too Roman institutions are superior to those of Greece, a point made clear a paragraph later, when the Roman system of elective monarchy is contrasted favorably with the hereditary kingship of Lycurgan Sparta. Similarly, at the end of the account of Numa's reign, Cicero goes out of his way to rebut the story that Numa had been a pupil of Pythagoras. It is only with the arrival of the Greek Tarquin in Rome that Cicero allows significant Greek influence on Roman institutions. And the contrast, on a number of levels, between Rome and Greece is central to Cicero's method, both here and in the very similar earlier dialogue *De oratore*: both in constructing the dialogues and in applying political theory to government, Cicero preferred the empirical to the abstract, observation to speculation, the active life to the contemplative life, Romulus to Lycurgus, Scipio to Plato.

In works explicitly modelled on Platonic dialogues (*De republica*, clearly, on the Republic; *De oratore* on the Phaedrus), this last is particularly important. In each work, the protagonists Scipio and Crassus go out of their way to deny their own theoretical expertise, and announce that they will discourse on their subjects not like some Greek schoolmaster without experience, but as Roman statesmen with practical knowledge. You should listen to me, says Scipio, as one Roman citizen, *unum e togatis*, well educated by my father and intellectually curious, but trained more *usu...et domesticis praeceptis* than by book-learning:

Quam ob rem peto a uobis ut me sic audiat: neque ut omnino expertem Graecarum rerum, neque ut eas nostris in hoc praesertim genere antepontem, sed ut unum e togatis patris diligentia non inliberaliter institutum, studioque discendi a pueritia incensum, usu tamen et domesticis praeceptis multo magis eruditum quam litteris. (*Rep.* 1.36)

So also Crassus at *De oratore* 1.111: he speaks not as some *magister atque artifex*, but as *unus e togatorum numero*. The pragmatic Antonius, in *De oratore*, denies the relevance of Plato to Roman politics:

...philosophorum autem libros reseruet sibi ad huiusce modi Tusculani requiem atque otium,

ne, si quando ei dicendum erit de iustitia et fide, mutuetur a Platone, qui cum haec exprimenda uerbis arbitraretur, nouam quandam finxit in libris ciuitatem; usque eo illa, quae dicenda de iustitia putabat, a uitae consuetudine et a ciuitatum moribus abhorrebant. (*De orat.* 1.224)

The orator should leave philosophy for his *otium* at Tusculum, and should not borrow from Plato when he needs to speak of justice and *fides*: when Plato thought that he had to talk about such subjects, he invented a new state—so alien were the ideas he wished to express about justice to normal life and the habits of states. And he goes on to describe the trial of the Stoic statesman Rutilius Rufus:

Nunc talis uir amissus est, dum causa ita dicitur, ut si in illa commenticia Platonis ciuitate res ageretur: nemo ingemuit, nemo inclamauit patronorum, nihil cuiquam doluit, nemo est questus, nemo rem publicam implorauit, nemo supplicauit. quid multa? pedem nemo in illo iudicio supposit, credo, ne Stoicis renuntiaretur. imitatus est homo Romanus et consularis ueterem illum Socraten, qui, cum omnium sapientissimus esset sanctissimeque uixisset, ita in iudicio capitis pro se ipse dixit, ut non supplex aut reus, sed magister aut dominus uideretur esse iudicium. (*De orat.* 1.230-31)

The case was presented as if the trial were taking place in Plato's fictitious state: there was not a groan or a shout from the advocates, no pain and no lamentation, no invocations of the republic, no prayers. In short, no one in the courtroom so much as stamped his foot, afraid that someone might report him to the Stoics. A Roman consular imitated Socrates of old, who, although he was the wisest of all men and had lived the holiest of lives, spoke in his own capital trial not like a humble defendant, but like the lord and master of the jury.

The description of Rutilius' trial in *De oratore* echoes an incident described in Cicero's letters. In the summer of 60 B.C., the younger Cato's political stance toward the *equites* annoyed Cicero, who commented to his friend Atticus: "As for our friend Cato, I have as warm a regard for him as you. The fact remains that with all his

patriotism and integrity he is sometimes a political liability (*nocet interdum rei publicae*). He speaks in the Senate as though he were living in Plato's Republic instead of Romulus' cesspool (*dicit enim tamquam in Platonis politeia, non tamquam in Romuli faece, sententiam*)" (Att. 2.1.8, Shackleton Bailey's translation). Cicero's exasperation at Cato's dogmatic approach to Roman politics was not new—he had ridiculed Cato's Stoicism three years earlier as part of the defense of Murena—but the terms in which he puts it in this letter offer the same set of oppositions that lies behind Laelius' comments in *De republica*: between Greek theory and Roman public life; between dogmatism and pragmatism; between what one should read and what one should live.

Scipio, indeed, in the introduction to his history of early Rome, makes an explicit contrast between Plato and Cato—but this time the elder Cato, the author of the *Origines*. Cato, he says, called the Roman constitution better than those of any of the Greeks, because the Greek constitutions were each made at one time by one man; Rome's was the product of many minds over many generations. And he prefers to follow Cato's method of historical writing than, like Socrates in Plato, to make up a state from whole cloth. The contrast between Rome and Rome's laws on the one hand and Greek legislators and philosophers—the two are frequently lumped together—is perhaps clearest in a famous passage of *De oratore* in which Crassus declares:

Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod sentio: bibliothecas mehercule omnium philosophorum unus mihi uidetur XII tabularum libellus, si quis legum fontis et capita uiderit, et auctoritatis pondere et utilitatis ubertate superare...percipietis etiam illam ex cognitione iuris laetitiam et uoluptatem, quod, quantum praestiterint nostri maiores prudentia ceteris gentibus, tum facillime intellegitis, si cum illorum Lycurgo et Dracone et Solone nostras leges conferre uolueritis. (*De orat.* 1.195-97)

Everyone can object as much as they like, but I will say what I think: if you inspect the sources and principles of the laws, the one little volume of the Twelve Tables seems to me to surpass the libraries of the philosophers, in both weight of authority and richness of utility....You will see how far our ancestors

surpassed all other races in wisdom most easily, if you compare our laws to their Lycurgus and Draco and Solon.

When Plato's Republic is mentioned in Cicero's *De republica*, it is praised for its style and imagination, but attacked for its content: it is derided as fiction, as showing no knowledge of real life, as an inhuman and inhumane straight-jacket imposed on society. Just as the knowledge of the practical politician is derived from experience, so the understanding of government is derived from history.

The contrast between the practical man and the philosopher was not, of course, discovered by Cicero; and we know that, a few years before writing these dialogues he was studying the contrast between the contemplative life and the active life in the works of the Peripatetics Theophrastus and Dicaearchus. The principal text for this dichotomy, however, is Plato's *Gorgias*—a dialogue to which Cicero refers in both *De oratore* and *De republica*. In the earlier work (2.154ff.), Cicero has the statesman Catulus wonder why, given the long tradition of Roman association with Greek philosophy (notably the philosophers' embassy of 155), Antonius had declared war on it like Zethus in Pacuvius' play. Antonius denies that Zethus is his model, and prefers the maxim of Neoptolemus in Ennius' *Andromacha*, to philosophize only a little, *philosophari, sed paucis*. The same pair of references, in the same order, and with the same preference for Neoptolemus, appears in Laelius' speech at *De republica* 1.30—the argument that philosophy is all right, but only in its proper, limited place. The debate between Zethus and Amphion in Euripides' (and Pacuvius') *Antiope* over the relative merits of the practical man and the philosopher was famous; and its most memorable appearance is in Callicles' speech in Plato's *Gorgias* (485e), in which Callicles, obviously, takes the part of Zethus, attacking philosophy.

There is another memorable image which immediately precedes the allusion to Euripides in Callicles' speech, the image of philosophers as grownups playing children's games, avoiding the affairs of city and agora, and instead spending their lives with three or four young men, whispering in a corner, *en gonia...psithurizonta* (485d). That too is imitated by Cicero, in both dialogues.

At *De oratore* 1.57, Crassus portrays philosophers as claiming the sole right to speak on the large issues of ethics and *uirtus*, and replies that what they speak about *tenui quodam et exiguo sermone* in corners to while away their *otium*, the orator will handle in public with the full range of oratorical power. And in the preface to *De republica*, in explaining that *uirtus* can be realized fully only in public life, Cicero describes it as accomplishing in deeds rather than words those things *quas isti in angulis personant*:

Nec uero habere uirtutem satis est quasi artem aliquam nisi utare; etsi quidem cum ea non utare scientia tamen ipsa teneri potest, uirtus in usu sui tota posita est; usus autem eius est maximus ciuitatis gubernatio, et earum ipsarum rerum quas isti in angulis personant reapse non oratione perfectio. nihil enim dicitur a philosophis, quod quidem recte honesteque dicatur, quod <non> ab iis partum confirmatumque sit, a quibus ciuitatibus iura descripta sunt. (*Rep.* 1.2)

The similarity between the attitudes toward Plato of Cicero in his direct comments and of his characters within the dialogues is not altogether surprising, but it is significant for Cicero's construction of Roman experience. Cicero creates Platonic dialogues to refute Plato, portraying characters themselves attacking Plato. And not only are these characters historical, but they are discussing the importance of history over theory. In both dimensions of these works, Cicero makes an argument for the specific and empirical over the general and theoretical; his literary construc-

tion exemplifies precisely the approach to the past that he is advocating.

But like the chapters on method which I have been discussing, my own discussion has been something of an excursus on method, and I want to return to my primary subject, the organization and interpretation of the Roman past in Cicero. Here too, however, it is necessary to deal with another Greek model, this time the second-century historian Polybius who was in fact a friend of Scipio and whose account of constitutional theory and Roman history in book 6 of the *Histories* is the primary model for the first two books of *De republica*.

Polybius' version of Rome's development is a curious and inconsistent blending of the two constitutional schemes that he presents at the beginning of book 6: on the one hand the cycle of the simple constitutions, on the other the stability of the mixed constitution, in which elements of all three good simple forms serve as checks to the tendency to degeneration of each, and which thus has a longer life than any simple form. His Rome develops a mixed constitution by accretion: after the monarchy degenerates to tyranny under the last Tarquin, a monarchic element (the consuls) is retained under the aristocratic constitution; when that decays to oligarchy under the decemvirate, the restored republic combines monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic elements, and therefore remains reasonably constant for the more than three hundred years up to the battle of Cannae. Nevertheless, at the end of book 6, Polybius predicts the decay of the mixed government of Rome, when it will become lax and corrupt from too much empire and luxury.

There are several significant differences between Cicero's version of the theory of constitutions and Polybius', none more so than their handling of the problem of decline. For Cicero, the paramount goal of good government is its own eternity; and essential to the biological metaphor which both he and Polybius employ is the cycle of birth, growth, maturity—and death. For Polybius, perhaps because he is a historian, perhaps because he is not Roman, decline may be unfortunate, but it is a fact of life; for Cicero, as for his protagonist Scipio, both of them experiencing moments of crisis for Rome, it is unthinkable.

As a result, Cicero's version of early Rome, although following the chronological framework



of Polybius, has a very different version of the forces which govern history and change. Cicero's mixed constitution does not grow by accretion, like Polybius'. Instead, the mixture begins at the very beginning of Rome, with Romulus' creation of the senate and his concern with the well-being of the *plebs*. There is in fact no real change in the structure of Roman government in Cicero's account at all, merely alterations in emphasis and changes in the form which the different constitutional principles take. Thus monarchy is replaced by the consulate, which has regal authority, the *patres* become a formal senate; the liberty of the people—which is asserted as early as the election of Numa—is focussed in the tribunate. Thus, the far greater continuity and essential stability of Cicero's constitution is one more reason for it to last forever. And while the Polybian system displays an inherent tension between the stability of the mixed constitution and the natural pattern of growth and decay that affects all earthly affairs, Cicero bases his system on a different antithesis: between the *natura* of states and the reason of statesmen. This occurs most clearly when C. describes the origins of the tribunate: it was natural, he says, that when the people were freed from kings they should seek to increase their rights; but the aristocracy did not recognize this, and so the first secession of the plebs resulted in the election of tribunes: *in quo defuit fortasse ratio, sed tamen uincit ipsa rerum publicarum natura saepe rationem* (2.57). The senate should have recognized the natural tendency of the state, but did not—*defuit ratio*—and so the natural tendency to equilibrium within the mixed constitution asserted itself. For Cicero, all government tends toward the ideal balance (which is, we learn in book 3, in fact part of the definition of any genuine *res publica*); but it must be helped (or can be hindered) by the actions of individual statesmen.

This brings me to the central feature of Cicero's vision of Roman history, the role of the individual—the *rector rei publicae* as he is called. Romulus is the first example of this, through the foresight (*prudentia*) of his policies, but he is not the only one, and he is followed by the next five kings, by the consuls of the first year of the republic, by Valerius and Horatius, the consuls of 449, and, of course, by Scipio and (by implication) Cicero himself. Modern interpretations of *De republica* (which I will not discuss in detail

here) have tended to emphasize either the extra-constitutional role of the *rector*—Cicero arguing for a dictatorship, or somehow predicting the principate of Augustus (or of Hitler)—or the institutional structure of government—Cicero arguing for the restoration of the aristocratic constitution of the middle republic. But what is most significant is the interplay between individuals and institutions; as he appears to have argued in book 4, good institutions are necessary to provide good men, but good men—men of learning, experience, and skill—are always needed to restore institutions to their true nature.

Cicero is not alone in this interpretation of early Rome: Machiavelli (*Discourses* 3.1) thought that such a restoration might be accomplished either by good laws or by a great man,

whose noble example and virtuous actions will produce the same effect as such a law...But (he adds) to give life and vigor to those laws requires a virtuous citizen, who will courageously aid in their execution against the power of those who transgress them ... We may conclude, then, that nothing is more necessary for a...republic...than to restore to it from time to time the power and reputation which it had in the beginning, and to strive to have either good laws or good men to bring about such a result.

Machiavelli called for such restorations to take place every ten years, but Cicero is apparently more cautious, recognizing the need for the active intervention of a *rector* (the equivalent to Machiavelli's citizen of *virtu*) only in crises; but he too recognizes the need for some means of recalling Rome to its original principles of government. The link between individual morality and good government is central to the classical (in this case 17th-18th century) theory of civic republicanism; it is not until the *Federalist* that anyone proposed a constitutional system designed to withstand individual immorality.

The idea that individual citizens can make a difference (illustrated most clearly by the statement that Lucius Junius Brutus showed that in the defence of popular liberty no one is a private citizen) is in itself a reply to Lucretius: there is, in fact, a good and practical reason for engagement in public life. More specifically directed against the Epicureans, however, is Cicero's other main innovation in the theory of

government, which is as foreign to Machiavelli and Polybius as it is to Lucretius: and that is his transcendental justification for civic life. Beginning from the preface, in which he asserted that nature has implanted in us a love of country, Cicero gradually develops an argument to show that the universe is ordered and lawful; that states should be in harmony with this natural law—set out most fully in Laelius' great (but unfortunately very fragmentary) speech on justice in book 3—, and that individuals, by acting in accordance with this eternal law can not only serve their country, but can ensure for themselves eternal blessedness; the final proof is the sublime vision of the after-life vouchsafed to Scipio in the Dream which concludes the entire treatise. The argument about the best constitution fades away; it is supplanted by Cicero's central vision of Roman life and Roman history—that the fundamental issues are not political at all, but moral, and that the real history of Rome is found in the distinguished series of individual contributions to fair government and natural law. The emphasis on the morality of *states* (as opposed to individuals) is highly unusual—and certainly not shared by Machiavelli. Its rationale appears in a fragment of Laelius' speech in book 3 quoted by St. Augustine: individual humans often welcome death as a release from exile or other civil penalties, but for states death itself is the penalty:



debet enim constituta sic esse ciuitas ut aeterna sit, itaque nullus interitus est rei publicae naturalis ut hominis, in quo mors non modo necessaria est, uerum etiam optanda persaepe. ciuitas autem cum tollitur, deletur, extinguitur, simile est quodam modo, ut parua magnis conferamus, ac si omnis hic mundus intereat et concidat. (*Rep.* 3.34)

For the state ought to be set up in such a way as to be eternal. There is no natural death for states as for men; for them, it is not only necessary but sometimes desirable, but when a state is destroyed it is as if (comparing small to large) the entire world were to die and collapse.

A state is *not* natural, and the organic analogy fails precisely because it has no immortal soul: its immortality is dependent on the virtue—the immortal souls—of its citizens alone.

The argument of *De republica*, put very simply, is that a state can survive only by being just, and that the justice of the state, both in its institutions and its behaviour, can only be maintained against corruption and decline by the continual application of reason by citizens educated to understand the moral imperatives of the universe, and willing to subordinate their private good to the good of the community. They need no earthly reward; they can endure disgrace, exile, even death, because their reward is in another life; and by remembering that, they can behave rightly in this one. In some sense, they are truly Platonic philosopher-consuls, but with important differences: their wisdom is practical, not philosophical; they are not absolute rulers; and the ideas that they understand are not the Forms, but the essence of Rome itself.

And yet, one must ask, does Cicero really believe this sort of thing? Can it be true? For no-one recognized better than Cicero that the reality of Rome in his day—the cesspool of Romulus did not resemble the ideal Republic of his story. Look one more time at Laelius' comments on Scipio's account of Romulus: "you have begun in such a way as to prefer to attribute to others (Romulus) what you have yourself discovered than in the manner of the Platonic Socrates, to make it up yourself; and you ascribe to reason what you say about the site of the city—things which Romulus did by chance or necessity." In other words, Laelius is saying, although Scipio claims to be

telling the truth, he is in fact inventing out of whole cloth. Scipio's Romulus is no more real than the Platonic State; and Scipio, Laelius, and the reader know it. To put the problem in Vergilian terms, is Scipio's dream true or false?

That question—like the problem of the end of *Aeneid* 6—was never intended to have a single answer, but some hints may be gleaned from the prefaces, from Cicero's comments about the historical setting of the dialogue and the role of memory in his composition of it. The very beginning of *De republica* is lost, but the opening of *De oratore* is equally relevant: "cognitanti mihi saepenumero et memoria vetera repetenti perbeati fuisse, Quinte frater, illi videri solent..."—In my frequent thoughts and recollections of old times, those men seem to me, Quintus, to have been most blessed...—In this sentence, the syntax of what Eric Laughton calls the reciprocal use of the present participle—the complementary meanings of *cognitanti* and *videri*—is matched on the semantic level by the concept of memory itself: the greatness and blessedness of the men of old and of the republic for which they stood is preserved and guaranteed by Cicero's memorial, one that (as he virtually admits on the next page when he echoes the opening words) in fact is far more an act of re-creation than one of recollection. But the pleasure of recalling a better time that colors the opening of the first book becomes much darker in the preface of Book 3, which deliberately echoes both the syntax and the thought of the opening sentence of the preface itself: "Instituendi mihi, Quinte frater..." In book 3 the memory is not pleasant, but painful: "acerba sane recordatio veterem animi curam molestiamque renovavit"—"a truly bitter memory has renewed the old concerns and burdens of my mind." And that memory, of course, is the extraordinary depiction of the scene of Crassus' sudden illness in the senate and of his death, just a few days after the dramatic date of the dialogue in 91. "After his death, we used to come into the senate house to look at the last spot on which he stood"... "O fallacem hominum spem fragilemque fortunam et inanis nostras contentiones!"—Oh, the deceitful hopes of men, their fragile fortune, and our empty struggles!—Cicero goes on to describe, in grim detail, the actions and the deaths of the participants in the dialogue, only one of whom—Cicero's alleged informant Cotta—lived

more than a few years after the outbreak of the Social War.

In *De republica*, the importance of memory is made clear at the end of the preface (the opening is lost), when Cicero introduces the dramatic setting of the dialogue (1.13), and in Scipio's own introduction to his account of Roman history (2.3). But a fragment of the preface of Book 5 shows that Cicero made his point even more clearly in *De republica* than in *De oratore*. After quoting Ennius' verse "moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque," and declaring that in past times (*ante nostram memoriam*) Rome had prospered through the greatness of its leaders and through their respect for ancestral custom, Cicero turns to the present day:

Nostra uero aetas cum rem publicam sicut picturam accepisset egregiam, sed iam euanescentem uetustate, non modo eam coloribus isdem quibus fuerat renouare neglexit, sed ne id quidem curauit ut formam saltem eius et extrema tamquam lineamenta seruaret. quid enim manet ex antiquis moribus, quibus ille dixit rem stare Romanam? quos ita obliuione obsoletos uidemus, ut non modo non colantur, sed iam ignorentur...nostris enim uitiiis, non casu aliquo, rem publicam uerbo retinemus, re ipsa uero iam pridem amisimus. (*Rep.*5.2)

Our generation inherited the state in a condition like that of a beautiful picture fading from age, and it has not only neglected to restore its colors, but has not even tried to preserve its shape and outlines. What remains from the ancient *mores*, which Ennius said to be the basis of the *res Romana*? They are so forgotten (*obliuione obsoletos*) that they are not only not cultivated, but they are not even known....It is by our faults, and not by mere bad luck, that we retain the republic in name only, but we long ago lost its substance.

Cicero had been deploring the loss of the republic for several years, but this passage makes two important additions. In the first place, the use of *casus*, chance, echoes and reverses Laelius' observation on Scipio's account of Romulus, that Scipio had attributed to *ratio* what had in fact been done *casu aut necessitate*: much of the good done by Romulus was the result of luck; the decline of the present day is the result not of luck,

but of corruption. In the second place, the reference to ancient *mores* as a faded painting, and as *oblivione obsoletos* — comparable to Herodotus' preface, with its desire to ensure that the great deeds of the Greeks and barbarians become neither *exitêla* nor *aklea*—points to a central aim of Cicero's work: to restore the greatness of Rome, if not in fact, at least in men's minds. The decline of political morality; the failure of memory; the resurrection of an ideal past which is simultaneously recognized as false; the loss of the heroic virtue of *virī antiqui*: all these are facets not only of Cicero's vision of Rome, but of Catullus' as well. But for Cicero, the solution is different: rather than lowering the past to the level of the present, and urging the transfer of virtue from public to private, Cicero attempts to elevate the past into something grand, noble, and permanent, worthy of emulation and continuation: if only it can be remembered, it can be restored—whether or not it ever existed.

"Perhaps, I said, it is a model laid up in heaven, for him who wishes to look upon, and as he looks, set up the government of his soul. It makes no difference whether it exists anywhere or will exist." So Socrates, at the end of *Republic* 9. But that is not entirely true for Cicero. At the conclusion of his speech on justice in book 3, Laelius attacked Tiberius Gracchus for his immoral behaviour towards citizens, Latins, and allies, his alteration of Roman rule from *ius* to *uis*. "I am concerned," he concludes, "for our descendants and for the immortality of the republic, which could have been eternal if it lived by ancestral custom." For Laelius, the natural justice which alone animates and preserves the *res publica* is no longer; and so too for Cicero himself.

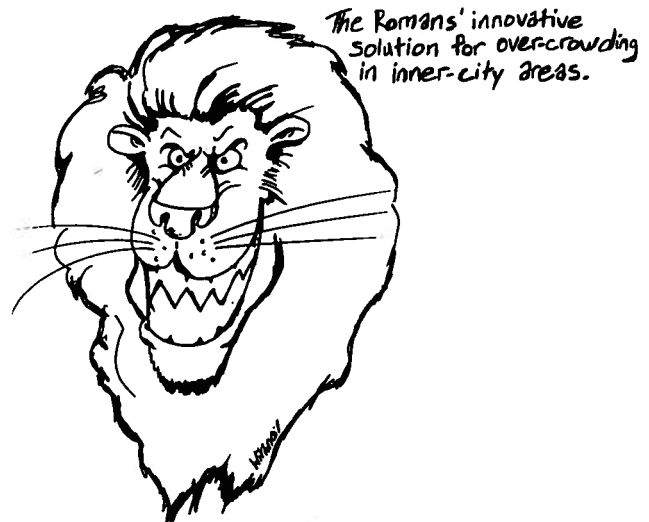
I have left to the end one important feature of the setting of *De republica* which will bring me, at long last, back to Vergil. In the prophetic passage at the beginning of Scipio's dream, his dead grandfather, the great Scipio, tells him of his accomplishments in the twenty years between the date of the dream and the date of the dialogue. At that point, he says, at this moment of fate, the road forks. The whole state and all the allies and Latins will turn to you, you will be the sole support of the state. "In brief: you will have to restore the republic as dictator, if you escape the impious hands of your relatives." He did not: Scipio was found mysteriously dead in the midst

of the crisis; he did not become dictator, and he did not save the state. The hope of restoring the republic is an unfulfilled condition whose sadness Vergil well recognized: "Heu miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas—tu Marcellus eris." Crassus in *De oratore*, Scipio, Marcellus are all instances of promise unfulfilled, of crisis unresolved, of future possibilities that are in fact impossible.

In the concluding chapter of *Roman Vergil*, Jackson Knight describes the optimism of the *Aeneid*: "It is clear why Vergil had to see the good of the present, and elicit it, if not make it, by looking at the past. And it is clear too that he had to look at a composite, blended past, in order to draw from it, and draw straight, the strong lines of hope in the present." My own sense of the *Aeneid* is less sanguine than Knight's, but Vergil certainly made considerably lighter the dark picture that he knew from Cicero. In a book published as he departed from Rome in 51, never to return to the free republic of his dreams, Cicero looked back through the lens of unfulfilled hope to the ideal Rome that, in his most enduring act of statesmanship and poetry, he invented and restored.

Note

I am very grateful to the Department of Classics of the University of Exeter both for the invitation to give this lecture and for their generous hospitality; I am also grateful to the editors of *Pegasus* for publishing an unaltered and unannotated lecture. Much of the material presented here will appear in a somewhat different form in the edition of *De re publica* which I am preparing for Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics.



MEDUSA'S MASK

She is the beauty with the blazing eyes
With whom blue-haired Poseidon fell in love:

Who lay with him [according to Hesiod]
Among soft-meadowed springtime's wanton
flowers.

She is the goddess-figure half-revealed
In Homer's story at Queen Circe's palace;

Who crowned the column at the Lion gate
Where Agamemnon's infidelity was paid.

She is the dancer in the gorgon-mask
Who rouses Hera's wifely jealousy:

Intrepid huntress with wolf-lolling tongue
And pointed dog-teeth, mistress of all wild
things.

Chancing upon her buried fame in Argos
Pausanias judiciously pronounced her real:

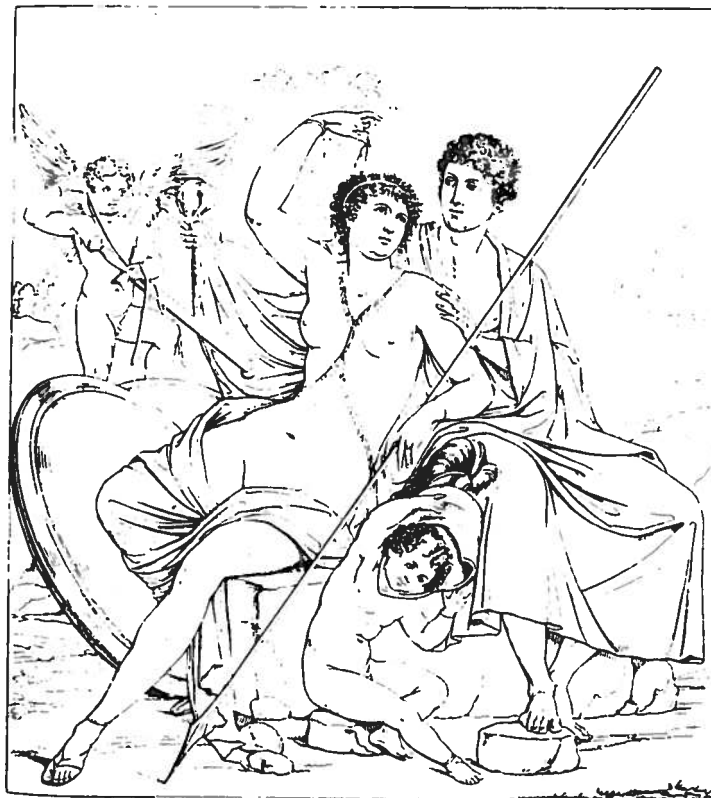
Queen of Lake Tritonis in Libya,
Ravished and murdered by swift Perseus:

Whose tufted aegis sported at Hera's breast
Rallied the Greeks encamped beneath Troy's
walls.

She is the headless victim from whose blood
Sprang poetry's dove-winged palfrey Pegasus.



From *Poems for Mnemosyne* by Harry Kemp
(1993), available from the author at 6 Western
Villas, Western Road, Crediton, Devon EX17
3NA, price £10. (overseas purchasers please use
International Money Order, and add £1 per
volume.)



JUDGING THE BOOKER PRIZE

By Nicholas Clee

The novelist Will Self caused outrage last year with his new work, *My Idea of Fun*. His hero, Ian Wharton, set the tone of the book on page two when he disclosed what his idea of fun was: ripping the head off a tramp and penetrating the gaping neck. Similar jaunty revelations followed. Most critics decided that Self was, as his name suggested, an attention seeker, who had decided to employ shock tactics to get publicity. But what shocked me, employed to assess the eligibility of the novel for the 1993 Booker Prize for Fiction, was that Self has his Mephistopheles figure describe himself as being to Ian Wharton "*in locus pater*".

Such is the legacy for me of the rigorous schooling of Exeter University's Classics department. People usually ask, on being told that I have a degree in English and Latin (I graduated in 1979), "Latin? What's the use of that?" The simplest answer, of course, is, "Not much." However, it has made me strict, or pedantic if you like, about use of language. Upamanyu Chatterjee, an author who has been praised for the inventiveness of his prose, wrote in *The Last Burden* of bank notes being "recondite, with smudgy creases". The author's meaning does not, from the context, appear to be conveyed by the word that is derived from *reconditus*. This was too

inventive for me. Bernice Rubens, a previous winner of the Booker, had her narrator say "infer" when he meant "imply". These are small slips, I know: hardly significant enough to damn a whole novel. Still, I have been conditioned to be outraged by them.

Roman history was never my strong point (one or two lecturers reading this may not recall immediately what my strong point was), so I was not qualified to judge the verisimilitude of Allan Massie's *Caesar*, the successor to his *Tiberius* and *Augustus*. I was not convinced, though, by some of the dialogue. Casca, a bit of a card, was given to utterances like: "Yes, and if he'd not been there to restrain him, we'd have been in the soup. Spare me the tune, old fruit." This was the style of the



At the sign of the Sisters . . .



self-indulgent Antony: "Send this little brat away. We don't want slaves to hear what we have to say. Bloody gossips, every man jack of them. Fuck off, do you hear, and leave the sodding wine."

It was fortunate for the reputation of the prize, if not for health of my eyesight, that there were over 100 other novels from which to choose. No shortcuts are available: the judges are required to read all the entries. I was not able to enjoy the liberating experience of throwing *Caesar* across the room, even though Casca's dialogue, appearing on page one, had given me a strong early suspicion that the novel was going to be a dud: I knew that some people, my fellow judges perhaps being among them, thought highly of Massie's work. Few of the entries were so bad that they convinced you that no sane person could possibly see any merit in them.

So there was a lot of work to do. I was appointed at the end of February last year; the five judges met for the first time at the end of August, by which time I had read 93 of the 110 submissions; we decided on a shortlist of six novels at the end of September; the winner was chosen in October.

Chair of the judges was Lord (Grey) Gowrie, the arts minister who resigned in the early '80s on the grounds that he could not afford to live on £30,000 a year. No doubt he saw the comment as unexceptionable. But it was also tactless: he did not get a lot of sympathy. Meeting him, one realises how he could have made such a mistake. He shows the kind of abstracted friendliness

common among the upper classes and politicians; he either does not notice or dismisses rapidly the lower orders. A fussy waiter at the Savile Club, where we had one of our meetings, was given very short shrift.

He is also a generous and refined man. He has taught English and American literature at Harvard, and is a published poet. He believes in the imagination, which is not necessarily a conservative quality: he admired, to our amazement, a novel called *Trainspotting*, which was a grim, scabrous, profane, combative account of Edinburgh junkies. I grew to like and admire him.

He set the tone, which was convivial. The other judges were Gillian Beer of Girton, a woman whom one would instantly identify as a don but who shows none of the distance sometimes associated with the donnish manner; Olivier Todd, a French intellectual who shows none of the distance associated with that description; Anne Chisholm, who has written biographies of Nancy Cunard and Beaverbrook; and me. I work for a paper called *The Bookseller* ("The organ of the book trade"), for which I write up interviews with authors and stories about new books, and I write fiction reviews for *The Times Literary Supplement*.

I had my favourites. Some of them, like John Banville's *Ghosts* and the aforementioned *Trainspotting*, did not make the shortlist in spite of my playing the usual tricks, like offering trade-offs, practised by committee members. But I did not threaten to walk out, or to write about "My Booker Nightmare" in a newspaper; I did not even bang the table. Other judges suffered disappointments too, and they took them well. Disagreements were offset by our sense of sharing an intense experience, of being at the heart of an event that was attracting a huge amount of attention.

There was also the solidarity that comes from taking abuse. This is all part of the fun of the Booker. I have had my name in national newspapers before, but I have never been written about. Now here I was, on the morning after the shortlist was announced, described on the back page of the *Guardian* by a disappointed publisher as part of a group of "total wankers"; inside the paper, a critic called me a "middlebrow literary bureaucrat". Fourteen years after graduating, fame at last.



"Not now darling, I'm fishing"

RES GESTÆ VI

Compiled by David Harvey

Many thanks to all who sent autobiographies, & my apologies for not replying to them personally. It'd be a great help if those who fall into the next alphabetical group (I hope to get part way through W; completion of the alphabet is unlikely, because of the amazing number of Ss) could post their news early in 95 to 53 Thornton Hill, Exeter EX4 4NR without being asked.

Since I took early retirement, several generations of students have passed through the department without my having met them – I hope they don't mind a stranger asking them questions about their private lives.

Conventions: all dates are shorn of their first two digits; the figure after a person's name indicates the date that they entered the department; this is followed by their home town. Postal districts (NW3) always refer to London. I'll be happy to send full addresses on request. Three dots ... denote lack of recent news.

NEW MEMBER OF DEPARTMENT

Matthew LEIGH came to Exeter Univ. in Oct. 93. From 86 to 93 he was a student at Oxford, where he completed a doctorate on Lucan's narrative technique. Much of the work for this thesis was undertaken during a visit to the Univ. of Pisa from Jan. to July 92. When not preparing lectures Matthew reads, cooks, walks & plays chess. Anyone interested should write to Pegasus, Box. no.1914 with a colour photograph.

VISITING SCHOLARS

Karen STEARS (teaching during Peter Wiseman's study leave 93-4) was awarded her first degree by Bristol Univ., & her second by King's College, London, in classical archaeology, specializing in classical Athenian funerary ritual, gender & sculpture. Her academic interests

include sanctuaries, clothing, health, & gender studies in Greek society. She's a great believer in the relevance of teaching material culture studies in ancient history. Her aim in academic life is to break down barriers between the worlds of "classics", "ancient history" & "archaeology", not to mention those between these disciplines & the sister social sciences. (In essence she's a frustrated anthropo-logist.) She's also mad about Alexander the Great. Other interests include opera, Star Trek, the works of Stephen Sondheim, complementary health, all sorts of cookery, an eclectic choice of poetry & drama, & the neo-classical tradition in European art.

Kathryn WELCH (Leverhulme Research Fellow) writes: "I was born in NSW & lived in Sydney since I was 11, except for the regulation year of backpacking round the Roman Empire in 84-5, & 3 years (88-90) at the Univ. of Queensland in Brisbane where I finished my PhD. Since then I've been in Sydney Univ. teaching Greek history when necessary & Roman when possible. The big turning-point in my life came in 84 when I made two lists: one of reasons to resign from high-school teaching & go back to full-time studies, the other of reasons for taking leave without pay & playing it safe. Resigning won, & although I've been poor ever since, I've never really looked back. The second turning-point was meeting James Buckman, my own personal architect. I haven't looked back from that either. I'm a keen but slow cyclist, an enthusiastic (I think that's the right word) singer, & am at present undertaking a weekend research project discovering which are the best English country pubs & why."

CONGRATULATIONS

to **Dave BRAUND**, elected Sub-Dean of Arts 93-4;

to **Claire BROWN** on her marriage to Paul Screawn;

to **Nicholas CLEE**, who was chosen as one of the Booker Prize judges for 93 (see elsewhere in this issue);
 to **Chris and Karen GILL** on the birth of their son Ralph;
 to **Shaun HILL**, "that good & perceptive man" (The Guardian), on
 being nominated Egon Ronay Chef of the Year 93;
 & to **Peter PYBUS & Keelin MacGREEVY** on their marriage.

NEWS

Julia MOBSBY (84; New York) is an international finance lawyer with Linklater's & Paine's, the London solicitors; she has been seconded to their New York office since June 93. Most of her work is Latin-American based & involves considerable travel to S. America.

James MOLLISON (73; Cyprus?): married & (we think) teaching in Cyprus ...

Annabel MOON (89; Leighton Buzzard/Edinburgh) did 4 months' voluntary charity work & a 3-month office job in London before working on a building site in S. America with a missionary organization (March-July 93) & travelling around the USA with her boyfriend (summer 93). Now she's doing an MA in Social Work at Edinburgh Univ. ("Thought Exeter was brilliant – not enjoying Edinburgh so much", she says.) Interests: hill-walking, aerobics, choir, theatre, reading, travel.

Dominic MOORE (79; unknown) was with Russell de Ville Ltd. (insurance) in the 80s ...

Mary MOORHOUSE (39 [pupil of Jackson Knight & "Uncle" Heap]; Exeter) taught her three degree subjects (Latin, History & Eng-lish) at Bishop Fox's Girls School, Taunton, 42-45; she moved to Liverpool in 46 on her husband's demobilization. They have two children, Elisabeth & John; when the latter was 6, she returned to teaching – as a supply teacher in primary schools (of which there was a serious shortage at that time) – for nearly 20 years. She returned to Exeter on her husband's retirement in 80.

Simon MORGAN (89; Swansea/Nottingham) spent the summer reading the Aeneid & Tacitus' Annals, helping at a day centre for people with reading problems, & having a "fun time"; he's now doing a PGTC at Nottingham.

Karen MORRIS (79; unknown) was with

London & Manchester (Pensions) at Winslade Park, Exeter in 84 ...

David MORRISON (90; SW2) has visited the Lake District & Scotland, where he climbed Ben Nevis in a sponsored climb for cystic fibrosis. Temporary jobs have included helping to auction classic cars at the London Motor Show. He started a Diploma in Law course at the College of Law in Oct. 93.

Bernard MOSS (62; unknown) is, we believe, a Congregational minister.

Tina MUNCASTER (81; Melbourne) has lived in Melbourne for the past 9 years. For 4 years she worked in the Oz branch of the Cambridge Univ. Press (2 years as Marketing & Publicity Manager). She resigned to accept an academic scholarship & is now half-way through a PhD on food & appetite in literature, attempting to do for gastronomy what Barthes did for the orgasm & literary experience. She also free-lances as copywriter, publishers' publicist & is a regular reviewer for the Australian Book Review. She has published a modest amount, fiction & academic. Sports: golf & reading. She'll return to England if somebody does something about the weather.

Andrew MURFIN (87; New York) was a management consultant with Andersen Consulting, but was offered an associateship by J.P. Morgan of New York late in 93.

Judith MYERS (89; Newton-le-Willows/Liverpool) is studying for an MA in Classics at the Univ. of Liverpool.

Mary-Liz MYERS (83; Bognor [but moving soon]) sold advertising space for Haymarket Publishing (86-7), moved into their circulation dept. & became office manager (87-8), & was an account handler for Seymour Magazine Distribution (88-91), with clients including The Spectator, Elle & some 40 other specialist magazines. She then took a PGCE in English at Bath (91-2), since when she's been teaching English to 7 to 13-year-olds at Chichester High School for Boys. Extra-curricular interests include drama, both theatre-going & school performances. She's now an aunt, & hopes to get married fairly soon.

Claire OAKENFULL (89; Gaborone, Botswana) has been an Exchanges Assistant for the British Council in Botswana since Sept. 93; her job deals with British teachers working in Botswana & students from Botswana at British institutions.

She plays squash & swims, & is planning a trip to the Okavango Swamps.

Alexandra OWEN now **HANCOCK** (73; nr. Exeter) married John, a carpenter, in 81; they have two sons, Joseph & Robin.

Sarah PAYNE now **ADAMS** (79; SW12) married an Exeter graduate in 86, & has three delightful daughters (Sophie, Georgina & Serena) aged 5, 3 & 1. She's just successfully completed a course with the Open Univ. Relaxations include the theatre, cinema & tennis. They see a number of Exeter graduates many now with children & living locally, including **Frances Cubbon (Draughn)**.

Mair (Mi) PEATS (83; nr. Evesham) is a teacher who at present commutes daily to Coventry during another's maternity leave, but will be taking up an appointment in Kuwait in Sept. She has recently completed a modern technology course. She belongs to the Richard III Society, & thinks she may be the only member who believes Richard guilty of most of the crimes attributed to him; she fears that she'll be chucked out for trying to persuade others to accept her views.

Claire PENHALLURICK (90; Pontyclun/Exeter) is still with us at Exeter, reading for an MA in Mediterranean Studies.

Alice PERCIVAL (81; Cardiff) was an archivist at Glamorgan Record Office (84-6), & then did a postgraduate diploma course in librarianship at Aberystwyth. She worked briefly for the Welsh Water Authority (87) before starting her present job as Assistant Reference Librarian with Cynon Valley Libraries, based at Aberdare in the heart of the S. Wales valleys. She lived in Aberdare for four years, but has now returned to her home town, Cardiff, from where she commutes. Her main ambition is to find a more responsible library/information post in Cardiff, but promotion remains frustratingly out of reach.

Simon PICKHAVER (76; Exeter) married a physiotherapist (87) and has a daughter Joanna, born in 90. Previously taught Latin, and penguins in the Falklands; then became a training adviser with the Construction Industry Training Board in Somerset, which involved organizing & developing training (in management, health, safety etc.) for construction. We think he's now teaching in Exeter ...

Katy PITCHER (90; Grantham) is studying for an MA in Management Studies at Nene

College, Northampton, in a close-knit group of 12. It covers finance, marketing, human resources etc., & develops business skills such as team-building, making presentations, interviewing & negotiating. She's now applying for graduate schemes in retail management. She enjoys being a Pub Quiz team member at her local (John Smith's league), where her knowledge of Latin & Greek comes in useful. She misses the great Roman poets: "I'd much rather write an essay on Virgil than word-process a 4000-word executive report", she says.

Andy PREVEZER (80; c/o SW6) took a broadcasting diploma in London, & soon after was offered a job at Warner Brothers Records as an in-house writer. He was there for 2 years, before leaving for A&M Records, where he took over a department of 5 people in 89. He runs A&M's PR department, handling the publicity profile of a whole range of artists, including Sting, Suzanne Vega, Therapy?, Chris de Burgh, Del Amitri, Soundgarden, Dina Carroll, & Bryan Adams. He's still in touch with all his Exeter friends, including **Sophie Lyons** (now **Butcher**; still in Los Angeles).

Mark PRIDDEY (82; Kidlington) obtained a Diploma in Archive Studies at Univ. College London in 87; since then he's been an archivist at Oxfordshire Archives (County Record Office) and at St John's College, Oxford. He's a member of the Wesley Memorial Church, Oxford, regularly plays badminton & indoor football, enjoys skiing, is learning Spanish, & in 93 spent a month in Venezuela.

Kevin PRIDGEON (88; Exeter) has worked for Dawlish Warren Nature Reserve, Exeter City Museum, and the Ministry of Agriculture; when funds got low, he went into Receivership (Official Receiver's Office, Exeter). He still helps run the Campus Conservation Volunteers, & still wears the same raincoat.

Lady Jacqueline PRINGLE (74; SE21), after years of research, was awarded her PhD by London Univ. early in 93 for her thesis on Hittite kinship and marriage, & is now putting it on IBM discs for publication. She is also catching up on all the chores which she had had to neglect in favour of academic work. As her husband is President of St Loye's, Exeter, they make regular visits to the Occupational Therapy school there, particularly for the ceremony of presenting Diplomas to postgraduates.

Keith PROWSE (51; Moseley, Birmingham) is Head of Classics at King Edward VI Camp Hill School for Boys, but is contemplating retirement, perhaps to the Exmouth region. His elder son David graduated recently in maths at Balliol, & is now an actuarial student with Britannic Assurance; his younger son Andrew is in his first year at Exeter reading History, & living in Lopes (an all-women Hall in Keith's day!).

Jessica PRYCE-JONES now **SHUKMAN** (80; nr. Bicester) has done a PGCE at London, worked in Paris, crossed the Sahara, spent 5 years as a political risk insurance broker, seen the collapse of Lloyd's, married the BBC TV news reporter David Shukman (Aug. 88) & increased the world's population by two (Jack 89; Harry 92). She then decided that commerce was not for her, & is now studying psychology part-time at Oxford Brookes Univ. (where she's the only student who has read Oedipus Tyrannus & Electra in Greek) aiming to become an educational psychologist; she expects to be qualified by the year 2000. **They have one dog, one cat & two chickens, who co-exist relatively harmoniously.**

Angèle QUEVATRE (57; Wisbech) is the mother of **Claire SUMMERHAYES** (now **RUSSELL**), editor of Pegasus no. 31.

Siobhan QUIN (80; NI) used to work for Phillips Fine Art; she's now at Sotheby's.

Jane RALEIGH (86; Northolt) is reading for a BSc in occupational therapy at the West London Institute of Higher Education. She is very much aware how student life has changed in the few years she's been away, & how different it is studying somewhere other than Exeter. It has made her very grateful for her 3 years here – otherwise she'd never have known how good it can be.

She is engaged to a sports fanatic who's training to be a PE teacher, but they don't plan to marry until they've finished their courses.

Christa REAVILL now **CHANDLER** (82; unknown) did her PGCE at Scarborough before teaching infants at Ringwood, Hants.; she married David in 90, & they settled in Dinsdale, New Zealand, where she was a receptionist at a medical centre, while her husband was an assessor in an Aluminium Curving business. They moved in 93 ...

Annie RICE now **BLUETT** (71; near Meikleour, Perth) is married (second time round) with 3 daughters: Rosanna (7), blonde & serious;

Alyssa (6), femme fatale of form 2B; & Ilona (3), wild.

They have a golden labrador & 3-&-three-quarter Burmese cats, and live in a 1750s farmhouse with walls 3 feet thick & magnificent views. Anne is back in Scotland after a chequered career & a longish spell in Sussex, teaching at a ex-Sacred Heart Convent near Perth. She's god-mother to **Jane (Barraclough) King's** eldest son Daniel.

Kathryn ("Kats") RICHARDS (90; Wadhurst) is helping (until Aug. 94) to run a house in E. Sussex which is open to the public, doing PR, working the farm & being nanny to a 4-year-old whose mother recently died. She's also working with a law firm & is applying for Law School in 94. Failing that, she'll try film production.

Amanda RIGALI (88; West Harrow) is doing research on European Renaissance neo-Senecan drama for a PhD under Richard Proudfoot at King's College, London, where she is also a tutor in Modern British Theatre.

Joanne ROBERTS (87; Exeter) is a lab technician at the Earth Resources Centre, Univ. of Exeter. She's half-way through a postgraduate course in wetland archaeology which she started in 91.

Hamish ROBERTSON (74; unknown) was last heard of (77) skirling across the USA with his bagpipes ...

Neil ROBERTSON (84; SE11) has been a stockbroker in the City since 87; at present he's working for the Japanese as Head of Sales of the Fixed Income Dept. He regrets that the Goldman Sachsian type bonuses have eluded him, but is trying his damndest to achieve them so that he can pack his City bags & move into farming. His main recreations are golf, skiing & staying in his Cotswold cottage. He's still single, though he has a girlfriend who would be happy to change that.

Charlotte (Lottie) RONN now **BOND** (79; nr. Ipswich) married a fish farmer, & lives a country life. She worked in public relations, advertising & journalism until her children were born. They are now 4 & 2, & she's fully occupied with their upbringing; she intends to return to work when they go to school. She is chairman of her village playgroup, & her hobbies include cooking, playing the piano, tennis & reading.

Andy ROWING (87; Deal) joined the Royal Army Educational Corps in Jan. 91, when he began training at Sandhurst. He was com-

missioned as 2nd Lieutenant in April 92, after which he was busy teaching soldiers at Ripon. Now, as full Lieutenant due for promotion to Captain, he is on a 6-month intensive interpreters' course in Serbo-Croat at the Defence School of Languages, with a view to deployment as a language liaison officer with the UN in Bosnia later this year. Conjugating verbs etc. reminds him of early struggles with Kennedy's Latin Primer. He's in touch with **Liz Yates & Laura Allee**.

Gene RUSHTON now **KEMP** (45; Exeter) married in 49, divorced 57, re-married 59; she has 2 daughters, 1 son & 3 grand-daughters. She has taught all ages from primary to students, & lectured to teachers & librarians; & has published approximately 26 children's books (Faber & Puffin), which have been translated into 12 languages. She was awarded the Carnegie Medal in 78, the Children's Rights Award in 77, & an honorary degree by Exeter Univ. in 84; she was runner-up to the Whitbread Award in 85 & the Smarties' Award in 86 & 90; she's also done radio & TV work, & is a school governor. She describes her interests as wide & shallow, & her nature as lazy.

ADDENDA TO 1993

Ross McEWEN (86; Exeter) is a qualified accountant; he's sharing digs with **Paul MALLATRATT**.

Michael McNALLY (83; Wadhunt) has been working for Cripps Harries Hall (solicitors) in Tunbridge Wells since qualifying in Jan. 91. He has managed to avoid getting married so far (March 92).

Paul MALLATRATT (86; Exeter) temporarily working on VAT at Renslade House; he's sharing digs with **Ross McEWEN**.

LOST SOULS

I've not been able to obtain news of the following, & in many cases I don't have an up-to-date address:

Michael Montagu, Elizabeth Moody, Philip Moore, Susanne Moore, M. Gwyn Morgan, Katy Morison, David Morley, Chris Morris, Kathleen Morris, Richard Morris, M.A. Morton, Jonathan Mullins, Sarah Munro, Verity Murphy, Terry Neesham, Joanna Newman, Martin Newman, Robert Nichols, Sarah Nisbett, Myra Northam, Mervyn North-Coombes, Robert Nutt, John O'Brien, Madeleine O'Brien, Sean Ockenden, Michael O'Connell, Sharon O'Connor, Stephen O'Donnell, Alison Ormerod, Paul Ormiston, Christopher Osment, Juliet Owen, Barry Page, Fiona Paine, Nigel Palmer, S.C. Palmer, Nicola Pardoe, Varoros (Mai) Parabatra, Christina Parsons, Christine Paulus, Mary Petri, Peter Phelan, Caroline Perkins, Anthony Phillips, Martyn ("Taff") Phillips, Andy Pitts, John Player, David Pledge, Felicity Pontin, Lavinia Porter, ? Power (63), ? Pratt (61), Sheila Pratten, Stephen Prees, Shona Prendergast, Consulota (Connie) Price, Allen Prior, Dominic de Prchnow, Ray Prytherch, Peter Pybus, John Quinn, Candida Rae (now Roberts), Ian Ray, Nicola Raymond, Christopher Rayne, Sally Reaney, Carolyn Reay, Tim Reddin, Linda Reid, Stephen Reid, Corinne Reynolds, Trevor Reynolds, Raphael Rhys, Sarah Richards, Ann Richardson, Dermot Richardson, Frank Ritchie, Nicholas Roberts, Suzanne Roberts, James Robson, Andrew Rogers, P.D. Rodgers, Miles Ross, Paul Rothery, Joanne Rowling, Steven Roy, Clare Rule & Michael Rule.

Can anyone help?



