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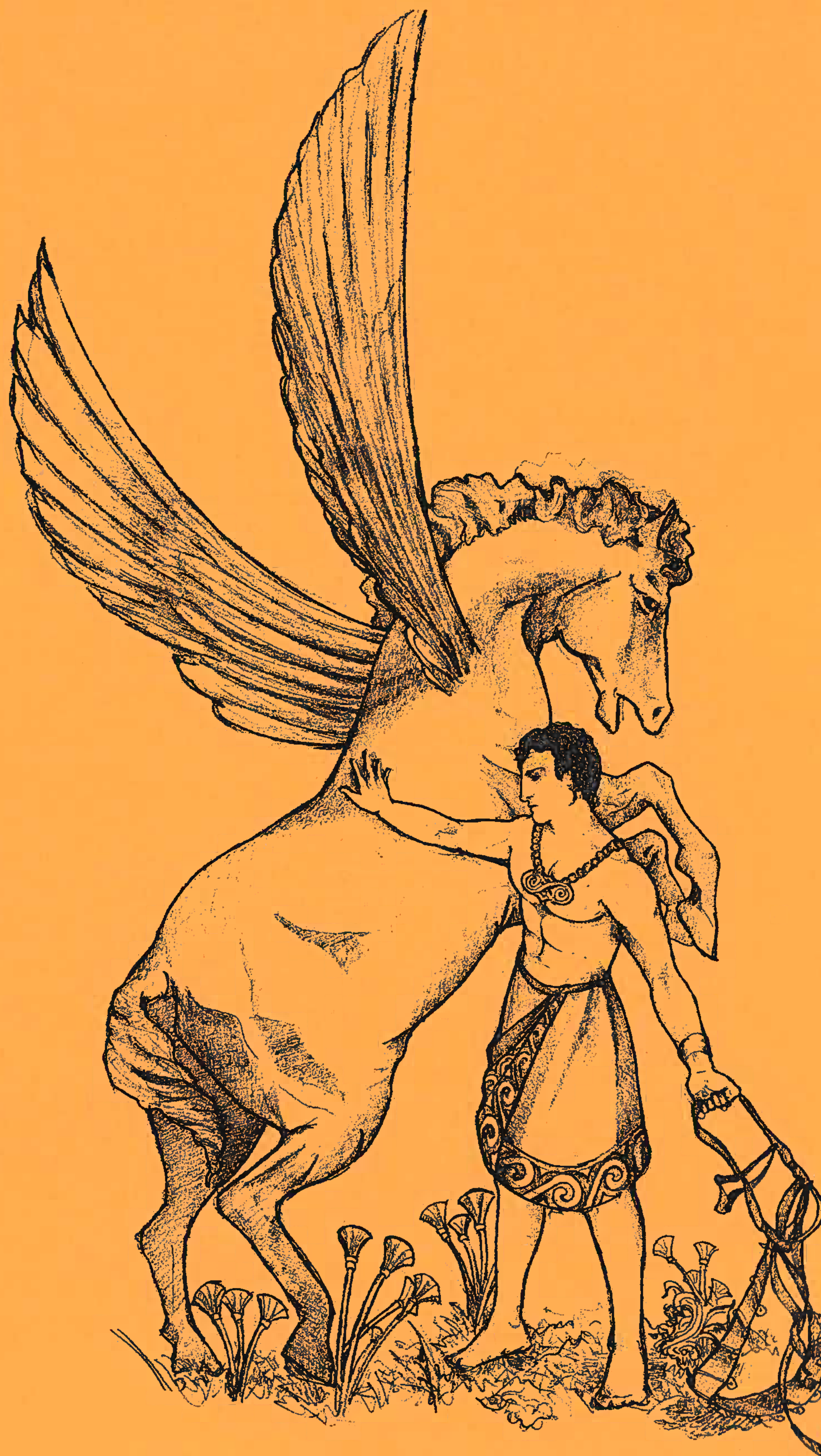

PEGASUS

The Journal of the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Exeter

Chief Editors: Valeria Cinaglia and Claude Kananack
Editorial Board: Jack Bullen, James Collins and Henry Lee
Special thanks: Michael Marshall and Sharon Marshall

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Editorial

Workers in hard hats, heavy machinery, road works, felled trees, open ditches, muddy pathways and miles of hoardings were the norm this year at the University of Exeter. An ambitious 48 million pound building plan, the University of Exeter Forum Project began at the start of the first term with a final completion date of April 2011. This project will move the University into the 21st century and promises new state-of-the-art facilities. We can only hope that the project gets finished on time to benefit the future students and staff of this fine university. For those students leaving or nearing the end of their studies (which the Editorial Board of this year's *Pegasus* primarily consists) these disruptions have been a burden, but we have soldiered on without too much complaint and can be comforted in the fact that the future students of Exeter will revel in the delights of this new landscaped piazza of learning.

One thing is certain: in the past 30 years, the University and the Classics Department have undergone incredible changes and they will keep changing in the future, as Stephen Mitchell announces on p.3. To flourish, every organism needs to adapt, and this is what the Department has done since 1980, as Peter Wiseman, Richard Seaford and David Harvey describe on p.32. Change implies revolution, growth, crisis, but not complete reversal or destruction of what has come before. In this issue, *Pegasus* celebrates what has and what has not changed in Classics, with an energetic mix of scholarly articles and reviews from professors and lecturers, PhD candidates and undergraduates, including this year's winner of the Dr Lawrence Shenfield prize.

Despite this year's noise pollution, the Editorial Board encourages you to find a quiet place (perhaps off campus) and read the wonderful contributions to the 53rd issue of *Pegasus*, which may not have been as expensive as The Forum Project, but was still constructed with as much ambition and passion as previous years...and best of all can be enjoyed right away!

Pegasus and Bellerophon: The Story Behind the Cover

Jack Bullen

Rafael Scopacasa's drawing portrays a key scene in Pegasus's mythology: the bridling of Pegasus by Bellerophon. There are three ancient sources for this mythological scene: Pindar *Olympian* 13.62-92, Strabo 8.6.21, and Pausanias 2.4.1, among those, Pindar's ode is the most detailed and evocative. According to these accounts, Pegasus was bridled by Bellerophon while drinking from the Corinthian fountain Peirene, aided by Athene who had granted him a golden bridle and who aided him in the taming of the divine horse. Rafael's sources of inspiration for his drawing are John Singer Sargent's *Perseus on Pegasus Slaying Medusa* and Edmund Dulac's *Jason and Medea*. There are two significant features of Rafael's drawing that make it a sensitive and refreshing portrayal.

First is the representation of the relationship between Pegasus and Bellerophon. Rafael has depicted Bellerophon not χαλκωθεíς (armed in bronze), as Pindar does (Pind. O. 13.86), but unarmed, half-naked and with only a bridle and his natural strength to tame Pegasus; thus replacing the traditional image of an armoured and aggressive Greek hero with a gentler and calmer figure, more respectful of Pegasus's power and majesty. This aspect is further emphasised by Bellerophon's outstretched arm, with his open palm placed on Pegasus's back demonstrating Bellerophon's desire to calm the clearly agitated steed before bridling him. Pegasus's nervousness is demonstrated by his rearing front legs, but his one visible eye belies the blossoming trust and the beginning of the special bond between horse and man. If Rafael had depicted, for example, Pegasus drinking from the fountain Peirene as Bellerophon furtively approached, the scene would lose its sensitivity and the balance of power in the drawing would be lost.

Secondly, Rafael has lent his depiction a Minoan-Mycenaean feel by drawing on Dulac's Jason, emphasising the link between Classical Greece and its Bronze Age past. This refreshing approach to his material is underlined by Rafael's choice of the bridling scene in the first place for the majority of artwork detailing the myth of Pegasus and Bellerophon focuses on the heroic deeds of Bellerophon while riding on Pegasus's back- such as the slaying of the Chimera. Furthermore, Bellerophon himself is a much ignored figure of Greek mythology. This is a fact borne out especially by Sargent's own painting, which inexplicably has Perseus on Pegasus' back while he holds Medusa's severed head aloft, and also by modern conceptions of the Pegasus myth in contemporary cinema. Disney's *Hercules* is one example of this; Ray Harryhausen's infamous '80s feature film *Clash of the Titans* is more culpable in this instance, especially given the accuracy of his *Jason and the Argonauts*.

For anyone interested in pursuing the mythology of Pegasus and Bellerophon further I can suggest the following sources, which detail different aspects of the myth: Apollodorus *Library* 2.3.1-2, 2.4.2; Euripides, fr. *Stheneboea* in Nauck, A. (ed.), TGF, edn. 2 (Leipzig, 1889): 567ff.; Hesiod *Theogony* 280-6, 319-25; Homer, *Iliad* 6.155-205; Pindar *Olympian* 13.62-92, *Isthmean* 7.44-7; Pausanias 2.4.1, 2.31.12, 9.31.3; and Strabo 8.6.21.

Department News

The academic year 2009/10 began with the news that we were admitting a larger number of new undergraduate students to degree programmes in Classics, Classical Studies and Ancient History than at any time in the Department's history. The total of 105 FTE students also included 20 registered for single honours Classics, probably making Exeter the largest department for traditional 'language-based' Classics outside Oxbridge. There have been big classes for our post A-level modules in Greek and especially in Latin. This is a strong sign that interest and student commitment to the ancient languages is on the rise again. It also improves the prospects of Exeter graduates if they choose to continue their studies to postgraduate level, or are attracted by a career in teaching the subject they have studied.

The Department's research postgraduates have been active both with their own research and in providing expert and much appreciated teaching support for the undergraduate programme. The successfully completed PhDs since the last report are:

Rafael Scopacasa:	*Identity as social practice in the funerary sites of central Apennine Italy ('Samnium'), 6th-3rd centuries BC.*
Anna Blurtsyan:	*Incest in Ovid and Seneca*
Georgios Andrikopoulos:	*Magic and the Roman Emperors.*
Kyle Erickson:	*The Seleucids, their Gods and their Coins.*

Two of our PhD students who completed their theses in the previous year have taken up academic positions. Gillian Ramsey is a teaching fellow in the School of Archaeology and Ancient History at Leicester University, and Pauline Hanesworth has become a lecturer in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at Lampeter University. Rafael Scopacasa has been awarded a research fellowship to be held at the British School at Rome to pursue his postdoctoral project on Italian identities as interpreted through the material archaeological evidence. Anna Blurtsyan is teaching at Al Akhawayn University in Morocco.

In the increasingly competitive world of research funding, Professor David Braund achieved a notable success in securing a £90k British Academy Research Development Award for a project on the Straits of Kerch. The Department's biggest fund-raising success derives from the visit of Anastasios Leventis, a former Exeter student, and members of his family, which we reported last year. The family, through the Leventis Foundation, has now agreed to supply most of the funding over the next four years for the Leventis Initiative, which will study the impact of Greek culture on other cultures. We have advertised a fixed-term lectureship for a new staff member to teach and study 'the Greek impact', and there is additional important funding for a PhD student to work in this area, and for the organisation of related conferences and workshops. The Department is particularly indebted to Professors David Braund and Chris Gill for taking the initiative in this, closely supported by the University's alumni relations office. It is also gratifying to report that, despite the very tight economic situation, we have been given the go-ahead to replace Peter Van Nuffelen, who left us last year for a research professorship at the University of Ghent, with a new appointment in Roman History or Latin Literature.

Kerensa Pearson retired in March 2010 after more than 15 years in the Department. She started as an assistant on a part-time basis, and ended as the lead departmental administrator. Her retirement was marked by a celebratory tea-party in the Amory building, where the cake was inscribed in Greek and Latin, and a celebratory dinner at the Riverford Farm Kitchen. Eulogies for Kerensa's awesome IT skills, extraordinary professionalism, and personal serenity showed the affection and admiration in which she has been held by her academic and administrative colleagues and by students at every level. She will be desperately missed, but we are delighted to have appointed Gwen Rumbold to be her successor. A challenge for Gwen will be to adapt to the transition facing all of us, from being part of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences to being part of the College of Humanities, which will come into being in August 2010.

Stephen Mitchell, Head of Department

Staff Research News

Barbara Borg (B.E.Borg@exeter.ac.uk): I have continued work on a book with the provisional title *A matter of life and death: a social history of tombs in second and third century AD Rome.* It is based on a holistic approach using and re-contextualising various material and written sources, and intends to interpret metropolitan Roman tombs and burial customs in terms of shifting ideologies of different social classes in this transitional period. I have also continued work on portraiture and multiculturalism in Roman Egypt with contributions to the catalogue and exhibition at Rome "Roma - La pittura di un Impero", to the *Encyclopaedia of Egyptology* (University of California), and to the *Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt.* I am editing a Blackwell *Companion to Roman Art,* which is well on its way.

David Braund (D.C.Braund@exeter.ac.uk): Professor Braund achieved a notable success in securing a £90k British Academy Research Development Award for a project on the Straits of Kerch, the crucial sea-passage between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, which was the focus for many of the important Greek settlements in the northern Euxine and for cultural and economic exchange with the Scythian world.

Eleanor Dickey (E.Dickey@exeter.ac.uk): I have been working on some fragments of elementary Latin textbooks surviving from antiquity; these were used by speakers of Greek to learn Latin during the Roman Empire. I'm preparing a critical edition of the texts, with commentary and translation; this has meant learning to read medieval manuscripts, which was quite an adventure for me but a very convenient activity during the summer when I was ill and unable to leave the house, as these days digital manuscript images are much easier to get hold of than many books. I've been trying out bits of the ancient Latin readers on my Latin I students, who have taught me a lot about how these texts can be used and what sort of errors get made with them; in several cases my students made exactly the same errors as are found in manuscripts. These experiments are also resulting in a new elementary Latin textbook incorporating the ancient materials.

Chris Gill (C.J.Gill@exeter.ac.uk): I have continued to work mainly on ethics and psychology, especially in Stoic philosophy or Galenic medicine and the interface between them. My book, *Naturalistic Psychology in Galen and Stoicism* (Oxford University Press) will be published in the summer of 2010. A co-edited volume (with John Wilkins and Tim Whitmarsh), *Galen and the World of Knowledge* (Cambridge University Press) was published at the end of 2009. I am working with a number of other scholars on a volume on Galen's shorter psychological works (translations with introduction and commentary) for Cambridge University Press. A further aim is a revised edition of a commentary on Plato's texts on Atlantis, in preparation for the University of Exeter Press.

Lena Isayev (E.Isayev@exeter.ac.uk): Over the last year I have had the pleasure of teaching my Cicero class and the MA group as well as supervising my two PhD students, Claude Kannanack, working on an alternative history of the Catilianarian conspiracy and Rafael Scopacasa, who successfully received his doctorate which has substantially shifted our understanding of the peoples of the Appenines through their burial remains. My own research has taken an interesting turn. I am still very much working on issues of Italy in the last four centuries BC, but now with the added perspective of ideas on ancient mobility and constructions of place and memory. This has been done in part by working with artists and musicians as well as scholars from numerous fields through the AHRC funded project: De-Placing Future Memory (http://projects.beyondtext.ac.uk/deplacingfuturememory/index.php), and I am currently working on a book: *The Paradoxes of Place: pausing motion in ancietn Italy,* while a Davis Fellow in the History Department at Princeton.

Rebecca Langlands (R.Langlands@exeter.ac.uk): This year I have continued my collaboration with History's Kate Fisher within the Sexual History, Sexual Knowledge project. We have published two articles about the way that sexually explicit material from ancient Pompeii has informed modern thinking about sex and sexuality: '"This way to the red light district": the Internet generation visits the brothel in Pompeii' in Kim Shahabudin and Dunstan Lowe (eds.) *Classics For All: Reworking Antiquity in Mass Culture* (2008, Cambridge Scholars Press) and 'The Censorship Myth and the Secret Museum' in S. Hales and J. Paul (eds.) *Ruins and Reconstructions,* (CUP, forthcoming). In July 2009, we co-organised a conference at the University of Exeter, "Sexual Knowledge: Uses of the Past" (see separate conference report). This year has also seen our Sex & History project chosen as one of only 14 official museum projects for the national 2012 Cultural Olympiad. The project will use historical erotic objects from the collection of Sir Henry Wellcome as a starting point for young people to think about the diversity of human sexuality, and will culminate in an exhibition in Exeter's Royal Albert Memorial Museum. I am also currently working on an article about contingency, ethics and exempla in Valerius Maximus.

Lynette Mitchell (L.G.Mitchell@exeter.ac.uk): During this year, I have been involved with a range of projects, many of which have been interdisciplinary. I have been editing a volume of essays on kingship in the ancient and medieval worlds with Professor Charles Melville of Cambridge, and have been working

with Dr Dianna Edelman of Sheffield on Greek historiography and its impact on the Old Testament Book of Chronicles. I gave a paper on Herodotus' representation of Cyrus the Great at a conference on Iranian Historiography, which will be published in the conference proceedings. The focus of my work, however, remains Greek history and political thought, and I have written an essay on Alexander the Great and the rule of law, which will be published in the volume with Charles Melville, as well as an article on the women of ruling families, which will be published in *Classical Quarterly*. I am also working on a monograph, *The Heroic Rulers of Archaic and Classical Greece*, which will try to move away from a consideration of lawful 'kings' and lawless 'tyrants', but will argue instead that personal rule in the archaic and classical period was built on the heroic ideal of the pursuit of excellence.

Stephen Mitchell (S.Mitchell@exeter.ac.uk): A highlight of the last year for me was the invitation to spend three months in Berlin as a senior visiting fellow at the Humboldt University, attached to the Theology Department. My work there was on a project concerned with the spread of Christianity in Asia Minor, in particular the rich evidence from inscriptions, and combined a weekly research seminar with faculty staff and postgraduate students with research, principally in the library of the Berlin Academy. My wife and I lived in a comfortable flat in Kreuzberg, so I had ample opportunities to use my Turkish as well as my German. Peter Van Nuffelen and I also successfully completed the AHRC-funded project on pagan monotheism, which began in 2004. Two volumes of papers, edited by the two of us and derived from the 2006 conference at Exeter have now appeared: *One God. Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire* (CUP 2010), and *Monotheism between Christians and Pagans in Late Antiquity* (Peeters 2009). Peter Van Nuffelen has also completed the manuscript of his own book on religion and philosophy in the early Roman Empire, submitted to CUP.

Karen ní Mheallaigh (K.Ni-Mheallaigh@exeter.ac.uk): In September 2009, Matthew Wright and I organised a very successful international conference at Exeter, "Irony and the Ironic in Classical Literature" with the able help of two of our graduate students, Sharon Marshall and Rowan Fraser. I have been enjoying research leave this year, and am working towards completion of a book on fiction in the Roman imperial period. I delivered papers related to this research in Oxford and Dublin in November, and I have been invited to give papers on Lucian's fiction at the University of the Sorbonne in Paris, and at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, as well as at the Kyknos panel on 'Hidden Narratives' at the Celtic Classics Conference in Edinburgh later in the summer. Preparations are also underway for the Classical Association Conference in 2012, which will take place here at Exeter University!

Daniel Ogden (D.Ogden@exeter.ac.uk): A number of pieces in the Philip/ Alexander/ Hellenistic Dynasties field have appeared this year: 'A war of witches at the court of Philip II?', *Ancient Macedonia/ Archaia Makedonia*, vol. 7 (2007): 425-37; 'Alexander's sex life' in W. Heckel and L.A. Tritle eds. *Alexander the Great: a New History*, (Blackwell, London, 2009): 203-17; and 'Hellenistic royal courtesans and the sacred' in T. Scheer and M.A. Lindner (eds). *Tempelprostitution im Altertum - Fakten und Fiktionen*, (Verlag Antike, Berlin, 2009): 344-376. The first of these was actually written in 2000! That's my record publication-delay so far. Speaking of long gestations, the dragons project is finally beginning to produce fruit: 'Lucianus, Glycon and the two Alexanders' in M. Çevik (ed.), *International Symposium on Lucianus of Samosata* (Adiyaman, 2009) 279-300; and 'Alexander's snake sire' in P. Wheatley and R. Hannah (eds.), *Alexander and his Successors: Essays from the Antipodes*, (Regina Books: Claremont, CA): 136-178. I've also made a nostalgic return to the subject of my doctoral thesis in 'Bastardy and fatherlessness in the ancient Greek world' in S. Hübner and D.M. Ratzan (eds.), *Growing up Fatherless in Antiquity* (CUP, Cambridge, 2009): 105-19. I can tell you without fear of contradiction that my 8-page Japanese pamphlet, the title of which translates as *Plutarch at Delphi* (a bonus insert for the Kyoto Classical Texts series) is the last word on the subject. I am delighted to celebrate the recent appearance of the German edition of the *Greek and Roman Necromancy*, produced by Roter Drache – 'Red Dragon': that's my kind of press! A book I've been co-editing with Beth Carney of Clemson in South Carolina should appear very soon, *Philip II and Alexander the Great: Father and Son, Lives and Afterlives* (OUP USA, New York, 2010).

Martin Pitts (M.E.J.Pitts@exeter.ac.uk): In the last year my research has focused on a number of projects falling under the aegis of my general interest in the application of theories of globalisation to the Ancient World. These include the study of the impact of social inequality on health in late Roman Britain, which highlights the benefits of urban as opposed to rural living in the province, and the development of a new methodology to characterise ancient consumption practices through the analysis of artefact assemblages. The latter builds on another article recently published (2010) in *European Journal of Archaeology*, which re-interprets the *oppida* encountered by Claudius in the conquest of Britain through a fresh consideration of the artefactual evidence from the pre-conquest kingdoms of Cunobelin and Verica.

Julius Rocca (J.S.C.Rocca@exeter.ac.uk): I am writing up a chapter for my monograph on Galen's teleology as well as editing the papers for the proposed book of the teleology conference held last July at Exeter. And among other matters, I have also been looking at the earliest citations of Hippocrates and the ways these were taken and used as proof of his "manifest greatness", which the written evidence does not bear out at all.

Richard Seaford (R.A.S.Seaford@exeter.ac.uk): I have finished my book on Aeschylus, entitled *Cosmology and the Polis: the Social Construction of Space and Time in the Tragedies of Aeschylus.* I am now turning my attention to the socio-economic context of the early development of the Greek idea of the soul, which may eventually form part of a larger project on the socio-economic context of the intellectual revoultion(s) of the 'axial age' (in Greece, North India, China).

Richard Stoneman (R.Stoneman@exeter.ac.uk): I have been writing a book about oracles among the Greeks and their neighbours, called *Making the Gods Speak.* It will be published by Yale University Press in 2011. I have started work on a translation of the Modern Greek *Phyllada tou Megalexandrou* for IB Tauris, for whom I am also editing a series, 'Understanding Classics'. I have also been busy organising a conference, "The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East", to take place at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies from July 26th-29th 2010. My paper will be on 'Persian Aspects of the Romance Tradition'. Early in 2009 I gave a paper on 'The Author of the Alexander Romance' at Tim Whitmarsh's Oxford workshop on 'The Romance between Greece and the East'. In December I was invited to Budapest to give a paper on 'Troy in Twentieth Century Literature' at a colloquium on Literature and Archaeology at Collegium Budapest. I am also President of the Classical Association for 2009-2010 and my Presidential Address on April 9th in Cardiff is entitled 'Books we might have known'. My next task is to write a paper for a conference on Sesonchosis in Swansea (try saying that several times very fast) in January 2011.

John Wilkins (J.M.Wilkins@exeter.ac.uk): Work on Galen continues. I have completed my edition of Galen *On the Powers of Foods*; I am well into the translation of his *Simple Medicines* for the CUP English Galen series; and am preparing a project on his programme for maintaining good health. In the last volume, I will be interested in how Galen may be able to help us maintain our health in the present century.

Peter Wiseman (T.P.Wiseman@exeter.ac.uk): *Times and Reasons*, Anne and Peter Wiseman's new translation of Ovid's *Fasti* is now with the publisher (OUP). The next immediate job is a chapter called 'Topography and Myth' (two fairly substantial subjects!) for the forthcoming *Companion to the City of Rome.*

Matthew Wright (M.Wright@exeter.ac.uk): I am still writing my book *The Comedian As Critic*, which is an attempt to fit Greek comedy into the history of ancient literary criticism. I hope to complete this book at some point before my 60th birthday, when a large party is planned. In the meantime, I have also been writing about proverbs in Greek tragedy, Aristophanic irony, and the reception of Sophocles within antiquity.

New postgraduates

Nicholas 'Earl' Banner (nb311@exeter.ac.uk): I am investigating the performative dimensions of apophatic discourse in Plotinus through the question: "What is Plotinus doing when he tells us that he cannot or will not tell us something?" To answer this question in a contextualised way, I have found it necessary to readdress the cultural trope of 'philosophic silence' in late antiquity, and am currently investigating the manifestations, and, more interestingly, the uses of the claim to silence in late antique philosophic discourse. Being particularly interested in the performative side of these discourses, and of philosophy in general, I am currently looking at the late antique 'pagan hagiographical' literature and the texts of contemporary Platonising religio-philosophical movements (the so-called 'underworld of Platonism') in an attempt to expand possible definitions of what it meant to 'do philosophy' in late antiquity and the roles of silence, the ineffable, the privileging of wisdom, and the exegesis of esoteric tradition in philosophic life and deportment.

Elizabeth Dollins (elgd201@exeter.ac.uk): My thesis will examine the suppressed narrative perspectives and alternative storylines that are embedded within the ancient Greek novel. I aim to discover how the Greek novel encourages the reader to construct narrative and to transgress in his/ her reading of it, and also how the texts promote and deconstruct/ destabilise their own normatives. Overall, my research aims is to enrich our ideas about ancient novel-reading (a subject for which we lack any explicit ancient theory), as well as our knowledge of the texts themselves by exploring some of the ways in which the novels complicate and de-centre themselves and involve the reader in processes of discovery, selection and interpretation.

Jennifer Grove (jeg208@exeter.ac.uk): My research looks at Anglo/American collectors of antique erotica in the 19th and 20th century. This continues recent scholarly interest in the role that antiquity has played in the development of modern ideas about human sexuality. Where previous work on the reception of erotic antiquities has focused on the story of pornography and censorship, I explore the use of this material in research projects and other intellectual activity. I am focusing on three collectors: Dr. George Witt (collector of phallic antiquities and donor to the British Museum), Sir Henry Wellcome (pharmaceutical giant and founder of Wellcome Historical Medical Museum) and Edward Perry Warren (American art collector and donor to Boston Museum of Fine Arts).

James Smith (jws207@exeter.ac.uk): My research will focus on the education of young women in the Greek lyric chorus. Greek lyric poetry survives as an ideological expression of how a community thought about itself, and performing the material would have had a significant effect on a girl's development. I hope to look at what the language, mythology and symbolism contained within the poetry would have taught the girls about their community. Overall, I hope to establish what choral performances by parthenoi can tell us about women's social position in Archaic Greece.

Hoyoung Yang (hy232@exeter.ac.uk): My research will mainly focus on Cicero's late philosophical works in 45/44BC, when he was finally engaged in continuous theoretical writings that seem to have been created as a coherent series according to a deliberate plan. My main research question is what Cicero's philosophical view is in the late philosophical works. Academic influence on him is still clearly visible in this period. There are, however, some indications of an approach running counter to the sceptical attitude. Can Cicero's generally sceptical stance be reconciled with his inclination to this or that philosophical view? Does he just manipulate and synthesise available philosophical doctrines at his own convenience without any real intention to justify the ground for those syntheses? My research will try to answer this question by examining Cicero's methodology and its epistemological basis as represented in his late philosophical works.

Postgraduate Activities

This year our weekly Greek and Latin reading group has continued to meet and to fill the corridors of Amory with gales of laughter and noisome good-natured debate. Latin texts included Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*, Augstine's *Confessions*, Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* and selections from Cicero's *Letters*. In Greek we worked our way through Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, Euripides' *Helen*, Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* and Thucydides' *Funeral Oration of Pericles*.

We have also enjoyed a diverse and stimulating range of papers as part of our Graduate Research Seminar series, which has provided an ideal opportunity for discussion of work in progress and a testing ground for conference papers. Subjects have included: the terminology of conspiracy in Rome, Xenophon's leadership, Seleucid coins, architecture through the letters of Pliny the Younger, familial segregation in fifth-century Samnium, Dawkins and Seneca on the existence of God, the sexual language of Clytemnestra, recovery of Helen scenes in Greek vase painting, late antique esoteric hellenism and Cicero's philosophy in the *Academica*.

We have also been busy participating in the national and international conference circuits, giving papers at the Annual Meetings of Postgraduates in Ancient Literature and History (AMPAL and AMPAH), the Postgraduate Work-in-Progress Seminar Series at the Institute of Classical Studies, the Classical Association Conference and the Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association.

Exeter Conferences 2009

During the past summer term (2009), the Department of Classics hosted a series of international conferences and workshops. This section of *Pegasus* is dedicated to this rich season of activities.

Teleology in the Ancient world: Philosophical and Medical Reflection, 8th - 11th July 2009 (Prof. Christopher Gill and Dr. Julius Rocca)

An International Conference was held on 8th-11th July at Exeter, on Teleology in the Ancient World, organised by Chris Gill and Julius Rocca, with the assistance of Valeria Cinaglia and Steve Kennedy. Speakers and participants came from nine countries and 13 speakers, including David Sedley (Keynote Address), Robert Sharples, Elizabeth Craik and Rebecca Flemming, discussed the concept of teleology from philosophical and medical perspectives. The papers are being revised and edited by Julius Rocca, with a foreword by Geoffrey Lloyd, for publication.

Sexual Knowledge: uses of the past, 27th – 29th July 2009 (Dr Rebecca Langlands and Dr Kate Fisher)

This conference was sponsored by the Wellcome Trust, and was part of the launch of the *Sexual Knowledge, Sexual History* project run by Dr Rebecca Langlands in the Department of Classics and Ancient History and Dr Kate Fisher in the Centre of Medical History at Exeter. The conference was interdisciplinary and explored through a wide variety of topics the overarching theme: How have discussions about sex and human nature over the centuries both been informed by and helped to shape ideas about past cultures and the interpretation of their material and textual legacies? We brought together scholars from a range of different disciplines and from all over the world who have been working independently on different material and from different theoretical standpoints but addressing similar questions about sexual discourses and the way they draw upon the past. Delegates discussed, for example, the importance of myths about Victorian attitudes towards sex or early 20th century homosexuality for the 21st century; the role of ancient Greece, as well as more modern icons such as Oscar Wilde, in emerging ideas about homosexuality from the 18th century onwards; the way that material remains such as Minoan painting and phallic objects from Pompeii are treated by scholars, museums and other interested parties (one paper discussed LGBT events held in London museums, another the arguments between lesbians and the inhabitants of Lesbos over the significance of the ancient poet Sappho and her legacy); 19th and 20th century uses of the categories of "primitive" and "exotic" and the use of such works as *Kama Sutra* and *Arabian Nights* in the development of British ideas about sex; the employment of historical paradigms in 18th century French libertinism and the use of French libertinism itself as a paradigm for later eras.

Beyond the formal papers and discussion of the scheduled conference programme, we were also keen to entertain our guests with the wonderful food and countryside that Devon has to offer. The gala dinner was therefore held in the award-winning Riverford Farm Kitchen in Buckfastleigh, while a trip to Castle Drogo on the Tuesday afternoon afforded the more intrepid visitors the pleasure of a rain-lashed walk in the woods, as well as a tour of this 20th faux-medieval castle, whose re-casting of history tied in nicely with the themes of the conference. On the Tuesday evening, delegates were treated to an exhibition and film-screening that had been prepared by a group of postgraduate students on the subject of modern depictions of the chastity belt: *"'The Key to the Greatest Treasure in All the World' Chastity belts on Film"*, while the feast that evening was provided by Exeter's Plant Café. The conference helped to forge many new relationships between scholars in different fields and institutions and we hope that it will lead to new collaborations. A number of papers have been revised and submitted for inclusion in a planned edited volume, and we are planning a follow-up workshop in the next academic year.

Irony and the Ironic in Classical Literature, 1st - 4th September 2009 (Dr. Karen Ní Mheallaigh and Dr. Matthew Wright)

In September 2009, the Department hosted a four-day conference on the theme of 'Irony and the Ironic in Classical Literature'. This conference, organised by Karen Ní Mheallaigh and Matthew Wright, was attended by scholars from all corners of the globe, who delivered a range of stimulating (and often ironical) papers on a wide variety of authors and texts. The big question with which all the participants grappled was: "What precisely do we mean when we talk about 'irony'?" Predictably, no definitive answer was reached, but the conference was designed to open up the debate about this challenging concept, and to stimulate discussion from a diversity of perspectives. The papers and discussions centred on both Greek and Latin literature, taking in theoretical and comparative approaches. Authors and topics discussed included, for example, Platonic and Socratic irony, lyric identity in Bacchylides, Philostratus' *Imagines*, irony in ancient comic theory and practice, the contents page of the *Noctes Atticae*, and even (perhaps surprisingly?) irony in Livy. The conference ended with a memorable dinner at Riverford Farm Kitchen, followed by a round-table discussion of irony and the ironic (which concluded with a question mark rather than a full stop).

De-placing future memory workshop, 24th - 25th September 2009 (Dr. Elena Isayev)

Negotiations about identity, homeland and attachment to place, are often at the root of investigations of contemporary migrations and politics in conflict regions. But it is rare that the impact of the physical world, and its role is brought into consideration. The main aim of *De-Placing Future Memory* is to understand the nature of the bond which ties memory into place. Is it possible or even desirable to shift or cause a break in that bond? In identifying what it is that strengthens and weakens such ties it has considered theoretical debates on identity and materiality from a number of disciplines and brought these together with a case study of Iraq and the Middle East exploring the very real experiences of the dis-placed and the de-placed. De-placement is the idea that in particular situations individuals and communities can be removed from place altogether, or have place removed from them, without necessarily having to physically relocate. This could be the result of a complete transformation of the physical place, causing a disjuncture between the memory-place and the material fabric that embodies that memory, forcing an over-writing of place, e.g. in Baghdad after the Iraq War. Alternatively, de-placement could result from the transfer of people, as for example into the 'permanent' refugee camps in Palestine, which disallows place to exist through the suspension of the bond and the possibility of future memory. In light of such a hypothesis the project considered the notion that there is no authentic or original bond between physical place and identity. But, the physicality of a place is only one of its characteristics, which can be weakened or strengthened, depending on the socio-cultural context in which it exists. Place is also performative and relational, and in that sense does not exist without memory. Within *De-Placing Future Memory* a discourse focusing on these issues was carried out through an innovative fusion of historians, archaeologists, geographers, curators, anthropologists, and scholars from politics, drama and film, as well as practicing artists and musicians. The project addressed the following concerns: i) what is the strength of the bond between memory & place? a) Place does not exist without memory; b) we are affected unexpectedly, by landscapes, monuments and objects. ii) How can that bond be broken or weakened? a) Stories cluster in places; b) refugees are placeless with collective memory. iii) What are the effects of such a break? a) Overwriting through art, building and music; b) traces cannot be erased, we carry them with us. iv) When is it desirable? a) Power is to control the memory of a place; b) to live in the completeness of the moment not its memory or ruins.

Cleon and Diodotus: masters of Thucydidean irony

Lynette Mitchell

In Plato's *Republic* Thrasymachus reacts bitterly to the ironical Socrates, who pretends ignorance in order to expose the ignorance of his interlocutors (*Rep.* 337a):

> 'O Heracles, this is Socrates' usual *eirōneia*; I knew this would happen, and predicted that you would not want to make an answer, but would dissemble and would do anything rather than answer if anyone asked you anything.'

Thrasymachus' objection is that Socrates does not say what he thinks, but leads others to the answers he wants through his dissimulating questions.[1]

Thucydides too is a master of *eirōneia*, though in a rather different way since, unlike Socrates and Thrasymachus, both the author and interlocutor are outside the text. Thucydides rarely makes direct authorial or interpretative comment. Nevertheless, his control of the material he presents is absolute, and there are no alternatives either of events or ideas which are directly presented as such. While Herodotus in the opening chapters of Book 1 gives the stories of both the Phoenicians and the Persians, even if he prefers one to another, Thucydides generally only gives a single narration of events, generated out of his personal analysis and from his singular point of view.

His interlocutor, his reader, is also extra to the text, but nevertheless also is central to the creation of meaning in the text.[2] Thucydides, even when he speaks directly to the reader in his own voice, and while he may only recount one version of events, does not necessarily present his readers with firm answers. Instead, his characters generate dissonances between their interpretations of events, which Thucydides usually does not signal let alone interpret. Furthermore he does not provide any indication of a 'correct' interpretation or meaning, or attempt directly to control the answers his readers might reach. Instead, he requires his readers to do the work, and constantly to form their own questions from his text; in this way he not only forces them to become interlocutors with the text, but also leaves his readers to form their own responses. Consequently, Thucydidean irony lies, at one level, in juxtaposing through speakers and events ideas and actions which complicate and contradict each other, and allowing readers to form interpretative schemata of their own.

By focussing in the first instance on the speeches of Cleon and Diodotus over the crisis presented by the revolt of Mytilene in 428/7, this paper will show how Thucydides uses ironic dissonances to create and to complicate characters, and so also their evaluations of empire and imperial control. In the second part of the paper we will see how these dissonances, especially those circling around the themes of danger and fear, reverberate both backward and forward throughout the *Histories*, and so prompt Thucydides' readers to ask questions about the moralities of empire, and to form their own moral opinions which may or may not agree with Thucydides' own, but which may also (by implication) fall short of Thucydides' absolute and god-like control of the narrative.

1. Cleon and Diodotus

Thucydides' use of antithesis is well known, and the assembly speeches presented him with an easy opportunity to oppose and juxtapose characters and political viewpoints.[3] Cleon and Diodotus are no exception. In the summer of 428 the Mytileneans, having asked for and gained the support of the Spartans, revolted from the Athenian alliance. However, by the summer of 427 the Athenians had regained control of the city, and the vote was taken at Athens, on the basis of their irrational anger (*hyp' orgēs*), to put to death the entire male population of Mytilene and to enslave the women and children (3.36.2). The next day they repented on the grounds that the decision to punish everyone rather than just those who were responsible was 'cruel' (*ōmos*) and disproportionate (*megas*) (3.36.3). It is implied that the original judgement was irrational and immoral, and was not the way that one should behave towards allies.

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[1] I would like to thank Dr Karen Ni-Meallaigh and Dr Matthew Wright for asking me to give this paper and their conference on *Irony and the Ironic in Classical* literature in September 2009. All dates are BC, and references are to Thucydides, unless otherwise stated.

[2] W.R. Connor, *Thucydides* (Princeton, 1987), 6-19.

[3] On the speeches, see in general S. Hornblower, *Thucydides* (Baltimore, 1987), 45-72; C. Pelling, *Literary Texts and the Greek Historian* (London and New York, 2000), 112-22.

Cleon and Diodotus then appear before the assembly to present opposite cases: Cleon speaks for the original decision, and Diodotus speaks against it. The expectation is that Diodotus will try to occupy the moral high ground and Cleon will represent the case of irrationality and savagery. This supposition is supported by another antithesis, which Thucydides has already constructed, between Pericles and his successors. In fact, Pericles' characterisation becomes implicated in those of Cleon and Diodotus as we shall see, so we need to pause a moment to see how Pericles is characterised before we can look at how the characters of Cleon and Diodotus work in relation to him.

Pericles in Thucydides appears to represent the ideal of moral and rational leadership. Pericles is said to be the 'first' (*prōtos*) of the Athenians at that time, and the most powerful (*dunatōtatos*) in speech and in action (1.139.4). Thucydides' Pericles was not only a paragon of intellect and leadership, but also Thucydides gives to him the high ideals of the Funeral Oration, where the Athenians are extolled for their respect for law, written and unwritten:

> We are open and free in the conduct of our public affairs and in the uncensorious way we observe the habits of each other's daily lives: we are not angry with our neighbour if he indulges his own pleasure, nor do we put on the disapproving look which falls short of punishment but can still hurt. We are tolerant in our private dealings with one another, but in all public matters we abide by the law: it is fear above all which keeps us obedient to the authorities of the day and to the laws, especially those laws established for the protection of the injured and those unwritten laws whose contravention brings acknowledged disgrace. (2.37.1-2)

Pericles also praises the openness of the way the Athenians deal with others, especially in military matters (2.39.1), and in the way that the Athenians make friends by conferring benefits rather than receiving them, and claims that the Athenians alone help others not by calculating the benefits but through trust in the fact of their freedom (2.40.5), and that, for these reasons, they are an education to Greece (2.41.1). Nevertheless, in a speech a few chapters later when he is trying to deflect the Athenians' anger over the course the war had taken, the Athenian general glories in empire, the burdens of which he says must be borne for the pursuit of glory:

> Do not think that the only issue at stake is slavery or freedom (in continuing the war): there is also loss of empire, and the danger from the hatred incurred under your rule. You no longer have the option to abdicate from your empire, should anyone out of present fear affect this idea as a noble-sounding means of disengagement. The empire you now possess is like a tyranny – perhaps wrong to acquire it, but certainly dangerous to let it go (2.63.1-2).

In this way, Pericles justifies empire in terms similar to those used by the Athenian ambassador at Sparta in 431, who pointed out that the empire came to Athens through the desire of the allies (so Athens was not completely responsible), that empire was for the Athenians a matter of security, prestige and self-interest, but that the Athenians dealt with their subjects fairly through law (1.75-77). Indeed, Pericles also rushes on to extol how the empire shows the greatness of Athens, and that active men such as the Athenians will not be afraid to incur short-term hatred in order to achieve the glory of empire for posterity (2.63.3-64.6).

Thucydides then launches into the great programmatic chapter of the *Histories* where, with one of his few direct authorial statements, he compares Pericles' greatness with those of his successors. While Pericles 'championed' the city, he anticipated its needs, and under him it was at its greatest (2.65.5-9). His successors, however, were of another sort; they were 'more on a level with one another, and because each was striving for first position they were inclined to indulge popular whim even in matters of state policy. The result – inevitable in a great city with an empire to rule – was a series of mistakes, most notably the Sicilian expedition' (2.65.10-11).

Cleon was the first of the successors, and it is natural that he would not be everything Pericles was. In fact Thucydides introduces him by saying that he was the 'most forceful' (*biaiotatos*) of the citizens, as well as the most persuasive (3.36.6),[4] and he advocated the position that had already been judged as cruel and irrational – the killing of the Mytileneans. Nevertheless (despite some striking antitheses such as Cleon's disparagement of democracy and its ability to rule effectively: esp. 3.37), the echoes between Cleon's speech and Pericles' are well known:[5] Cleon's insistence that he is unmoveable in his thinking (as Pericles also had been in his insistence on war), Cleon's

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[4] On the meaning of *biaiotatos* here as a comment on Cleon's rhetorical effectiveness (rather than on his character), see S. Hornblower, *Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford, 1991-2009), 1.420.

[5] T. Rood, *Thucydides: Narrative and Explanation* (Oxford, 1998), 147-9; C. Pelling, *Literary Texts and the Greek Historian* (London and New York, 2000), 9-10; cf. C.W. Macleod, 'Reason and Necessity: Thucydides III 9-14, 37-48', *Collected Essays* (Oxford, 1983), 68-9.

claim that the empire *was* a tyranny over the unwilling, and his assertion that pity is appropriate for those who share mutual obligations (not for relations of hostility as exist between Athens and her allies).

There are also other ways that Cleon is *like* Pericles, or at least echoes him. Cleon, for example, also insists that his position is based on justice and law: 'Imperfect laws kept valid give greater strength to a city than good laws unenforced.' Cleon, like Pericles, believes in the superiority of the rule of law, which acts against the clever-clever speeches of those who persuade in the assemblies (3.37-8 – an ironic nod to situational irony). Even in the fifth century the rule of law was considered central to ideas of freedom (we need only think of Herodotus and Demaratus and Xerxes before Thermopylae: Hdt. 7.104.4). Despite the unsavoury nature of his position, this Periclean Cleon is adhering to conventional morality, based on the recognition of law which would in most cases be applauded (even if this is the unwritten law of correct behaviour between allies). In the mouth of the ironic Cleon, however, it seems that law is cruel and lacks compassion, and it would seem that the morality of the absolute rule of law (to the point where is no room for pity) is being questioned.

We would expect then that Diodotus, Cleon's opposite in the debate, would also be morally opposite. However, in many ways he strikes an even stranger and more dangerous pose. For although he may argue for saving the Mytileneans, his argument is not based on pity either. In fact, he rejects pity, as he also rejects law, and adopts a position which has been characterised as *physis* in opposition to Cleon's *nomos*.[6] Whether or not that is entirely accurate, Diodotus certainly rejects any claims not only for pity, but also for law, and in this way places himself outside the moral framework established by Pericles.

In fact, Diodotus is as opposite to Pericles as Cleon's characterisation is apposite. He argues against the action of the Athenians which has been posed by Pericles (3.42), he rejects Pericles' claims of an open society which deals with people (and allies) transparently (3.43), for him law is irrelevant (and so then also is justice) (3.44.3) in the face of expediency. In fact, expediency and advantage is all. If Diodotus represents *physis*, however, he would also seem to leave the way open for the natural law of the Melian Dialogue, on the basis of which the strong (because of the laws of nature) will rule the weak. Yet natural law is very different from Cleon's law. In the Melian Dialogue, Thucydides allows the Athenians to argue in oxymoronic terms that 'divinity by repute and humanity as a certainty, because of the necessities of nature' (*physis anangkaia*), rule whomever they can conquer', and that this law is eternal (5.105.2). Diodotus claimed that expediency was necessary because the oppressed, who always have hope, will resist and transgress law (3.45). The Athenians at Melos argue that hope is an expensive commodity and that because of it the Melians will be destroyed according to natural law (5.103). This natural law is outside justice (5.97), or at least has its own justice (as the debate with the Melians reveals) of the strong over the weak. In this way, Diodotus' speech invites us to look forward (or to look back from the Melian Dialogue), as his rejection of hope by the oppressed is picked up by the Athenian ambassadors at Melos (who also reject the Melians' hope) and creates a way forward for the 'natural law' of the strong.

The connection between Cleon and Pericles has often been discussed, and is generally understood as producing an ironic caricature of Cleon. Tim Rood, for example, argues that in this way Thucydides brings these two political figures close together in an unexpected way, so that 'Kleon's specific echoes suggest the lesser man's mimicking of the greater...'.[7] Yet this assumes that the irony lies in Cleon as the unwitting perpetrator of irony (that is, the ironic knowledge exists between Thucydides and the audience). However, it is also possible that Cleon (and for that matter Diodotus) are themselves being ironic in reacting to Pericles. The echoes are still ironic, but the effect of the irony is different, and Pericles' position looks ironically idealistic (rather than just ideal),[8] and Cleon's position looks less ridiculous and his position becomes stronger. By changing the focalisation of the irony, the nature and flow of the distance between Cleon and Pericles changes direction. On the other hand, Diodotus, who on the face of it has the apparently more sympathetic position, is easily assumed to be himself ironic in his Periclean references. Diodotus' knowing irony widens the gap between himself and Pericles, and makes his position seem more unconventional and dangerous, as he deliberately distances himself from the acceptable ideal.

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[6] M. Ostwald, *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law. Law, Society and Politics in Fifth-Century Athens* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1986), 307-9, but note also S. Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford, 1991-2009), 1.423-4.

[7] T. Rood, *Thucydides: Narrative and Explanation* (Oxford, 1998), 148.

[8] For doubts about Thucydides' apparently uncritical eulogy on Pericles, see S.S. Monoson and M. Loriaux, 'The illusion of power and the disruption of moral norms. Thucydides' critique of Periclean policy', *American Political Science Review* 92 (1998), 285-97; L. Mitchell, 'Thucydides and the monarch in democracy', *Polis* 25 (2007), 1-30.

As we can see, then, Thucydides' characterisation of Cleon and Diodotus is not straightforward. It is ironic because they are not who they seem: Cleon, who is more like Pericles than he ought to be, does hold a moral position in the context of Greek thought, and possibly a more realistic one than Pericles does. Diodotus, on the other hand, who is an opposite to Cleon (and also to Pericles, though he instinctively ought to be similar) stands on morally difficult ground.

2. Thucydides on danger, fear and empire

Common threads in the discussion of empire so far have been 'danger' and 'fear'. Pericles says that to abandon the empire (which represents Athenian glory) would present a 'danger' from those whose hatred the Athenians have incurred (2.63.1); Cleon says that the subjects of the Athenians are unwilling and conspire against them (3.37.2), and Diodotus argues that the Athenians should look to the future and think of the desperation of the allies (esp. 3.46). The moral responsibility for empire falls on the Athenians, who seem only able to imagine it in terms of the management of the hatred and fear of others.

Yet the nature of the fear keeps shifting ground. The Athenian ambassador at Sparta says that the Athenians have their empire because of fear – fear of the Persians (1.75.3: 'first especially from fear, and then honour, and later self-interest'). This is a fear generated not by ruling, but by the possibility of being ruled. The Mytileneans themselves in the summer of 428 persuade the Spartans to help them and say that the only secure alliance is a balance of fear (3.11.2). Relations between Athens and her allies were not based on trusting 'friendship' or freedom built on goodwill but on fear on both sides (3.12.1). The reason they revolted was that the weakness of the Athenians caused by the plague shifted the balance in the fear, so that the Mytileneans, who were free and autonomous (and so posed a different kind of danger to those who had no hope), could take the opportunity and secede. The Athenians, then, seem justified in their fear, not of oppressed subjects, but of those who might try to rule them if they were not ruled with a strong hand.

This puts a different complexion on the Athenians' cause to fear – fear itself is inherent in the relationship.[9] In fact, Alcibiades justifies the Sicilian expedition also on the basis of another kind of fear:[10]

> And we cannot ration ourselves to some voluntary limit of empire. Given the position we have reached, we have no choice but to keep hold of our present subjects and lay designs on more, because there is the danger that, if we do not rule others, others will rule us. (6.18.3)

It is natural that the strong will rule the weak. The only way to prevent being ruled is to rule others. This shift in the source of fear also changes the perspective on empire and its moralities. The Athenians at Melos seem to have more of a point, and although distasteful, they must act for their own security. Similarly, the Athenians' reaction to the Mytileneans appears in a different light, and the debate between Cleon and Diodotus is not a debate between cruelty and reason, but about maintaining a rather more delicate balance than had first appeared. Cleon's case becomes a more positive attempt to address the vulnerabilities that Diodotus' position would open up. And yet, how seriously can we take Alcibiades' claims at face value, since his ambitions (at least in Thucydides' text) extended far beyond Syracuse, but encompassed Carthage and the domination of the whole of Greece (6.18.4, 90)? After all, despite his slick arguments, it is power for power's sake rather than security that is at stake. On what grounds should we believe in Athens as a subject of fear rather than a perpetrator of it?

3. Conclusion: Thucydidean ironies

We have seen that Cleon may be read ironically, and that Cleon may also be ironic. Irony also lies in the slipperiness of the ground over which Thucydides takes us, and the tension between the different interpretive possibilities he presents. He does not articulate a clear view of empire and the moralities of empire. Nothing is as it seems. Everything must be read against everything else, and ideas must be changed, developed and modified in the light of these readings. Nevertheless, Thucydides stands over it all as the master of all readings. In his methodological statements in Book 1 he promises that his readers will be able to trust him and that his views and interpretations will be the right ones:

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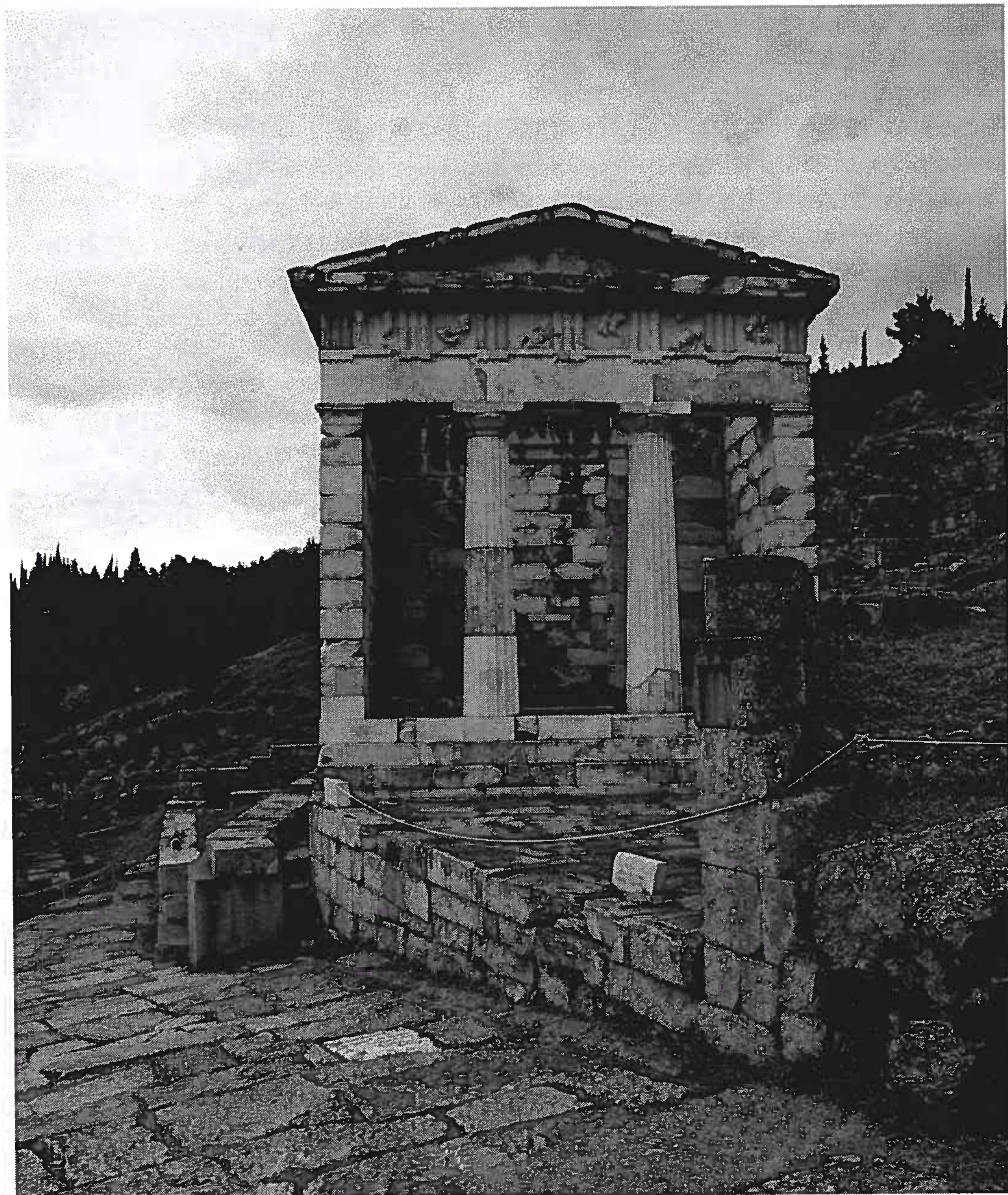
[9] Cf. C.W. Macleod, 'Form and Meaning in the Melian Dialogue', *Collected Essays* (Oxford, 1983), 58-61.

[10] On Alcibiades and the necessity of ruling, see also M. Ostwald, *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law. Law, Society and Politics in Fifth-Century Athens* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1986), 320-1.

> Anyone accepting the broad facts of my account on the arguments I have adduced will not go far wrong. He will put less faith in the glorified tales of the poets and the compilations of the prose chroniclers, whose stories are written more to please the ear than to serve the truth, are incapable of proof, and for the most part, given the lapse of time, have passed into the unreliable realms of romance. He will conclude that my research, using the clearest evidence available, provides a sufficiently accurate account considering the antiquity of the events. (1.21.1)

This is the final irony, that, although he promises clarity, Thucydides provides dissonance. Thucydides is always present in his text because of his complete control of the material, and his skilful creation of possible resolutions. At the same time, however, their multiplicity, and the contradictions they present means that Thucydides does not direct his readers, his interlocutors, to any one resolution. He does not tell them what to think. Readers are left to make their own decisions. Thus Thucydides engages his reader with ironic 'knowingness'. Standing outside the text, he does not so much have historical objectivity, as complete interpretative knowledge. He challenges the reader to join him in this knowledge, but also allows the interlocutor to take a wrong turn and so to fail to understand his meaning. So Thucydides' irony, like Socrates', had a malignant edge as well.



Athenian Treasury at Delphi

The aide-de-camp knits stockings during the *Te Deum*

David Harvey

At the beginning of this session, Eleanor Dickey gave a fascinating and lucid seminar on Latin Teaching in Antiquity. Her examples reminded me of those in a book I have that cost me all of 50p: *A Handbook to Modern Greek* by Edgar Vincent, Coldstream Guards, and T. G. Dickson of Athens (London, Macmillan and Co. 1881). In one respect it is an admirable work. It offers a very thorough grammar: under *hypo,* for example, the phrase "The theatre of Dionysus is under the Acropolis" is carefully distinguished from "India is under the Queen of England" (p. 111). Then come 19 Dialogues (with translation) and nine letters (with replies, in English and Greek); 13 passages of Greek (from Homer to Plutarch, with translations into modern Greek, then mediaeval and modern pieces to 1821); ten passages from contemporary Greek writers; 36 vocabularies; and a 56-page Appendix 'On the Relation of Modern to Classical Greek', by Sir Richard Jebb, no less. But it has one enormous fault. As most of our readers will know, there are two forms of modern Greek: the artificial *kathareuousa* , or 'purist' Greek, now tainted by its association with the odious regime of the colonels, and *demotic*, the universally used spoken and written language. Let's not waste space on an amateur explanation of a frequently discussed subject; far better to refer you to chapter six in Robert Browning's *Medieval and Modern Greek* (1969). Unfortunately, Vincent and Dickson's *Handbook* will teach you only *katharevousa* – "Another circumstance which renders the language interesting is that every year it is becoming more pure and classical", they wrongly predict (p. iii). And similarly: "This extract [from Angelos Vlachos] is given as an example of the Greek spoken by the middle classes. The language they write is much more correct and pure" (p. 231). That does not mean that their book has become a heap of waste paper, but it does mean that it has no practical value nowadays. It does, however, contain passages of historical interest and provides some entertainment. I start with the former. First, an exchange of letters that reveals how much travel to Greece has changed:

> To the Minister of the Interior:
>
> Sir, I was told in England by a friend, who is in the Turkish service, that it was unsafe to visit the Acropolis [of Athens] without a guard of soldiers. At first I did not venture to go there, but, encouraged by the example of some fellow-travellers, I sallied forth one day at 1 p.m., armed with a revolver, a heavy geological hammer, and an umbrella. As no attack was made upon me, I repeated the experiment, and, emboldened by success, now go there in the moonlight, unarmed and unattended, to the consternation of my wife, who threatens to come out from England and protect me from brigands. Although, as you will perceive from the above account, I am a man of great courage [!] and no prejudices, my duty towards my family would not allow me to start on my journey to Mycenae without an explicit assurance from you, sir, that I shall incur no danger (p. 180).

Was that heavy hammer intended for vandalism (it looks very much like it) or for self-defence? Was the umbrella a protection against rain or against Greeks? The authors leave us in the dark, or in the moonlight. Whichever it was, it's reassuring to read the reply (which strangely says nothing about the hammer):

> Sir, I am ordered to inform you that no case of brigandage has occurred within the frontiers of the Greek kingdom during the last eight years, and that you can travel anywhere you please in Greece without the slightest danger. Any reports you may have heard to the contrary are inspired by ignorance, prejudice, or malevolence, and may be entirely disregarded. I may further remark that Turkish officials are not usually the best authorities on Greek affairs, and that their views are too often discolored by interest or by prejudice. The earnest desire of the Greek Government is [...] that knowledge of the truth may expose the absurdity of these stories (p. 182).

Next, there is a remark (from the 'Conversations') that should be of interest to historians of sport: "There has been an attempt to revive the Olympian Games in the Stadium" (p.152). It is surprising to find this rumour so early, in a publication of 1881, well in advance of the circular that Baron de Coubertin sent in January 1894 formally putting forward this proposal. (The first modern Games were held in April 1898.)

Our third exhibit concerns the rivalry between blotting paper and sand, which appears in dialogue 17, 'In a stationer's': "I will try a few [pens]. Wrap them up with some blotting paper", says the visitor, adding with his usual politeness: "I cannot bear the sand you use in this country" (p. 167). I had thought, vaguely, that blotting paper was invented in the early 19th century or thereabouts, and that most people nowadays wouldn't know what it was. I find that I was wrong on both counts. Google will take you to over 800,000 sites referring to the stuff; 60,000 of them are suppliers, and Wikipedia (*si credere dignum est*) tells us, without naming its source, that it is first referred to in the 15th century. "Certain drugs, most notably LSD, are distributed on it", it goes on. If you prefer the alternative, sand from the beach from Porth Mellin on St.Mary's in the Isles of Scilly is said to be of particularly high quality; I have a very small amount of it, if anyone is desperate.

Let us move on to the 'Exercises', bearing in mind that they "are composed of sentences constantly used in ordinary conversation" (p.iv) – not such very ordinary conversation, to judge by the following selection: "New year's gifts are generally useless" (p.22). "The policeman was the hero of the contest" (p.35). "The shoemaker wastes his time in reading country newspapers" (p.36). "What a thin skin this orange has!" (p.44). "I hit myself on the arm" (p.53; an example of the reflexive pronoun, not an Exercise). "If you had heard Mrs. R.B., you would have fainted with pleasure" (p.85; who was she?) "The aide-de-camp was not at the Te Deum" (p.86). "Tell me why you knit stockings, when you can very easily find a woman to knit them for you" (p.87). "Have you seen Paul? He has grown old very fast, and wants to become a monk" (p.99). "He beat me because I showed him his caricature" (p.100). "His love towards me. About 9 o'clock. Inside the town. On the table. I wonder at that" (p.115; a particularly bizarre sequence). Or if you prefer a more extended extract: "George went into my room and took money ... I asked 'Are you not ashamed.....?' He began to cry and said, 'You make a mistake in thinking I am a thief; I take the money for your good that you may not be able to drink much wine'. I was struck by the forethought of my servant and said, 'You shall remain in my house and receive 20 francs a month more'" (p.101).

The 'Dialogues' present us with a vivid picture of the 19th-century Englishman abroad. This too is a piece of social history:

> Travelling by steamer: 'There is only one sheet on the bed' – 'That is the custom here, sir';–'I do not care what the custom is; I insist upon having two' (p. 135).
> Arrival at a Hotel: "'Are you sure that the bed is quite dry? The sheets seem very damp. You must change the sheets'. 'There is no bell in the room'. 'I think I shall require another blanket on the bed'. 'My head is too low bring me another pillow'. 'Put out the light'. 'I want more towels'. 'I have forgotten my toothbrush. Go and buy one as soon as you can'. 'Have you found my comb? Bring me some better soap'. 'I should like to have four candles instead of two'. 'You charge a great deal'" (p. 140-2).
> Searching for a family with which to reside: "'I shall put an advertisement in the newspaper'. 'Such a thing was never heard of. It is impossible.' 'But only a low class of people will answer the advertisement.'" (p. 156)
> Conversation with the head of a family: "'Can I have my meals with you?'; 'Yes, sir, if you can eat our Greek dishes.' 'I do not mind anything, so long as the house is clean'. 'I cannot take less than 350 francs a month, and I assure you that I shall gain very little'; 'Then you must manage your household very badly.'" (p. 157-8).
> Arrival in a Family: "'Are the sheets dry? [again!] Why have you given me one sheet? Go and get another directly.' 'Open the cupboard. I want to hand my coat up.' 'Clean my boots, please.'" (p. 159). [We note that this is the first time the word 'please' has appeared in these transactions].
> Meeting in the street: "'Well, what news is there?'; 'Not much'; 'I fear there will be war, however.'" (p. 161)
> Travelling in the Interior: "'We wish to sleep here, have you a clean room?'; 'Yes sir, here is a beautiful room, but it has no beds'; 'Fortunately I have brought one.... What have we to pay?'; '100 francs, sir'; 'Show me the bill. I will correct it'; 'Pay him 50 francs. It is enough. There are 50 francs. Take them and let me go. Get out of the way. Drive on, coachman. Let him talk. Hold your tongue. I shall not listen. We ought all to have brought our own beds, and as much food as possible. The hotels are abominable.'" (p. 168-9; what a charming man).

An exchange from the Correspondence shows that the Greeks no longer have the fighting spirit that they displayed at Thermopylae:

> Dear Mr. G---You told me that you would like to see us play lawn-tennis at Phalerum... It is only ten minutes by rail to Phalerum, so that we can have a game...
>
> Dear Sir, We can go to Phalerum some other day, but you must not count on me as a player, your English games are too violent and dangerous.

Here to finish with is my favourite passage, from the Exercise on p.116 (on Prepositions):

> In the shop was a man in a cage, and beside it two black slaves [Good heavens! in 1881? Then, abruptly:] 'It is against the law to draw caricatures on the wall'; 'Mind your own business; the house was built by me, and I shall put anything I want upon the walls or inside it, on the top or underneath it'; 'The police are coming. Quick! give me something to wipe it out. Come and stand in front of it to hide it from the eyes of the law. Throw me a sponge out of the window. For goodness' sake, be quick, or they will be round the corner. I shall be bound with chains and torn from my wife and family.'

The many meanings of ἆ

Rowan Fraser

Πε. ἐκφέρετέ μοι δεῦρ' ὅπλα, σὺ δὲ παῦσαι λέγων.
Δι. ἆ·   810
βούληι σφ' ἐν ὄρεσι συγκαθημένας ἰδεῖν;
Πε. μάλιστα, μυρίον γε δοὺς χρυσοῦ σταθμόν.

(*Bacchae* 809-12)

Pentheus: Bring my weapons out here and, you, stop talking.
Dionysos: Ah... Do you want to see the women sitting together in the mountains?
Pentheus: Very much. I would give an immense weight of gold.

The plot of Euripides' *Bacchae* and Dionysos' scheme against Pentheus turns at line 810 when Dionysos utters a single syllable - ἆ. It is this single line, single word, single sound that marks the decisive moment of the play. For, in response to Dionysos' subsequent question, Pentheus answers in the affirmative. His previous bellicosity against the Bacchants has vanished and his fate is sealed.

What, though, does ἆ mean? It stands outside the metre, which creates a pause, an emphasis, that forces the audience's attention to rest on the single sound. This emphasis suggests that the ἆ denotes a moment of importance. What then is ἆ supposed to convey and how is this represented on stage?

Before its use in this particular context can be examined, we must consider its meaning elsewhere. LSJ defines ἆ as an 'exclamation expressing pity, envy, contempt, etc.', which can also be used in reproofs or warnings and is frequently used with an adjective.[1] The LSJ intermediate lexicon adds 'like Lat. and Engl. *ah!*', but what does 'ah' mean in English? Whatever you want it to mean in that particular context – agreement, to stop someone, pain, resignation, surprise ... The list goes on.

TLG records 409 instances of ἆ (with this particular accentuation). Of these, the vast majority consist of ἆ followed by a vocative – usually of δεῖλος ('wretch'). This 'vocative ἆ' usage goes back to Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which contain fourteen instances of ἆ followed by a form of δεῖλος.[2] For example, Odysseus says to Socus just before he kills him with a spear: ἆ δεῖλ' ἦ μάλα δή σε κιχάνεται αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος ('Ah wretch, complete destruction has certainly come upon you', *Iliad* 11.441). This use of the vocative ἆ was subsequently used by, among others, Plato, Diogenes Laertius, Bacchylides and Callimachus. Based on the surviving texts, it was the most common usage of this interjection.

If we exclude the vocative ἆ usage, which is not relevant for the *Bacchae* passage, there are forty instances of ἆ. Many of these occur as a standalone interjection, but there are also occurrences of double ἆ, triple ἆ and quadruple ἆ. Is there a difference between the single and multiple expressions of ἆ? Quadruple ἆ appears only three times – all in extant tragedies – and appears to be used solely to denote pain. Twice within the same dialogue, Philoktetes utters quadruple ἆ to Neoptolemos (*Philoktetes* 731, 738) and follows it later with the extended exclamations ἀτταταῖ (743) and παπαῖ, / ἀπαππαπαππαῖ, παππαπαππαπαππαπαῖ (745-6) as the pain increases. The association of this expression with pain is also clear in the *Rhesos* when the charioteer enters in the aftermath of the Greek raid and, before he begins his *rhesis*, cries out:

[1] LSJ *s.v.* ἆ.
[2] *Iliad* 11.441, 452, 816, 16.837, 17.201, 443, 24.518; *Odyssey* 10.431, 11.618, 14.361, 18.389, 20.351, 21.86, 288.

ἆ ἆ ἆ ἆ,
οἵα μ' ὀδύνη τείρει φονίου
τραύματος εἴσω. πῶς ἂν ὀλοίμην;

(*Rhesos* 749-51)

Ah ah ah ah, such is the pain of the bloody wound inside me that distresses me. How I wish I were dead.

No usage of triple ἆ survives in extant tragedy, but there is one occurrence in the satyr-play *Cyclops*. Silenos, having imbibed Odysseus' wine, has become inebriated and starts to dance, expressing his high spirits with ἆ ἆ ἆ (157). Seaford suggests that it 'may be a subtle expression of the anarchy of Sil.'s joy,'[3] but owing to its *hapax* status nothing can be stated definitively about its typical association.

This leaves us with the more numerous single and double uses of ἆ. There are 21 uses of double ἆ and all of them are in fifth-century drama: seventeen in tragedies, three in comedies and one in the *Cyclops*. The double ἆ is used twice in the *Bacchae* to express panic when the earthquake is shaking the palace and the chorus is fearful of the walls falling down and flames burning down the building (585, 595). In the other plays, double ἆ is used to express pain, frustration, anguish (both mental and physical), fear and terror.[4] The use of double ἆ therefore denotes some sort of emotional, usually involuntary, response to a situation.

But what about the single ἆ? There are sixteen uses of it in ancient Athenian drama and the vast majority survive in the works of Euripides, with only two in Aeschylus and three each in Sophocles and Aristophanes. It is used in a very different manner to the multiple versions of ἆ. There are two examples of the vocative ἆ (*Prometheus Bound* 567 and *Trackers* fr. 314.197 *TrGF*), but most often it is followed by a command. The ἆ may therefore be uttered in order to get the attention of the addressee before the command, which can be positive or negative, is given.[5]

Does the stranger/Dionysos issue a command to Pentheus? His subsequent words do not suggest that he does. It is possible that there is an implied command to Pentheus to stop giving orders or to Pentheus' attendants to ignore their master's order.[6] But there is no explicitly voiced command and other instances of ἆ do not appear to be followed by an implied command. This interpretation is therefore not appropriate for the *Bacchae* ἆ. There are four further instances of ἆ in fifth-century Athenian drama.

Kassandra uses ἆ when she sings of her visions of the horrors within the house of Atreus: ἆ ποῖ ποτ' ἤγαγές με; πρὸς ποίαν στέγην; ('Ah, where have you led me? To what sort of house?', *Agamemnon* 1087). While there is no vocative address following her ἆ, she invoked Apollo in the two previous lines. In most occurrences, ἆ begins a speech, but, in each of the three exceptions to this, the ἆ marks a change in the type of communication or a change in the addressee.[7] Kassandra's utterance of ἆ in the third line of her antistrophe is therefore unusual: her ἆ is not meant to draw Apollo's attention. The use of ἆ at the

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[3] Richard Seaford (ed.), *Euripides: Cyclops* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) at 133.

[4] Perdicoyianni-Paléologue deems double ἆ to be 'expressive of a violent sensation caused by sight, hearing, thought or presentiment concerning a terrible or ignoble fact'. She also thinks it can be caused by surprise, but some of her examples can be interpreted differently (Hélène Perdicoyianni-Paléologue, 'The Interjections in Greek Tragedy', *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*, 70/1 (2002), 49-88 at 69, 73-4). The Cyclops' use, to me, conveys fear (or anguish) that Silenos will drink all the wine while Orestes is clearing suffering from mental anguish from his visions of the Furies (*Cyclops* 565, *Orestes* 274). Prometheus' use of it could indeed betoken surprise (*Prometheus Bound* 114).

[5] Barrett terms this usage 'a sharp cry of protest' (W.S. Barrett (ed.), *Euripides: Hippolytos* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) at 251). Negative: *Oedipus the King* 1147, *Alkestis* 526, *Hippolytos* 503, *Ion* 361, *Helen* 445, *Rhesos* 687, *Wealth* 127. Positive: *Philoktetes* 1300, *Orestes* 181.

[6] While Elektra's ἆ at *Orestes* 181 is not immediately followed by her command to the chorus, it is only one line later. She first gets their attention with ἆ, then reprimands them for making a noise and finally tells them to be silent.

[7] *Herakles* 629, *Orestes* 181 and *Trackers* fr. 314.197 *TrGF*.

beginning of a question is paralleled in *Thesmophoriazusae* 689, where, in contrast, ἆ is used to catch Mnesilochos' attention.[8] Despite the reversing of the order, it is clear that Kassandra uses ἆ within an address and therefore this example can be considered a vocative ἆ usage.

No command or address follows the ἆ Herakles utters as his children do not comply with his order not to cling to his clothes (*Herakles* 629). His ἆ may mark his attempt to remove their hands from his clothes, the physical accompaniment to his previous verbal command. His subsequent words, however, are directed at himself, which suggests that the interjection is not addressed to the children or Megara. It seems likely that Herakles' ἆ marks a sound of woe or internal anguish – the typical meaning of the double ἆ. This usage is not comparable with Dionysos' ἆ as the god is unlikely to be distressed by Pentheus' actions since he is in total control of all that occurs in the play – as he made clear in the prologue.

Oranje declares that ἆ denotes Herakles' 'surprise at such obstinacy' and thinks that Dionysos uses it in the same way.[9] Indeed, at *Frogs* 758, Xanthias utters ἆ by itself when he expresses surprise at the slave's news that the infernal noise he can hear is caused by Euripides and Aeschylus.[10] Dionysos cannot, however, be surprised at Pentheus' behaviour since the king merely reiterates his earlier commands (780-6).

Dionysos' ἆ is therefore dissimilar to other uses in Athenian drama. He issues no subsequent command or vocative address to Pentheus and surprise is not relevant. It does not seem likely that the god would be suffering internal anguish at Pentheus' words, but it is worthwhile noting that there are two possible layers of meaning in Dionysos' utterance. While the audience is aware that the stranger is Dionysos, Pentheus is under the impression that he is the god's acolyte.[11] Pentheus therefore may be meant to interpret the sound as the Stranger's frustration or anguish at his refusal to bow down before Dionysos, while the audience is aware that it connotes something different. Such a disparity of interpretation by internal and external audiences is appropriate in a play that deals with disguise and the distinction between appearance and reality. Having looked at the other extant examples, there are no comparable uses of this interjection.

Diggle finds a way around this by proposing that lines 810 and 811 may have been transcribed.[12] In response to Dionysos' question, therefore, Pentheus responds with 'ahh...', which could be understood in several different ways. For example, it could signal Pentheus' mental anguish at giving in to his desires or to the god's power. It is clear, however, that this usage does not involve a command or vocative address, but rather is similar to double ἆ in that it may be an involuntary emotional response. This is an interesting conjecture, but we have no evidence for such a transmission error.

While other scholars accept the line-order preserved in the manuscript tradition, they reject any possibility of obtaining clarity of meaning from this utterance. Goldhill deems it to be an 'ambiguous utterance of Dionysus', while Taplin declares that it is 'impossible to pin down any single emotion or tone: all one can say is that the delivery must capture the tension of a turning-point which means death for Pentheus.'[13] While it is impossible to determine how ἆ was delivered during the original performance of the *Bacchae*, there is still scope for further understanding of its use by Euripides.

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[8] Ἆ ποῖ σὺ φεύγεις; ('Ah, to where are you fleeing?'). Interestingly, this occurs within the parody of Euripides' *Telephus* (see further Peter Rau, *Paratragodia: Untersuchung Einer Komischen Form Des Aristophanes* (Zetemata, 45; München: Beck, 1967) at 48-9).

[9] Hans Oranje, *Euripides' Bacchae: The Play and Its Audience* (Leiden: Brill, 1984) at 84 n.203.

[10] This is the only extant example in Ancient Greek drama where someone utters ἆ without anything further.

[11] As noted by Roosmarijn Scheffer, 'Ἆ in Griekse Tragedie', (Diss. University of Amsterdam, 2006) at 13.

[12] E. Chr. Kopff (ed.), *Euripides: Bacchae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1982) at 65.

[13] Simon Goldhill, *Reading Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) at 283, Oliver Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action* (London: Methuen, 1978) at 120.

Editors and translators tend to translate ἆ as 'ah' (not helpful because of the aforementioned breadth of meanings), 'stop!' or 'wait!'[14] All these translations tend to convey a sense of urgent protest.[15] But how does that fit with the scene? To whom and concerning what is the protest directed? Is it to Pentheus who has just ordered his servant to fetch his weapons and the Stranger to be silent? Or is it to Pentheus' attendant who is about to get the weapons?[16] Some translations (and modern dramatic productions) ignore it altogether, suggesting its irrelevance to the sense of the scene.[17] But the extrametrical status of the interjection within the text highlights its importance. Only *Herakles* 629 also features an extrametrical ἆ.

The importance accorded by the extrametrical status suggests that the argument put forth by other scholars, that it is Dionysos' question to Pentheus that brings about his capitulation, is flawed.[18] I do not think that that interpretation is strong enough to account for the rapid about-turn. As has been clearly shown, Pentheus' self-control over the Dionysiac longing within him has been slipping throughout the play and it finally vanishes altogether at this point.[19]

Pentheus' attitude changes so quickly that something significant must occur and I would suggest that the cause is supernatural and comes from Dionysos himself. The god's ἆ, therefore, is a signifier of the exertion of his power onto Pentheus.[20] It therefore means nothing and everything. It is the turning-point of the play. I do not think there is a word in English that can convey the full meaning. While Pentheus later shows that he has not yet completely submitted himself to the god (845-6), his fate is sealed at this moment. Dionysos has crushed Pentheus' self-control to release his inner desire to see the women. A potentially analogous sound that conveys divine influence occurs in *Andromache*. The messenger describes the sound – δεινόν τι καὶ φρικῶδες ('something dreadful and awe-inspiring') – which emanated from inside Apollo's temple (1147-8). This supernatural sound compels the Delphians to again attack Neoptolemos despite having earlier fled from his deadly fighting skills (1140-1). No reference is made to any words of Apollo; rather, the god's will and influence are transmitted through a sound.

If ἆ does signify the transfer of Dionysos' power onto Pentheus, how could this have been portrayed to the audience when it is only represented by one word? The significance attached to the use of ἆ here suggests a concomitant performative emphasis. One possibility is that ἆ was complemented by a physical gesture symbolizing the transfer of energy/power from Dionysos to Pentheus, perhaps through a hand gesture or even contact between the god and the king. The latter option was used in Peter Hall's 2002 National Theatre production. Dionysos places his hands on Pentheus' body and sings ἆ for several seconds, ranging up and down the scale. He finally touches Pentheus' groin and then there is silence. Dionysos says 'I see' and there is further silence before he asks Pentheus whether he wants to see the women. It is the god's touch that causes the change in Pentheus and releases his innermost desires. This is a powerful and

[14] 'Ah': Richard Seaford (ed.), *Euripides: Bacchae* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1996) at 213, Colin Teevan, *Euripides: Bacchai* (London: Oberon Books, 2002) at 46, John Davie, *Euripides: The Bacchae and Other Plays* (London: Penguin, 2005) at 149. 'Stop': Mauno Manninen (ed.), *Euripides: Bakkhantit* (Porvoo & Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1967) at 37. 'Listen': Anton Sovre, *Euripides: Bakhe, Alkestis, Feničanke* (Ljublana: Drzavna Zalozba Slovenije, 1960) at 55.

[15] As Dodds termed it (E.R. Dodds (ed.), *Euripides: Bacchae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960) at 175).

[16] Mastronarde points out that if such an order were directed at the attendant, it is unlikely that Pentheus would have tolerated the attendant's lack of compliance, so the attendant must have exited the stage (Donald J. Mastronarde, *Contact and Discontinuity: Some Conventions of Speech and Action on the Greek Tragic Stage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1979) at 109).

[17] David Greig, *Euripides: The Bacchae* (London: Faber and Faber, 2007) at 51.

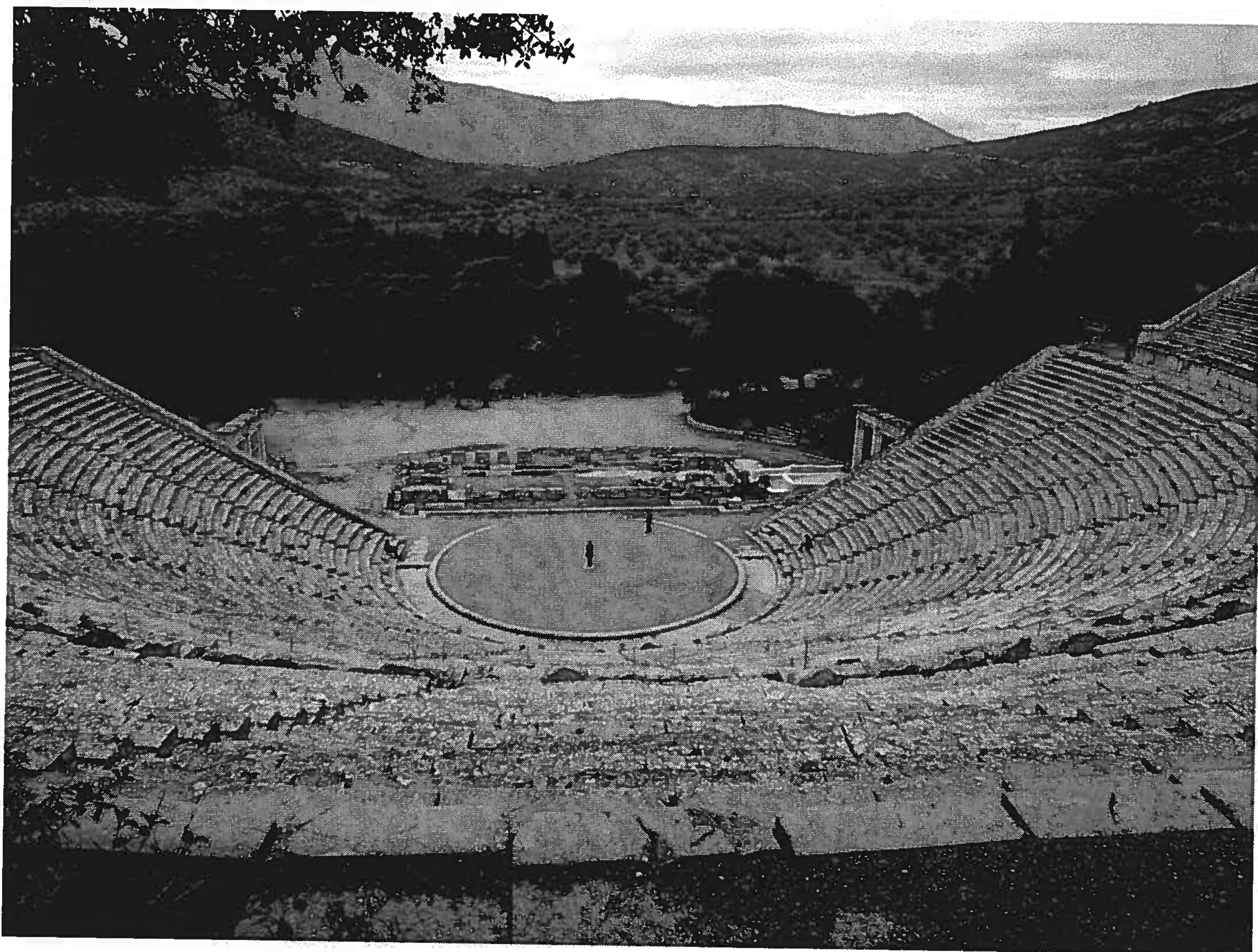
[18] For example, G.S. Kirk (ed.), *The Bacchae by Euripides* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1970) at 89.

[19] Dodds (ed.), *Euripides: Bacchae* at 172-3, Seaford (ed.), *Euripides: Bacchae* at 33, William Sale, *Existentialism and Euripides: Sickness, Tragedy and Divinity in the* Medea, *the* Hippolytus *and the* Bacchae (Berwick Vic.: Aureal 1977) at 80-123.

[20] Cf. Charles Paul Segal, 'Introduction', *Euripides: Bakkhai* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) at 22.

effective visualisation of the conveyance of the god's influence. Alternatively, the ἆ could have been sung without any accompanying physical gesture.[21]

In conclusion, while we can never know how ἆ at *Bacchae* 810 was initially staged in fifth-century Athens, close analysis and evaluation of the possibilities of meaning and performance of ἆ allow us to more closely understand the uniqueness of its usage and therefore the extraordinary power of this scene. This is appropriate for a play that deals with the introduction of the divine into the human world.[22]



Theatre at Epidaurus

[21] A further possibility – albeit a very speculative one – is that the sound may have resembled one used in cult or ritual, in which case initiates of those rituals would gain an extra level of understanding, while non-initiates would accept it as simply symbolising something divine and supernatural.

[22] This paper was first given at the Intensive Course on the Study and Performance of Ancient Greek Drama held in Epidaurus by the European Network of Research and Documentation of Performances of Ancient Greek Drama. I am very grateful to Pauline Hanesworth and Matthew Wright for their suggestions and comments on this paper.

Why does Matro weep? Barley bread and social identity and status in Classical Greece

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It is said that the Pharaoh Psameticus was someone with great intellectual preoccupations. Herodotus wrote that once he tried to solve a particular and difficult question: "Who was the oldest race among the humans?" To solve this problem, he put into practice a somewhat cruel experiment: he left a couple of babies to be raised without any human contact besides a shepherd who was in charge of giving them some goat milk but was forbidden to speak to them. Two years passed without any successful remarks until one day, when the shepherd entered into the hut where the babies lived, they raised their hands at him crying: *"Becos! Becos!"* Once informed, the Pharaoh inquired whether that word meant something to anyone, and finally he realised that the Phrygians used this same word to refer to bread. And so, Psameticus thought that if children without the knowledge of any human language named food in the same way as the Phrygians, this fact necessarily acknowledged that the Phrygians were the eldest of the human race.[1]

This is one of the many stories that Herodotus wrote, the importance of which does not lie in its truthfulness, but rather in the fact that it displays the mentality of the writer as well as the ones who shared a similar culture.[2] What does this anecdote mean to us besides being an entertaining story? From childhood, we tend to internalise our own food system as if it was something related to the natural and, at the same time, the civilised world. Therefore, there is little surprise in the fact that Herodotus assimilates "bread" with "food" as a whole, or that he (or his sources) believed that bread was the natural food for humans. The term "staple foods" refers to cereals and legumes, which had great significance in Classical Greece where around 75-80% of the foodstuffs were derived from cereals, mainly barley, as well as legumes, such as lentils, in various forms: porridges, stews, cakes and, of course, breads. However, the reality behind these general names is quite complicated. For example, Athenaeus quotes almost 50 types of bread, offering us an exhaustive range from the most simple to the most elaborate. At the same time, we must not forget that in any non-egalitarian society there is a tendency to mark hierarchical distinctions in the foodstuffs; distinctions that usually coincide with the social identities of its consumers. Moreover, some foods are not only identified with a concrete social group, but are integrated in the ways in which those groups express their own identity, or at least, in the ways in which this identity is perceived from the outside.[3]

The connection between food and society is a complex one, and it has been studied from many different points of view. We find some very interesting theoretical approaches in some social sciences, such as in anthropology or sociology. The anthropological structuralist approach has been quite influential in French classical studies, providing us with some very useful works related to the symbolic uses of food in the religious feasts.[4] In addition, the anthropological works that are integrated in the so-called "developmentalist" school offer us a quite valuable source of ideas that refer to food in its social contexts. For these scholars, the food system absorbs and reflects a whole variety of social and cultural phenomena. It is reflective of the social structures that are then represented in their more extended and intimate levels. The inequalities relating to food's production, distribution, preparation and consumption, as well as the disposal of waste, tend to reproduce the broader socio-political relationships specific to any society. Consequently, we cannot begin any serious analysis of the food system without studying it within the main patterns of the distribution of power and authority in the social, political, economical and cultural spheres.[5] Sociology also provides us with valuable approaches regarding the role of the food in the development of

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[1] Hdt. II, 2

[2] Rood, T., "Herodotus and foreign lands", in Dewald, C.; Marincola, J. (eds), *The Cambridge companion to Herodotus*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006, 290-305

[3] Goody, J., *Cooking, cuisine and class; a study in Comparative Sociology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982

[4] Some of the most interesting theoretical formulations of the structuralism can be found in: Lévi-Strauss, C., *Les Mythologiques, vol. I: le cru et le cuit*, Plon, Paris, 1964; Lévi-Strauss, C., *Les Mythologiques, vol III: l'origine des manières de table*, Plon, 1968; Douglas, M., *Purity and Danger: an analysis of concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1966; Barthes, R., "Towards a psycho-sociology of contemporany food consumption", *Food and Drink in History*, Baltimore, 1979, 166-173; some of the most influential works of the French structuralists classical studies related with food are: Detienne, M.; Vernant, J-P., *La cuisine du sacrifice en Pays Grec*, Gallimard, Paris, 1989; Detienne, M., *Les jardins d'Adonis*, Gallimard, Paris, 1989; Schmitt Pantel, P., *La cité au banquet: historie des repas publics dans les cités grecques*, École française de Rome, Rome, 1992

[5] Some of the most interesting theoretical works related with the developmentalist school are: Goody, J., *Cooking, cuisine and class; a study in Comparative Sociology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982; Mintz, S. W., *Sweetness and Power: the place of sugar in Modern*

hierarchical social identities. Although sociologists are primarily concerned with the contemporary world, some of their works, such as those of Pierre Bourdieu, have influenced the way in which archaeologists and ancient historians perceive food consumption. Through the continuous repetition of some actions, an *habitus* is implemented in the social practice and discourse, showing the potential of those actions in the development of the cultural and social identities.[6]

There are many studies related to food in the Classical World that have been influenced by these theoretical approaches since the 1980s, but we should bear in mind the peculiarities of these ancient cultures before applying these anthropological and sociological approaches to them.[7] Classical Greek societies present some peculiarities that make it difficult to create a simple analysis of food consumption in particular social contexts. The economical and technical limitations of the Greek world prevented the creation of a sharp gap between the food consumption of the masses and the élite: the gastronomical tradition of the élite could not consciously exclude the food that was eaten by the lower classes since it was indispensable for them too. In many ways, from a sociological point of view, the food horizon in the Greek world is more homogeneous than in other ancient cultures. One example is the Roman Empire, where there was a clearer distinction between the food of the poor and that of the rich. Herodotus expected that all his audience would understand his point of view regarding the centrality of bread in the human diet since it was present everywhere, independent of the social and economical position of the consumers.[8]

Even though it seemed that the food system was somewhat the same for all the social groups in Classical Greece, we should be aware that it was more a *mirage* than the real situation. In Classical Greece, the two main criteria that establish a social distinction regarding food are: the capacity of the range of food that was available beyond the limits of the subsistence, and the exclusivity of the dishes prepared for the élite. On the one hand, the Greek élite could count on large amounts of food within the technical limitations of storage – at least compared with the rest of the society. Higher classes are also defined in some way by the variety of their everyday diet. They may not eat many different things in comparison with other people, but while, for example, someone belonging to the working class would have to choose between a limited range of foods, the higher classes could afford to consume the various items they had in storage, as well as some other exclusive foodstuffs, such as large fish.

On the other hand, the dishes of the élite were considered exclusive not only because of their use of exotic foods, but also because of the quality of the ingredients available to them and the complex ways in which the dishes were prepared. For example, the upper classes ate barley bread, *maza*, but this was made with the best barley that could be found, and the flour was milled with the finest care. Also, while *maza* was the main food of the poorest social groups, who had little else to eat, for the élite the importance of the *maza* was also in the accompaniment, the *opson*, reaching to some extreme cases of *opsophagia*: the unleashed passion that came with eating foods other than cereal products. We can see an example of this in a fragment of Alexis where he relates the everyday diet of a poor family through the mouth of an old woman:

> There´s my husband, a pauper; and me, an old woman; and my daughter and my young son; and this fine girl. Five in all. Three of us are having dinner, and the other two of us sharing a little barley-cake with them. We raise our voices in lyreless lament whenever we have nothing; and because of our lack of food, our complexions are pale. Our portion and our mode of life is: fava beans, lupins, vegetables, turnips, bird´s pease, grass-peas, Valonia acorns, hyacinth bulbs, cicadas, chickpeas, wild pears, and the divinely-planted, maternal object of my care, a dried fig, invention of a Phrygian fig tree.[9]

History, Viking, New York, 1985; Mennell, S., *All manners of food: Eating and taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1985; Harris, M., *Good to eat: Riddles of food and culture*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1986; Beardsworth, A.; Keil, T., *Sociology on the Menu. An invitation to the study of food and society*, Routledge, 1997; Couniham, C,: *The anthropology of food and body: gender, meaning and power*, Routledge, New York, 1999

[6] Bourdieu, P., *La Disctintion: critique sociale du jugement*, Minuit, Paris, 1979

[7] Some of the best works that can be read in English are: Garnsey, P., *Famine and food supply in the Graeco-Roman World: responses to risk and crisis*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988; Wilkins, J.; Harvey, D.; Brothwell, P., *Food in Antiquity*, Exeter University Press, Exeter, 1995; Garnsey, P., *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999; Wilkins, J., *Food in the Ancient World*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2006

[8] As James Davidson points out, we should bear in mind that this was the situation in classical Athens, but in other parts of the Greek world, such as Syracuse, or in other periods of time, such as during the Hellenism, there were very different kind of approaches to the consumption of food in its social contexts; Davidson, J.: *Courtesans and fishcakes*, HarperCollins Publishers, London, 1997

[9] Alexis, *PCG* fr. 167 (Ath. II, 55a)

Many of these items are eaten by the poor as well as by the rich, but there is a difference in the way in which the are perceived. For Alexis' woman, the foods that she lists are the basis of her own family's subsistence, but we als know that these are the types of food that are usually served in the *symposium* as *tragemata*: the types of snacl served to make the participants thirsty and encourage them to drink more. I will not discuss whether th *symposion* is an aristocratic practice or not in this article, but this fact points out the change of perception of food depending on the social contexts and practices. Utilising the terminology of Lévi-Strauss, we could speak of the shi from a central position to a peripheral one and all the changes in the structural grammar of food that this involves

The *maza* is a problematic food in the sense that it appears to have been eaten by all the social groups, but th social discourses about it are heterogeneous and sometimes contradictory. It is difficult to reconstruct the soci discourses of the lower classes, since very little of their symbolic expressions survive. However, we do have som examples from literary works produced by the social elite in which they attempt to incorporate the social discours of the *demos*. One example is Attic Old Comedy, where we can perceive a different viewpoint regarding food i comparison with other literary texts such as Middle and New Comedy, which were less concerned with th representation of the Athenian ideology than with food as a whole. In Athenian Old Comedy we find sever instances where *maza* is represented as an everyday food of the *demos*, and in these texts there is nothing bad i the barley bread. At the beginning of *The Knights* of Aristophanes, two slaves of the *Demos* are complaining abou the arrogance of the Paphlagonian character, who represents the politician Cleon. He had captured the Spartar who were isolated in Pylos and gained a lot of political influence with this military success. Here this fact represented in a comic way: the Paphlagonian stole the Laconian *maza* that the other slave (maybe the politicia Demosthenes) cooked for the *Demos*, gaining the sympathy of the *Master Demos*.[10] In another comedy o Aristophanes, *The Wasps*, we can see how Philocleon, who represents the masses that had benefited from th radical democracy and which also supports the belligerency of Cleon, eats a *maza* when he comes back to his hous after being a juror in the democratic courts. Apparently it is a great experience for him and he states that it is on of the most pleasing things of his daily life:

> But what's the most delightful of all of them, which I'd forgotten, is when I come home with my pay and the when I arrive they all greet me lovingly together because of the money. First of all my daughter washes me an anoints my feet and bends down to kiss me, and keeps calling me "daddy dear" while really trying to fish m three obols out of me with her tongue. And the little wife fawns on me, bringing me a puff-pastry and the sitting down beside me and forcing me to have it – "Eat this, take a nibble of this."[11]

Another positive view of the role of *maza* in the human diet is seen in the descriptions of the comic utopias. One o the most interesting points in the Aristophanic play *The Assembly of Women* is the fact that the new politica regime will make basic foodstuffs available to all, such as loaves of bread, slices of fish and, of course, *maza*.[12] Eve more clearly, the importance of the barley bread is stated in the comic perceptions of the Golden Age. In them *maza* is one of the main foods that are effortlessly available to humankind. Cratinus wrote about a time in whic *maza* grew already prepared, and loaves of bread (*artos*) were so common that they were used for playing a knucklebones with them[13]. In one of the plays, the charcter Telecleides, perhaps representing Cronos himself spok of the Golden Age when there were rivers of wine and where, *maza* and wheat breads fought amongst themselve in order to get the most attention from the humans: *"... and barley-cakes fought with loaves of bread aroun people's mouths, begging them to glup down the whitest ones, if they would be so kind."*[14]

We can trace the social discourses of food in some literary texts. While in some literary forms *maza* is presente negatively, mainly connecting it with the grief of poverty, the ones that reflect the ideology of the *demos*, tend t present this food in a positive way. But does it mean that the social discourses of food were absolutely accepted i wider contexts? Evidence relating to this matter is scarce, but, perhaps we can find an indication in the poem o Matro of Pytane called *The Attic Dinner*, recorded by Athenaeus. We hardly know anything about Matro excep that he was from Pytane, a place on the Mysian coast of Asia Minor, and that he lived in the second half of th

[10] Ar. Eq. 52-57
[11] Ar. Vesp. 605-611
[12] Ar. Eccl. 605-606
[13] Cratinus, *PCG* IV, fr. 176 (Ath, VI, 267e)
[14] Teleclides, *PCG* VII, fr. 1 (Ath. VI, 268b)

Fourth Century BC. He visited Athens once and was invited to a dinner offered by the orator Xenochles.[15] The description of the banquet is sarcastic, parodying the Homeric epic tradition from the beginning. The dinner displays all the criteria that identify the food of the social élite: quality, quantity and exclusiveness. For example, the loaves of bread, predictably of wheat rather than of barley, are so good that Boreas falls in love with them while they are being baked.[16] Matro, who does not belong to the Athenian élite, describes with increasing surprise the foods that are served and eaten, until he could not stand it anymore and starts to cry: *"But when I saw the ham, how I began to tremble; in mustard it lay nearby sweet more being gold keeping off I began to wail when I tasted it, since I would no longer see these foods on the morrow, but on cheese and servile bread would have to."*[17]

Are the tears of Matro significant? I think so. They express the way in which social identities are linked with the consumption of food beyond the "material" way. Food is one of the most powerful agents related to the social structures of the Ancient World not only for its nutritional value, but most of all because of the way in which it develops ideological and emotional ties between individuals; ties that play a crucial role in the creation not only of social identity, but also of personal identity. We are what we eat in more than one sense. Food defines us as members of a broad culture, as members of a social group, and, ultimately, as individuals with personal preferences, limits and expectations. Perhaps this is why Matro, in his peculiar moment of joy, painfully conscious of the élite world of foods from which he was excluded, started to cry.

Woman kneading bread, c. 500–475 BCE, National Archaeological Museum of Athens.
Source:
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d9/NAMA_Figurine_pétrissante_1.jpg

[15] For a detailed study on Matro of Pytane: Douglas Olson, S.; Sens, A.; *Matro of Pytane and the tradition of Epic Parody in the Fourth Century BCE. Text, translation and commentary*, Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1999

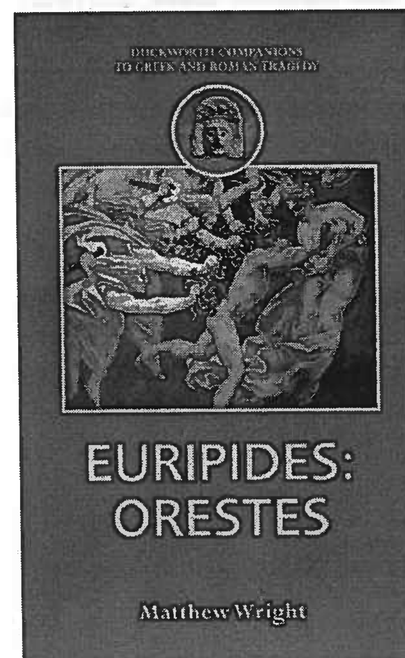
[16] Matro, *Suppl. Hel.*, fr. 534 (Ath, IV, 134d-137c) (Ath. IV, 134d-e)

[17] Matro, *Suppl. Hel.*, fr. 534 (Ath, IV, 134d-137c) (Ath. IV, 136d)

Book reviews

Matthew Wright, *Euripides: Orestes*, (Duckworth Companions to Greek and Roman Tragedy)

(London: Duckworth, 2008). Pp. 176. Paper, $24.00. ISBN 978–0–7156–3714–2.



Pat Easterling

The Duckworth series of Companions to Greek and Roman Tragedy is designed to deal with individual plays in discussions that must be brief and accessible at the same time as meaty and thought-provoking. This means providing relevant information about content and context, performance and reception, paying detailed attention to critical debates, giving well researched guidance on further reading, and ideally bringing a personal flavour to the whole enterprise. Matthew Wright's *Orestes* admirably fulfils the aims of the series, offering an engaging exploration of a tragedy that in its 2,500-year history has prompted extreme reactions.

One of the oddest things about the reception of *Orestes* is that, until recently, modern scholars have had little good to say of it, whereas to judge from the ancient evidence it was one of the most popular tragedies all through antiquity, and along with *Hecuba* and *Phoenissae* became standard reading for Byzantine students, at no time in danger of being lost from the manuscript tradition. Wright's agenda is to help his readers to see the play in a fresh light. Admittedly, the two most recent English commentators on the play, Charles Willink (1986) and Martin West (1987), were more responsive than most of their predecessors in finding *Orestes* 'a play to enjoyed' (Willink), and 'a rattling good drama' (West). Wright has made excellent use of the detailed work of these two scholars, but goes further than they do in exploring and evaluating a range of critical approaches to the play.

Much has been written in the last 20 years to open up wider questions about the theatrical tradition in which *Orestes* should be placed; a tradition that was not so much losing energy, or 'relevance', as putting ever more pressure on dramatists to 'do something innovative' with the familiar subject matter. In Chapter 1 ('Setting the Scene') Wright formulates an important question for the interpreter of *Orestes*: how to gauge the effect, not only of the many surprises in plot (e.g. the plan to murder Helen, or the novel treatment of Pylades' role) and in staging (the Phrygian's arrival from the roof and his exotic 'messenger' aria), but also of the strange *tone* of the play. 'We normally expect tragedy to be serious, intense and emotionally engaging, but at many points *Orestes* seems to be deliberately cultivating a tone of detachment and irony. We also expect drama to convince us, on its own terms that the events presented on stage are real, but in *Orestes* the audience is repeatedly, self-consciously, reminded that the play's "reality" is actually *un*real, unbelievable – even, perhaps, absurd' (p.24).

Chapter 2 gives a scene-by-scene analysis, with the emphasis on the play as a performance text, helpfully interweaving references to modern productions. This works better than putting the modern material in a separate section, since productions of any period have to face similar problems in interpreting the characters and the divine action; even in antiquity, despite the play's popularity, there were scholars who disapproved of the characters' morals. The chapter ends with questions about the spectacular ending, when Apollo abruptly stops the intended killing of Hermione, explains what has happened to Helen (she's on the way to apotheosis) and tells Orestes that after a year of exile he is to stand trial (and be acquitted) at Athens; then he will be free to rule Argos, and he must marry Hermione and give Electra to Pylades. What Wright calls the 'incongruity factor' (p.33) is particularly

prominent in this extraordinary scene, and he revisits the problem of making sense of divine and human behaviour in the following chapter.

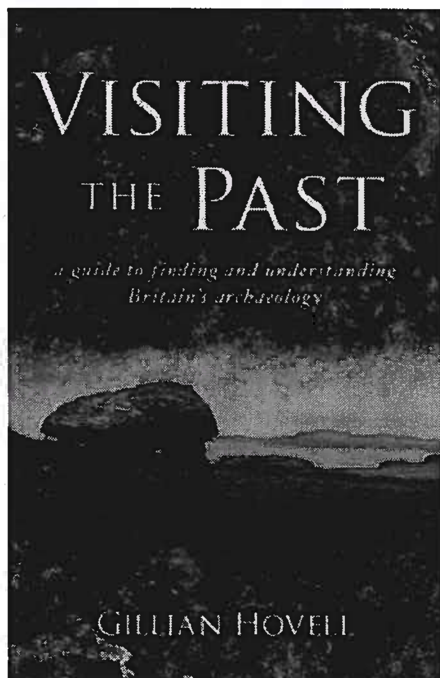
Chapter 3 ('Humans and Gods') explores the difficulties felt by critics, arguing that the detachment with which Euripides presents moral and theological issues can be seen, paradoxically enough, as a way of engaging audiences, by leaving space for different responses. On the presentation of Helen, for example, who is so unlike the heroine of Euripides' play *Helen* of a few years earlier, Wright points out that although it matters whether the audience sees her as good or evil, the poet makes it impossible for us to decide (p.58). He might, however, have made more of the messenger figure who reports the debate in the Argive assembly (at lines 866-957), a poor man claiming loyalty to the royal family, whose own position is not unproblematic. He expresses great admiration for the honest and 'intelligent' farmer who argues that, far from being executed, Orestes deserves to be crowned at public expense for having avenged his father and killed a wicked woman, which greatly oversimplifies the situation as the play has presented it so far. Wright notes that many modern readers prefer 'difficulty and ambiguity to neatly wrapped-up texts' (p.71), and it is perhaps worth adding that audiences familiar with the ambiguities of plays by Beckett, Pinter or Stoppard are more likely to be in sympathy with Euripidean open-endedness, and directors less resistant to trying out even the more extreme examples.

The play, first performed in 408 BC, belongs to the last phase of Euripides' life. Its 'lateness', both in the playwright's output and in the history of fifth-century drama, is hard to overlook, and in Chapter 4 Wright tackles the notion head-on, showing how the distorting influence of the biographical tradition and the loss of almost everything – apart from fragments – from fourth-century and later tragedy have shaped modern critical attitudes. He has some refreshing angles on intertextual references, seeing *Orestes* as inviting reading as a sequel to *Helen* (performed in 412 BC), on the 'brashly avant-garde' style of the songs (both arias and choral odes), and on the strikingly '*un*mythical' impression given by the characters and their world.

Chapters 5 ('Politics') and 6 ('Euripides' Cleverest Play') look at ways in which this text engages with political issues and with other more intellectual currents of thought in Euripides' time. Although *Orestes* gestures towards the troubled atmosphere at Athens in the last decade of the Peloponnesian War – in the kinds of arguments put forward and the brutality planned by supposedly heroic characters – there is a sense, too, that the events portrayed, however extravagant, can easily be understood as applying to the experience of audiences at other times and in other places. Wright's thorough review of recent approaches to tragic politics is impressively even-handed, and his concluding judgement strikes me as persuasive: 'It is an unusually (even uniquely) topical tragedy [...] but does it have a political *purpose* or a didactic message? Very probably not' (p.97).

In discussing Euripides' engagement with ideas drawn from contemporary philosophy, medicine and rhetoric, Wright challenges Winnington-Ingram's suggestion that 'despite this top-dressing of philosophy, Euripides was the least philosophic of the three tragedians' and should be seen as 'a sophisticated writer, addressing himself to other sophisticated persons, having and giving sophisticated fun' (p.118). He goes on to ask questions about Euripides' ironic stance in relation to myth, and his frequent allusions to other plays, often seen as playful or debunking. This involves addressing the whole issue, much favoured in current criticism, of 'metatheatricality', on which Wright takes the sensible view that such allusiveness does not have to be (merely) funny, arguing on the basis of many examples (p.128) that one of the serious preoccupations of this play, as of *Helen*, is with the disparity between appearance and reality.

A passing remark in a discussion of possible lessons taught by tragedy (p.95) could serve as an apt summary of what Wright's book itself achieves: 'teaching and giving pleasure are not mutually exclusive alternatives'. Here is an entertaining read which offers judicious guidance without dogmatism, and succeeds in opening up, rather than closing down, possible ways of getting closer to the understanding of an extraordinarily sophisticated play.



G. Hovell, *Visiting the past: a guide to findin and understanding Britain's archaeology*

(Stroud: The History Press, 2009). Pp. 160. ISBN 978-0-7524-4833-6. £12.99

Martin Pitt

With the success of Channel 4's popular *Time Team* television programme i the last decade or so, the general public and budding amateur archaeologist have been faced with an increasing range of publications aimed at a mas audience. Against this backdrop of near market saturation, is there room fc yet another publicly-orientated introduction to British archaeology? Judgin by the rear cover, the unique selling point of this book is as an easy-to-rea introduction for everyone (not just academics and television presenters being written specifically with a view to encouraging people without prio knowledge of the subject to get out into the field and start doin archaeology (i.e. looking and not digging). After a brief introduction that serves to reinforce the message on th back cover, the book is structured in three sections: 'Getting started', a short extended introduction, 'The Seve Ages of British archaeology' which takes up the lion's share of pages, and a final section called 'Digging deepe which provides brief tips for those wishing to pursue their interests.

The 'Getting started' chapter provides a straightforward overview of the basics, stressing that archaeology is a around us (p.11), and can easily be understood by the layperson using the technique of 'typography' – identifyin artefacts and landscape features by their style and shape (p.12). This is a major point of departure from th traditional archaeological field guide of the previous century that typically featured longer introductory section concerned with core methodological concepts and procedures such as stratigraphy, dendrochronology and aeria photography. The advantage of taking a more basic approach is clearly to prevent overloading the casual reade with technical information, although this too runs the risk of over-simplification. At no point in this section (or th book) is archaeology defined explicitly, nor is the relationship between archaeology and history clarified o explained. At the end of the chapter a series of 'look out for' bullet points and 'top tips' provide basic guidelines fo spotting archaeological indicators in the landscape (e.g. cropmarks and field shapes), and historic buildings. Thes tips and bullet points, which form a recurrent theme in chapter 2, offer activities easily pursued by the non specialist, although some prospective readers may not find great appeal in rooting through molehills, searching fo damp patches in ploughed soil, and examining gnarled trees.

Chapter 2, 'The Seven Ages of British Archaeology', begins with a basic timeline of archaeology in Britain, fron the Palaeolithic to the modern age. Each of the so-called seven ages (Stone, Bronze, Iron, Roman, Dark, Medieva and post Medieval) is treated to a separate sub-chapter, including up-to-date recent discoveries, lists of key site and things to look out for, in addition to further sub-sections on 'What was life like?', 'Things to do' and 'Furthe reading'. On the whole, these sections are well-written and accessible, offering summaries in step with relativel recent academic syntheses. The section on the Roman period is (perhaps understandably) over-focused on th military, and is in danger of presenting a sanitised and out-dated view on life in the province – apparently the 'hig price' of 'subservience to a foreign ruler' merely entailed learning Latin and wearing new styles of clothes (p. 81) Although this is a common fault of literature aimed at the general public, some reference should have been mad to Mattingly's recent (2006) Penguin overview of the province, which corrects the too-often implicit notion tha Roman conquest and annexation was somehow benign.

The final section 'Digging deeper', provides plenty of practical guidance on getting out into the field, regarding useful kit, do's (i.e. following the country code) and don'ts (i.e. digging), rules and guidance for metal detecting, simple tips for photography, taking sketches and conducting further research (the internet, libraries etc). This short section provides numerous further ways for non-specialists to pursue their interests in archaeology without causing thoughtless or illegal damage to the archaeological record, a message which is vital for the protection of archaeology in Britain and the wider world.

In summary, this book is undoubtedly pitched well for its target audience, and contains a good mixture of different activities for the budding amateur. Although well-illustrated throughout, with only a few colour plates and many small black and white photos (some of poor reproduction), the book may not be flashy enough to compete with the glossier publications associated with well-known television programmes, or even the latest introductory text books for undergraduate students. It is also a shame that the stimulating content and activities described in the book are mostly focused on a historic landscape approach to archaeology, whilst artefactual material culture is often only discussed in passing, despite the potential of this material to shed detailed insights into past societies. However, as an alternative introduction to the archaeology of Britain, this book is highly recommended, particularly for would-be archaeologists who value substance over style, and who want to experience archaeology first hand rather than through their televisions.

Temple dedicated to Mithras, Hadrian's Wall

Film Review: *Clash of the Titans*

Henry Lee

Having stared into Medusa's eyes for more than five seconds, I feel lucky to have lived to write a review on *Clash c the Titans* (2010). She now has very good looks, even if the filmmakers have retained the long, snake-like whip for tail.

From the trailer the film promises harpies, Medusa (Natalia Vodianova), scorpions of a size greater tha Herodotean ants, a kraken and even Liam Neeson, and they all duly appear. The film itself cherry-picks storyline from various mythical storylines and reassemble them here: imagine the screenwriter in a pick-and-mix shop full c monsters and leaders of different *poleis*.

Nor is the plot a copy of the old: Fans of the 80s version will be disappointed that Bubos the mechanical ow only makes a cameo. The film began with a minute-long narration of the Titanomachy that makes the first half c Hesiod's *Theogony* even drier and more long-winded, and after a visual trip around the universe we arrive at fishing trawler in the sea. The fisherman Spyros opens the coffin and reads the label: "Perseus" – flash forward 1 years and we see a young Perseus learning his father's trade. So there you have it: from the earth's creation to a adolescent Perseus in under five minutes.

Thereafter, the film is a fast-paced thriller most of the time, full of Greek characters that any self-respectin *Pegasus* reader will recognise, such as Queen Cassiopeia (Polly Walker), Andromeda (Alexa Davalos), Io (Gemm Arterton), Hades (Ralph Fiennes) and Zeus (Liam Neeson). The plot revolves around Hades' revenge against Zeus his brother: while the latter's power is weakened as mankind's faith in him grows weak, the former grows stronge by feeding on their fear. Meanwhile Perseus (Sam Worthington) fights in deserts and the underworld against th aforementioned monsters, while going on a heroic journey of self-discovery.

The film is certainly Hollywood, with slow motion summersaults and grandiose sets featuring royal halls decke in gold (that is, until Hades arrives). The film also has a stellar cast; not only Liam Neeson, Ralph Fiennes and Pet Postlethwaite, but also up-and-coming actors like Nicholas Hoult (*About a Boy*, *Skins*), Sam Worthington (*Avatar* and Gemma Arterton (Strawberry Fields in *Quantum of Solace*). It is also uses CGI to impressively recreate th monsters that we know and are fascinated by, and everything looks very "Greek": from the ships, to the city, th statues, the people – even the gods are suitably spectacular.

Despite all this, the film's script brings the edifice crashing down, just like one of the film's scorpions batterin anything and everything with its tail. The problem is, there is a lot going on at the same time, and the words fron the actors can barely be heard. For that matter, it would be hard to think that Sam Worthington did much acting he always seemed to wear the same facial expression. The scene scans from one thing to the next, which create the sort of buzz and adrenaline that fuels an action-movie junkie, but gives the viewer no time to follow the plot. I you think because you are a Classicist you would fare better, to a certain extent that is true, but the mix of mythica storylines soon shatters any such illusion: you will not find *this* Perseus in your Hesiod or your Ovid.

Nevertheless, the storyline deserves credit. It is not entirely implausible (except perhaps the chronology of al the mythical characters) and it captures the right themes in Greek literature: the horrible and grim underworld, th human impiety and the anger of the gods – it even discusses the disadvantages of immortality. Though Zeu reversed a character's fate once, I think that may be the only blemish in a bold and exhilarating rewriting of thi myth.

The film is a good and thrilling watch, and is daring in its execution. However, I would not try too hard to worl out what is going on: as they say, it is all up to the gods. I would give it three out of five.

Pegasus watch: I am happy to say that Pegasus appeared twice, briefly early in the film and later more prominentl in Perseus' final battle with the kraken.

Theatrical Review: Phormio

James Collins and Henry Lee

Exeter University Classics Society Production
Translated by Steve Kennedy
Produced by Farrah Lawrence

Athens provides the setting for Terence's Phormio, a re-working of a Greek original. The title character, Phormio, is a lawyer with many cunning plans, and he uses them not only to help Antipho and his cousin Phaedra get their desired girls, but also to deal with the subsequent fallout when their father finds out and when other revelations occur. Phormio abounds with the themes of comedy, with troubled masters and clever slaves, secrets and revelations. More importantly, it is a witty tour-de-force that leaves everyone happy, both on and off-stage!

This is the second Classics Society production that I have reviewed for *Pegasus* and it has proved another success. This production of Phormio was stylish, funny and cleverly adapted for the modern audience. The piece was produced with a 1920s look that fitted well with the themes treated in the play, such as issues of class and marriage without consent.

Phormio was played by Robert Ansell in the style of a smooth-talking East End wideboy, who manipulates people and situations to his advantage. This completely captures the personality of Terence's Phormio, but in a modern and more relevant style. Geta, the slave who manages to get himself into the most awkward situations, was portrayed in a hilariously dim-witted fashion by Liam Desborough. Praise is also due for Nick Smith's borderline psychotic yet side-splitting depiction of Chremes. The two lovestruck young men, whose exploits provide the main issues in the drama, were played incredibly well by Alexander Piggins and Jamie Livingstone, clearly two very promising actors. All members of the cast deserve commendations for their performances, which did justice to the flair of Steve Kennedy's sharp adaptation.

A notable aspect of the production was the choice of venue. The play was performed in two locations: the small on-campus theatre known as the M&D room and the Amber Rooms, a bar in Exeter town centre. This was a surprising choice of performance space, which worked remarkably well with the look of the production and minimalist mise-en-scène. The bar created an incredibly relaxing and natural atmosphere that made the audience feel at ease, breaking down the physical barriers between cast and audience that theatres often create. Several actors remarked that performing in that kind of environment made connecting with the audience easier, which was essential for the effectiveness of many of the play's jokes.

Farrah Lawrence, the producer, and Sarah Shergold and Ellie Cahill, the directors, have put together a fantastic production with the real style, professionalism and humour that has become the norm for Classics Society productions.

The Department of Classics and Ancient History 1980: where are they now?

Standing left to right: Alison Grattidge, Nick De Satge, Gayle Cobb, Philip Moore, Karen Morris, Michael Berkeley, Deborah Maggs, Nick Appleby, Steve Reid, Beatrice Jeffries, Anne Pope, Juliette Owen, Susan Wakefield, Charles Lee, Ivor Ludlam, Andrew David (behind), Valerie Harris (Dept. Secretary), Mai Paribatra, Clive Skidmore.
Seated (staff): Richard Seaford, David Harvey, Alan Griffin, Peter Wiseman, Hugh Stubbs, Robin Mathewson.

The Head of Department's story: Peter Wiseman

Looking back, I think of 1980 as the last of the old world. In those days, there was still a consensus that education and scholarship were public benefits properly paid for by public funds, and that universities, as autonomous institutions, could be trusted to use those funds to deliver those benefits according to their own priorities. The national higher education grant was divided up by the University Grants Committee, manned by senior academics but served by Treasury officials, in an 'arm's-length' system with which successive governments had been content ever since 1919. In 1979, however, Mrs Thatcher came to power. Although the full impact of her rage against all publicly-funded institutions had not yet been felt, it was already clear that a new age was dawning. In the autumn of 1979, the UGC advised universities to plan for a 10% funding cut.

The University College of the South-West had become the independent University of Exeter in 1955. It was much smaller then than it is today: about 5,000 students (nowadays it's about 15,000), of whom the vast majority were undergraduates.[1] The Classics Department consisted of five members of staff, increased to six in 1962. It offered traditional Classics and Latin degrees, which depended on a continuing supply of applicants with a good knowledge

[1] See *Pegasus* 39 (1996) 36 for the few MA and PhD theses in Classics in those early years.

of Latin, and preferably Greek too, from school. But Latin and Greek in the schools were in decline, and during the decade 1966-1976 qualified applicants to the Department fell from 176 to 75. The solution was clearly to add new degree programmes in Ancient History and Classical Studies, open to applicants who had not had the chance to take the languages at school, and so the University decided that when Professor Fred Clayton retired,[2] an ancient historian would be sought to replace him. That was me, and I started as Professor and Head of Department (the same thing, in those days) in January 1977.

My colleagues were, in order of seniority, Robin Mathewson,[3] Hugh Stubbs,[4] David Harvey, John Glucker and Alan Griffin; John went to Tel-Aviv in 1978,[5] and was replaced by Richard Seaford ("Young Seaford's very Red!", said the Professor of Theology...), and there we all are on the front row of the photograph. In 1977-8 we undertook a thorough rationalisation of all the courses we offered, and duly set up the new degrees in Ancient History and Classical Studies. The latter was known at first as Greek and Roman Studies, and it was as a student of GRS – an 'Additional Subject' to her French degree – that J.K. Rowling later made the acquaintance of the Classics Department in 1983-5.[6] The strategy paid off, and the figures for qualified applicants rose dramatically. However, this doubling of the Department's commitments involved a great deal of extra work without any extra staff. And now the University was facing Mrs Thatcher's cuts.

In December 1979 the Academic Development Committee asked departments how they would cope with the 10% funding reduction forecast by the UGC. Of course salaries are by far the main expense for humanities subjects, so what they meant was "how many staff can you lose?" I replied that we couldn't lose any: "Six is an absolutely irreducible minimum if we are to continue the degree courses to which we are committed." The University agreed, and when Robin Mathewson retired in 1981 we were able to replace him.[7] But then followed an eight-year Age of Iron.

The rest of the population may have been distracted by such merely "peripheral" events as the Falklands War, the miners' strike and the poll-tax riots, but here at the centre of things it was a battle for survival. Universities all over the country had to come to terms with the reality of the Government's public spending policy. Exeter thrashed out a Structure Plan designed to minimise the damage; Classics' staffing level was reduced to five, so when Hugh Stubbs retired in 1983 he wasn't replaced. Later we went down to four-and-a-half, when David Harvey had to give up full-time teaching for health reasons. Of course we adjusted as best we could, and gratefully exploited David Braund and as much other part-time teaching as we were allowed. However, when the UGC's Arts Sub-Committee visited Exeter in 1985, the Classics representative expressed concern: he was very complimentary about the Department's research record and ability to attract students, but took the view that its staffing level was much too low. It looked as if our efforts might turn out to have been in vain.

In 1988 the Education Reform Act abolished the UGC and replaced it with a business-dominated Universities Funding Council, the ancestor of HEFCE. No more 'arm's-length' financing, no more respect for autonomous institutions; now there would be competition in an open market manipulated by central government. It was a precise reversal of the means and ends of higher education: in the old world, teaching and research were what universities were supposed to achieve, and their income from public funds was the means to that end; now, finding the income was the purpose of the exercise, and teaching (fee-paying students) and research (as crudely measured by 'assessment exercises') were just the means of achieving the income stream.

That was the start of the business-plan-oriented, league-table-obsessed higher education system we are so familiar with today. Naturally, the funding system Mrs Thatcher's government set up was kept in place by its successors; New Labour toned down the offensive rhetoric, but that was all. The universities had no choice; they had to learn how to play the game by the new rules. I vividly remember, some time in the nineties, asking the then Deputy Registrar about some managerial edict or other, and receiving the reply (quite innocent of irony), "Well, we're driving forward the culture shift." I seem to have come a long way forward from that prelapsarian moment caught on the 1980 photograph, but I may as well bring the story to its outcome. The newly-formed Universities Funding

[2] See *Pegasus* 43 (2000) 20-23 and 50 (2007) 21-5.
[3] See *Pegasus* 24 (1981) 1-3 and 33 (1990) 2-4.
[4] See *Pegasus* 26 (1983) 29-33 and 46 (2002), 21-2.
[5] See *Pegasus* 21 (1978) 1-6.
[6] See *Pegasus* 41 (1998), 25-7 and 44 (2001) 17-20.
[7] We appointed Susanna Braund, later my successor as Head of Department (1990-93), who then went on to Bristol, Royal Holloway, Yale, Stanford and Vancouver.

Council did make one attempt to make sense of the random closure of departments that followed the cuts, and it s happened that our subject was the one it chose to focus on. A special sub-committee was set up to report on th provision of Classics in universities nationwide, with the purpose of identifying departments that were not 'viable' Exeter looked very vulnerable. The UFC report named 11 departments out of a total of 32 universities where Classic was offered. As it happened, Exeter was not one of them. Thanks to a very supportive Vice-Chancellor (Davi Harrison, *quem honoris causa nomino*) we were able to bring in some really excellent people whose ow departments were closed down – Chris Gill and John Marr from Aberystwyth, Norman Postlethwaite from Leiceste John Wilkins from Aberdeen – and at last find a full-time post for David Braund.

As Polybius observed (2.35.5), "I believe that it is the proper function of history to hand down to posterity suc episodes in the drama of Fortune, so that our successors may not through sheer ignorance of the facts be overcom by terror at these sudden and unexpected incursions of the barbarians." In this case the goddess was on our side.

The Young Lecturer's Story: Richard Seaford

In 1980 I was the youngest in a department of six. There seemed to be no graduate students. But rumour had it tha yes, there had been one in recent memory, a retired headmaster, who had submitted his thesis but been failed. Essa writing seemed to be in its infancy, and there was nothing resembling a module descriptor. Studying ancient texts i translation was a new idea, and mastery of texts in the ancient languages still formed a larger part of the curriculu than it does now. Publication was a minority interest, and there was no research seminar. Research assessment, o any other kind of assessment, would have seemed like something out of science fiction. League tables were fo football. For the whole of Queen's building there was a single clunking word-processor that had to be booked by th hour. The dominant mood was of charming eccentricity. Conversation could be rambling, but was usually learned Renee the common room tea-lady once confided in me that for many years Classics was the oddest department (bu that the mantle had now been inherited by Theology).

Some positive changes – notably the introduction of new degrees based on translated texts – had already bee initiated by the recently arrived Peter Wiseman. Other changes, negative and positive, have belonged to a genera cultural (in the broad sense) shift that has affected all or most universities and departments. What was there in 198 that has been lost? Our predecessors tended to know Latin and Greek better than we do, to be less specialised, an accordingly to have read more widely. Staff-student ratios were much more favourable then, and staff and student knew each other better than they do now. At the heart of the department, in a direct line of descent from th renaissance, was the teaching of great texts in the ancient languages to relatively small groups. This survives an flourishes, but as a smaller proportion of what the Department does.

A professor was a baron, not a grade. As a body, academics were more powerful in the University than they ar now. The word university derives from a mediaeval word for a trade union. The word has over the last generatio been progressively appropriated by the 'management', along with the power that used to be exercised by th *Universitas* of scholars, most of whom have now internalised their own powerlessness and university affairs and ac like civil servants accepting instructions from above. Part and parcel of this supine de-democratisation has been tha – in line with a general social atomisation – academics coffee together far less than they used to, both withi departments and between departments. Loss of community allows power to drain 'upwards'.

This is not the only respect in which the University has been assimilated to a corporation. Students are no supposed to be more like customers. The 'product', however, is not so much teaching as research, which seems eas to quantify (by research assessment exercises) and to reward financially. As every corporation knows, what is no quantifiable (commodifiable) may as well not exist. Where does that leave inspiring conversation? The drive toward the commodification of everything in the world has, in the case of universities, tended to replace civilising intellectua communities with rationalised assemblages of solipsistic producers.

Still, I am no mere *laudator temporis acti*. The contribution of our Department now to the understanding o antiquity is very much greater than it was then. And it remains now, as it was then, a humane place in which ancien civilisation provides a liberating perspective on the ugly banality of a world that is ever more dominated by th visible or invisible power of money.

1980 and 2010: David Harvey

In the late sixth century BC a group of Samian exiles appealed to Sparta for help. They made an eloquent speech, to which the Spartan magistrates replied that they had forgotten the beginning of it and they didn't understand the last part (Hdt. 3.46.1). Looking back over my years at Exeter, I feel very much like those Spartans: I have not completely forgotten the beginning of it, but my memories of those days are selective and no doubt distorted. But 1980 wasn't the beginning of my life here; I arrived in 1962.[1] Peter Wiseman's arrival in 1977, was like a breath of fresh air, and it brought some much-needed reforms with it. There have been two very obvious changes since then: one is the move from the Queen's Building to Amory. I never felt any great affection for QB, but having worked there for 30 years or so, I did at least know if a turn to the left or right would bring me to a colleague's room, a toilet or an exit. The other great change is the increase in our numbers. The total number of students in the Department has risen from 50 or so in the 1960s to over 200 in the late 1990s and early 2000s (there were 84 in 1980).[2] We now have a thriving crop of postgraduate students. Richard Seaford has already commented on how few there were in earlier days – usually one or two, though we did once reach the giddy heights of four. Perhaps I may claim a tiny part of the credit for Peter's appointment, in that I was responsible for inviting him down from Leicester in the late 1970s to speak to the Classical Association, with the result that Robin Mathewson, head of department during the interregnum, said, "That's the sort of chap we want as our next Professor." Once Peter had been appointed,[3] those much-needed reforms were introduced. He created courses in Ancient History (previously very much a poor relation of literature), both single and combined honours; and Greek and Roman Studies, again both single and combined. Back in those days Exeter was very isolated from other centres of classical scholarship. There were not even any links (other than visiting lecturers) with academic colleagues at our nearest neighbours Bristol or Southampton. Conferences proliferate these days on all or most imaginable subjects. In the 1960s, and I think still in the 1980s, there were only the Triennial Conferences of All Imaginable Classical Organisations[4] and the annual Classical Association conferences in their unreformed pre-Seafordian format. I don't think I ever saw any of my Exeter colleagues at the former, and I never attended the latter until we were invited to host the 1981 meeting. Hugh Stubbs once wrote, probably in an earlier issue of this magazine,[5] that there had been a fashion for something known as original research in the 1950s, a fashion which had fortunately passed. That remark, to put it mildly, reads oddly today. None of my Exonian colleagues in the pre-Wiseman years had been awarded a doctorate, and their publications were very few.[6] I was desperate to complete my thesis, until I was advised to give up the attempt and get something published instead. I got the impression, perhaps wrongly, that no-one had any interest in what I was trying to work on. When I suggested that I might offer Greek Political Thought as a special subject, Fred Clayton asked me if there was enough material on the subject. I was able to mention Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's *Politics*, the whole of Greek tragedy and comedy, Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon for a start.

Peter's contribution gives you an eagle's eye view; mine is that of a sparrow, merely a rambling anecdotal collection of personal memories. Still, I write 'so that the things done by men may not become obliterated through time'. No need, surely, to remind you who I am quoting from.[7]

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[1] AD, not BC, in case you're wondering.

[2] These figures include students of all kinds: Classics Honours, Latin Honours, Combined Honours and students taking Additional Subjects and (in later years) Ancient History and Greek and Roman Studies. -- The early 1980s were remarkable for a crop of particularly pleasant and lively students.

[3] Robin Mathewson was Acting Head of Department after Fred Clayton's retirement, but he introduced no changes. Perhaps, as he held a stop-gap non-professorial post, he felt he did not have the power to do so; or perhaps he thought it better to leave such changes to the eventual incoming Professor. This is simply conjecture, as you can see.

[4] Never known as TCOAICO.

[5] I must confess that unlike Peter, I have been too lazy to search for the reference, especially as it may not have been in *Pegasus* at all. But it is certainly somewhere in Hugh's reminiscences of the 1950s. – though not in *Pegasus* 19 (1976), which seemed the most likely place.

[6] Jackson Knight (who did publish quite prolifically) was never my colleague. He had retired a few years before I arrived.

[7] I have not forgotten the subsidiary question 'Where are they now, those people in the photo?' There is a simple way of finding out: in each issue of *Pegasus*, from no. 32 (1989) onwards, I have laboriously assembled in alphabetical order all that was fit to print about as many former students as I could, under the title *Res Gestae*.

The students of 1980

Nick Appleby

I work in Cornwall running school-based higher education programmes – including some with Exeter. I remember piece of work back from Hugh Stubbs with a comment in red ink scrawled in Gerald Scarfe style across the page. said: "A publisher of my acquaintance was once flogged within an inch of his life for perpetrating this outrageou solecism." I was very fond of him.

Michael Berkeley

After I left Exeter, I joined the Ministry of Defence – and have now been with the MOD for over 28 years, the last 15 o which have been working in Army headquarters in Germany and Wilton, Salisbury. Early in my career, I spent eigh years working in Whitehall, including a job in a Minister's office as one of the Private Secretary. I have now bee married for almost 23 years and I and my wife have two wonderful children. Both are musicians, and I am living a my fantasies through my son's rock band in which he plays lead guitar! My musical claim to fame is playing th didgeridoo. I sometimes wonder if I missed the point of university, living all three years in Mardon and spending to much time in the library! I particularly remember the great concerts – I was into Prog Rock (still am!), so was amaze when Genesis came for a warm-up concert at the height of their popularity just before a big tour. We queue overnight for tickets, fortified by brandy ...

Colonel M.R. Varoros Paribatra ("Mai")

I joined the Royal Thai Army immediately after graduation. I am now a "senior colonel" – something equivalent to British brigadier, and still soldiering on. I vividly remember the very first day at my first assignment. The general an the colonels were not certain what to do with a novice with a Latin and Ancient History degree. I did not have to wa long to find out what soldering was all about! Within the first few months, I was greeted with a heart-stoppin incident and, as a consequence, I was kept away from the combat zone. At this early stage of my career, I could nc see any connection between the years at Exeter and the chaotic times I was going through back home! Then Fat showed good signs at last when I was assigned to teach Military History at the Army Command and General Sta College. Referring to the notes taken from one of the Electives at Exeter and with some additional readings, designed my lectures to be different from others with references from Greek and Roman wars and battles. I wa noticed by my superiors, and invitations to give lectures at several army institutions soon followed. I also received scholarship to study at the German Army Command and General Staff College in Hamburg: a few years ago, m research on *Air Land Battle Doctrine* at the Army War College Course was awarded with honours, very much due t the research methodology taught at Exeter. Have I forgotten my Latin? Yes, most of it I'm afraid! But once in a blu moon, a couple of young Thais come knocking on my door asking for a couple of free Latin lessons before they sta schools in the UK. Do I dream about my Exeter experience? Yes, once every three months on average: in fact, it is recurring nightmare about not doing enough preparation for Professor Wiseman's tutorials and for the final exams!

Stephen Reid

I graduated from Exeter with a B.A. in Latin with French. I did my PCSE at St. Luke's College the following year an was then married at the University of Exeter Chapel by none other than Dr Alan Griffin, a newly ordained minister an my Latin tutor! Apart from a short teaching spell in France, I spent the next 23 years teaching in Cornwall. In 2004 decided to take up an opportunity to teach Latin in the USA – we spent two years living in Virginia and I enjoye immensely the challenge of teaching in an American High School and, yes, it's just like it is in the movies! We spen one year back in the UK before the lure of the States brought us back again in 2007 where I took up a teaching & management position at the British School in Washington DC. You could say that we have the best of both worlds – work at a school that provides a British-style education, we live in an area where there's always something excitin happening and we continue to make the most of our opportunities to travel around this vast continent.

Dr Lawrence Shenfield Prize 2010

Pegasus is extremely grateful to have received a generous bequest from Dr. Lawrence Shenfield, which has been matched by the School of Humanities and Social Sciences. To honour Larry's memory, Pegasus will annually award 50 pounds to the best undergraduate submission. In this, its second year, the editorial board was inundated with many undergraduate articles. Submissions included essays and poems. After a very difficult decision, the chief editors are pleased to award the 2nd annual Dr. Lawrence Shenfield prize to Jack Bullen, a third-year Classics student for his erudite essay on *libertas*. Highly recommended was Chris Davies' poem entitled "The Resurrection of Marcellus", a sequel to his poem "An Epicurean Adoption", which was the winner of the prize last year, and Benni Rodewyk's essay on dismemberment in Neronian literature. These two runner-up submissions can be found on our new website: http://projects.ex.ac.uk/pegasus.

Libertas in Neronian Literature

Jack Bullen

Before one can intelligibly discuss the concept of *libertas* in Neronian literature, it is necessary to provide a brief definition and overview of what *libertas* symbolised leading up to Nero's reign. According to Wirszubski, the concept of *libertas* in Roman society was, at root, juridical in sense and stemmed from the legal distinction between a Roman citizen or freedman (*libertus*) and a slave: 'libertas primarily denotes the status of a "liber", i.e. a person who is not a slave, and comprises both the negation of the limitations imposed by slavery and the assertion of the advantages deriving from freedom'.[1] Thus, Roman *libertas* did not represent an ideological view of the world – that every human being is, by nature, 'free' – rather, *libertas* signified the civic rights of a Roman citizen under Roman law: a Roman citizen's *civitas*.[2] Consequently, the contiguity of *libertas* and *civitas* in Roman society determined that the extent of a Roman citizen's *libertas* was presupposed by the Roman state's constitution.[3] This juridical conception of *libertas* was historically associated with the formation of the Roman Republic and so for the Romans *libertas* symbolically represented freedom from absolutism and the abolition of monarchy.[4] This historical association between *libertas* and the republican constitution was deeply ingrained within the Roman psyche and while the meaning of *libertas* may have been variously interpreted during the late republic,[5] Hammond, in accordance with Wirszubski's theory, notes that 'by the end of the republic, and particularly in Cicero's writings, liberty had become identified with citizenship in a republic under legal and constitutional government'.[6]

However, the extensive turmoil and political upheaval under the various dictatorships of Marius, Sulla and finally Caesar, led to the erosion of the republican constitution and *libertas* ceased to exist in its traditional form.[7] Augustus, through his *Pax Augusta* and the flourishing of state-sponsored literature, attempted to reinstate the concept of *libertas* after his accession, and he used its symbolism as political propaganda in coins, architecture and literature to emphasise Rome's return to its republican origins.[8] Yet this *libertas* was only a semblance of what it

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[1] Wirszubski, C. (1950), *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate*: 1; cf. Hammond, M. (1963), '*Res olim dissociabiles: principatus ac libertas*: Liberty under the Early Roman', *HSPh* 67: 93.

[2] Wirszubski, op. cit., 2-4.

[3] Ibid., 4-5.

[4] Ibid., 5. Indeed, Momigliano explains that *libertas* was connected with the traditional history and stories of Rome which 'offered an explanation of certain Roman institutions and represented a powerful stimulus for remembering and cherishing the formalities of Roman Law': Momigliano, A. (1951), 'Review: *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate* by Wirszubski, C.', *JRS* 41: 147-8.

[5] For example, before the collapse of the Republic *libertas* was often used merely as a political slogan by the rival factions of the 'Optimates' and 'Populares' in their struggle for power in the Senate: see Wirszubski, op. cit., 31-65; Hammond, art. cit., 93.

[6] Hammond, art. cit., 93; Wirszubski, op. cit., 95; cf. Momigliano, art. cit., 146-7.

[7] Wirszubski, op. cit., 66-96; Momigliano, art. cit., 148.

[8] Hammond, art. cit., 94-5; Ahl, F. M. (1976) *Lucan: An Introduction*: 19.

had signified during the republic and the succession of autocratic emperors after Augustus, with their erratic ar increasingly tyrannical regimes, served to underline this reality.[9] In the context of the Neronian age, therefore, tl freedom from absolutism and synonymity with republicanism that *libertas* once represented was no longer possibility under the principate – *libertas* had been replaced by the will of the *princeps*.[10]

This being said, the strictly juridical view of Roman *libertas* outlined above, as Hammond admits, 'lies open t the criticism of narrowness made by Momigliano'.[11] In Momigliano's review and criticism of Wirszubski, h indicates various ideological connotations of *libertas* that are absent from Wirszubski's discussion, such as freedo of speech and philosophical, political or ethical considerations of *libertas*,[12] and so it is with these ideologic implications of *libertas* that this discussion will be concerned. With the flourishing of literature under Nero, ther was finally an outlet to express the crisis of *libertas* under the principate, a situation that had not been possible t any significant extent since the Augustan age. While this expression took many forms, one of the most prominer was the literary presentation of the Stoic virtue of *libertas* as the solution to this crisis. The attraction Neronia writers felt towards Stoic *libertas* was generated by the political restrictions of the Principate and the abilit Stoicism conferred on its adherents to achieve a form of *libertas* that Nero's reign could not prevent – that of th Stoic *sapiens*, or sage – a sentiment that Ahl succinctly outlines: 'Lost political freedom led to a quest for th freedom that the Stoic sage could enjoy within the realm of his own soul, a freedom that could not be affected b tyranny or physical suffering.'[13] This essay then, will focus specifically on Stoic *libertas* in the literature of th Neronian age and will examine Persius' *Satire 5*, Seneca's *De Providentia* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile* to ascertain ho their respective presentations of Stoic *libertas* were depicted.

It is well established by scholars that Persius' *Satire 5* is concerned with the idea of Stoic *libertas* and that th choice of subject was influenced by the Stoic theory that Persius learned under his friend and tutor Cornutus.[14] It likely that both Persius' adoption of Stoicism and his decision to write about Stoic *libertas* were influenced not onl by his tutor Cornutus, but also by his experience of Neronian Rome and the political climate of his day. Indeed, nc only were there political restrictions, but freedom of speech, which was also identified with *libertas*,[15] had bee severely curtailed under the Principate. *Libertas* in this sense was an integral component of Lucilius' satire,[16] wh was writing during the Republic, and Coffey states that 'by tradition satire proclaimed that it had the right and dut to attack erring contemporaries by name'.[17] Persius remarks on the impossibility of writing this type of satire unde the Principate in *Satire 1* (107-9), and in *Satire 5* (15-16) Persius makes clear his target of attack will not b contemporary personages but the vices and lack of morality of his time.[18] These considerations explain th surprising lack of political comment and engagement in Persius' satires and they justify his focus on Stoic *liberta* since it provided a means to criticise contemporary society and thus implicitly criticise contemporary figure without endangering the writer himself. In short, it was the only way Persius could write effectively as a satirist an escape indictment or persecution.[19]

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[9] Hammond, art. cit., 94-105.
[10] Wirszubski, op. cit., 171.
[11] Hammond, art. cit., 104.
[12] Momigliano, art. cit., 148-9.
[13] Ahl, op. cit., 24.
[14] See *infra* fn.21.
[15] Freudenburg, K. (2001) *Satires of Rome: Threatening Poses from Lucilius to Juvenal*: xvi.
[16] Ibid., 1-14; for Lucilius' use of *libertas* as a political symbol see also Freudenburg, K. (1993) *The Walking Muse: Horace on the Theory o Satire*: 86-102.
[17] Coffey, M. (1976) *Roman Satire*: 109.
[18] Ibid., 28.
[19] While it is true that Persius' *Satires* were not published during his lifetime and that consequently, perhaps, such restrictions may not hav been ever-present in Persius' mind when composing his *Satires*, it would not have escaped Persius' memory that, considering the example o Tiberius, the *princeps* invariably did not take kindly to astringent criticism. Persius would have certainly circulated his material among hi associates and any suggestion that he was harbouring dissension among the élite would have been fatal had Nero caught wind of it.

Persius' *Satire 5* is generally divided by scholars into two sections: the first praising Cornutus (1-51) and contrasting Cornutus' pursuits – philosophy and moral education – with the pursuits of every other man (52-72); the second consisting of a Stoic diatribe explicating the true nature of *libertas* (73ff.).[20] The main thrust of Persius' *Satire 5* is that *libertas* is only achieved through the study of Stoic philosophy, as represented by the Stoic *sapiens*, and that the legal *libertas* of a Roman citizen or freedman was worthless without this knowledge, rendering him ignorant and prone to vice;[21] a symbolic representation of the decline of *libertas* under the Principate. However, that Stoic *libertas* is the poem's focus is not made clear until line 73 with the following announcement:

Libertate opus est: non hac, ut quisque Velina
Publius emeruit, scabiosum tesserula far
possidet. heu steriles veri, quibus una Quiritem
vertigo facit!

(Persius, *Satire* 5.73-6)

Freedom is what is needed: not *this* freedom that every Publius
of the Veline tribe has earned; the entitlement to mangy corn
for his coupon. Alas, empty of truth are those for whom one twirling
makes a Roman![22]

Here the *libertas* of the *libertus* is described as worthless, and the harsh and negative words in the passage, *scabiosum*, *tesserula*, *far*, and *steriles*, emphasise Persius' contemptuous tone.[23] Here too there is an implied contrast with the *scabiosum far* the state provides and the *fruge Cleanthea* (64) that Cornutus' Stoic moral instruction is said to provide earlier in the satire; thus contrasting, implicitly, the *libertas* granted by the state with the Stoic *libertas* achieved through philosophical study. The invective is carried further with the example of a slave called Dama being granted *libertas* by his master (76-82). Persius uses a series of ironical rhetorical questions and statements, instigated by the ironical exclamation *papae*! (how wonderful!), to point out the incredulity that a good-for-nothing stable-boy (*non tressis agaso*) who is a drunkard (*vappa lippus*) and a liar to boot (*mendax*) can suddenly become trusted for all manner of activities with his newly granted *libertas*: acting as security for a loan, acting as judge, and witnessing wills (80-1). Persius concludes sarcastically: *haec mera libertas! hoc nobis pillea donant!* [*This* is pure liberty! *This* is what the felt caps of freedom give us!] (82).

What follows is a dialogue between a hypothetical Stoic *sapiens* and a slave that continues until the end of the satire. It begins with a formal argument where the slave claims he is free and the Stoic replies he is not:

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[20] Witke, C. (1970) *Latin Satire: The Structure of Persuasion*: 89; Coffey, op. cit., 106-7; Anderson, W. S. (1982) *Essays on Roman Satire*: 154-5.
[21] This is the predominant scholarly position on Persius' *Satire 5*, as illustrated by this comprehensive list: Duff, J. W. (1936) *Roman Satire*: 114-9, 123; Nisbet, R. G. M. (1963) 'Persius' in Sullivan, J. P. (ed.), *Critical Essays on Roman Literature: Satire*: 60-5; Dessen, C. S. (1968) *Iunctura Callidus Acri: A Study of Persius' Satires*: 71-8; Witke, op. cit., 89;Ramage, E. S. (1974) 'Persius, the Philosopher-Satirist' in Ramage, E. S. et al. (eds.) *Roman Satirists and Their Satire: The Fine Art of Criticism in Ancient Rome*: 122-3; Knoche, U. (1975) *Roman Satire*. Ramage, E. S., trans.: 131; Coffey, op. cit., 99, 106-8, 111; Anderson, W op. cit., 153-68; Sullivan, J. P. (1985) *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nero*: 112-3; Braund, S. (1992) *Roman Verse Satire: Greece and Rome*: 35; Cucchiarelli, A. (2005) 'Speaking from silence: the Stoic paradoxes of Persius' in Freudenberg, K. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire*: 62-80; Mayer, R. (2005) 'Sleeping with the Enemy: Satire and Philosophy' in Freudenberg (ed.), op. cit., 155-7.

Hooley is the sole detractor from this interpretation, arguing that Persius' Stoic sage is too extreme to be a genuinely inspiring figure and that the concept is solely a satirical device to demonstrate the destitute state of contemporary society: Hooley, D.M. (1997), *The Knotted Thong: Structures of Mimesis in Persius*: 64-121. However, as both Henderson and Littlewood attest in their reviews, Hooley is light on political and social contextualisation and instead he focuses on reading Persius through Persius' use of Horace. Thus, with the socio-political context offered in this essay, and considering the extensive corroboration in all other scholarship, I hope that Hooley's argument concerning the Stoic sage will seem to the reader to be inaccurate.
[22] This translation and all subsequent translations are my own.
[23] Lee, G. and Barr, W. (1987) *The Satires of Persius*: 142; cf. Conington, J. (1893) *The Satires of A. Persius Flaccus*: 101.

"an quisquam est alius liber, nisi ducere vitam
cui licet, ut voluit? Licet ut volo vivere: non sum
liberior Bruto" "mendose colligis," inquit
stoicus hic aurem mordaci lotus aceto.
"haec reliqua accipio; licet illud et ut volo tolle."

(Persius, *Satires* 5.83-7)

"Whoever else is free, unless he can lead his
life as he wished? I can live as I wish: am I not
freer than Brutus?" "You infer falsely," said
this Stoic man, who had washed his ear with caustic vinegar,
"I admit the rest; just get rid of that 'can' and 'as I wish'."

The slave offers his definition of *libertas*, which, as Conington points out,[24] is humorously the same as that given b the Stoics, and he is mocked by the Stoic for his ignorance. This is not because what the slave has *said* is wrong, it i because the slave himself is not a Stoic and has no understanding of how to achieve Stoic *libertas*; since the slav cannot know Stoic *libertas*, it is impossible for him to be termed free. This argument and distinction frames th remaining content of the satire, which proceeds to outline the various moral faults associated with contemporar Romans who are ignorant of Stoic philosophy and thus lacking in Stoic *libertas*. Persius claims that these men wh think they are free, as the anonymous slave in the dialogue does, are in reality merely slaves to their desires an vices. The final lines of the satire (189-91) are reserved for a further example of the ignorance of contemporar Romans, here exhibited by some guffawing centurions. Keane remarks that 'the centurions who appear at the en of the poem to laugh at the sermon...do not undermine its validity but reinforce it by proving their ignorant self satisfaction',[25] and so Persius ends his satire, not on a triumphant note, but with the sense that all of Rome nov lives under the shadow of ignorance and vice: they laugh at the notion that they no longer possess *libertas*, withou realising that this really is the case.

Conceptually, therefore, Persius' *Satire 5* contrasts the juridical view of *libertas* outlined at the beginning, whicl under the Principate is now defunct, with the ideological *libertas* bestowed on the student and adherent o Stoicism. Persius' *Satire 5* is, to quote Cucchiarelli, 'a celebration of freedom (*libertas*), the highest of the Stoi virtues'.[26] Furthermore, Cucchiarelli asserts that 'Stoicism carried precise anti-imperial connotations in the age o Nero',[27] and in this sense Persius' *Satire 5* can be seen to be polemicising the Principate's conception of *libertas* anc associating Nero's reign with the foolishness and vice that enslave a man, preventing him from achieving true Stoi *libertas*. Indeed, the emphasis on the moral degeneration of contemporary society is not isolated to *Satire 5* and is found throughout Persius' *Satires*. It is linked with Persius' attacks on the contemporary literary scene, especially ir *Satire 1*, and Sullivan puts forward a forceful argument of Persius' implicitly political attack on Nero in this satire, identifying an attack on the neo-Callimachean literary trend of the Neronian age and identifying Nero as the arch neo-Callimachean.[28]

Seneca also examines the concept of Stoic *libertas* in his dialogue *De Providentia*, where Seneca is attempting to prove that misfortunes do not befall good men. Take the following:

[24] Conington, op. cit., 102.
[25] Keane, C. (2006) *Figuring Genre in Roman Satire*: 93.
[26] Cucchiarelli, art. cit., 63.
[27] Ibid., 75.
[28] Sullivan, op. cit., 74-114.

> *"licet" inquit "omnia in unius dicionem concesserint, custodiantur legionibus terrae, classibus maria, Caesarianus portas miles obsideat, Cato qua exeat habet: una manu latam libertati viam faciet. Ferrum istud, etiam civili bello purum et innoxium, bonas tandem ac nobiles edet operas: libertatem quam patriae non potuit Catoni dabit...."*
> *Liquet mihi cum magno spectasse gaudio deos, dum ille uir, acerrimus sui uindex, alienate saluti consulit et instruit discedentium fugam, dum studia etiam nocte ultima tractat, dum gladium sacro pectori infigit, dum uiscera spargit et illam sanctissimam animam indignamque quae ferro contaminaretur manu educit.*
>
> (Seneca, *De Providentia* 2.10-11)

'Although', Cato said, 'all things have submitted to the authority of one man, the territories are protected by the legions, the seas by the fleets, and the soldiers of Caesar blockade the city gates, Cato has a way by which he leaves: he will make a wide path to liberty with one hand. This steel, pure and unharmed from civil war, will finally perform good and noble deeds: the liberty it could not give to its country it will give to Cato....'

It is evident to me that the gods looked on with great delight, while that man, the keenest defender of himself, looks out for another's safety and sets up the escape of fugitives; while he performs his studies even on the final night; while he thrusts his sword into his sacred breast; while he scatters his vitals and draws out with his hand that purest spirit unworthy of being contaminated by sword.

D'Alessandro Behr states that 'by Nero's time [Cato] had become a symbol of republicanism and Stoic commitment',[29] and this passage portrays Cato as exhibiting both these aspects. With Caesar in control and Cato powerless the only *libertas* which Cato can now achieve is through suicide; there is no hope for the political *libertas* of the republic. Cato's actions prior to his suicide (showing concern for others, studying into the night) and the calmness and conviction he demonstrates all correspond to the behaviour of the Stoic ideal: the *sapiens*. Seneca uses Cato as a symbol of the republican *libertas* that no longer existed and attaches a Stoic frame, weaving the two together to fashion the Stoic virtue of *libertas*. Thus, with the dissolution of republican *libertas*, Cato must turn to Stoic *libertas* and in doing so he becomes the embodiment of this Stoic virtue. It can be seen that the Stoic *libertas* extolled by Persius is transformed here by Seneca into an overtly political expression of *libertas*, and that by consciously replacing republican *libertas* with Stoic *libertas* Seneca demonstrates the attraction that Stoic *libertas* held for those living under the Principate. Seneca's *De Providentia*, therefore, offers a useful example of Cato's significance concerning *libertas* and its relationship to the Stoic *sapiens* in Neronian literature. Moreover, this passage offers proof of the traditional conception of Cato in Neronian literature, providing the ideal comparison with Lucan's characterisation of Cato in his *Bellum Civile*.

While it cannot be said that Lucan's *Bellum Civile* is explicitly concerned with *libertas* and the Stoic *sapiens* to the same extent as Persius' *Satire 5* and Seneca's *De Providentia* are, *libertas* does figure prominently as a theme in the poem,[30] and it has significant consequences for the interpretation of Lucan's epic. Considering Lucan's involvement in the Pisonian conspiracy, it seems clear that the political restrictions imposed on *libertas* under the Principate did not sit well with the young man and this dissatisfaction is powerfully conveyed through Lucan's utilisation of *libertas* as a theme in his epic. The subject matter of the *Bellum Civile*, the Civil War, is also indicative of Lucan's political angst since it was emblematic of the turning point in Roman history when the republic, and thus *libertas*, ceased to exist. Taking into account Lucan's familial ties with Seneca, the influential Stoic philosopher, and his attested acquaintance with Persius and admiration of his poems, it would seem that Persius' and Seneca's

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[29] D'Alessandro Behr, F. (2007) *Feeling History: Lucan, Stoicism and the Poetics of Passion*: 11.
[30] There are almost 50 references to *libertas* and its cognates in the *Bellum Civile*: *libertas* is found at 1.172, 270, 2.145, 282, 303, 3.114, 138, 145, 146, 349, 4.227, 578, 808, 7.433, 580, 603, 696, 8.340, 371, 455, 491, 9.30, 91, 97, 193, 205, 265, 558, 1108, 10.25; *liber* is found at 1.672, 2.280, 562, 3.522, 4.384, 476, 5.53, 6.106, 301, 7.264, 375, 612, 808, 8.648, 9.333, 433, 566 10.95, 5142; and *liberat* is found at 10.235.

passion for Stoic *libertas* as discussed above would be equally at home in the mind of this other great poet of Neronian age.

Cato was traditionally characterised in literature as the representative of the Stoic ideal, the *sapiens*, anc Seneca's *De Providentia* showed, the Romans attached the republican ideal of *libertas* to this Stoic frame. Ca dual literary symbolism in Seneca is maintained in Lucan's *Bellum Civile* and when Cato is introduced in Book : the *Bellum Civile* (234-391) it is natural to assume that Lucan too will characterise Cato as the champion of *liber.* From the outset however, Cato's traditional Stoic features are undermined by Lucan's narrative and Catc caricatured by Lucan. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Lucan's list of Cato's virtues in Book 2 (380-91 virtues which Sklenář notes 'do not correspond to Cato's actual behaviour'.[32] Sklenář's close reading of the pass: identifies various examples where Cato is described as practicing these virtues to excess and thus Lucan falsifies t first virtue Cato is claimed to have: *servare modum* (to maintain moderation) (381), a key Stoic tenet. Book 2 Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, however, is only a precursor to the more full-blooded denigration of Cato's Stoic credenti in Book 9.

Firstly, before Lucan begins to deconstruct Cato's Stoic *libertas*, Cato announces during his eulogy of Pomp (9.190-214) that belief in *libertas*, in the republican sense, is dead: *olim vera fides Sulla Marioque receptis/liberta obit: Pompeio rebus adempto/nunc et ficta perit* (sincere belief in *libertas* died when Sulla and Marius were allow into the city; now that Pompey has been taken from the world even the fiction of belief has been destroyed) (2C 6). The sentiment Cato proposes is odd in historical terms when there was still much fighting to be done and Cat Brutus and Cassius had yet to act as champions of the republic in their defiance of Caesar. Their actions, ar especially Cato's, would be remembered and upheld as symbols of republican *libertas* for future generations, y Lucan forces Cato to destroy any notion of himself as champion for *libertas*. There is no *libertas*, so there is r champion and, even worse, 'the fact remains that Cato has taken over leadership of a faction in violation of bot his civic and his Stoic principles'.[33] Lucan's motive for this destruction of Roman tradition must derive from his dee dissatisfaction with the political climate; by removing Cato as a political symbol of republican *libertas*, Luca removes hope before hope is lost and there is no stronger message to emphasise the futility of living unde tyranny.

Considering this, Persius' option of Stoic *libertas* presents an attractive solution to Lucan's dilemma, yet Cato' subversion and the dissolution of his status as a Stoic *sapiens* renders this impossible. Scholars who espouse th view that Cato represents the Stoic ideal in Book 9 see Cato's march in the desert as a symbolic Stoic marc towards the truth: Fantham for example, claims that 'Lucan has detached his desert from all place and time t create a new Stoic myth of heroism'.[34] Leigh observes that the urge to import a Stoic metaphor or allegory on thi scene is prompted both by Seneca's treatment of the march in *Epistle 104* and by certain passages in Book 9 tha attempt 'to elevate anything said by Cato to the point of sanctity'.[35] Seneca's account details Cato's journey acros the Libyan desert and emphasises Cato's endurance of toil and thirst to consolidate his claims as a Stoic *sapiens*.[3 Lucan ostensibly reproduces the same conditions of Seneca's epistle but Lucan has modified the account with the major addition of the snakes. These snakes, and the entire episode in fact, are utilised by Lucan to subvert Cato as the paradigm of Stoic *libertas*. The battle with the snakes, which should show Cato's heroism and virtue, turns out to be the shame of Cato, and what is expected to be a traditional *aristeia* scene is inverted so that the snakes win the glory. Leigh states that 'this comic failure opens up the space within which the narrator can exploit the

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[31] Johnson, W. R. (1987) *Momentary Monsters: Lucan and His Heroes*: 37-8; Sklenář, R. (2003) *The Taste for Nothingness: A Study of* Virtus *and Related Themes in Lucan's* Bellum Civile: 76-9.
[32] Sklenář, op. cit., 77.
[33] Ibid., 85.
[34] Fantham, E. (1992), 'Lucan's Medusa Excursus: Its Design and Purpose', *MD* 29: 119.
[35] Leigh, M. (1997) *Lucan: Spectacle and Engagement*: 265.
[36] Ibid.

instability of the Stoic amphitheatre as a concept',[37] and the prevalence of references to the amphitheatre in the passage as well as the presentation of the snakes episode as a grotesque *venatio* serves to highlight this subversion.[38] In Seneca's *De Providentia* 2.9 and 3.4, Seneca refers to Cato and the Stoic *sapiens* in terms of gladiatorial contests and this further supports the contention that Lucan's Cato is designed to deny the existence of the Stoic *sapiens* and thus the ability to achieve Stoic *libertas*.

Many scholars have foisted, in some form or other, a Stoic sensibility upon Lucan's *Bellum Civile*; seeing Lucan's Cato as the traditional Stoic *sapiens* he is so frequently represented as elsewhere in Roman literature (in Seneca's *De Providentia* above for example), and identifying a tone of *ressentiment* in his poetry; regretting the lost *libertas* of the republic, all the while gnashing his teeth at the tyrannical brood of Caesars now institutionalised in governance. This view, it is argued here, is false and misunderstands the *Bellum Civile*'s cosmology, its rhetoric and its representation of Cato. Rather, I argue that Lucan negates Stoic doctrine in his *Bellum Civile* and that through his depiction of Cato he serves to undermine the concept of Stoic *libertas* completely. For Lucan's portrayal of Cato and his representation of *libertas* in the *Bellum Civile* stand in stark contrast with that of his other Neronian contemporaries discussed here. Persius, while critical of Neronian culture and society in his *Satires*, still offers through the concept of Stoic *libertas* the possibility of escape from the moral depravity endemic under Nero, and Seneca too offers hope of *libertas* in the form of Cato as the Stoic *sapiens*. Lucan however, offers no such hope; for him, as with Cato, 'the forces of chaos, are the gods whom it has pleased that Caesar should prevail'.[39]

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[37] Ibid., 267.
[38] Ibid., 265-82.
[39] Sklenář, op. cit., 100.

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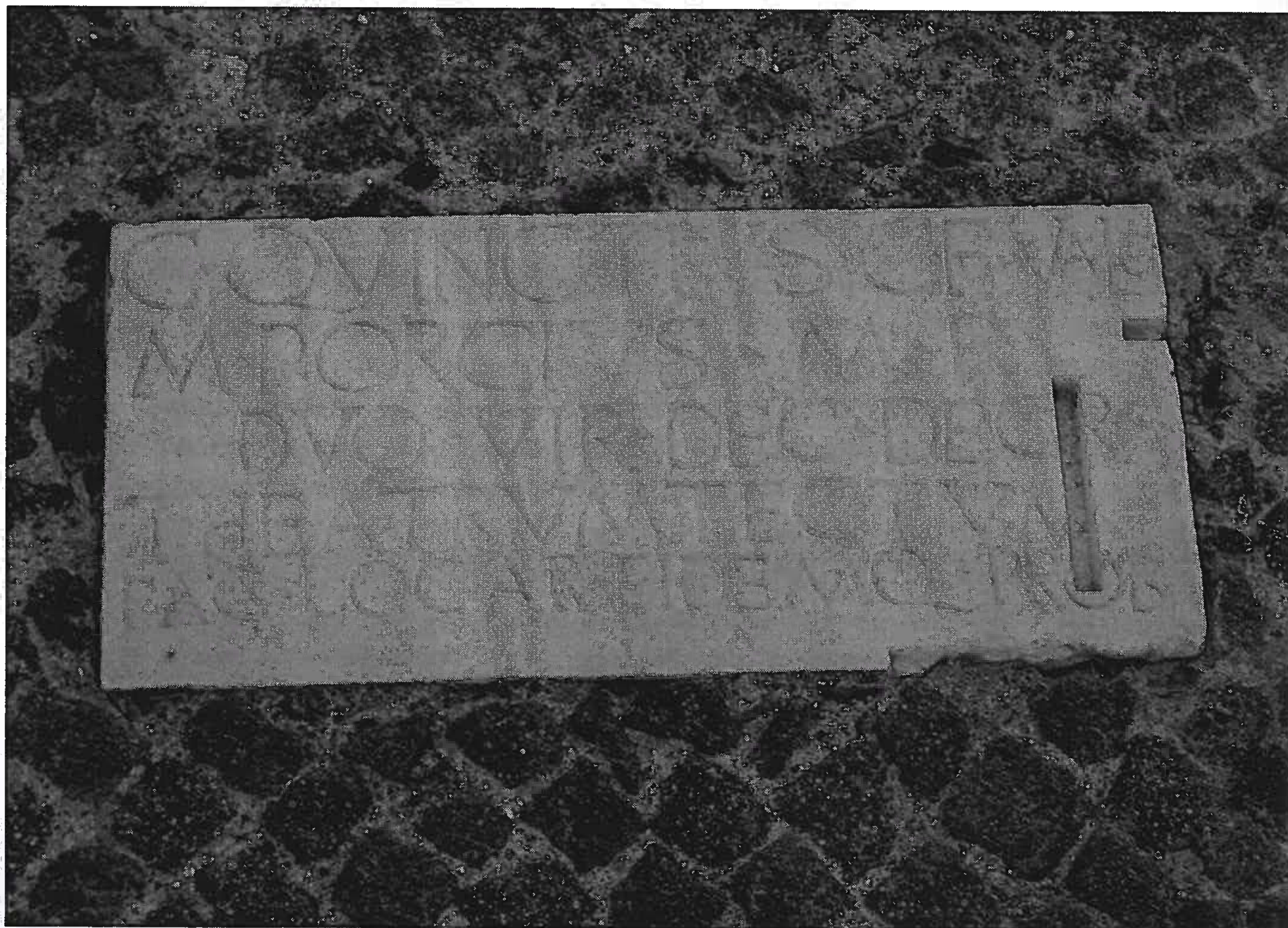

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