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PEGASUS

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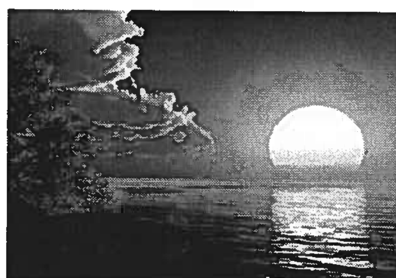
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35. Diane Turner: Dogs in Antiquity

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Department News

Student numbers in 2010/11 have held up well at undergraduate and postgraduate level. It is especially pleasing to have over 20 students entering with 'A'-level Latin to study Classics, following a similar Classics intake in 2009/10. It is also good to have 25 taking the MA, including students from Paraguay, Thailand and the USA. Five postgraduates have had their PhD theses approved since last year:

Shane Brennan:	Apologia in Xenophon's *Anabasis*.
Rowan Fraser:	'*Sustasis Pragmatōn:* The Playwright's Use of the Action in Athenian Tragedy'
Cristian Ghita:	Achaemenid and Greco-Macedonian Inheritances in the Semi-hellenised Kingdoms of Eastern Asia Minor.
Steve Kennedy:	A Commentary on Cicero, *Tusculans* 1.
Kiu Yue:	Virtue in Silius Italicus.

Of these graduating students, Shane Brennan is taking up a lecturing post at Mardin University (a new Turkish university with a strong research focus and international outlook), Cristian Ghita has a post-doctoral fellowship at Bucharest, and Steve Kennedy is teaching Classics at the Maynard School in Exeter. Of last year's graduates, Kyle Erickson has joined another Exeter PhD, Pauline Hanesworth, in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at St David's Trinity (formerly Lampeter) in the University of Wales. Earlier Exeter PhD graduates Georgia Petridou and Paul Scade (now married) have gained research fellowships at the Humboldt University, Berlin and the Central European University in Budapest.

We have had a very good year in gaining research funding for staff projects. Barbara Borg, our new Head of Department, has a fellowship for one semester at the Getty Centre for research on portraiture and society in the later Roman Empire. Elena Isayev, working on Migration, Identity and Place in Roman Italy, gained a fellowship at the Davis Centre, Princeton, and an AHRC fellowship. She has also been awarded an AHRC grant to follow up this research with a practically-directed project on migration and identity, working with schoolchildren and asylum seekers in Swansea. Eleanor Dickey gained an AHRC fellowship for research on a Latin grammar from late Antiquity and Lynette Mitchell also gained one for work on kingship in Greece. Matthew Wright has been awarded the Blegen Research Fellowship at Vassar College for next year to study *Tuchē* in ancient tragedy and comedy.

We are very glad to welcome as new lecturers John Dillon, who works especially on Roman religion, and Myrto Hatzimichali, whose specialism is ancient scholarship, and who takes up the new lectureship in the Impact of Greek on non-Greek Culture specially funded by the A. G. Leventis Foundation. Robin Nadeau, whose research focuses on ancient food and dining, is also joining us for this year and next, funded by the Quebec Research Council on Society and Culture. We have been pleased to have Don Miller with us for the second semester, taking over the teaching role of Elena Isayev. Gwen Rumbold, our Administrator, is completing her first full year with us and is a calm and reassuring presence and doing excellent work, not least in helping us adapt to our new institutional framework, the College of Humanities.

Classics and Ancient History won the award for 'subject with the best research community' at the Guild of Students 2011 teaching awards on 4 May. Factors mentioned included *Pegasus*, The World of Classics lecture series, the MA conference and the Department and postgraduate research seminars and reading groups. Congratulations to all staff and students who have helped us to win an award that really does reflect one of our collective strengths.

Stephen Mitchell is taking early retirement at the end of this academic year. He joined us in 2001 as Professor of Hellenistic Culture, one of two appointments funded by a £1.25 million grant from the Leverhulme Trust. During his time here, he has continued his path-breaking research on Turkey, especially centred on epigraphy, which was marked by the honour of a Fellowship of the British Academy. He acted as Director of the Centre of Hellenistic and Romano-Greek Culture, which provides a context for the

Department's research in this area, and led an AHRC-funded project on Pagan Monotheism, which produced two edited volumes based on a highly successful Exeter conference. Stephen also served as Head of Department and Director of Research, and has recently initiated a new programme on Turkish Studies which will be based in the Institute for Arabic and Islamic Studies. We are immensely grateful to him for spending ten years of a brilliant academic career with us, and hope that he retains close links with the Department.

Chris Gill, Acting Head of Department

Staff Research News

Barbara Borg (B.E.Borg@exeter.ac.uk): Barbara Borg is currently spending six months at the J. Paul Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles working on a project entitled "Changing decorum: Displaying art and framing the living in the third century AD". In this project, she intends to develop and test an alternative explanation for the discontinuation of certain genres of art in late antiquity that discards traditional ideas of decline and is based on the assumption of a creative approach to the challenges posed by the third century political and economic developments. She is also about to finish and submit a monograph on third-century metropolitan Roman tombs and burial customs and works on a second monograph on Roman tombs of the second century. Both books are based on a holistic and contextual approach (i.e. attempting to re-contextualise archaeological evidence, epigraphy, painting, sarcophagi etc.) and ultimately intended as a sociological study of Roman tombs. She is editing a *Blackwell Companion to Roman Art*.

David Braund (D.C.Braund@exeter.ac.uk): The last year has been spent on museum work (for the most part in Georgia) and in aspects of the north Black Sea, pursuing a project supported by the British Academy under its BARDA scheme.

The Georgian work involved first the publication of a set of rich burials of the second-third century AD. These were excavated in the 1960s, but only a few objects were ever published and almost nothing was known of the site outside Georgia. Thanks to two Georgian collaborators, we now have a monograph on the subject, *The treasures of Zghuderi*, published with help from BP. Now I am engaged in similar work on a set of burials and hoards from south west Georgia, around the city of Batumi (ancient Bathys Limen). These various artefacts are important for many reasons, but the main value is probably the unusually firm chronology that we have for precious metal from the eastern Roman empire. Otherwise, our dated silver, for example, comes overwhelmingly from the western empire, including Britain.

The north Black Sea work has generated a gigantic article on the Kabeiroi in the region. These gods had mystery cults around the Greek world, but seemed strangely well represented in the Black Sea. In fact they were not there at all, it seems, while there is an odd history of their imagining by Soviet scholars from the 1940s onwards. Meanwhile, a large article on Nero abroad will soon appear in a Blackwell Companion edited by an ex-Exonian (Martin Dinter). The big task is completion of a book on slavery which drags on, but a foretaste is now available in the new Cambridge History of Slavery.

Eleanor Dickey (E.Dickey@exeter.ac.uk): Eleanor Dickey has finished volume I of a two-volume work on the colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana, which will be published by Cambridge University Press next year. The Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana are a collection of ancient Latin-learning materials designed for Greek speakers and used extensively in the Roman empire; scholars used to think that they had been composed by the grammarian Dositheus, but they are now known to be earlier than his time, hence the name 'Pseudo-dositheana'. ('Hermeneumata' is Greek for 'bilingual language-learning materials'.) The colloquia are a set of little stories and dialogues about daily life in ancient Rome, designed to be used as reading and speaking practice for beginners in Latin; they contain episodes such as a boy going to school, shopping trips, going to the public baths, banking, visiting a sick friend, winning a court case, holding a dinner party, and going home from a dinner party when one has had too much to drink and being told off by one's wife. Eleanor has produced a new edition of the text, based partly on ancient papyri and partly in medieval manuscripts, as well as a commentary and the first ever English translation. The work's suitability for actual elementary Latin students was tested last year in Latin I at Exeter, to the interest and amusement of the students.

John Dillon (J.N.Dillon@exeter.ac.uk): At present, I am preparing my book manuscript, *The Justice of Constantine: Patterns of Communication and Control*, for publication with the University of Michigan Press. It

is a study of the workings of government and law under Constantine that draws primarily on the proclamations of Constantine himself. Earlier this year, I finished a translation of Book I of the *Codex Justinianus* for the Codex Project, which is producing a new English translation to be published by Cambridge University Press. I am making good progress on my next major research project, which examines the interaction of Roman magistrates and non-Roman cults and sanctuaries under the Republic. A preliminary article on the subject has been submitted for the conference proceedings of a colloquium held last year at the Royal Dutch Institute in Rome. I gave related talk at a conference in Heidelberg last month dedicated to "the normative order of space" in antiquity. My topic there was the Roman religious order of space. In fact, this last semester has been full of talks: I had a great time speaking to the sixth-formers about Cicero and Catiline; I spoke to the CA about Verres, and I just gave a revised version of that talk in Newcastle.

Chris Gill (C.J.Gill@exeter.ac.uk): My book *Naturalistic Psychology in Galen and Stoicism* (Oxford University Press, 2010) appeared, and I have continued to work on ancient psychology and ethics, especially in Galen and Stoicism. On Stoicism, I edited a World's Classics edition of *Marcus Aurelius: Meditations* (translated by Robin Hard), and completed a paper on Stoic ideas of *erōs*. I also wrote a paper on the second-century Stoic Hierocles and completed one on Platonic psychology. On Galen, I have continued to work in an advisory way on the production of a new translation with introduction and notes of *Galen: Psychological Works*, edited by Peter Singer (in preparation for Cambridge University Press), the first of a new series of translations with introduction and notes, general editor, Philip van der Eijk, designed to make Galen more accessible to non-specialists. I have also written a paper on ancient philosophical means of promoting psychological health and am exploring the potential relevance of these ideas to modern psychologists and practitioners working on psychological health.

Myrto Hatzimichali (M.Hatzimichali@exeter.ac.uk): My first book, 'Potamo of Alexandria and the Emergence of Eclecticism in Late Hellenistic Philosophy', is due to appear in July 2011. It examines critical changes in first-century BC philosophy, which included eclecticism (the process of selecting ideas from different existing schools) explicitly being promoted as a defining intellectual stance at the heart of a new sect. For my next project, I am currently investigating interactions between Greeks and non-Greeks in the intellectual context of Alexandria and its great library, starting with the creation of the Septuagint (the translation of Jewish scripture into Greek). I am hoping in this way to contribute towards our understanding of those features of Greek culture that made and are making a lasting impact.

Elena Isayev (E.Isayev@exeter.ac.uk): *Paradoxes of Place and Mobility* looks at the process of place construction in Italy as a long-term process of change from pre-Roman fluidity to attempts at fixity after the Social War. The aim is to expose the highly mobile nature of that society and to understand the way the physicality and locatedness of a site may become privileged over other non-tangible aspects, in relation to identity. The project challenges the hypothesis that place is inviolable, focusing on how ideas of place are transformed and transmitted impacting on definitions of community. It experiments with a relational approach, a model that presents place as a cultural construct and a result of intersecting movements rather than an accepted basis for membership and belonging tied to a site. My lines of inquiry are: 1) the nature and extent of human mobility suggesting societal structures anticipated and depended on high migration rates; 2) the agency of architecture and landscape: the use of sites outside settlements, eg sanctuaries, as public fora; proliferation of the municipium – did it fundamentally change communities' relationship to place as regards identity? Do cemeteries represent site commitment? 3) reconciling citizenship, belonging and territoriality: draws on narratives of homeland, exile, and juridical writings; 4) mapping space and time: examines the growth of mapping, fixity and boundary making; Augustan delineation of regions, propagation of place-based traditions, and calendars.

Rebecca Langlands (R.Langlands@exeter.ac.uk): This year I have finished an article on the role of exemplary anecdotes within Roman ethical thought, focusing on a comparison between Valerius Maximus and Cicero *De Officiis*, which is due to be published in the *Journal of Roman Studies* later this year. I will be spending next year (on research leave) working on a book about *exempla* and Roman ethics more broadly. My collaboration with Kate Fisher in the Centre for Medical History is also flourishing; we are currently co-editing a book, *Compelling Connections*, which is a collection of interdisciplinary papers exploring the ways that people have used the past to understand human sexuality.

Exciting progress made in our *Sex and History* project, which has been working with young people throughout the South West using sexually-themed objects from museum collections as a stimulus for exploration of contemporary issues relating to sex, relationships, health and fertility, through both discussion and creative responses. A number of pilot projects that have been running through the South West region (in collaboration with major museums) have generated a substantial body of material work including research, technical photographs, short films, theatrical performances, original drama pieces, sculpture, soundscapes and video installations. Upcoming events celebrating the achievements of the project include May 20th 2011 *Sex and History* Bristol; 20th June 2011 the launch of a new sex education resource for schools based on museum objects – the

Talking Sex pack – developed by the Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro.

Lynette Mitchell (L.G.Mitchell@exeter.ac.uk): In the last 12 months, I have given conference papers on a range of topics, including Persians in Xenophon, fifth-century Sicily and Cyrus the Great of Persia. I have also completed the co-editing of a volume of essays on kingship in the ancient and medieval worlds which will be published by Brill. The main project, however, is a monograph on rulers in archaic and classical Greece, which should be completed by the end of the year and will be published by Duckworth.

Stephen Mitchell (S.Mitchell@exeter.ac.uk): My main research achievement this year is to have completed the first volume of the Corpus of Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara, From Augustus to the Third Century AD. This will be published in the series Vestigia (Munich) and should appear late in 2011 or early in 2012.

Robin Nadeau (R.Nadeau@exeter.ac.uk): My current research project is entitled: "Table Manners Handbooks and Discourses about Food in Ancient Societies and Beyond: Prescribed Notions and Actual Practices". In short, my objective is to evaluate the influence of literary, medical and philosophical discourses on food-related behaviours and food choice in ancient Greece and Rome, as well as from later periods. Said differently, this project aims to study food-related discourses and their reception.

Karen Ní Mheallaigh
(K.Ni-Mheallaigh@exeter.ac.uk): 2010-11 has been a very busy, very satisfying year with teaching and other commitments to the happy life in our Department. Research-wise, I am continuing to work on my major research project, a book about ancient fiction which I am hoping to complete in the near future. I have also been working on an article about the role of Phoenicia and Phoenician in imperial fiction.

Daniel Ogden (D.Ogden@exeter.ac.uk): Over the last year I have once again been working principally on my Big Dragon Book. I've got as far as the hind legs but, alas, dragons do have long tails. My most substantial publication of the year has been 'Dimensions of Death in the Greek and Roman Worlds' (in P. Gemeinhardt and A. Zgoll eds. Weltkonstruktionen. Religiöse Weltdeutung zwischen Chaos und Kosmos vom Alten Orient biz zum Islam. Tübingen, 2010. 103-131). UK shelves need not fear the burden. Otherwise, the year has just been about 'all too late'. Born into spectacular obsolescence was 'Homosexuality' (in M. Golden and P. Toohey eds. *A Cultural History of Sexuality* vol. 1. Oxford, 2010. 37-54, 208-15), composed long prior to the appearance of Davidson's 2007 game-changer, *Greek Love*. Still, this piece's publication was positively nifty by comparison with that of the forlorn 'How to marry a courtesan in the Macedonian courts' (in A. Erskine and L. Llewellyn-Jones eds. *Creating a Hellenistic World*. Swansea, 2011. 221-46), finally begrudged into the daylight after its sixth birthday. Sadly its editor, brisk though she was, did not live to see the publication of 'The Royal Families of Argead Macedon and the Hellenistic World' (in B. Rawson ed. A [sc. Blackwell] *Companion to the Ancient Family. Oxford*, 2011. 92-107). Finally, no annual report of mine would be complete without the ritual whine about my mythical lost Alexander book, and I know that my fans anticipate it. UEP has at last deigned to make proofs from the manuscript submitted in mid 2008, but has left me with no confidence the book will appear this year, next year or frankly ever.

Martin Pitts (M.E.J.Pitts@exeter.ac.uk): In the last year my research has continued under the umbrella theme of globalisation in the Roman world. I have been organising a workshop for April 2011 in Exeter with Dr Miguel John Versluys (University of Leiden) on 'Globalisation and the Roman world: perspectives and opportunities', which we are planning to publish as a book. I have also begun work on a new project that explores parallels in the supply, proliferation and cultural use of ceramics across cultural boundaries, with particular focus on imports to Western Europe in the Roman (terra sigillata) and early modern periods (Chinese porcelain) respectively.

Richard Seaford (R.A.S.Seaford@exeter.ac.uk): My book, entitled *Cosmology and the Polis: the Social Construction of Space and Time in the Tragedies of Aeschylus*, will appear later this year with Cambridge University Press. I am now embarking on a new project, a comparison of the intellectual revolutions in Greece and in India in the 7-5th century BCE, from a socio-economic perspective.

Richard Stoneman (R.Stoneman@exeter.ac.uk): My book *The Ancient Oracles* came out from Yale University Press in April 2011. I have completed a translation of the Modern Greek *Phyllada tou Megalexantrou* which will be published as *The Book of Alexander the Great* (*BAG*) by IB Tauris in late 2011. I have also completed a revised edition of my *Legends of Alexander the Great (LAG)*, which will also be published by IB Tauris in late 2011. I am now writing a short book on Pindar for the series I edit for IBTauris, 'Understanding Classics'. Last July's conference on 'The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East' was enjoyed by all participants and the uniformly excellent papers are being brought together in a book edited by myself, Ian Netton (IAIS) and Kyle Erickson (Lampeter), to be published as a supplement to the journal *Ancient Narrative*. The Greek edition of my *Alexander the*

Great: a life in legend is published in May 2011 and I have been invited to the Thessaloniki Book Fair to speak about it and to do a signing session. In June I am making a visit to Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to see what it was that attracted Alexander to Alexandria-the-Furthest, and this will also contribute to my research project on 'The Indian World of the Greeks'. I am also planning a biography of Xerxes, the only ancient king with as many Xs in his name as a Mexican beer.

John Wilkins (J.M.Wilkins@exeter.ac.uk): I am currently completing a book on maintaining good health, according to Galen, in his *treatise de sanitate tuenda*. I think Galen has important ideas for our own health needs, and have been following this up with colleagues in the Peninsula Medical School. Chris Gill and I held a workshop with them on May 9th to pursue this idea of Galen feeding in to contemporary health debates, on how people can stay healthy without expensive medicines, and a further project is planned. In May 2010 I co-organised a conference on balance, within the Centre for Medical History at Exeter, which revealed how some of Galen's concerns are ours too.

Peter Wiseman (T.P.Wiseman@exeter.ac.uk): *Ovid: Times and Reasons* (our new translation of the *Fasti*) ought to be out by now, but there's been a last-minute hitch at OUP. Meanwhile, I'm working on three fairly chunky items concerning (1) Roman 'cultural memory' and what it means, (2) the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and (3) how Varro handled the Roman foundation legend. Nos. 2 and 3 were the subject of a seminar at the University of Pennsylvania in March, and no.1 will be part of a big conference at the American Academy in Rome in October.

Matthew Wright (M.Wright@exeter.ac.uk): *The Comedian as Critic*, my book about Athenian old comedy and the invention of literary criticism, is now finished, and will be published by Duckworth later this year. I plan to write a sequel dealing with literary-critical discourse in middle and new comedy. But in the meantime, I have been working on a number of shorter pieces concerning (*inter alia*) Antiphanes, *Tyche*, and proverbial maxims in tragedy.

New PhD Students

Beth Hartley (bh253@exeter.ac.uk)
My research focuses on the role of the marvellous, the exotic and the unbelievable in Post-Classical Greek fiction from three perspectives: How the language of 'wonder' gave ancient writers a vocabulary for talking about fiction; how embedded 'wonders' interact with their framing narratives, and how they affect the reader's experience of the narrative; how literary wonders related to the culture of wonder and the fake in contemporary Imperial Period, and how that relationship enriched the reader's experience of literary wonders. Overall my research will contribute to our knowledge of fictional literature by examining its interaction with its broader cultural context. Wondrous fictions will emerge as one aspect of the contemporary fascination with the artful fake.

Anto Montesanti (am545@exeter.ac.uk)
What is the real meaning of a demarcation line in the Classical period? What did the Greeks and Romans really think about the concept of boundary, border, frontier, limit and liminal? To what extent, and possibly when and where, has the conceptual idea of marker line developed between the two different realities? These are just some of the questions which my proposed thesis is aiming to answer, and also demonstrate the fields in which my research is involved. The thesis will begin with the end of classical antiquity and take a retrograde approach. The study will initially explore a comparative understanding of the conceptual modern idea of boundaries in relation to the late Roman Empire and consequently assess the differing perspectives. If the modern category of boundary nowadays is taken for granted and easily applied to ancient times, this study might reveal a different acceptance of the terms listed above from the point of view of the ancients – undertaking a deep discourse regarding the double meaning of the boundary as a link or a divider and as a sacred or political value.

Charlotte Young (cay201@exeter.ac.uk)
The aim of my thesis is to examine photographic archives of archaeological sites through various lenses. My working argument is that photo-archaeology represents a progressive anthropological development in understanding the journey of past civilisations through the archaeological ruins. I hope to provide an extensive study of how photographs were used in interpreting the classical world with other modes of artistic interpretation available during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Do photographs attempt to complement or replace earlier drawings and paintings of archaeological sites? The Getty Foundation Project at the British School at Rome has just completed a two year grant to catalogue part of the Ward-Perkins photographic collection, which consists of Ward-Perkins photo-archaeology of Lepcis Magna, Sabratha and Cyrenaica in the 1950s. This is the critical case study of my thesis, which will provide a comparison against other photographic archives published as illustrations to accompany text on classical sites in modern Libya, especially on Lepcis Magna.

MA Theses 2009-10

Frederick Kimpton:	Ovid's use of astronomy in the *Fasti*
Jenny Mayes:	Landscape as character and agent in Roman literary myth-making
Natasha Gibbs:	The representation of foreign and Roman women
Catherine Snoad:	Political propaganda and the influence of the past in Roman politics, from the death of Caesar 44BC to the triple triumph of Octavian 29BC
Nic Macbeth:	The right to rule: the Stoic understanding of kingship in Roman literature
Mark James:	Historical inheritance and the nature of myth-making in Shakespeare's Roman plays
Charles Moger:	The depiction of female exempla in Roman history
Camilla Morgan:	Elements of ritual human sacrifice in Latin literature
Charlotte Young:	Gender and art: the representation of women from antiquity in Victorian art and sculpture
Melissa Noland:	Visions of the Divine: the effects of agency on household images of the gods
David (Syd) Maddicott:	Slaves and slavery in Greek tragedy
Lucy Jackson:	Choruses of young women in Euripidean tragedy
Lucy Douglas:	How and why did the role of women change from Tragedy to Old Comedy to New Comedy?
Finlay Jones:	The planning and architecture of Alexandria and Ptolemaic propaganda

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Theatrical Review: *Wealth*

Hannah Porter

This is surely a *tour de force* of Classical proportions. Gone are the archaisms (and indeed any cast-audience barriers) as this surprisingly-brief modern adaption assails the audio and visual senses with such vigour that it shall take some time to recover. I shall first give a brief plot summary, and then comment on the alterations made by the production team.

Athens is ruined; good men starve on the streets, while the bad live in luxury. Chremylus, a poor but good man, seeks the help of the gods to end this suffering. The answer is given in the form of the god Wealth, who is (ironically) blind. He explains that it is this malady that caused him to distribute his goods at random. Our protagonist is convinced that if he can restore the god's sight, justice too will be revived. Ignoring the pleas of Poverty (his previous house-guest), Chremylus helps to return Wealth's sight, which predictably results in a reversal of fortune, and the world is plunged into violent financial and social upheaval. Jealous of the new 'favourite', Zeus sends Hermes to investigate, concluding in Chremylus' proposal that Wealth be installed as the king of the gods.

The first moment came when a 'Bop-It' device appeared on stage; apparently little used by the ancients, this later came to be claimed as Zeus' possession, providing a satisfying ring-composition for the production. Also notable was the overriding homoerotic flirtation (between pretty much all the male characters) and the modern twist on background music, featuring such classics as "Diamonds are Forever", the "Jaws Theme", and "Goldfinger". Although we can be sure that James Bond themes were not a standard back-in-the-day, it is most probable that this level of homosexual referencing was deemed appropriate, if not expected.

The marvellous 'Chorus' dance-sequences (with added disco lights), thoughtfully camp costumes (fantastic mascara), and intimate audience interaction (topped off when one man was locked outside the theatre for five minutes) made this a fantastically weird, if not brilliant night.

It seems impossible to do the experience justice, but I suppose the tone is really set when it seems acceptable to pronounce "I would sacrifice a kitten for a jammy dodger"! My hat goes off to you all.

Aristophanes' Views on Love

Charli Wood and Fran Starling

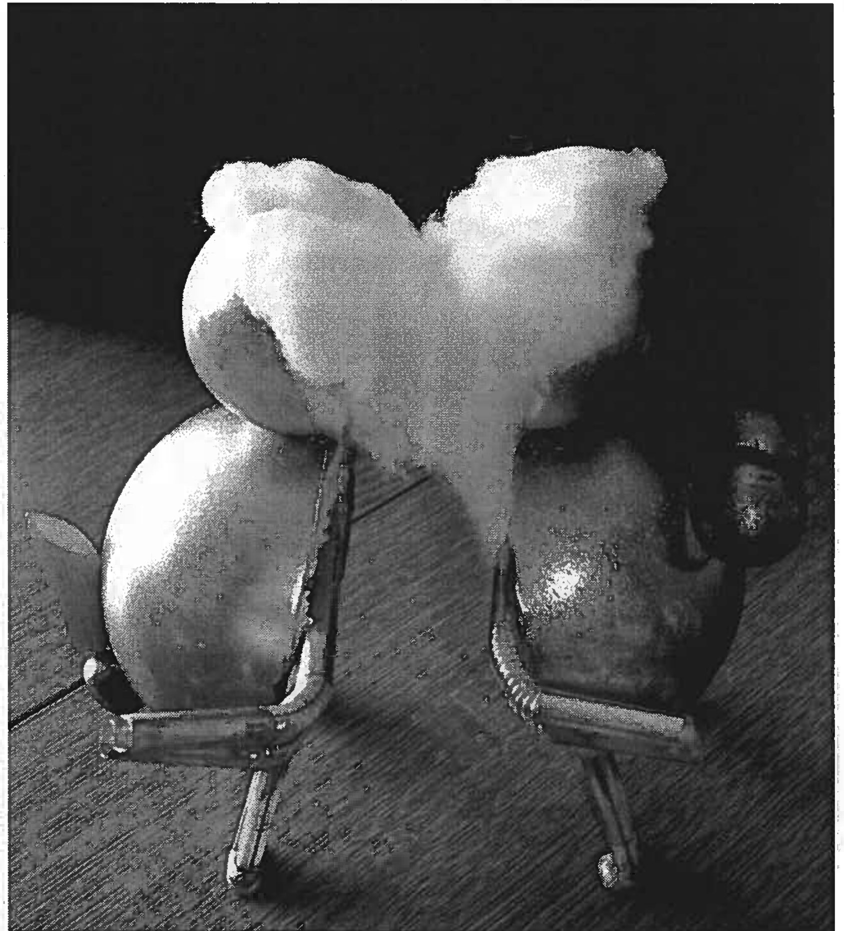
Karen Ní Mheallaigh's Greek III class ran a competition to come up with a visual representation of the proto-human in Aristophanes' speech in Plato's Symposium. *The winners were Charli Wood and Fran Starling, whose explanation is published here, along with photographs of their figurines. More examples from other members of the class can be found on the Pegasus website.*

We wanted to produce physical models to represent Aristophanes' portrayal of the physical attributes of the pre-humans. The way he describes this in the *Symposium* enables the reader to have a distinct picture of these humans in their mind.

We decided to use everyday objects since Socratic philosophy uses everyday examples which we see through his portrayal in Platonic works. Aristophanes himself uses this sort of 'common household' imagery in his speech on Eros; for example in 190d-e he alludes to jam making and the slicing of boiled eggs. This also brings to mind Aristophanes' portrayal of Euripides in the *Frogs* where he ridicules him for using everyday objects as examples.

Androgynous humans

- Their heads and bodies are made out of round objects sliced in half to represent both before and after. This depicts how they were once one but are now two.
- We intended to portray the male-male prehuman. However, on reading Hubbard's article *Popular Perceptions of Elite Homosexuality in Classical Athens* which argues that Aristophanes was opposed to pederasty, we decided to produce a hermaphrodite human in accordance with what we believe would be Aristophanes' wishes. The reference Aristophanes makes in his speech to the hermaphrodite pre-human states that its parent was the moon, as the moon also partakes of both genders. Accordingly, we chose moon shaped objects, which are at one time spherical and at another crescent shaped.

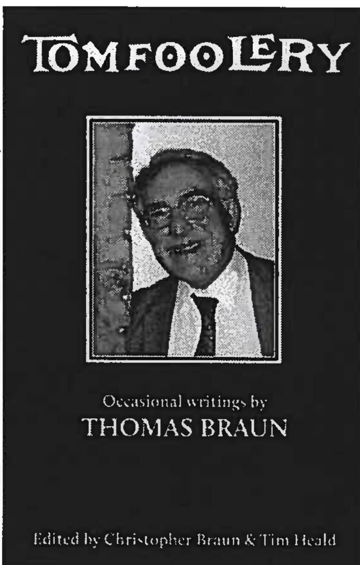


- The erect oversized phallus represents the artificial genitals of prodigious size (cf Dover's introduction in Aristophanes' *Frogs*) worn by ancient actors of Aristophanic comedy. Correspondingly we have depicted the woman half with equally oversized breasts so as not to be sexist and make her more appealing to modern man.

Zeus

- We have portrayed Zeus with his customary trident which we took to be the weapon with which he sliced the humans in two. His lack of arms highlights this factor.
- We also decided to give Zeus a monobrow since physiognomic theory states that a person with a single eyebrow was deemed beautiful (cf. Augustus and E.C.Evans).

Tomfoolery: Occasional Writings by Thomas Braun



Many Exeter classicists will remember with great affection Tom Braun (1935-2008) who was Dean and Fellow and Tutor in Ancient History at Merton College, Oxford. Throughout his life Tom, who died in 2008 following a horrific road crash, entertained his wide circle of friends with a stream of poems and parodies, public speeches and private letters. In response to popular demand, Tim Heald (Balliol 1962-1965) and Tom's brother Christopher have now produced *Tomfoolery,* an anthology of Tom's occasional writings. This eclectic treasure trove contains irreverent views of history and literature from the Old Testament to Tarzan (as expressed in a review which we first published in *Pegasus*), wry comments on politics, sensitive translations of poetry as well as some of Tom's own Latin and Greek verses, and plenty of puns. Above all it is full of civilised fun and warm humanity. An ideal Christmas present for classicists and non-classicists alike.

Tomfoolery: Occasional Writings by Thomas Braun (1935-2008), edited by Christopher Braun and Tim Heald is published by Antony Rowe Publishing, ISBN 978-1-90-757108-4, price £17.00. Published: 1 December 2010. The book has recently been offered at a discount and postage free on various websites including Amazon, Asda and The Book depository. It may also conveniently be bought direct from the publisher at CPI Book Delivery (http://www.cpibookdelivery.com/book/ 9781907571084/Tomfoolery) - p&p within the UK £2.95 plus 70p for each additional book) or ordered from any good bookshop. Any profits will go to the Thomas Braun Classical World Travel Fund established by Merton College, Oxford.

Footprints in the Sand

Charlotte Young

I entered the world of classics at a very young age. I can recall sitting on my grandfather's lap listening intently to the stories of the great gods of ancient Greece and Rome, and the engineering marvels of the ancient Egyptians with the pyramids and Romans with the Colosseum and aqueducts. Pictures in storybooks inspired my inquisitiveness and need for understanding what it was like to have lived in this world which seemed so foreign to me. Little did I know that this was to have a profound impact on my future education up to the present day. My PhD project focuses on the use of photography as a scientific tool for recording the reception of the classical world by academics and the public in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. My key interest is that photographs are cultural products which contain continuous and multiple visual narratives. Photographs of ancient ruins or archaeological sites have much more to offer than a simple historical document. These images represent an anthropological viewing of a past civilisation and attempt to minimize the distance between ancient and modern societies. The photographic collection of John Bryan Ward-Perkins of Lepcis Magna, captured in 1948-1953, is the chief case study for my project. This personal collection of photographs consists of 32,755 prints of archaeological sites in Libya, war damage in Italy and images of the groundbreaking work of the South Etruria Survey conducted in the 1950s and 1960s. Such a diverse range of subjects illustrates the broad scholarly interests of Ward-Perkins.

Ward-Perkins first experienced the ruins of Lepcis Magna during the Second World War in 1942, where he joined Mortimer Wheeler's regiment, the 42nd Mobile LA. His secondment to organise the care of antiquities in Cyrenaica and Tripolitania provided him with a preview of what was to become a major

research project after the war. Ward-Perkins narrowly missed the battle of El Alamein because of a motorcycle accident but continued to be active in the British war efforts, and was promoted to Lt-Colonel when he arrived in Italy shortly before the end of the war. The co-existence of his understanding of military terrain as well as archaeological was remarkable, and can be detected in his later photographs of Lepcis Magna after the war. Whilst researching Ward-Perkins biography for his personal involvement in Lepcis Magna, something about his war story struck a familiar chord. Incredibly, my grandfather too was based in Libya during the Second World War with the 8th Army, and spoke of ancient ruins located near the coastline which could be seen from the military vehicles on the way to Tripoli.

My grandfather, Arthur Edward Porter, born in London in 1916, was a Sergeant in the Royal Artillery in the Second World War. He belonged to the "desert rats", which were the 7th Armoured Division of the British 8th Army under the command of General Montgomery. From my grandfather's war memorabilia, we know that in March 1942 his regiment moved across the Syrian Desert, over Jordan into Palestine and through the Suez Canal into Egypt; a journey which took nearly seven days. In Egypt, the regiment was deployed in protection of the great Ordnance base at Tel-El-Kebir, and at Suez, Cairo, Alexandria, Mesa-Metrub and then finally joined the 8th Army in the Western desert, where they fought at El Alamein. After this success, my grandfather's regiment proceeded through Gambut, Tobruk and Benghazi to Tripoli, and then sailed onwards to Italy. This latter part of his military journey was very similar to the path taken by Ward-Perkins, who was based at Tripoli and then sent to Italy to conduct a survey of the war damage to the Italian heritage. Both Ward-Perkins and my grandfather are exemplary tales in the Second World War effort for Britain and her allies, but it is also interesting that during this difficult time both men were interested in and confounded by the magnificent ancient ruins they encountered during their military travels. Whilst Ward-Perkins continued with his field of archaeology after the war and returned to Tripolitania to photograph the hundreds of inscriptions lying on rocks in the sand (*Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (1952)), my grandfather returned to his family and working life, lecturing at a technical college in London.

My grandfather never spoke of the war, despite being awarded 1939/45 Star, Africa Star with 8th Army Clasp, Italy Star, Defence Medal, War Medal 1939/45, and Efficiency Medal. At El Alamein, 13,000 British troops from the 8th Army were killed in action, a significant loss that plagued the emotions of everyone who had been directly involved in such a battle. However, one of the more positive by-products of the war was that his mind was never far from the wonders of the ancient world that he had seen on his travels, just like Ward-Perkins who returned to Tripolitania in 1948, inspired by the scale of Roman ruins. The personal connection between my family and my research of Ward-Perkins photographic collection of Lepcis Magna is rather astonishing and special. It provides a new historical dimension, and personal feeling of the work achieved by two very different, yet very similar men. It is possible that Ward-Perkins and my grandfather may have met whilst on duty in North Africa, though the likelihood is rather small. Yet that is not important. What is important is that the Roman ruins of Tripolitania had an effect on both these gentleman to an extent that it imprinted a permanent memory in their minds, which stayed with them until their passing away. Despite the political chaos in Libya currently with Gaddafi and the rebels, I do hope that one day I will visit Tripolitania and Lepcis Magna, and follow in the footprints of both my grandfather and Ward-Perkins in the Saharan sand.

Barbaric Wealth – The Jever Denarii Hoard

Martin Lindner

About 50 miles north-west of Bremen lies the small town of Jever with its population of about 14,000 people. The place is famous for its romantic castle, its 17th century town hall, and one of the largest breweries in central Europe. However, even specialists in imperial Roman history rarely have heard of the "Jeveraner Silberschatz", the richest denarii hoard find in Eastern Friesland and also one of the most important in Germania Libera.[1] Among the main reasons for this is the poor presentation it has suffered during the last 160 years. The rather confusing history of the region and of the hoard's excavation certainly did not enhance its reputation. The following pages aim to give the broad strokes of the historical context, the research of the last one and a half centuries, and the new Jever Hoard Project that started in Spring 2011.

1. Rome and the Tribes of Friesland

Little is known of the Eastern Frisii and their neighbours, the Chauci. Neither of them produced lasting architecture on a grand scale or even textual evidence, so for the "bigger picture" we are forced to rely on Roman sources. The first detailed description of the region and its inhabitants stems from the *naturalis historia* of Pliny the Elder, who lists the islands and other territories "of the Frisii, Chauci, Frisiavones, Sturii and Marsacii, lying between Helenium and Flevum".[2] Other authors such as Ptolemaios clarify that the Chaucian territory lay more or less along the banks of the river Weser extending northward as far as the coast of Eastern Friesland.[3]

This is confirmed by Tacitus in his description of the tribes between the mouth of the Rhine and the peninsula of Denmark: "First of all come the Chauci. Though they start next to the Frisii and occupy part of the seaboard, they also border on all of the tribes just mentioned, and finally edge away south as far as the Chatti. [...] They are the noblest of the German tribes, and so constituted as to prefer to protect their vast domain by justice alone: they are neither grasping nor lawless; in peaceful seclusion they provoke no wars and despatch no raiders on marauding forays; the special proof of their sterling strength is, indeed, just this, that they do not depend for their superior position on injustice."[4] This is apparently one of the many passages in the *Germania* that contains more criticism of the author's own countrymen than ethnographic description.[5] The Chauci were among the most dangerous pirates of the time,[6] and maybe Tacitus was aware of that fact, making the comparison even more ironic. He does, however, strengthen the idea that Jever may have been under Chaucian control as part of the boarder region between the tribes settling along the coast of Eastern Friesland in times of the early Roman campaigns in Germania Libera.

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1 I use "Germania Libera", without the nationalistic implications intended in 19th century historiography, in a sense of "the territory of the Germanic tribes outside of the Roman provinces". Unless stated otherwise, "Friesland" refers to the geographical area consisting of (a) the Dutch provinces of Western Friesland and (b) Eastern Friesland as part of the German state of Niedersachsen, while "Frisia" denotes the area inhabited by the tribes of the Frisii.

2 Plin. NH 4.101: *et aliae Frisiorum, Chaucorum, Frisiavonum, Sturiorum, Marsaciorum quae sternuntur inter Helenium ac Flevum*. For the localisation of these places and the ones mentioned below cf. Kleineberg et al. 2010, esp. 41-4.

3 Ptol. Geog. 2,11,11, distinguishing between the Lesser Chauci (Καῦχοι οἱ Μικροί) in the west, including the Jever area, and the Greater Chauci (Καῦχοι οἱ Μείζους) in the east.

4 Tac. Germ. 35: *ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium quas exposui gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur. [...] populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit iustitia tueri. sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. id praecipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per iniurias adsequuntur* (transl. M. Hutton).

5 For Tacitus' ethnographic approach cf. Timpe 2008.

6 Wierschowski 1999, 16-7.

The Archeological evidence is much more difficult to interpret: Nowadays, the tribes are seen not as exclusive family clans but as social and political structures, which frequently incorporated smaller groups of various origins.[7] In an almost completely oral environment, we have to use indicators such as special types of pottery (e.g. the Chaucian funnel beakers[8]) to link places of settlement to a specific tribe. The Frisian region further to the West may have been more populated than the Jever region, but most settlements were little more than a couple of wooden houses on small hills or sandbanks within highmoors and marshland. Most homesteads seem to have been built for temporary use by semi-nomadic inhabitants relying mainly on fishing, cattle breeding, and some farming. Even larger villages, such as Feddersen Wierde, never housed more than 300-400 people.[9]

Under these circumstances, it must have been difficult for the Roman armies to confront their enemies, let alone identify them. The campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius in theory subdued the north-west of Germania, but Augustus's claim to have pacified the world from the Gades to the mouth of the Elbe[10] seems optimistic at best. There is no evidence for settlements comparable to Haltern am See or Lahnau-Waldgirmes further south. Most of the military bridgeheads along the rivers of the region mentioned by Florus[11] remain yet to be found. Our best evidence comes from Bentumersiel, about 30 miles south-west of Jever, where the Roman army temporarily occupied an older fishing village.[12]

In fact, the Eastern Frisian and the Chaucian tribes remained largely out of Roman control and participated in numerous rebellions and raids like the Batavian Revolt of 69/70 AD. Unlike most of the Frisian tribes, which effectively formed a kind of Roman client state[13] and served in the Roman army,[14] their neighbours to the East proved unreliable. The Chauci had promised auxiliary troops,[15] but they sent only few and those may even have been responsible for letting Arminius escape in a battle against Germanicus.[16]

Despite Domitian's claim of *Germania capta*, most of what the Romans called Germania (including the Jever region) never became integrated into their provinces. It has been pointed out that Germania Inferior with the civitas Tungrorum was astonishingly small at less than 7,500 square miles, equal to about 0.4% of the whole empire. This may, indeed, indicate that the original intention had been to include the rest of Friesland as well,[17] but if there such a plan existed, it was never carried out. The Germanic wars may have simply been considered too expensive and risky in the face of few long-term benefits.

In the 2nd century AD, the Rhine effectively formed the north-eastern boarder. Merchants from the provinces, however, frequently engaged in business with the "barbarians" on the other side, as can be seen from excavations such as Elsfleth near Bremen.[18] Admittedly, just like in Scandinavia or Eastern Europe, the Roman goods may have reached the hinterland by a chain of trade relations, which does not necessarily point to civil Roman presence in the area. The Jever region seems to have been too poor to attract a large number of imports, and business with Germania Libera declined after the southern uprisings of the Franci and Alamanni in the 3rd century AD. Roman counterattacks, especially under Maximinus Thrax, only got as far as the Harzhorn between Göttingen and Hildesheim.[19] When the provinces were restructured under Diocletian and his successors, there was no attempt to renew the claim on the eastern part of Friesland. As far as can be said, during these centuries the Chaucian tribes

7 Wenskus 1961; Tausend 2006.
8 Schmid 1981, 398-404.
9 Schmid 1994 and the forthcoming dissertation of K. Struckmeyer.
10 Aug. Res Gest. 26.
11 Flor. 2.30.26.
12 Strahl 2009 and the forthcoming dissertation of K. Mückenberger.
13 Galestin 1997, but also Will 1987.
14 Cf. CIL VI 3230, XVI 105 et al.
15 Tac. Ann. 1.60.2.
16 Tac. Ann. 2.17.5.
17 Bechert 2007, 28.
18 Scheschkewitz 2006.
19 Geschwinde et al. 2009.

may have moved further south, leaving Friesland to the Frisii and Saxones, as indicated by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* or they may have merged with the Franci, as suggested by a passage from Claudianus.[20]

2. Jever and the Roman Money

The place of Frisian or Chaucian settlements at Jever is unsure for the first three centuries AD. It is likely that the tribes would have used the area just like prehistoric and medieval settlers did, thanks to its position on a "Geestrücken", a large sandbank that arose after the last ice age.[21] Unfortunately, the best evidence usually cited is the Jever denarii hoard itself. Other significant remains, if they exist after all, are likely to be buried under modern buildings with Jever castle being the best guess. The current lack of archaeological evidence for any settlements (which could also have just been temporary ones) or trade routes may simply be due to a lack of proper excavations.

Roman currency reached most parts of Germania Libera through tradesmen or former soldiers returning to their homeland. However, the tribes never established a corresponding monetary system with their own minting. Some Germanic tribes, like the Batavi and the Ubii in the South, had produced their own coinage, mainly using electrum or silver. As this money could not be adapted for the Roman system, due to either material or weight, it vanished after the nearby provinces were established.[22] Apart from the numismatic evidence, indicating a certain amount of circulation of Roman coinage in the West, most of our information again stems from the writings of Tacitus: "The pride of the people is rather in the number of their beasts, which constitute the only wealth they welcome. The gods have denied them gold and silver, whether in mercy or in wrath I find hard to say. [...] At any rate, they are not affected as much as one would expect by the use and possession of such things. One may see among them silver vases, given as gifts to their envoys and chieftains, but treated as of no more value than earthenware. However, the tribes nearer to us for purposes of traffic treat gold and silver as precious metals, and recognise and prefer certain coins of our money; the tribes of the interior practise barter in the simpler and older fashion. The coinage which appeals to them is the old and long-familiar: the denarii with notched edges, showing the two horsed chariot. They prefer silver to gold: not that they have any feeling in the matter, but because a number of silver pieces is easier to use for people whose purchases consist of cheap objects of general utility."[23]

This is not the place to comment on the flawed logic of the argument, but at least Tacitus appears to be right when it comes to the Germanic tribes' "love of silver". Almost all hoard finds cited below consist entirely or mostly of silver coins, silver jewelry or other silver items. The preference for the old coinage corresponds to the development in the trade with India: The coins from before 64 AD, the year in which Nero had lowered the silver standard, remained popular long after they had dropped out of circulation in most parts of the empire.[24] Although most Germanic hoards include a great amount of post-Neronian coinage, we see a similar situation in the 3rd century that might be linked to the lowering of the silver standard in 194 AD under Septimius Severus.[25] The denarii hoard finds extend far into the east of

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[20] Claud. Carm. 21.225-7.

[21] Behre 2000.

[22] Bechert 2007, 105. I thank Susanne Börner (Saarbrücken) for drawing my attention to the Germanic silver coinage.

[23] Tac. Germ. 5.2-5: *ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis: numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. argentum et aurum propitiine an irati di negaverint dubito. [...] Possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam quae humo finguntur; quamquam proximi ob usum commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae adgnoscunt atque eligunt. interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque. argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla adfectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus* (transl. M. Hutton).

[24] Howgego 1997, 129.

[25] For the first two centuries AD Wolters/Stoess 1985 argue against a preference for old money in Germania Libera based on a statistical comparison with the hoard finds from Rome's German provinces.

Germany and even into Scandinavia, Poland, and the Ukraine.[26] So far, the argument may give the impression that the Jever denarii hoard belongs to the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD. However, any discussion of this is made extremely difficult by the history of the hoard's excavation:

In 1818 Jever Castle was returned to the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg after the Napoleonic Wars. During the following decades, the moated manor was reconstructed as a romantic castle. The moat was filled up, the old trees cut down, and the ground dug up to make way for an idyllic garden.[27] On March 5th 1850, construction workers were preparing the last part of the area to be converted, when they hit a solid obstacle with their shovels, about six feet deep into the ground. They found huge chunks of corrodated metal which turned out to be silver. Smaller parts of the treasure turned up during the following days. The loose coins and other items were immediately distributed among the excavators, and the rest taken to a goldsmith who melted everything down. Thus, almost all associated finds and at least three quarters of the coinage seem to have been destroyed. A teacher at the local Gymnasium, a local historian called Strackerjan, heard about the incident and informed the authorities. In the meantime, the city director Müller bought several hundred coins from the construction workers and tried to clean and classify them. About two weeks later Merzdorf, the duke's librarian, arrived at Jever, inspected Müller's collection, and interviewed Strackerjan.[28]

As far as can be said from these rather confusing accounts, the hoard had only been superficially disturbed before. No pot, box or any other vessel used to store the silver was identified. The treasure contained up to 5,000 denarii and several silver household items, but no other precious metals were found. Merzdorf was able to buy a large part of the remaining coins and a silver table spoon while some coins remained in private collections. Strackerjan reports that the hoard had consisted mainly of coins of Traian and Hadrian, consistent with our remaining sample of less than 600 coins: 1% were minted in the time between Augustus and Vitellius, about 20% under the Flavian emperors, but more than 70% under Traian and Hadrian (plus 3% each from Nerva and Antoninus Pius).[29] As part of our new exhibition project, we will be looking into indications on other "finds", suspiciously close in time, content, and place to the Jever Denarii Hoard find. The remaining coins often stem from single series of minting. The two peaks in the late 1st and early 2nd century AD may even point to an incorporation of an older hoard from Flavian times.

The already fragmented remains of the hoard suffered further decline in the late 19th and early 20th century: In 1860 Theodor Mommsen included a number of "etwa 1000" in his *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens*, albeit relying heavily on older accounts.[30] However, during the next decades, many coins must have been either mislaid in the Oldenburg treasury or sold off and donated to other collectors. The number dropped by about one third during this time, and the last remaining associated find, the silver spoon, was lost as well. "Fortunately", some of the coins, which had belonged to Müller's collection, show a characteristic etching from his faulty attempts at cleaning them and can nowadays be identified and included again. When in 1919 the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg was dissolved, the remaining hoard was split up and auctioned off (mostly to local museums).[31] By mid-20th century, about 500 coins could still be traced back to the original find, and in 1954 nine tenths of them became part of the numismatic collection of the *Landesmuseum Kunst und Kultur* at Oldenburg. Several dozen remained in a small exhibition at Jever Castle and a few more at other Museums in Northern Germany.

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[26] Berger 2000, 231.
[27] Baier et al. 2009, 18-30.
[28] Some letters and newspaper articles are reprinted in Zedelius 1982, 315-320. One part of our new project will concentrate on yet unpublished reports from the 1850s.
[29] A list based on Zedelius 1982 (with some augmentations) can be found in Berger/Stoess 1988, 151.
[30] Mommsen 1860, 772-3.
[31] Zedelius 1982, 321.

3. Research and Theories

The circumstances mentioned make it extremely difficult to identify the purpose or even date of the composition of the hoard. With the loss of all associated finds, the destruction of the excavation site, the lack of reliable reports on the original composition, and without any proper scientific excavation of the wider area, the following theories have to rely on a certain amount of educated guesswork:

Five later denarii, from the times of Septimius Severus and Alexander Severus, may have been included by mistake (e.g. originating from another Oldenburg collection), and even the ten coins of Antoninus Pius, and two of Marcus Aurelius could thus have been wrongly added. If these assumptions are correct, the hoard was probably composed in the mid- till late-2nd century AD. Jever is by no means the only denarii hoard in the Frisian and Chaucian region, but it is by far the biggest one. At Neuhaus an der Oste 345 denarii were found, at Rinteln 243, at Lashorst 186, and all these hoards can, more or less safely, be dated to the 2nd century AD.[32]

While this would suggest the same approach for Jever, it still does not give us the answer to the more important question: Why and by whom was such a huge treasure collected? Was the Jever Denarii Hoard one of many large treasures accumulated by local merchants, pirates, or tribal chieftains – and just by chance the biggest modern find? Similar amounts of coins may either have been traded back to the Roman provinces, melted down by Germanic craftsmen to create jewelry, dug up in illegal excavations, or still lie under the "Plaggenesch shield".[33] However, argumenta ex silentio are notoriously tricky. Most of these ideas would depend on the existence of a far higher number and/or size of Germanic settlements than those excavated so far. Archaeological and literary evidence suggests that the inner-Germanic as well as the German-Roman trade still relied mainly on barter, although some coinage was used. There is no indication for larger Roman trade organizations, and it seems plausible that the Romans were quite happy with a direct exchange of glass, pottery, or clothes for amber, salt or animal hides. The amount of silver found at Jever may still have been collected by Chaucian traders or hoarded as assets of the last resort by a tribal community. Even so, unless we find evidence for trade routes and a larger settlement at Jever, we cannot go beyond this point – which of course is itself yet another argumentum ex silentio.

Most theories try to explain the hoard as a remarkable single find, untypical for the region. Strackerjan himself speculated about a stranded Roman ship, later scholars assumed the existence of an important religious site, e.g. a well or moor sanctuary.[34] Unfortunately, comparable sites in Germania Libera and Scandinavia have produced only little and heavily used coinage whilst showing a far larger variety of sacrifices.[35] Equally unlikely is an accidental loss by a tradesman searching for a new route, as we have a grave without indication of bones or pirate treasure. (The next natural harbour would have been about 10 miles away.)

Our best guess may be the combined results of a series of studies by Volker Zedelius, Frank Berger, Reinhard Wolters and Christoph Stoess looking at Roman payments such as those reported by Dio Cassius for as late as 218 AD: The Germanic tribes in the north-west threatened to make war and forced Rome to bribe them. The emperor – in this case Caracalla – allegedly paid them in gold while the ordinary Romans had to make do with debased silver and gold coinage.[36] Zedelius recognises that Dio strictly speaks of gold

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32 An updated map can be found in Berger 2000, 232.

33 The result of a fertilisation technique used in Friesland till the 20th century: patches of grass and clay are turned upside down and combined with a layer of manure. As a side effect the fields rise considerably over the centuries and the numerous layers of compressed clay render metal detectors and sonar quite useless.

34 In a nutshell, the spectrum of approaches can be observed in the influential "Wanderfahrten durchs Friesenland" by Carl Woebcken. The first edition argued against a shipwreck because even the Christmas Flood of 1717 had not reached Jever itself, but instead claimed the existence of a Roman trading outpost including a large treasury (Woebcken 1921, 148). The fourth and fifth editions amalgamated two other popular explanations: The treasure was collected by people fearing pirate attacks, probably in Gallia Belgica. When these raids nevertheless succeeded, the victorious pirates sacrificed a large part of their loot in a sacred pond (Woebcken 1952, 58-9; reprinted 1982).

35 Zedelius 1982, 343-5.

36 Dio Cass. 78.14.3-4.

pieces only, but argues that the whole passage indicated the general depreciation in Severian times. Generations of tribal noblemen may have added silver to the hoard in good times, but found it necessary to bury their treasure during the crisis of the 3rd century AD.[37] If the story about the bribes is true, the passage about the two types of coinage might stem from the propaganda against Caracalla, and the tribes could even have been paid off in silver as usual.

Wolters and Stoess emphasise the fact that for the first two centuries AD the German provinces and the neighbouring parts of Germania Libera basically formed one trade region in which Roman currency was widely accepted as standardised pieces of precious metal.[38] These treasures could be concentrated in the hands of important members of the tribe, not necessarily for the purposes of payment, but for documenting social status. If such collectors treated the denarii not as coins but mainly as pieces of silver, this might indicate a dislike of newer coins after 194 AD when Septimius Severus had significantly lowered the silver content of the denarius. In this case, collectors of the late 190s or early 3rd century AD would probably have preferred the better/older pieces. With few exceptions they would have abstained from adding debased/newer ones to their treasures, producing a result like the one found at Jever.[39]

Berger argues against a treasure accumulated for trade, as there is almost no evidence for a circulation of Roman money in the Jever region at that time, unlike in the regions along the Rhine. He assumes the money could have been imported by former soldiers and mercenaries who were used to the Roman way of life, but also wished to support a higher social standing. The other silver items that had originally been part of the hoard could have been meant for use by a Romanised elite accustomed to this kind of tableware.[40] There are, indeed, some Roman finds in the wider area. Most of these are small fragments of Roman pottery like at Dunum/Brill or at Wilhelmshaven.[41] The best parallel would be the Gristeder Esch, a known Germanic settlement from the 2nd/1st century BC to the 4th/5th century AD, about 25 miles south of Jever. Here, we have about a dozen finds of Roman pottery and glassware as well as part of a bronze vase. Nearby the settlement and graveyard at Elmendorf/Helle brought up some brooches, weapon fragments, a couple of glass beads, a Jupiter statuette, and an ornamental glass.[42] However, even in these continuously inhabited places south of Jever, it is difficult to ascertain the presence of a larger group of veterans or link this to such a remarkable concentration of silver items.

All of these studies notice the parallels to another find from Middels-Osterloog near Aurich in Eastern Frisia, less than 15 miles west of Jever. The hoard had vanished soon after its excavation in 1892, but re-emerged in the 1960s in a private collection. Its composition is strikingly familiar: About 17 of the 80 denarii stem from Flavian times, 58 from either Hadrian or Traian, the three latest ones from Antoninus Pius.[43] Middels-Osterloog was hardly a centre of settlement, but its small hoard, as well as several others in the wider area, may help us explain the situation in which the treasure at Jever was buried. During the late 2nd and 3rd century AD, the Roman money in the region declined in availability and quality. The wanderings and the conflicts between the tribes (spurred on by envy over Roman payments?) brought insecurity, and with that the necessity to protect one's properties. Did a particularly rich German hide his wealth here before a battle? Or did a larger group of people combine their possessions in the hope or even as an incentive to return to these lands? The case of the Jever Denarii Hoard is far from being solved.

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[37] Zedelius 1982, 348.

[38] Wolters/Stoess 1985.

[39] For a "two-hoard-theory" see ch. 2. Awareness among the Germanic tribes for the lowering of the silver content in Roman denarii could also explain the almost complete absence of coins issued by Marcus Aurelius.

[40] Berger 2000, 233.

[41] Carnap-Bornheim 1999.

[42] CRFB D4, XIX-06 = Erdrich 2002, 32-4 (with plates 109.1, 111.2, 116.2 and 136.3); see also Wiegels 2006.

[43] Zedelius 1980, 490-503 and Berger/Stoess 1988, 114-8.

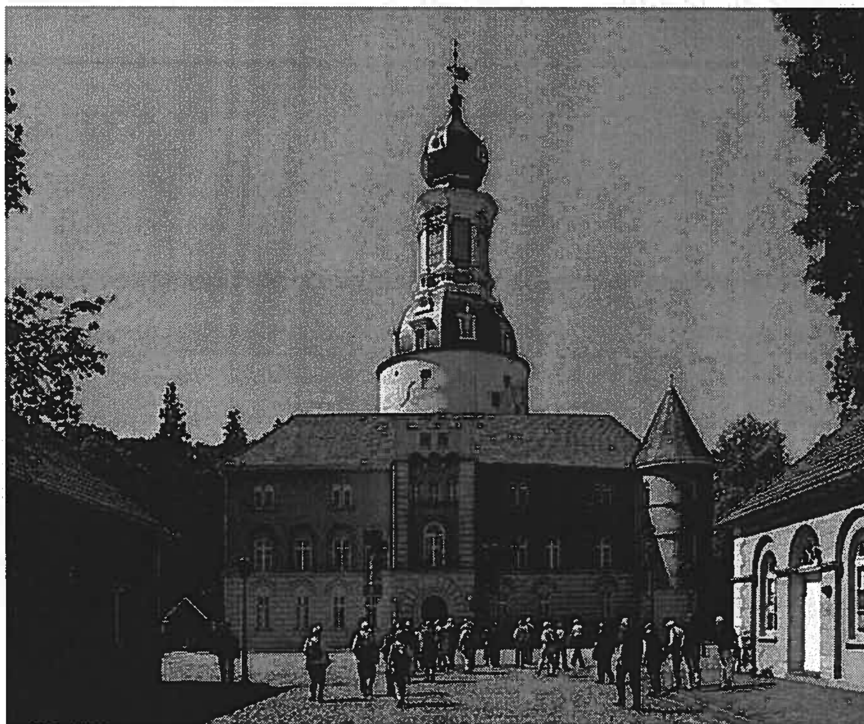
4. The New Exhibition Project

Currently less than 7% of the remaining denarii are accessible to the public. About 40 coins are on display at Jever Castle as part of the collection of the *Jeverländischer Verein für Altertumskunde* together with the city's first car, an old town flag, and similar curiosities. The display case is minimalist at best, without magnification or illumination. The single objects receive little to no description, and the only museum placard gives information that is sometimes outdated, sometimes wrong, or at least misleading. The complete collections have not been inspected in decades, there are no monographs on the subject, and only a few black and white photographs are available.

The new one-year joint project will include the museums at Oldenburg and Jever as well as universities at Oldenburg and Göttingen in co-operation with the *Niedersächsisches Institut für historische Küstenforschung*, the institution responsible for new excavations in the German part of Friesland. Together with a specialist in Roman coinage of the 2nd century AD, several of our postgraduate students will inspect the remaining coins, check them against the records, and research the local archives for additional information. The Jever Castle Museum will open their collection of 1850s newspapers, and give us access to letters as well as unpublished manuscripts in Strackerjan's estate.

The basic idea is to return as much as possible of the hoard to the Jever Castle Museum and make it accessible to the public. A first step will be a temporary exhibition including information on the Germanic settlements, on the Roman influence on the wider area, and an introduction to Roman coinage and trade. This exhibition will be accompanied by an up to date catalogue giving colour representations of crucial parts of the hoard. In a second step, a permanent exhibition will be installed preserving some of these elements and offering interactive learning stations for future visitors.

If Tacitus is right and the old silver coinage still appeals to the Germans (i.e. if we can secure the funding needed for the project), Jever Castle Museum will welcome its visitors in early 2012 with a special treat: the barbaric wealth of ancient Jever.



Above: Jever Castle

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The Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture, 16th June 2010

An alumna of the University, Nancy Coté, remembers Jackson Knight "reading Virgil to our fairly large and sadly ignorant class with tears running down his cheeks, so moving did he find the text".

Greek Tragedy, the Sun and the Unity of Time

Edith Hall

> Then I saw again all the oppressed who are suffering under the sun, and beheld the tears of the oppressed, and they had no comforter, and with their oppressors there was violence, and they had no comforter; and I esteemed the dead happy who have died long ago, more than the living who are still alive; and happier than both, him who hath not been born (*Ecclesiastes* 4.1-2)

The author of this passage from *Ecclesiastes*, who was writing at about the same time as the Greek tragedians, has been contemplating all the suffering and violence he sees under the sun, and come to the conclusion that the happiest man is the one who has never been born. By his evocative phrase referring to everyone 'suffering under the sun', he seems to mean something like 'the human race', or all the human dwellers in the world as he knew it. This inclusive, almost humanist sense of the beings 'under the sun', is echoed by Aphrodite when she opens Euripides' *Hippolytus* by describing the world which worships her as 'all those who dwell between the Euxine (i.e. Black) Sea and the Pillars of Atlas and look on the light of the sun' (3-4). This talk addresses the importance of the sun – Helios – in Greek tragedy before moving on to the most notorious issue which it raises, and that is 'temporal unity' – the idea that tragedy is best constructed so that the action takes place within a single revolution of the sun.

The sun itself shone down on the sanctuary of Dionysus where the plays were first produced, and the visual picture of the sun on a sanctuary is the one evoked by the chorus of Euripides' *Trojan Women* when they are about to be deported from their homeland forever (1060-70):

> So, O Zeus, you have betrayed to the Achaeans
> Your shrine in Ilium, your fragrant altar,
> The flaming sacrificial juices, rising skyward
> In smoke infused with myrrh; you have betrayed
> Sacred Pergamum, and Ida – the ivy-meshed vales of Ida,
> Where streams of melting snow pour down,
> The hallowed recipient of the first sunbeam,
> Bathed in light at the edge of the world.

Many references to the sun in Greek tragedy are connected with the concepts of light and sight. There is a sense that the very intensity of daylight exacerbates psychological pain. The herald in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* who reports the storm that has savaged the Greek fleet speaks of his emotions, as a survivor, the morning after the catastrophe (667-70):

> Then those of us who had escaped from that marine Hades,
> In white daylight, our trust in luck all gone,
> Herded thoughts of our fresh calamity like sheep around our heads,
> With our fleet wrecked and terribly storm-battered.

Under the clear sun the surviving sailors went over and over in their mind, like shepherds herding sheep, the suffering undergone by their comrades and themselves. The very brilliance of the daylight adds to the pain conjured here. Actually invoking the sun can have a range of functions, one of which is certainly to sharpen the audience's sense of visual perception: thus Polymestor in Euripides' *Hecuba*, desperate to get his hands on the women who have blinded him, staggers as he calls on the sun (1067-9):

> O sun-god, how I wish you could cure, cure my bleeding eye-sockets,
> Take away my blindness, give me back the daylight!

These lines force the audience into thinking hard about the horrific sight presented to their own eyes. Similarly, Admetus says to his dying wife, outside their palace, in Euripides' *Alcestis* (246-7):

> The sun looks upon the suffering of both of us,
> Neither of whom has done anything against the gods
> To deserve your death.

The sun is a perennial witness of tragic suffering, given the climactic position in the tortured Prometheus' first lines, the utterance of a figure who is truly 'suffering under the sun' (*PV* 88-92):

> O divine air and fluttering, winged breezes!
> Founts of the rivers, and of the sea's waves,
> The infinite laughter of Earth, mother of all,
> And the all-seeing circle of the Sun – I call on you!
> Look at me and what I, a god, suffer at gods' hands.

Invocations of the 'all-seeing' sun in tragedy remind us continually that the plays were performed with the same immortal eye aloft over the heads of the spectators. They shared the sun's perspective, as physically elevated witnesses to suffering and death played out in the daylight. In speeches of the dying in tragedy, one of the main poetic images for the boundary they are about to cross is the transition from sunlight to darkness. When Antigone sings her own funeral lament, she takes one last, lingering look at the 'bright sun', before leaving the stage to die (879-80). Jane Ellen Harrison long ago argued that there were what we would call strong structural similarities between Hades and Helios – the chariot-riding, the herds of sacred cattle, and myths in which they are injured by Heracles. In one wall-painting at Vulci, Hades wears a crown with rays.[1]

When it comes to Athens, and the audiences of tragedy, they could see Helios on the east pediment of the Parthenon, emerging with his team of horses from the waves. This is the Helios that lies behind those passages in tragedy where it his daily route across the sky that is stressed. The chorus of *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Greek women stranded in slavery in a north-eastern barbarian backwater, look upwards to the sky and fervently wish that they could fly in the pathway of the sun-god's chariot back to the choral dances of Greece (1138-52). Just before he impales himself on Hector's sword, Sophocles' Ajax says farewell to the Sun forever, asking him to take the news across the Aegean Sea to his parents in distant Salamis, on which he also shone (*Ajax* 845-51):

> And you, O sun, as you drive your chariot across the steep sky,
> When you catch sight of my fatherland,
> Hold tight your golden rein
> And report my ruin and my doom
> To my ageing father and to her who nursed me.

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[1] 'Helios-Hades', *CR* 22 (1908) 12-16, at p. 14.

> The poor woman! When she hears this news,
> The whole city will resound with her loud lamentation.

Another function of invocations of the sun is to act as a witness. In Cassandra's last speech before she enters the palace to her death in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, it is the sunshine on which she calls to witness that she, a lowly slave, suffered alongside the mighty (1323-6):

> There is one more speech – or dirge for myself – I want
> To perform. I pray to this, my last sunlight,
> That the avengers of this deed take reprisals for my death too.
> Killing a slave girl is an easy victory.

In *Libation-Bearers*, when Orestes reveals to the world both the net in which his father had been murdered and the corpses of his mother and her lover, he calls to witness the god 'whose eye oversees everything, the all-seeing sun! Let him behold my mother's damned deed' (985-6). There is a sense that because the sun has witnessed the previous murder in the household, it can attest, like someone called to give evidence in a trial, to the justice of Orestes' own action. The sun is also invoked by Aegeus in Euripides' *Medea* when he swears his oath to help her (752), as it is by many other oath-takers in Greek tragedy, and this reflects standard practice; the regular divinities invoked in oaths were Zeus, the Earth, and the Sun.

But some sights are too horrific even for the sun to contemplate. In Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Orestes proves his identity to his sister by describing her picture, woven in fine linen, of the golden lamb over which their grandfather Atreus and great-uncle Thyestes had fought; she had added a picture of the sun averting its face from the dreadful conflict (814-17). So what did the sun which Iphigenia embroidered on her girlhood tapestry-work look like? A personified Helios is actually a rather difficult god to grasp, at least in the fifth century, when in most places in Greece he does not seem to have been particularly important. It is not clear that he has yet been firmly identified with Apollo. Helios has a major cult in rather few Greek communities, the most important being on Rhodes, where a spectacular sacrifice took place in which a team of four horses and a chariot was made to crash into the sea. The myth of the crash of Phaethon when he borrowed the chariot of his father the sun, dramatised in Euripides' famous fragmentary *Phaethon*, may well have been related to this ritual.[2]

For Athens, we have one inscription (IG II,2 4962), dated at the beginning of the fourth century BCE, which provides definite evidence that Helios was included in cult at Athens by then, apparently in festivals promoting the fertility of the earth, which of course requires sunshine. In the procession of a festival for Demeter and Kore, on the twelfth of Skirophorion, the priests of Helios took their place behind the priestess of Athena and the priest of Poseidon. Helios is also found in association with the Thargelia, when the Athenians sacrificed to Helios and the Hours. The connection with Apollo only begins to become apparent in a passage in Plato's *Laws*, when the lawgiver is discussing the hypothetical selection of examiners: 'every year, after the summer solstice, the whole State must assemble at the common precinct of Helios and Apollo' (12.945E) to select the examiners, and they must reside in that precinct (12.946D). Their honours will include the right to front seats at every festival (12.947A) – a detail which corresponds with the allocation of traditional honorary seat in Roman times, attested by inscriptions, for the priests of Helios at the theatre of Dionysus. But Socrates seems to have held Helios in unusually high regard for the fifth century BCE, if we consider the evidence for the perception amongst ordinary Athenians of his day that sun-worshippers were either avant-garde or barbaric. After all, in Aristophanes' *Peace* we are told that Helios and Selene are betraying Hellas to the barbarians, and the reason Trygaeus gives is that 'we sacrifice to the Olympians, but barbarians sacrifice to them' (406-13). In Aeschylus' lost

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[2] W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, MA: 1985) 174-5.

tragedy *Bassarids*, Orpheus was torn to pieces in Thrace by barbarous female followers of Dionysus (rather like Pentheus in *Bacchae*), for worshipping the sun rather than Dionysus.

Yet the most familiar association between the sun and Greek tragedy is surely the one to be found in Aristotle's *Poetics* – the notion that a tragedy should take place within a single revolution of the sun (1449b 9-16):

> [Tragedy and epic] differ, in that Epic poetry admits but one kind of metre, and is narrative in form. They differ, again, in their length: for Tragedy attempts to take place within a single revolution of the sun, more or less, whereas Epic is chronologically unbounded, and in this differs. Yet the first tragedies were done in the same way as epics.

This is one of the most influential set of phrases in western literature. It dictated the form of most neoclassical drama, stimulated Romantic, Modernist, and Postmodern revolts against conventional literary form, and is still recommended reading for students of script and screenplay writing today. But it seems to me that its *original* significance has been neglected. It is unprecedented altogether in the earlier literary critical tradition as evidenced in archaic poetry, Aristophanes and Plato, and yet identifies one of the most distinctive features of the surviving Sophoclean and Euripidean tragedies, and indeed most of Aeschylus (*Eumenides* seems to be an exception). The actions of most Greek tragedies really do take give at least the impression of taking place within less than twenty-four hours, and in many, such as *Antigone* and *Medea*, there is explicit discussion of the sunrise, the shortness of available time, or the number of hours' grace allowed to the heroine before she must go into exile.

The compact, compressed, concise (the Greeks would have called it *syntomos*) way of representing time, which Aristotle and we associate with Greek tragedy, is extreme and remarkable. A comparison with the discursive and often dreamlike representation of time in Noh drama, or indeed Egyptian cinema of and before the 1950s, is sufficient to make this point. In early Sanskrit drama there are conventions that limit the time that can be conveyed, but the key measure there is not one day but one *year*. Moreover, no gradual evolution of Greek tragic temporal unity can be traced from previous literature, whether epic, elegiac or narrative choral lyric, although some adumbration of this aesthetic can be seen in the Homeric epics: Aristotle himself pointed out that they did not start at the beginning of a story that went on for years, unlike other epics (*Poetics* 1459a-b). Taplin has shown how much thought has gone into the presentation of time in both Homeric poems. In the *Iliad*, the events in books 11 to 18.242 all take place in single day, Hector's day of triumph; once Odysseus has arrived back in Ithaca, from book 13.93 onwards, the *Odyssey* narrates only six days of narrative time.[3] Sunrises and sunsets are crucial tools for opening and closing discrete actions.

Perhaps more important is the trope of the 'day' which can bring extreme experiences and radical reversals in Homeric and other archaic literature: the *nostimon hēmar* (e.g. *Od.* 1.9) which stands for 'safe return' to hearth and home, and the 'free day' (*eleutheron hēmar*, *Il.* 6.455, 16.831, 20.193), where the word 'day' substitutes for 'status'.[4] Other types of 'day' which clearly refer to a status or fate are the 'day of slavery' (*doulion hēmar*, *Il.* 6.463) or the 'cruel', 'fateful' 'destructive' day as well as the 'day of compulsion'. Pre-tragic Greek poetry had, then, experimented with the use of the day as plot compressor or narrative shaper, and the sunrise and sunset as structural markers that were of obvious use for opening poems and for their closure. The *topos* of man's subjection to radical changes that could overtake him in a single day is also apparent in the poetic diction of Homer. Yet the dramatic poem about an action which last only a few hours, even though its causes reach back into the past and its consequences stretch far into the future, was nevertheless quite new. And the evidence suggests that Aristotle was correct: it was a discovery made by the tragedians *in practice*.

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[3] O. Taplin, *Homeric Soundings* (Oxford: 1992) 14-22, 144-78.

[4] H. Fränkel (1946) 'Man's "ephemeros" nature according to Pindar and others', *TAPA* 77, 131-145, at p. 132.

Some scholars have offered at least partial explanations of the distinctive use of dramatic time in Greek tragedy. Some of them are aesthetic, or rather aesthetic-metaphysical. Kitto said, 'As for unity of time, it would more closely correspond to the facts to say that time does not exist unless it is mentioned',[5] meaning that there is a time*less* quality to the inner world portrayed in Greek tragic illusion. Fränkel was intrigued by those tragedies which make an explicit point of the narrow temporal compass, such as *Trachiniae*, *Ajax*, and *Oedipus Tyrannus*. In *Ajax*, 'As the plot of Sophocles' play develops, we learn that Ajax is safe if he can be kept within his tent for this one day; if not, he is doomed' (753-5). This leads Fränkel to propose that when the time element is stressed (e.g. in *OT* 438, 'This day will give you both birth and destruction'), it is 'not so much for technical reasons...but rather to teach the lesson of man's *ephēmeros* nature'.[6] I do not disagree. The prevailing explanation for the 'unity of time' in Greek tragedy, has, however, been the physical theatre conditions in which it was performed, a point influentially made by Lessing but developed by Roy Flickinger in an important article a century ago. He argued that the convention 'arose not from the whim of ancient writers but from the same theatrical arrangements which resulted in the unity of place, viz., the absence of a drop curtain and the continuous presence of the chorus. Under these conditions an intermission for the imaginary lapse of time could be secured only by the withdrawal of the chorus...and without such intermissions the constant and long-continued presence of the same persons in the same place without food or slumber involved a patent absurdity.'[7] The unities of time and place 'are largely due to the striving for illusion in a theater comparatively bare of scenery and of facilities for scene-shifting'.[8] Flickinger points out that the practice of writing groups of tragedies on the same general subject, such as the *Oresteia* or the *Prometheia* of Aeschylus, where the chorus and setting could alter *between* the individual plays, meant that large leaps in time could be made 'without loss of verisimilitude' at the point that the identity of the chorus changed: no fewer than thirty thousand years elapse between the *Prometheus Bound* and the *Prometheus Unbound*![9]

These are interesting and valid points, but they still do not seem to me to provide a satisfying explanation for the radical difference between the presentation of time in most Greek tragedy and many other traditions of outdoor and ritual theatre. I think that the aesthetic principle can be looked at from a sociological perspective, and one, moreover, that is related to the actual political culture of fifth-century Athens: the unity of time offers us a good place to think about aesthetics *psychosocially*. One art historian, Jocelyn Small, has recently suggested that Aristotle's approval of containing tragic plots to the events of a single day was ultimately related to the shift from on oral to a literate society: an oral society requires an excellent memory, but with the advent of literacy the capacity of memory diminishes rapidly: the modern memory can apparently only hold between six to eight items in its short-term compartment, and Small thinks that Aristotle's advocacy of the events of a single revolution of the sun reflects the limitations of the human memory in a newly literate society.[10] The important point here, I think, is not to do with literacy *per se*, but with the political conditions – the new Cleisthenic democracy – that made functional literacy in the Athenian citizen body a requirement. Literacy was necessary to that citizens could read their names on lists which would call them up for military service, and to read laws and documents in the Assembly and the Council.

Although naval warfare was central to both the defence of Athens and her imperial policies, and some Athenian citizens served as rowers and cavalrymen, at the heart of the Athenian citizen's upbringing was training as an infantryman, a hoplite. Equipped with a long spear and a huge shield, the men on the front line of the hoplite phalanx smashed into their opponents, trying to force a way through or encircle them. Failing that, the battle turned into a violent pushing contest. Hoplite battles were brutal and short, the

[5] H. D. F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy* (London: 1939) 169, n. 1.
[6] Fränkel (1946) 141n. 36.
[7] Roy C. Flickinger (1911) 'The influence of local theatrical conditions upon the drama of the Greeks', *CJ* 7, 3-20, at p. 14.
[8] Flickinger (1911) 18.
[9] Flickinger (1911) 16.
[10] Jocelyn Penny Small (1999) 'Time in space: narrative in Classical Art', *Art Bulletin* 81, 562-575, at p. 563.

soldiers 'knee pressed in the dust, and spear splintered in the onset' (Aesch. *Ag.* 64-5). As the Persian general Mardonius is made to say by the historian Herodotus, the Greeks 'wage their wars in the most nonsensical way. The minute they declare war on one another, they look for the finest and flattest ground, and go there to do battle. As a result, even the victors suffer extreme fatalities. Needless to say, the losing side is annihilated' (7.9.2).

Victor Hanson has implied that the classical Greeks' extraordinary way of war can be associated with the all-or-nothing destinies dramatised in Greek tragedy, where prosperity and life itself can be taken away in a single day. 'A citizen of a Greek city-state understood that the simplicity, clarity and brevity of hoplite battle defined the entire relationship with a man's family and community, the one day of uncertain date that might end his life but surely give significance to his entire existence.'[11] Some have emphasised the relationship in the specifically *Athenian* mind between politics and pitched battle. In the democracy, the men who voted for a war were committing themselves to fighting in it to defend their own right to vote. Hoplite battle aimed at a speedy, unequivocal result. 'Better the risk of death tomorrow, but the chance of a victorious return home the day after, than the interminable, deracinating, and wealth-draining uncertainties of guerrilla warfare'.[12]

But it was not only warfare where the democratic Athenian male experienced and indeed participated in dictating radical changes in status that took only hours to be implemented. Law court trials had their own version of the dramatic and tragic reversal (*peripeteia*). Once the speeches had been delivered, the jurors voted immediately, using the urns that were part of the theatrical scenery, standing on or very close to the *bēma* (Dem. 19.311). In the Athenian court there was no delay for consultation with fellow jurors or for private reflection before the actual verdict was delivered. The drama of each trial was therefore enacted, like an individual tragedy, without an intermission. In theatrical terms, the *peripeteia* occurred immediately after the debate scene (*agōn*). Indeed, this affinity was clearly felt by Athenian litigants. When the penalty was heavy, litigants often adopted the personae of tragic heroes, stressing the danger in which they found themselves (Dem. 57.1), and their emotions of fear and anger (Demades 1.5). Apollodorus says that is brings him pleasure to relate to a sympathetic audience the terrible wrongs he has suffered at the hands of Phormio, in language modelled on the tortured hero's words to the chorus of the Aeschylean *Prometheus Bound* (Dem. 45.1; see *PV* 637-9).

The other arena where the Athenian democracy had given large numbers of ordinary men the power to change destiny within a matter of hours – the same men who formed the audiences of tragedy at the Dionysia – was the Assembly, the executive decision-making body of the Athenian *dēmos*. In the Assembly, the Athenian citizens received advice in speeches from their leaders, and had to deliberate how to vote on crucial issues that really did often mean life or death for individuals and sometimes whole communities. I think that the ideal of *euboulia* or competent deliberation in tragedy is inseparable from tragedy's evolved temporal convention.

In Thucydides' account of the second debate on Mytilene in the mid-420s, Diodotus needed emphatically to fuse two ancient proverbs about deliberation, 'deliberate slowly' and 'don't deliberate in anger', when he opened his response to the bellicose Cleon with the famous statement that the two things most inimical to good counsel are speed and passion (Thuc. 3.42.1). Diodotus' reproof was delivered just the day after the Athenians had taken an outrageously hasty decision to slaughter the entire male population of the city of Mytilene on the island of Lesbos, and within hours had sent a trireme sailing off over the Aegean to carry out the mass execution. The extreme volatility of the demos' temper is shown by what happened the very next day: after 'a sudden change of heart' (*metanoia tis euthus*, 3.36.4), they called a second Assembly. At the end of the second debate, which was of extreme intensity, they voted -- narrowly -- to rescind the measure taken the day before, and managed, more by good luck than good deliberation, to get a second ship to Lesbos in the very nick of time (Thuc. 3.49). Decisions the Athenians made in anger or under the influence of some other strong emotion, and at speed, just like the

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[11] V. Hanson, *The Western Way of War* (New York: 1989) 220.
[12] John Keegan, 'Introduction' to Hanson, *The Western Way of War* (1989) xii-xiii.

decisions made by Creon in *Antigone* or Theseus in *Hippolytus* or Agamemnon in *IA*, led to terrible suffering and sometimes death on a massive scale. In the world of tragedy, however, there are no chances to convene that second assembly the morning after the night before.

The virtue of *euboulia* designates the ability both to deliberate to one's own (and / or one's community's) advantage and to recognize good deliberation and the good advice arising from it. It is part of Aristotle's third most important constituent of tragic drama (preceded only by plot and character), namely the representation of 'intellectual activity' (*dianoia*) which has to do with both a political sense and with rhetoric (*Poet.* 1450b6-8). By far the most prevalent commonplace in the ancient Greek literature on counsel, is the injunction to 'deliberate at night'. The phrase *nukti boulēn didous* is certainly used in Herodotus, and seems to mean something similar to 'making the night a counsellor', 'taking night into one's confidence, or just 'sleeping on it', as in the Euripidean phrase *nukti sunthakōn* (*Hcld.* 994). The proverbial association of night and deliberation is clear in Menander's *Epitrepontes*, when Daos, in the arbitration scene, explains how he had had second thoughts about bringing up the baby he had found when he 'took counsel in the night' (252). This idea also forms a line of the *Monostichoi* traditionally attributed to Menander (no. 150, 'It is at night that wise people deliberate'). It is obvious, however, that tragic deliberators are offered little opportunity for nocturnal thought.

Tragedy may, in fact, in some cases contrast the sensible decisions to which deliberators have come during protracted night-time thought and those that they take precipitately within the timescale of the play's action. Phaedra's great monologue is a clear example: a lengthy process of deliberation in the long watches of the night has allowed her to understand why people are not always able to carry out what they know is right, and also has helped her to arrive at the view that the best course of action entails silence and self-control (Eur. *Hipp.* 373-99). It is only the intolerable stress that Cypris has put her under that has now made her resolve on death as 'the most effective plan' (*kratiston...bouleumatōn*, 403). The proverb 'deliberate at night' can, I think, therefore illuminate considerably the normal practice of Greek tragic dramaturgy to confine the time enacted to less than a single day. The idea that Ideal Deliberators need to sleep on their decisions may at least explain why the compressed temporal dimensions of tragic theatre proved so longstanding a convention.

The 'unity of time' is connected with the temporal orientation of tragic theatre as a distinctive medium. Even the remote time depicted in ancient tragedy (which is set in its original audience's past), or in ancient comedy (set in its original audience's present), is transformed by live enactment into a dynamic representation of the margin between 'now' and 'after now'. When we watch *Antigone*, we are always present in Thebes, wondering how this man Creon, who stands so visibly enraged before us, will react to the teenage girl being so rude to him *right now*. Theatre's 'what will happen next?' question suggests the immanent power of the collective to alter that future – a sense conveyed by ancient choruses who want to intervene in domestic violence but are unable to actualize their desire. Even alongside its potential for inspecting the worst atrocities and trepidations humankind can imagine, theatre offers a sense that the future is *partly* in the hands of those creating it, and that it could be changed. It is theatre for the sovereign power – the *dēmos* – who are creating and watching it, just as they stand together in battle, sit together in juries to decide men's fates, in the council to deliberate policy, or show their hands in Assembly on the Pnyx Hill to legislate, go to war, or decree a mass execution. The aesthetic value of the 'unity of time', if we must call it that, is not in question. But what *is* debatable is whether its original evolution and function was really a matter primarily of aesthetics at all.

A Proposed Emendation of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 826

Robert Leigh

It is much more comfortable to sleep in a bed in a proper house than in a tent or in the open air. This banal observation has presumably been known to be true at all times and in all societies which build houses. It is not an heroic observation and one would expect to find, it if at all in tragedy, in Euripides; its apparent banality is shared by Hippolytus' remark that a big dinner is nice after hunting (τερπνὸν ἐκ κυναγίας τράπεζα πλήρης· Eur. *Hipp.* 109-10). It is striking that the observation is made three times not in Euripides but in the *Agamemnon* first by the watchman complaining about the dew at line 12, then by Clytemnestra whose first thought about the consequences of taking Troy is that the Greeks will have a night free of frost and dew (335-6), then by the messenger whose account of the horrors of war at 555-566 says nothing about the danger of injury or death, or the ten year absence from wives and children, but lists storms at sea, dew, frost and heat.

Zooming the view out, the play frames the entire Trojan war between matching weather events, the foul wind at Aulis and the storm "from Thrace" (Θρῄκιαι πνοαί 654) which brings Agamemnon home too quickly for comfort and causes the presumed loss of Menelaus. Zooming further out again, the watchman in the first lines of the play positions himself in the context not only of the weather but also of the stars:

> "I know the nightly assembly of the stars, the shining rulers who bring winter and summer to mortals gleaming in the sky, and their risings and settings. And now I wait for the signal of the beacon, the gleam of fire bringing the message that Troy has been taken." (4-10)

These words link the weather, the stars and the line of beacons between Argos and Troy as sources of precise and correct information about the time of year, and the fall of Troy. The beacon speech itself (281-316) fixes the distance between Argos and Troy – and between Agamemnon and Clytemnestra – geographically, in terms of the natural world. It is also a celebration of precise information for its own sake - it is not necessary for Clytemnestra to itemize the beacons to convey the message that the signal has come by beacon.

Against this background of the juxtaposition of humans and the natural world, I propose to consider the disputed meaning of line 826.

In describing the fall of Troy at Aeschylus' *Agamemon* lines 822-828, Agamemnon says that the attack takes place at about the time of the setting of the Pleiades - ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν (line 826). These three words have provoked much debate. To Denniston and Page the phrase 'regularly denotes a particular season of the year (early November) but in this context (a) the information, *what time of year it was when Troy fell,* seems exceptionally gratuitous and arid; (b) less important, but still puzzling enough, - the season stated is contrary to the common tradition, viz. that Troy fell in early summer. It would have been much more to the point, if the words could signify *what hour of the night it was* ... but of course the setting of stars cannot denote a *fixed* hour; we should have to suppose that the poet indulges in what Fraenkel elsewhere calls a "vague lyricism"...' (their italics throughout).

I hope to show that the words primarily denote the time of night, not the time of year, at which Troy fell and that Denniston and Page's objections result from a failure to understand the principles of astronomy involved. As a separate point, I consider that δύσιν should be amended to read φάσιν in order to imply a summer date for the fall.

Nothing in what follows requires any prior astronomical knowledge to understand. None of it would have needed explaining to Aeschylus' audience for a reason well stated by J K Davies:

> 'Artificial light came only from vegetable oils, which provided a minimum indoors and nothing outside. Moon and stars therefore mattered enormously, all the more because they also

provided the only reliable signals of the seasons for sailors and farmers. Lastly and not trivially, the Greeks lived in a world entirely without clocks.'[1]

Like the other stars which lie near to the plane of the ecliptic (the imaginary two-dimensional area on which the course of the earth round the sun is inscribed) the Pleiades rise in the east, traverse the sky and set in the west every day.[2] They do this because the earth rotates. They do it about four minutes earlier every day because of the earth's annual journey round the sun. We cannot always see their risings and settings because we can only see stars during the hours of darkness.[3] The combination of these factors (the four minute daily gain and the effect of the sun's light) produces an annual pattern which for practical purposes is unchanging from year to year. As Hesiod says (*Op*, 385-7) the Pleiades hide themselves entirely for forty days and forty nights each year

> αἳ δή τοι νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα τεσσαράκοντα
> κεκρύφαται, αὖτις δὲ περιπλομένου ἐνιαυτοῦ
> φαίνονται τὰ πρῶτα χαρασσομένοιο σιδήρου
> They are hidden for forty nights and days and appear again as the year goes around at the season when the sickle is first sharpened.

In fact they are invisible because their rising, crossing the sky and setting take place in daylight or twilight for a period of about forty days every spring. The number of days involved can only be given approximately because weather and atmospheric conditions can affect visibility and in particular the visibility of objects very close to the horizon, which is where a star necessarily is at the time when it disppears and reappears at each end of the period. For the year 458 B.C. at Athens these forty days end in early May when the Pleiades rise just far enough ahead of the sun to be momentarily visible in the East at dawn (the heliacal rising). Thereafter they continue to rise four minutes earlier per day so that every night over the summer they are further west (first higher in the eastern sky, and then lower in the western sky) when they fade out of visibility at sunrise. Eventually in early November there comes a time when they are setting earlier than sunrise by enough of a margin that instead of fading out while still in the sky, they can be seen setting just before dawn. The first day on which this happens is the day of acronychal setting. They then visibly set every night from November to April until they are so far west by nightfall that they set before the sun has fully set. The last day on which they can be seen setting is their heliacal setting and the beginning of the forty days' invisibility. These events happen predictably once every year and can therefore be used to mark dates in the calendar.

Table 1 summarises sunrises and sunsets and Pleiades risings and settings at Athens for the first of each month in the year 458 B.C.

The annual pattern was fully understood by the Greeks from an early time. It underpins the farming calendar set out by Hesiod in *Works and Days*. For instance harvest time is when the Pleiades first appear (φαίνονται τὰ πρῶτα line 387) after their forty day absence. Winnowing should take place at Orion's first rising (εὖτ' ἂν πρῶτα φανῇ σθένος Ὠαρίωνος line 598). These passages by using the word πρῶτα unambiguously refer to the first visible rising of the year; that is, the heliacal rising (in early May for the Pleiads, slightly later for Orion). Our problems arise because often there is an ellipsis of any word indicating 'first'; for example Hes. *Op*. 614-6:

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[1] J.K.Davies, *Democracy and Classical Greece* (London, 1978) 23.

[2] For the astronomy see generally James Evans, *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy* (NY/Oxford, 1998) 190-204.

[3] That is not the same as saying 'between sunset and sunrise' because after the sun has set and before it has risen it produces enough light to make the stars invisible unless it is more than 10-15 degrees below the horizon, depending on atmospheric conditions and the magnitude of the star.

αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ
Πληιάδες θ' Ὑάδες τε τό τε σθένος Ὠαρίωνος
δύνωσιν,
When the Pleiades and Hyades and the might of Orion set

and again at 619-620:

εὖτ' ἂν Πληιάδες σθένος ὄβριμον Ὠαρίωνος
φεύγουσαι πίπτωσιν ἐς ἠεροειδέα πόντον
When the Pleiades fleeing the terrible might of Orion fall into the cloudy sea

Because Hesiod refers to 'the setting' rather than 'the first setting', taken in isolation these passages could either refer to the acronychal setting, and define a time of year; or to a nightly setting, in which case they define a time of night if, but only if, the date is known more or less accurately. The context makes it clear that the annual event is meant. The error made by Denniston and Page is to conclude from these and similar passages that the primary meaning of δύω and its middle and δύνω is 'set acronychally', which is mistaken. The best proof of this is that δύω is most often used to mean the daily setting of the sun, which for obvious reasons doesn't set heliacally or acronychally. Hesiod leaves out any express term representing 'heliacal' or 'acronychal' because it is obvious from the context that he is talking about an annual occurrence.[4] The astronomer Geminus of Rhodes recognises that this is a common error and source of confusion:

Ἄλλως δὲ λέγονται ἐπιτολαὶ καὶ δύσεις, ἃς ἔνιοι ἀγνοοῦντες κατὰ τὴ αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν ὑπολαμβάνουσι λέγεσθαι. μεγάλη δέ ἐστι διαφορὰ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἐπιτολῆς. ἀνατολὴ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἡ προειρημένη, ἐπιτολὴ δὲ ἡ γινομένη πρὸς τὸν ὁρίζοντα φάσις μετὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀποστάσεως ἀπολαμβανομένη. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ επὶ τῆς δύσεως. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ λέγεται δύσις ἡ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γινομένη ὑπὸ τὸν ὁρίζοντα κρύψις, ἄλλως δὲ ἡ γινομένη πρός τε τὸν ὁρίζοντα ἁμα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον. (Eisagoge 13.3).

The expressions "rising" and "setting" are used in different senses; but many do not know this and understand them in the one sense only. But there is a great difference between ἀνατολή and ἐπιτολή for ἀνατολή is what we have just mentioned, whereas ἐπιτολή is the resumed appearance [of a star] on the horizon after its absence towards the sun. The same point applies in relation to δύσις; it is used in one sense to mean the daily disappearance below the horizon, and in another to mean its disappearance when it reaches the horizon simultaneously with the sun.

To paraphrase: the rise (φάσις) of a star is either an ἀνατολή (daily rising) or an ἐπιτολή (yearly heliacal rising) and these two senses are sometimes confused. δύσις is ambiguous as to whether it means daily setting or annual setting because there are no separate terms for the daily and yearly setting.[5] As

[4] It is not an idiosyncrasy of Hesiod to omit any express indication of which meaning is intended. περὶ Πλειάδος δύσιν is used by Aristotle to indicate time of year in for example Historia animalium. {0086.014} Bekker page 543a line 15.

[5] Geminus here actually understates the possibility of confusion in this passage because there are not one but two important annual δύσεις, the acronychal setting in autumn where the star sets at sunrise and the heliacal setting in spring where it sets at sunset. Geminus clarifies this at 13.14.

the annual setting is merely a (factually) special case of the daily setting there is no philological way of distinguishing which is meant in any given context.

It follows that there is no reason to suppose that Agamemnon is fixing the season of the year in line 826, nor that his audience would be in any doubt as to what he meant. δύσις is perfectly capable of denoting the time the Pleiades set on the night of the fall of Troy. Compare [Eur] *Rhesus* 527-30 where the chorus says:

> τίνος ἁ φυλακά; τάς ἀμείβει
> τὰν ἐμάν, πρῶτα
> δύεται σημεῖα καὶ ἑπτάποροι
> Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι: μέσα δ' αἰετὸς οὐρανοῦ ποτᾶται.
> Whose watch is it? who relieves me? night's first stars are on the wane, and the seven Pleiades are in the sky; the eagle flies in the middle of heaven.

The first stars (πρῶτα σημεια – that is the stars which were visible at the beginning of the night) are setting (δύεται used of the stars in its primary meaning of making their nightly setting), the seven journeying Pleiades are now in the sky and the eagle (the constellation Aquila) is overhead; and the chorus of soldiers are using this information to establish the time of night and therefore how close they are to the end of their watch.

Fraenkel comments on this passage of *Rhesus* that 'there is no parallel here to ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν'. But the passage parallels and clarifies ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν twice over. It establishes both that the δύσις of one or more given fixed stars, a category which includes the Pleiades, can be used to identify the time of night, and that specifying the position of the Pleiades, δύσις being one such possible position, can do the same thing.

Of course the soldiers in *Rhesus* are talking about what is happening in the present, and know what stage of the night the stars denote presumably because they know what happened last night. Agamemnon is talking about a time in the past. Because of the fact noted above that the stars rise and set four minutes earlier every day, information about their rising and setting is capable of fixing the time of night if, but only if, the date is also known. An approximate knowledge of the date will yield approximate but still informative results; the times at which stars rise and set change by two hours per month (four minutes times thirty days), and to know the time of an event to within two hours is often as much precision as is required (or indeed achievable) in a world without clocks. For example it will be seen from Table 1 that for any date in February 458 B.C. ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν must mean somewhere between about 2230 and about 0020. So how accurate is the knowledge of Agamemnon's audience (Clytemnestra and the chorus) as to the date of the fall of Troy? The answer is that they know that date precisely to the day because the beacon signal gets from Troy to Argos on the same night as the fall of Troy (see the whole of the beacon speech lines 281-316, and Clytemnestra at line 320: Τροίαν Ἀχαιοὶ τῇδ' ἔχουσ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ). Agamemnon knows that the chorus knows this because he was personally responsible for the beacon signal, as Clytemnestra expressly points out at lines 315-6 in the last two lines of the beacon speech:

> τέκμαρ τοιοῦτον σύμβολόν τέ σοι λέγω
> ἀνδρὸς παραγγείλαντος ἐκ Τροίας ἐμοί.
> This is the token I give which my husband sends to me from Troy.

Here I should forestall the possible objection that several days or weeks' 'dramatic time' (the passage of which is established by the one word πάλαι at line 587) passes between the beacon signal reaching Argos, and Agamemnon's return, and it is one thing for the soldiers in *Rhesus* to describe what they can

see in the sky as they speak, and another for the old men of Argos to backtrack the position of the Pleiades without access to a chart similar to Table 1. The dramatic timing of the play is discussed by Oliver Taplin[6] who regards the problem of the timing of the arrival of the Herald as an extreme case of the 'dramatic compression of time' which is a feature of virtually all messenger scenes – that is, the fact that messengers always arrive 'too soon' after the events they report and no one asks why. The announcement of the fall of Troy by beacon is actually the exception to this rule because here, uniquely, the chorus is allowed to ask the question that could be asked after almost any messenger speech (line 280) –

> καὶ τίς τόδ' ἐξίκοιτ' ἂν ἀγγέλων τάχος;
> And what messenger could bring this news so quickly?

Clytemnestra's response takes up the paradox of the messenger that travels at the speed of light and plays with it throughout her speech in response – the messenger is Hephaistus, then the mountains in the chain, the fire itself, the watchmen who light the fires, and finally (line 316) Agamemnon. The herald's arrival prompts both the chorus or Clytemnestra (489-500) and Clytemnestra (587-614) to comment on the relationship between the beacons, and the herald, as messengers.

Furthermore, we are invited to consider events which take place between the fall of Troy and arrival of the Herald and Agamemnon. Clytemnestra points out at 343-4 that the army still has the voyage home ahead of it, and the Herald describes the storm in which Menelaus was lost at length in 620-80. This is in contrast to messenger speeches generally, and to the change of scene in *Eumenides* ('the only explicit time lapse ... in the whole of surviving tragedy' Taplin p.291), where there is less reason to focus on the time interval because we hear nothing about what happens during it. I therefore think it unsatisfactory to appeal to convention to explain the timing of *Agamemnon* when the play clearly questions and almost plays with the very convention in question. Instead I would argue that the beacon speech and Clytemnestra's subsequent speech at lines 320-50 are so vivid and dramatic that the audience would simply not formulate the thought that 'that was weeks ago' only 500 lines later; or if they did it would be through a failure to engage with the play at all. A less interesting but equally cogent response is that in their world without clocks or outside lighting the Greeks would have a clear enough feel for how the movements of stars and the seasons are related to be able to 'backtrack' as required, just as modern urban man would on average be able to estimate with reasonable accuracy when sunset was two months ago or will be two months hence. If Agamemnon is specifying the time of year at which Troy fell, he is specifying it to a chorus which is already perfectly well aware of it and the passage is susceptible to the objection in Sheridan's *The Critic* (Act II scene 2) (the scene is a rehearsal of a play by Puff; Sir Walter Raleigh is a character in that play):

> Sir Walter Raleigh: You also know--
> Dangle: Mr. Puff, as he knows all this, why does Sir Walter go on telling him?
> Puff: But the audience are not supposed to know anything of the matter, are they?
> Sneer: True; but I think you manage ill: for there certainly appears no reason why Sir Walter should be so communicative.
> Puff: 'Fore Gad, now, that is one of the most ungrateful observations I ever heard!--for the less inducement he has to tell all this, the more, I think, you ought to be obliged to him;

[6] Oliver Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus: The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy* (Oxford 1977) p290-294.

for I am sure you'd know nothing of the matter without it.

Substitute "Agamemnon" for "Sir Walter" and this is a perfectly valid criticism of Aeschylus if we believe that line 826 refers to the time of year.

I therefore conclude that ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν refers to the time of night. In doing so it neatly reflects two previous passages of the play: the Watchman says at the beginning of the play that after a year on watch out in the open he has got to know the movements of the stars and constellations (lines 4-7):

> ἄστρων κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὁμήγυριν,
> καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς
> λαμπροὺς δυνάστας, ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι
> [ἀστέρας, ὅταν φθίνωσιν, ἀντολάς τε τῶν].

Clytemnestra observes at lines 335-6 that the Greeks will be exchanging a life of 'the frosts and dews of living under the open sky' (τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πάγων / δρόσων τ' ἀπαλλαχθέντες) for the houses of the Trojans after their victory. The Herald picks up the theme of the misery of living in the open at lines 560-1:

> ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δὲ κἀπὸ γῆς λειμωνίας
> † δρόσοι κατεψάκαζον
> Dew dripped from the sky and from the marshy ground.

Agamemnon's reference to the Pleiades reminds us that he too has been living 'under the stars' for ten years.

The above remarks apply equally whether we read ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν with the manuscripts or whether we emend the phrase to read ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων φάσιν, about the rising of the Pleiades. My reasons for suggesting the emendation (which is entirely without manuscript authority but is very easily explicable as the two letter slip of a scribe very familiar with references to the δύσις of the Pleiades) are as follows:

Although ἀμφὶ ... δύσιν, if correct, refers to the nightly (not the acronychal) setting of the Pleiades it nevertheless carries implications as to the time of year because, as Table 1 indicates, the Pleiades can be seen setting only from November to March. This is a problem if, as Denniston and Page suggest, the sources are in favour of a summer date for the fall of Troy.

The express evidence for the time of year of the fall of Troy is scanty and many of the authorities late and obscure. It is however unanimously in favour of a summer date. In Soph. *Philoc.* 1340-1 Neoptolemus tells Philoctetes that Helenus has prophesied that Troy must fall 'this summer' –

> ὡς ἔστ᾽ ἀνάγκη τοῦ παρεστῶτος θέρους
> Τροίαν ἁλῶναι πᾶσαν.

Jebb ad loc. reviews the other sources. In addition, two verse passages indicate a summer date and do so by reference to the Pleiades. First, [Eur.] *Rhesus* 527-30 quoted above must imply that the Pleiades either had not yet risen or were very low in the sky at nightfall (because they are not among the πρῶτα σημεῖα). Dawn is now imminent (535-7):

> ἀὼς δὴ πέλας, ἀὼς
> γίγνεται, καί τις προδρόμων
> ὅδε γ᾽ ἐστὶν ἀστήρ.

Dawn is near, and here is the star which precedes her.

So the Pleiades are not going to have time to set before dawn. This places us in early summer. Secondly, in Quintus Smyrnaeus 2.665-6 Eos has to get back to work after mourning the death of her son Memnon:

> Της δ' ἄρα Πληιάδες πρότεραι ἴσαν· ἣ δε καί αὐτή
> αἰθερίας ὤιξε πύλας. ἐκέδασσε δ'ἄρ' αἴγλην.
> The Pleiades went before her and she herself opened the heavenly gates and scattered her radiance.

Obviously the closer the date is after the heliacal rising of the Pleiades, the more appropriate it is to say that the Pleiades 'go before' the dawn.

These passages may be inconsistent with each other, bearing in mind that the death of Memnon must occur at least some weeks later than the events of *Rhesus* and the actual fall of the city at least some weeks later again. Burkert[7] quotes Clem. *Strom.*1.104 as evidence of a tradition that the fall took place on 12 Skirophorion, 14th June (the date of the festival Skira) but then goes on to say that the Dorians connected the fall with Carneia which puts the date in Carneios = Metageitnion (July/August), while Jebb on Soph. *Philoc.* 1340-1 puts it in Thargelion (May/June). Dictys Cretensis 5.16-17 has the Greeks setting sail in a hurry after the fall because winter is imminent, and this may be implicitly suggested by the eagerness of the Greeks to be leaving in *Odyssey* 3.118-185 as noted by Thomson on *Agamemnon* line 1. In short, there is agreement that Troy falls at some time in the summer but no agreement on any more precise date.

The Nebra sky disk, dated c. 1600 BC. The cluster of dots near the upper right portion is believed to be the Pleiades.

There are two hints in *Agamemnon* that the season is summer. First, in two of the three passages about the discomforts of life in the open air (Clytemnestra 336-7, Herald 551-582), dew and cold are mentioned in a way which suggests that they correspond with summer and winter respectively. In the Watchman's opening speech on the same theme his bed is currently dew-soaked rather than frozen (line 12). Secondly the Herald's arrival is first seen because of the cloud of thirsty dust, διψία κονίς, which he sets up as he travels (lines 489-495).

I think it highly desirable to keep a summer date in *Agamemnon* because the change to a winter date would be contrary to the sources and to the hints in the play itself. Furthermore, we know from Hesiod (*Op.* 617-28) and numerous other sources[8] that no sane Greek would set out on a sea voyage in midwinter. I suggest that we read φάσιν for δύσιν in line 826 to give the meaning 'about the rising of the Pleiades'. As will be seen from Table 1 this gives a date in early July if we take the attack to happen at around midnight. In favour of the emendation are the points that it changes only two letters and brings the date into line with the other sources. Against it, although the cognate φαίνομαι is very frequent as meaning 'to rise' of the daily rising of a heavenly body, (for example εὖτ' ἂν πρῶτα φανῇ σθένος Ὠαρίωνος Hesiod *Op.* 598, ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς Homer *Od.* 8.1 and passim), φάσις itself is rare except in works of astronomy where its meaning is usually 'phase' in our current sense

[7] Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans:The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* (Berkeley, 1983) 158.
[8] See Morton, Jamie. 2001. The role of the physical environment in ancient Greek seafaring, App 3: Sailing Seasons, Winter Sailing and Night Sailing 255-265.

as in 'phases of the moon'. For example Ptolemy's work φάσεις deals equally with the risings and settings of stars. Geminus 8.11 applies it to the phases of the moon. On the other hand Geminus 13.3 (quoted above) does use it in exactly the sense required in defining ἀνατολή and ἐπιτολή.

If that is wrong and δύσιν should stand the point remains intact that δύσιν means "setting" not "acronychal setting" and identifies the time of night. The difficulty then is that this puts the date somewhere between November and March, because the Pleiades do not visibly set outside that date range, and in December or January if we want to keep the time around midnight. I would prefer to make the two letter change and keep to a summer date for reasons discussed above.

Table 1: Rising and setting times for the sun and the Pleiades at Athens for the year 458 B.C. Table prepared with the help of planetarium software SkyMap Pro v.11.0.3 www.skymap.com

	Pleiades rise	Sunrise	Pleiades set	Sunset	Pl rise visible?	Pl set visible?	Pl visible at all?
1 January	1249	0747	0224	1718	No	Yes	Yes
1 February	1045	0740	0021	1746	No	Yes	Yes
1 March	0858	0708	2230	1815	No	Yes	Yes
1 April	0655	0620	2027	1842	No	Yes	Yes
1 May	0457	0534	1827	1906	No	No	No
1 June	0256	0502	1627	1932	Yes	No	Yes
1 July	0058	0457	1429	1947	Yes	No	Yes
1 August	2252	0517	1227	1938	Yes	No	Yes
1 September	2049	0547	1023	1904	Yes	No	Yes
1 October	1852	0616	0827	1818	No	No	Yes
1 November	1650	0649	0624	1736	No	No	Yes
1 December	1450	0724	0425	1711	No	Yes	Yes

Postgraduate News

The postgraduate community has continued to meet for Greek and Latin reading group to translate texts such as Lucian's *Vera Historia*, the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, Virgil's *Georgics* and selections from Valerius Maximus and Aulus Gellius, with the usual accompaniments of scholarly debate, laughter and cake.

This year has seen the introduction of an MA conference at which Masters students presented their thesis topics. There were panels on 'Greek History and the Hellenistic World', 'Greek and Roman Culture', 'Roman myth, legend and history', 'Greek and Latin literature' and 'Art and Architecture'. The conference concluded with an excellent dinner at the Dinosaur Café.

We have also continued to enjoy engaging papers as part of our Graduate Research Seminar series. Topics have included Cicero on the Epicurean Ethical End, The Idea of Tradition in Plotinus, Photographing the Ancient World in the Twentieth Century, the Greek and Roman sexual artefacts collected for the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, Boundaries in the ancient world, women in Julian and Eunapius, Seneca's Melancholy, animals in Epic, the transformation from chorēgos to bride in Alcman Fragment 3, and women in the Ancient Novel.

Further afield we have given papers at AMPAH, the Classical Association Conference and the Postgraduate Work-in-Progress Seminar series at the Institute of Classical Studies.

Ancient Dogs

Diane Turner

Diane spent three very happy years in the Classics Department, graduating in 1990. She now lives in Greece, where she teaches English to Greek children and Greek to foreign residents. She has two dogs, Kalliope and Alcibiades (Poppy and Aleko). She would love to hear from anyone who remembers her. dianetur@otenet.gr

In memory of Millie, Jack Russell Terrier and philhellene, 1990-2008

In Ancient Greece dogs were everywhere. Not just in the streets, nosing through a rubbish tip or loitering outside the butcher's shop, but holding various social roles within the family. We know from literary evidence that dogs were used to guard the house, (particularly the women's quarters) and were also out in the fields protecting the livestock. Written evidence as well as vase paintings and frescoes show that they accompanied their masters when hunting and went with them to the gymnasium, and perhaps even to war. Dogs feature in the comic plays of Aristophanes, the tragedies of Euripides and Aeschylus and in the epics of Homer. We see them on vases, gravestones, coins and wall-paintings.

Dogs feature strongly too, in mythology; most notably Cerberus, the fearsome three-headed hound which guarded the entrance to Hades, fawning on new arrivals, but devouring anyone who tried to leave. They were, to begin with, feral, with no experience of socialisation with humans, and were probably initially encouraged into a domestic environment by man in order to guard settlements or to hunt wild animals, or they may have simply joined men of their own accord to obtain food, perhaps following groups of nomads as they travelled. Wars and military campaigns were a continual feature of life in the ancient world and it is likely that a few scavenging dogs would hang around the soldiers' camp in search of food. Free-ranging but domesticated dogs which had been abandoned to fend for themselves may also have attached themselves to human groups. Modern studies have shown that domesticated strays continue to sustain social ties with humans and search for a new owner, while feral dogs thrive without human contacts and if they have social ties, these are with other dogs.[1]

The dog was man's companion and helper; tamed and under human control, he was a useful tool as well as a faithful friend. And of course, some dogs were simply loved and cosseted as faithful companions like their modern counterparts. They were loved for their intelligence and loyalty, bravery and reliability. However, despite their usefulness in a working and domestic environment, ancient dogs also had a bad press; they were variously seen as polluters and scavengers, greedy and untrustworthy, and to call your enemy 'a dog' was a term of abuse. Similarly, to call a woman 'bitch' or 'bitch-faced' denoted her shamelessness, and was as insulting then as it is today. Despite these perceptions of dogs' negative characteristics, they were thought to have therapeutic powers and formed part of religious cult and practice, being both sacrificed and used in healing rituals.

In Greece there appear to have been many ancient breeds although we cannot be sure whether systematic breeding was practised as we know it today, or whether some of the breeds that are mentioned were simply named after the areas from which they came, such as the Laconian hound from the area around Sparta. Xenophon, writing around the end of the 5thc BC, lists several kinds of hounds: the Castorian, Vulpine, Indian, Cretan and Laconian, as does Arrian, writing 550 years later and who, in addition, lists the Celtic hound.

To get an idea of what they and other dogs looked like, we can turn to the many depictions of dogs shown on vases, coins and grave reliefs, although it is difficult to estimate their size solely from these artistic impressions. The different types of dogs shown tend to fall into one of three categories: the

[1] Serpell James, *The Domestic Dog*, Cambridge 1995, 232.

streamlined hunting hound, with its short coat, long, pointed muzzle and clearly defined ribs, best likened to the modern greyhound; the thick-set Molossian, similar to the modern mastiff, with a strong, impressive body, large head and powerful paws with clearly defined toes and claws. The third type, although more rare as statuary, is the smaller, thick-coated and curly-tailed Melitean or Maltese, like the modern Spitz or Pomeranian. This jaunty little dog is most often seen on the graves of children and women, although they also feature on painted vases, where they are seen in the company of young men at the gymnasium.

The hound and the Molossian were both used for hunting and if the Molossian could not match the hound in speed, he made up for it by his sheer bulk and strength, for which he was prized in order to confine and control the prey. The Melitean however seems more likely to have been a family pet.

Both Xenophon and Arrian were primarily concerned with writing about hunting: they describe the characteristics of the hound, how to rear and train him and the type of equipment needed for the hunt itself. Arrian touchingly recommends that the hound has a comfortable, warm bed and should even sleep with his owner so that a bond is formed which is beneficial to both of them.[2] He also tells us how they should be fed, and suggests they be given bread, made from wheat or barley flour, soaked in broth or milk. They were also given the meat and bones, or liver of an ox, rubbed in barley-meal and roasted.[3] Probably they were also allowed to eat the flesh of their prey which their owners didn't want. Indeed, sheepdogs were said to 'take to hunting and get a taste for meat going hungry rather than go back to eating barley-bread'.[4]

There is no doubt that any dog, then or now, would prefer to eat meat, and a scene from an Early 5th century vase from Attica shows a hound lurking beneath the sacrificial fire waiting for his chance to make off with some. It is important to remember that hunting was a costly activity: dogs and horses, and indeed the leisure time necessary to pursue it, rendered hunting an aristocratic pastime, which displayed the status and wealth of those involved.

However, although a lot of our information from ancient sources concerns hunting dogs, there must have been many families who kept a dog solely to guard the flocks or the house, or indeed simply as a companion. These dogs, who led a less energetic and demanding life than those that hunted, may have had a poorer diet than that given to hunting dogs, whose owners had a vested interest in keeping them healthy. Indeed most dogs would have been fed scraps from the table, often the inside of a loaf or a crust which was thrown on the floor after being used to wipe the diners' hands of greasy residue.

Meat was not a regular part of the Greek diet and most people lived on vegetables, beans, lentils, olive oil and bread. On festival days sacrificed meat was distributed to the crowds, after first being offered to the gods, and this was also probably sold by the butcher, who would have bought it from the temples.

The audience enjoying a comedy at the theatre must have been amused by the story of Procris and her dog Lailaps, on whom much lavish attention was paid, and whose preposterously rich diet was the stuff of dreams for most people.

Written by Eubulus around the middle of the 4th century BC, only a fragment exists of this comedy in which he places characters from mythology into a domestic scene. Procris is given an especially clever dog by Minos (or maybe Artemis – accounts, as often happens in mythology, vary). It was called Lailaps, meaning 'hurricane' or 'great storm', and was a famously powerful and lethal hunter, said to be from Molossian stock.

The fragment consists of only a few lines of dialogue between two unknown characters, one of whom is giving instructions to the other concerning Lailaps' care. The listener interjects in amazement, 'Apollo defend us', and 'Heavens above!' at the extravagant treatment that the dog must have; a nice comfortable bed with woollen blankets to lie on and a covering of a soft robe of the finest wool. It should

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[2] Arrian, *Cynegeticus*, 9.1-3.
[3] Ibid 8.1-4.
[4] Dio Chrysostom 7.

be fed on wheat-groats soaked in goose-milk. In addition it should have expensive perfume rubbed onto its feet.[5]

For the average family, who might have formed the theatre audience, such luxury would have been out of reach. The bed-clothes of most people consisted of rough-woven coverings and perfumes were for the indolent rich. And of course goose-milk doesn't exist. The idea of showering a dog, especially a big Molossian rather than a cute and cuddly Melitean, with so much lavish attention may in itself be the stuff of comedy, and was perhaps a satire on wealth and luxury, ridiculing extravagance and illuminating the outrageous excesses and self-indulgence of the rich.

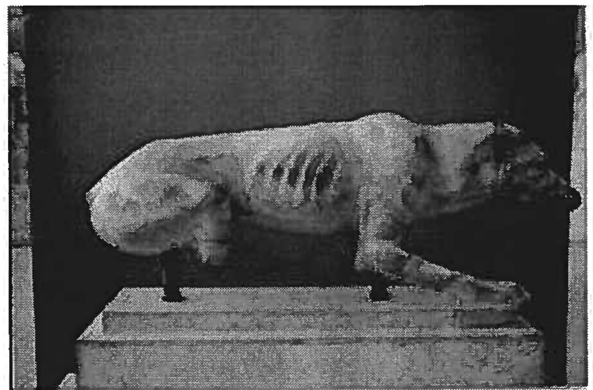

Fig 1: Life-size hound from Acropolis, late 6th c.

It is clear that living in a domestic environment both as a pet, and in other roles as guard and hunter, dogs would have had a close relationship with the family. It is not surprising then that they should often be commemorated not only on the family grave structures and facades but on the tombstones as well, even sometimes having their own graves and written epitaphs.

Animal sculptures, life-size or larger, and carved in the round, were placed on tombs as symbolic guardians. They included Archaic sphinxes in the 6th century and in the Classical and Hellenistic 5th and 4th centuries, lions, bulls and dogs.

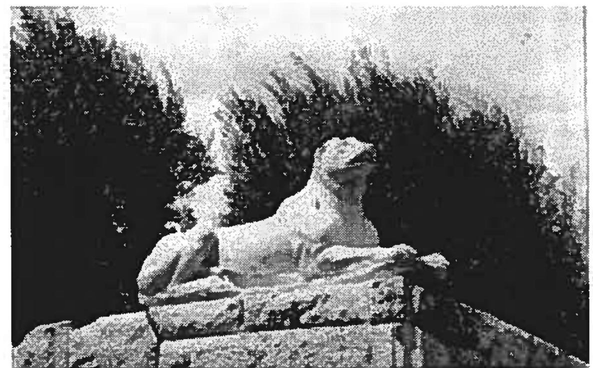

Fig 2: Blue marble Molossian from Kerameikos, 4th c.

Of all the life-size (and often over-life-size) animal sculptures which adorned the top of the tomb, only the dog spent his life so close to man. Where the lion or bull might be symbols of courage and bravery in aristocratic or wealthy families (and it is these tombs which have survived, rather than the simpler ones of the poor) the dog represents not only wealth and status but also fidelity and loyalty; he has been a faithful companion and now watches over his master in the afterlife.

There was a sculpture of a dog lying on top of a column mounted on the grave of the Cynic (which itself means 'dog-like') Diogenes.[6] And elsewhere an anonymous epigram asks, 'Tell me dog, who was the man on whose tomb you stand guard'? [7]

Fig.3. Melitean, from Piraeus, late 5th c.

A fine life-size statue of a hound (fig. 1) found in fragments on the Acropolis dates from around 520BC and is now in the Acropolis Museum. The back lower legs are missing and only one front leg remains, but this doesn't affect the striking pose of intense concentration: he is alert and ready to race off at speed. The ears are missing, vulnerable to damage over the years, and may have been of a different stone to the rest of the body.

The 4th century produced the magnificent over-life-size Molossian, found at the Kerameikos, the ancient cemetery of Athens, and now in the Kerameikos Museum. (fig. 2) Carved from blue Hymettos

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[5] Athenaeus, 12.553ab.
[6] Diog. Laert. 6.78.
[7] Palatine Anthology 7.64.

marble, he measures 1.85m in length and the circumference of his neck is 0.92m. He is lying down with legs extended but his head is erect with an attentive expression. He is formidable in his size, but looks relaxed and calm, and is not quivering with anticipation as the Acropolis hound seems to be. Like the hound, the tips of his ears are missing and they too, may have been of a different stone, or even as has been suggested, of a metal like bronze, in order to make the tomb more impressive, particularly when caught by the rays of the sun. Such majestic monumental sculptures must have presented a splendid and imposing sight to the passer-by, representing both the deceased's leisure pursuits and his wealth.

The dog which is neither as imposing as the Molossian, nor as fast as the Laconian hound, but which still earned his place on the memorial, was the little Melitean, such as the figure in the National Archaeological Museum (fig. 3). Made from marble and measuring 80cm in length and 53cm in height, it was found in Piraeus, and is believed to have come from a child's tomb.

Fig.4. Alxenor grave relief from Orchomenos, late 6th -early 5th c.

As well as monumental grave markers, dogs also appear on Attic grave reliefs from the late 6th century. The earliest type, of which there are three, show a man (not a youth, for he has a beard, an artistic convention to suggest maturity) with his hound. The marble Alxenor relief from Orchomenos, in the National Archaeological Museum shows him leaning on a stick (usually a symbol of rural life) and looking down affectionately at his hound, to whom he is feeding a tit-bit – a grasshopper (figs 4 and 5). It has been dated to the late 6th or early 5th century BC.

The same hound type is also seen with a young man in the later reliefs. A popular theme, was it an artistic device to show the young man as hunting hero, and chosen by the family from the sculptor's pattern-book, or more appealingly, intended to show a personal scene from everyday life?

Whatever the reason behind the decision to depict the dog, it emphasises the status of the family and their ability to buy dogs and horses and the other expensive accoutrements of the hunting life. Interestingly though, very few horses are shown on grave reliefs, compared to dogs.

The marble relief (fig.6) was found in the Ilissos river in Athens (most of which has long since been covered in concrete) and dates to the middle of the 4th century. It shows a young man, here accompanied by a sombre older man, deep in thought; probably his grieving father. Behind the youth is his hound and there is also a young slave sitting nearby. The hound, with its long, pointed muzzle, has its nose to the ground; other, similar reliefs of this period often show the dog and youth gazing affectionately at each other.

While the hound has noble associations, the Melitean seems to feature less as a symbol and more as a pet, suggesting perhaps, the closeness and security of family life, particularly as it is so popular on reliefs for women and children. It also seems to have been fashionable for men to carry them around in their cloak; there are stories of the General Alcibiades and the philosopher Thesmopolis both doing so, and Meliteans also appear on painted vases with young men at the gymnasium.

The family gravestone from the Kerameikos dates to the 4th century and shows all the family together (fig.7). It is a child's gravestone and shows the father on the right and the mother on the left saying a sad

Fig.5. Alxenor grave relief showing hound detail.

farewell to their little daughter. At their feet, jumping up and begging attention, as he no doubt did in life, is the small, curly-haired and curly-tailed Melitean.

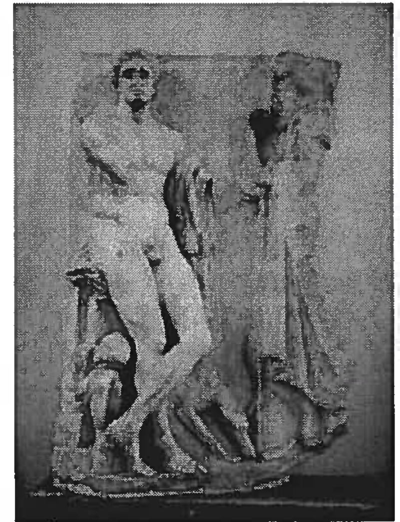

Fig. 6. Grave relief of youth from Ilissos river, Athens, 4th c.

As well as showing the dead individual with one or two close family members, the reliefs often show the family with the deceased enjoying a banquet, either as they were in life, or as imagined to be in the afterlife.

We have seen that dogs were often given a discarded loaf of bread from the table and in the 4th century relief in the National Archaeological Museum (fig. 8) the hound can be seen under the table eating the scraps, perhaps a bone or a piece of bread. Perhaps we can conclude from this that dogs were not always confined to outside, but were allowed in the house. However, whether as pets or simply to clean up the floor isn't known. But we do know that, in Homer's *Iliad*, Patroclus took nine dogs on campaign with him which 'fed beneath his table', suggesting that they lived inside.[8]

Fig. 7. Child's grave relief from the Kerameikos, 4th c.

There were even tombs for the dogs themselves. The excavations in Athens in the 1990s for the building of the new Metro system provided a wonderful opportunity for archaeologists. In central Amalias Avenue, two graves of dogs were found, as well as another one of a dog and horse together. One of the dog graves was exceptionally well built with a tiled floor and terracotta walls, and there were grave gifts of two perfume bottles dating to the 1st-2nd centuries AD. The dog's collar was no longer preserved but the copper studs with which it was decorated lay surrounding the neck of the skeleton.[9]

In the Athenian Agora too, an earlier excavation revealed a 4th century grave of a dog which had been buried with a miniature pitcher and lamp as well as a large beef bone.[10] The grave goods buried with the dogs were of the same kind as those found in human burials, suggesting a similar depth of affection on the part of the bereaved.

As well as providing their dogs with simple or elaborate graves, some owners also wrote, or ordered, touchingly affectionate epitaphs. Inscribed on the Hellenistic grave of a little dog owned by Eumelus: 'The stone tells us that it contains here the white Melitean dog, Eumelus' faithful guardian. They called him Bull while he still lived, but now the silent paths of night possess his voice.'[11]

Fig. 8. Grave relief showing hound eating under the table, 4th

Perhaps the most famous dog in antiquity, apart from Cerberus, is Argos, whose moving story is related by Homer. Odysseus returns home after many years away. The goddess Athena has given him a necessary disguise and on entering the garden of his home, only his old, faithful dog, Argos, recognises him. Argos is the only dog in Homer to be given a name; it means 'swift' or 'bright'. Uncared for by the servants, Argos spends his days lying on the dung heap, covered in ticks, like so much discarded rubbish. Despite his age and frailty he musters the strength to greet Odysseus: 'He wagged his tail and dropped both his ears, but nearer to his master he no longer had strength to move.'[12] Because of his need to return in secret and in disguise, Odysseus is unable to acknowledge the old dog's

8 *Iliad*, 22.66-71.

9 *Athens, the City Beneath the City*, Parlama Liana and Stampolidis Nicholas (eds.), Athens, 2000.

10 *Early Burials from the Agora Cemeteries*, American School of Classical Studies, Princeton, 1973.

11 Greek Anthology 7.211.

12 *Odyssey*, 17.290-327.

feeble but faithful greeting, and wiping away a tear, he turns away. Despite his disguise, the old dog's acute senses enable him to recognise his master. The faithful Argos, having waited patiently and loyally for 20 years for Odysseus' return, guarding the palace as well as he can, and having at last the joy of seeing his master again, now gives up his tenuous hold on life and dies. His duties and his life are ended, but the bond that formed between them when as a boy and a puppy they hunted together is unbroken. And indeed, the affection that Odysseus still feels for Argos and his emotion at the old dog's faithful greeting after two decades, indicate an affectionate relationship that goes beyond that of a wealthy young man and his status-symbol.

It is pleasing to dog-lovers today to know that man's best friend was so much in evidence 2,500 years ago, and that history can bring these endearing animals to life again.

Book review

Lawrence Kim, *Homer between history and fiction in Imperial Greek Literature*

(Cambridge, 2010). Pp. 258. Hardback, £55.00. ISBN: 978-0-5211-9449-5.

Karen Ní Mheallaigh

Kim's book examines the critique of Homer as a historian in the works of four Greek writers which span the first three centuries of the Imperial period: the *Geography* of Strabo, the *Trojan Oration* of Dio Chrysostom, Lucian's fantastic narrative *True Stories* and Philostratus' dialogue *Heroicus*. In addition to these four works, which are the focus of Kim's analysis, he also explores the Archaic and Classical hinterland to the revisionist works of the Imperial period beginning with Stesichorus, and devotes an entire chapter to the critique of Homer as a historical source in the works of Herodotus and Thucydides as well. The book also carefully examines the Imperial works within their broader contemporary literary context.

In the introductory first chapter, 'Imperial Homer, history, and fiction', Kim (K.) explains how Homer dominated Imperial Greek cultural life. The poet was envisaged as a source of moral, theological and philosophical wisdom, and as a *vade mecum* through all the stages of human life from infancy to old age. K. examines how the nature of Homer's authority changed in the wake of the expansion of the Greek world under Alexander the Great, when knowledge of Homer became synonymous with Greekness, and Homer became a personification of Greek culture. Thereafter, any critique of Homeric poetry as a historical source entailed also an implicit evaluation of the importance, authority and relevance of the heroic past to contemporary culture. These issues surface repeatedly in each of the works which K. examines in the following chapters.

In chapter 2 'Homer, poet and historian' K. examines the tradition of criticising the historicity of the Homeric poems which began in the late sixth/ early fifth centuries B.C.E. with the work of genealogists and mythographers, and is most extensively represented in the works of Herodotus and Thucydides. Both Herodotus and Thucydides envisage a 'hinting Homer', who knew the historical 'truth' about the Trojan war, but either suppressed or embellished this 'truth' for poetic reasons. Homer's status as a 'historian' is salvaged, however, by the claim that he left sufficient clues in his poetry to enable the astute reader to reconstruct that truth. Reading Homer-the-historian therefore becomes a matter of reading 'between the lines' of his poetic narrative in order to extrapolate and reconstruct the kernel of historical truth which lies at the heart of the poems. As K. points out, there is a basic paradox in Herodotus and Thucydides' thinking, as they question Homer's devotion to historical accuracy because he is a poet, yet still insist that the poet has historiographical objectives; neither historian reconciles the twin elements of Homer's persona as poet and as historian, nor do they engage with the more fundamental question of

why one should attribute historiographical motives or reliability to Homer in the first place. Ultimately, instead of resolving the question of Homer's reliability as a historian, Herodotus and Thucydides highlight the challenges which this question presents, and which each of the authors examined in the following chapters will deal with in different ways.

In chapter 3 'Homer, the ideal historian', K. explains Strabo's contribution to the evolving debate about Homeric poetry and the nature of truth, lies and fiction. Strabo's work is especially significant as it is the only substantial critique of the historical value of Homeric poetry to survive from the four hundred years since Herodotus and Thucydides. In Strabo's vigorous defence of Homer as a geographer – a lengthy riposte to the criticisms of Eratosthenes of Cyrene – we revisit the figure of the 'hinting Homer' familiar from Herodotus and Thucydides: Homer knows the truth, deviates from it for aesthetic reasons, but hints at the truth nevertheless. Homer emerges from the pages of Strabo's *Geography* as a proto-geographer/historian *avant la lettre*: like Strabo himself, Homer was dedicated to transmitting historical and geographical knowledge, but since he was a poet, and since prose did not yet exist, he was constrained to follow the conventions of poetry and to include mythical material in his work. K. also demonstrates that Strabo's defence of Homer is intimately connected with contemporary reality in the first century C.E.: not only a critique of Homer, it is also an evaluation of the role of Greek culture in the Roman world. Homer embodies the Greek values of antiquity and *paideia*, and therefore 'Strabo's defence of Homer is, in a sense, a defence of Hellenism.'(p. 83) K. concludes that the obsession with Homer's prestige and status, which is so marked in Strabo's work and in the literary culture of the Imperial period more broadly, expresses real concerns about what it means to be Greek in a changing world.

In Chapter 4 'Homer the liar', K. explores the critique of Homer's historical reliability in Dio's eleventh oration, the *Trojan Oration*. This work represents a significant departure from the earlier treatments of Herodotus, Thucydides and Strabo inasmuch as it is difficult to determine Dio's seriousness. Given that Dio seems to be an ardent admirer of Homer elsewhere in his works, the *Trojan Oration* appears to be a tongue-in-cheek response to the question of Homer's historical accuracy, which ridicules the very concept of Homer-the-historian by taking it seriously and then submitting it to the same sort of scrutiny which historians or witnesses in court are expected to undergo (p. 100). The speech takes the form of an *anaskeuē* or rhetorical exercise in refutation. This chapter feels like the most mature in the book. K. makes a significant advance in our understanding of Dio's slippery speech, which has tended to be trivialized as a frothy *jeu d'esprit* or sizzling display of sophistic erudition. For K., the *Trojan Oration* explores, self-reflexively and ironically, the role of the heroic and Homeric past in the self-definition of Greeks living in the Roman Empire. Like Herodotus, Thucydides and Strabo, Dio constructs Homer in his own image as an itinerant orator and storyteller. His critique therefore exposes the ideological investment and potential fictionality of *all* reconstructions of the heroic past, including Dio's own: 'Talking about the heroic past...is always a matter of fictionalising...of constructing, rather than just reflecting, the truth.'(p. 139)

Chapter 5 'Homer on the island' explores Lucian's critique of Homeric poetry and his depiction of Homer himself on the Isle of the Blessed as an 'utter denial of history's utility to an understanding of Homeric poetry' (p. 174). Questions relating to the 'history' or 'truth' underlying Homer's account are futile; instead, the 'proper response' to reading Homer is to acknowledge the world-creating power of his fiction which generates autonomous worlds which exist on the same ontological plane as 'history', just as the characters who populate Homer's texts – Odysseus, Achilles, Thersites, Helen – all interact with and exist on the same level as their poet on the Isle of the Blessed. In his sophisticated analysis, K. shows that Lucian's preface encompasses two concepts of fiction: the first and more familiar model defines fiction as a fantastic narrative about things which do not exist, and which therefore should not be believed (Lucian's own avowed fantasy belongs to this category). The second, more subtle model is evoked by 'Homer's Odysseus', who represents fiction as a fabricated narrative which audiences treat as 'real' even as they acknowledge that it was been invented, an awareness that is implied by the fact that Odysseus is identified as 'Homer's'. There is a small problem here with perspective, as Odysseus can only be viewed as '*Homer's* Odysseus' from the perspective of the readers of the *Odyssey* (or *True Stories*), not from the perspective of Odysseus' intra-diegetic audience the Phaeacians. Far from agreeing with K.'s apologetic remark that his analysis here 'may seem like a lot of exegetical energy expended on a single turn of phrase' (p. 155), it would be fruitful to explore further the interplay between the Phaeacians and the reader of *True Stories* as a dramatisation of the

interplay between the semantic and the semiotic reader (see Eco 2002) or as a disaggregation of the conflicting attitudes of belief that are simultaneously present in the reading of fiction (the paradoxical process where one believes, fictively, what one knows is historically untrue). In any case, this chapter contains some wonderfully imaginative analysis, especially of the episode of the Isle of the Blessed, which K. reads as an instantiation of Homer's fictional story-world.

The final chapter 'Ghosts at Troy' focuses on Philostratus' *Heroicus*, which K. interprets as a dramatisation of the very sort of historicising readings of Homer exemplified by Herodotus, Thucydides and Strabo. The Phoenician in the dialogue is preoccupied with questions about what *really* happened, and how faithfully the Homeric poems represent the historical 'truth' about the Trojan war. He is also deeply concerned with proof, accuracy, first-person testimony and strategies of authentication, a combination which suggests that the Phoenician may actually embody the Troy-romances of Dictys of Crete (a text which was supposedly originally written in Phoenician) and Dares of Phrygia in the dialogue. Ironically, however, the Phoenician's critical historicising approach to the Homeric poems is undermined by the Vine-Dresser's revelation that his authority on Homer and the Trojan war is the ghost of Protesilaus, the first Greek hero to die at Troy. As K. points out, this paradoxical 'eye-witness' confounds 'presumptions about eyewitness testimony that characterise Homeric revision' (p. 187). In its confrontation between the different approaches of the Phoenician and the ghostly Protesilaus as 'readers' of Homer, the *Heroicus* 'explores how the modalities of belief proper to Homer and Homeric criticism overlap and come into conflict with those required by the discourse of heroic *daimones*.' (p. 199).

This is the first monograph to explore the topic of Homeric revisionist fictions since Kindstrand 1973, and it represents a major and very welcome advancement of our understanding of the literary-cultural importance of Homer in the Imperial period, and especially Homeric poetry's central role in ancient debates about the nature of truth, lies and fiction. K.'s work expands on recent excellent scholarship on Homer in the Imperial period in particular by Zeitlin 2001, and is part of the revival of interest in Dio's *Trojan Oration* (e.g. Hunter 2009) and Philostratus' *Heroicus* especially (e.g. Grossardt 1998 and 2006, Bowie and Elsner 2009, Hodkinson 2007 and now forthcoming in 2011). It also makes a significant contribution to the study of ancient fiction and metafiction, and will expand the horizons of scholars of ancient fiction and the novel, as well as scholars who are interested in the ancient reception of Homer. The chapters on Strabo and Dio are particularly helpful in this regard. Lucidly and engagingly written throughout, this book will excite and stimulate the imagination of a range of readers, from advanced undergraduate upwards.

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Conference: The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East

Richard Stoneman, Honorary Visiting Professor

In July 2010 the University played host to forty scholars, including representatives from every continent, to discuss the ways in which the legend of Alexander the Great has developed and been transformed in eastern traditions. From his modest beginnings in Macedon, Alexander advanced to conquer not only most of the known world of his time, but also, even more importantly, to conquer the imaginations of people in half the world that followed him. Not only the countries of Medieval Europe, but those of the Middle East and Central Asia, have their legends about Alexander. His is still a name that awakes echoes from Turkey, Israel and Iran to the Arab countries and the Central Asian Republics.

A number of speakers were invited, and offered papers on topics from Persian, Arabic, Jewish and Greek tradition. In addition, a call for papers produced contributions on topics I never imagined we might receive, including a new proposal for an Indian origin of the story of the water of life in the *Alexander Romance* (Aleksandra Szalc), revelations about Alexander stories in Chinese geographers (Yuriko Yamanaka), and the latest news from the nationalist myth being created around Spitamenes in Uzbekistan (Warwick Ball). Dragons and flying machines abounded (Daniel Ogden, Firuza Abdullaeva), new sculptures (Olga Palagia) and new manuscripts (Mario Casari, Hendrik Boeschoten) were drawn to our attention. Daniel Selden and Faustina Doufikar-Aerts, speaking on the fluidity of texts, provided a broader framework for discussion, as did Graham Anderson's reflections on heroes, and I spoke about the interaction of Greek and Persian storytelling. Haila Manteghi anchored our discussions in the core territory of the *Shahnameh* of Firdausi, who celebrates his millennium this year. Jewish topics were covered by Aleksandra Kleczar and Ory Amitay, and Arab texts by David Zuwiyya, El-Sayed Gad and Emily Cottrell (with Kyle Erickson). Corinne Jouanno and Wim Aerts (as session chair) prompted reflections on Byzantine aspects, while Sulochana Asirvatham discoursed on Alexander as a philosopher and Sabine Müller on Roxane as a bride in a variety of traditions. Twenty-two papers were delivered over two and a half days, and in addition there were two poster presentations: Agnieszka Fulinska on the Hellenistic image of Alexander and Leslie McCoull (in absentia) on Coptic legends. The Department of Classics and Ancient History and the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies were the joint hosts of the conference;

building works meant that we could not use the IAIS for sessions, but the Queen's Building proved a very acceptable substitute.

Every paper was of high quality (well, I hope mine was) and I am now editing the proceedings, with the collaboration of Ian Netton (Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies) and our own Kyle Erickson (our loss is Lampeter's gain) for publication as a supplementary volume of *Ancient Narrative*.

The conference was magnificently sponsored by the Soudavar Memorial Foundation. It was my first experience of organising a conference and it is a tribute to the Exeter Events team that everything worked so smoothly and there was not a single complaint about anything! An anxious beginning, when three delegates (from France, Greece and Israel) were stranded in Paris before being redirected by Flybe to Southampton airport in the middle of the night, was resolved in time for a rather tired Corinne Jouanno to give her paper on the first morning. We were favoured by the weather and only briefly had our discussions interrupted by raucous Spanish teenagers. Accommodation was in Holland Hall and on the final evening we bussed the participants to my house in Crediton for a party, where they were able to enjoy the garden, the historic building itself, and some good local wines from Eastcott Vineyard as well as Greek and Persian dishes (kuku-ye-sabzi and baklava were appreciated), Stephen Mitchell's bread and John Wilkins' pizza.

I had the indispensable assistance of James Smith and Jenny Grove who kept everything running smoothly and sorted out the book display as well as assorted questions from the delegates. Kyle Erickson as well as James ensured that all the Powerpoint presentations worked without a hitch, and even rustled up an adaptor for a continental plug.

Everyone seems to have had fun. I certainly felt I had made many new friends as well as renewing acquaintance with old ones. I am just a bit alarmed that so many people asked if I was going to do it all again, perhaps in a year's time. I think it is someone else's turn now! But I do hope that the pattern of discussion we created is only a beginning. I ended the conference feeling that, if we could all understand a bit more about why Alexander the Great is a name that people recognise in every country under the sun, we should be a little closer to understanding what it is that binds us all together, and could live in greater harmony. So, I've done my bit for world peace, and I hope others will carry on the project!

CA 2012

On 11th-14th April 2012 the annual meeting of the Classical Association will be hosted by the Department of Classics & Ancient History at the University of Exeter. The plenary lectures and panels will be held on campus in the Peter Chalk Centre. Accommodation and meals will also be provided on campus in Holland Hall and Mardon Hall, with the possibility for those who should wish it of individual bookings in nearby hotels. Excursions will be arranged to places of interest in Exeter and in the surrounding area.

We welcome proposals for papers (20 minutes long followed by discussion) and coordinated panels (comprising either 3 or 4 papers) from graduate students, school teachers, academic staff, and others interested in the ancient world on the topics suggested below, or on any other aspect of the classical world. We are keen to encourage papers from a broad range of perspectives.

Suggested topics: Hellenistic and Roman culture; globalisation and cosmopolitanism; impact of Greek culture; use of language in antiquity; the Black Sea; Galen and ancient medicine; the ancient book/material text; reading in antiquity; modern receptions of ancient erotica and sex; concepts of authenticity and the fake; ancient ideas and their reception; sport, spectacle and festival; gift-giving; food, culture and the environment; politics, religion and ideology.

We also warmly encourage submissions for non-research presentations such as dramatic performances of ancient texts, introductory workshops on technical disciplines such as papyrology and palaeography, spoken Latin conversation sessions, oral reading workshops, etc.

Please send your title, abstract (no more than 300 words), and any enquiries (preferably by e-mail) not later than 31 August 2011, to: cah-ca2012@ex.ac.uk

Dr. Lawrence Shenfield Prize 2011

Pegasus is extremely grateful to have received a generous bequest from Dr. Lawrence Shenfield, which has been matched by the College of Humanities. To honour Larry's memory, for the third year running we are awarding £50 for the best undergraduate submission. Submissions were once again of a very high standard. After a very difficult decision, the board is pleased to award the 3rd annual Dr. Lawrence Shenfield prize to Greg Heath Kelly, a third-year student for his innovative essay on Aristophanes. Highly recommended were Hannah Porter and Charlotte Simpson. These two runner-up submissions can be found on our website: http://projects.ex.ac.uk/pegasus.

"This is my submission for a formally assessed essay, set in my Second Year of Classical Studies, for the Greek and Roman Drama course. I initially asked the lecturer who would be marking it whether I could write an essay with a sense of humour, and having received the green light my imagination sort of took over and I ended up writing this play in the style of Aristophanes whilst still proposing a suitable answer to the essay question."

Is Aristophanes an 'intellectual' comedian?

Greg Heath-Kelly

(*The stage is unfamiliar.* KAINOS, a non-Athenian, *stands alone looking confused and shuffling copious notes at the house of* ARISTOPHANES.)

KAINOS. Oh muses! Help me keep face among giants! I am but an ill-educated pupil guided by my teachers to pass a daunting judgement upon the lifetime's work of Aristophanes. Could there be a more loathsome task to appear just before the holidays?

(SERVANT *enters.*)

SERVANT. Sir! Sir! Got you here this neat introduction you asked for.

KAINOS. Oh good!

SERVANT. Took me ages n' all, it's proper inspired it is though sir!

KAINOS. Remind me!

(SERVANT *speaking monotonously.*)

SERVANT. "This essay concerns the many different approaches to investigating the term 'intellectual comedy' and, by using primary and secondary sources, aims to consider whether Aristophanes qualifies as an intellectual comedian."

KAINOS. Oh... inspired... truly inspired... where did you think of that unoriginal gibberish?

SERVANT. Well Sir... you did... earlier... just before you went off on a tangent talkin' about producin' a play...

KAINOS. Oh...

SERVANT. And if you want I've got here the rest?

KAINOS. I think that's quite enough of that... Who on earth am I to talk this through with? You're no good! Be off!

(SERVANT *leaves and* SOCRATES *enters and curses at* ARISTOPHANES' *house.*)

SOCRATES. They're laughing at me in the street!

KAINOS. What's happened here?

SOCRATES. Haven't you seen *Clouds*? Because of *this* man I'll no doubt be in trouble. He painted a grand old picture of me: "And if you pay them well, they can teach you how to win"[1] – charging for tuition indeed! I have never done such a thing. And I am not a Sophist! Just because he produces plays he thinks he can say anything about me.

KAINOS. Perhaps you could elaborate a little to help me write a piece on Aristophanes? What did everyone else think?

SOCRATES. Naturally they loved it, every man in fits of laughter of all rank. But this form of attack is a cheap trick: while it will amuse now he'll get no laughs for it in the future. These jokes don't stand the test of time!

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[1] Ar. *Cl.* 98.

KAINOS. Clever to hit you with some old fashioned satire though eh? Not everyone is brave enough to do that. You are a respectable man!

SOCRATES. Yes, yes I am! And no they aren't! Many could find reason enough not to write such slanderous works; did you hear what happened to Eupolis after his attacks on Alcibiades? And the prosecution Cleon brought on Aristophanes for his insults?[2] Though to give Aristophanes credit he always came back at him and got laughs, "At least this time Cleon can't smear me with the charge of slandering the City in the presence of foreigners."[3] Yes, comedy is indeed a political game. I must leave now; I will not wait to be cuckolded again by even one more pleb today.

(Exit SOCRATES. *Enter a helpful* CHORUS *of old men.)*

KAINOS. Who are you?

CHORUS. We are what we are,
But old men you might say,
Here to enlighten you,
On this fair day.

KAINOS. I am intrigued... do go on.

CHORUS. We are here to help,
Though truly uncalled for,
We have nothing else to do,
So let us help, please! We don't want to go back to the home yet!

KAINOS. Well, what did you think of that Socrates chap then?

CHORUS. The playwright's snare has caught a noble and popular man again. It could have happened to anyone, for no one is above his satire, but he was this play's target.

CHORUS MACDOWELL. Socrates had a point. In the distant future it will be hard for people to interpret political satire in his comedy, it is a topical beast and they may never understand the intended complexities of Aristophanes and how the audience at the time reacted.[4]

*(*KAINOS *scribbles down some notes.)*

KAINOS. Intriguing notion. I think Aristophanes is being clever by including this form of obscenity. As if these elites ever get criticised elsewhere, they should learn to take it less seriously!

CHORUS. But look over there,
A pleb of the city,
Approaching our spot,
Looking shabby and gritty.

(Exit CHORUS, CITIZEN *approaches the house of* ARISTOPHANES *clapping loudly and shouting.)*

CITIZEN. I love your shows Aristophanes, woo! I've come to congratulate you on your work. What a success! Is the man in? Cause I just wanted to tell him just what a genius he is. Playwright of a generation.

KAINOS. I gathered. He isn't in yet – perhaps you might share some of your thoughts with me? I'm writing this...

CITIZEN. A genius, a mother-f***in' genius. Not only will he take home all the prizes, but he will also save Athens *alone*. He's a popular man and he has many a cock-gag in his work, and he just keeps on trucking for the *polis*.

KAINOS. Wh...

CITIZEN. Anti-war.

*(*CITIZEN *starts clapping obnoxiously again.)*

Anti-war and cock! Todgers a foot long! But the man gets anti-war into *Lysistrata, Acharnians* and *Peace*. If the *polis* just listened they'd be saved. And he uses plenty of cocks!

KAINOS. I gathered, albeit I feel overly familiar with that now...

CITIZEN. You the man Big A'.

*(*CITIZEN *exits.)*

KAINOS. Well. He was unpleasant. Chorus!

*(*CHORUS *enter.)*

Did you hear him? Do you know if that man is speaking ill of Aristophanes or the truth?

CHORUS. The truth. Aristophanes has many fans. His work crosses class boundaries and appeals to the feelings of many whilst conforming to comic tradition. The man mentioned peace – war is always raging with

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[2] Insults primarily found in *Knights* and *Wasps*, but are evident in many of Aristophanes' plays.
[3] Ar. *Ach.* 502-3.
[4] MacDowell (1995: 2).

Sparta and Aristophanes takes it upon himself to use it as a contemporary theme within which to produce some of his work.

KAINOS. Give me some examples; this study cannot be without quotations: my superiors would kill me!

CHORUS MACDOWELL. Well in *Lysistrata*, as in *Acharnians*, Aristophanes is trying to prod them into opening peace negotiations. The new element in *Lysistrata* is the broadening of the range of people concerned.[5]

KAINOS. Like who?

CHORUS. The two plays raise awareness, through different areas of society, of the impact of war. In *Acharnians* Aristophanes uses farmers and tradesmen, and in *Lysistrata* he uses women.

KAINOS. Does this make our man an intellectual comedian? That chap seemed quite sure, and, now that you have explained, I understand the *thrust* of his argument.

CHORUS. Well, it is provocative to have such themes interwoven into comedy, but of course it takes a backseat role to the humour. You could say that's intellectual. There are other clever considerations in *Lysistrata* such as the humouring of the ten officials, or *probouloi,* set up to manage warfare after the Sicilian defeat.

CHORUS SOMMERSTEIN. Indeed! The senile and ineffective *proboulos* in our play may to some extent indicate the public image of this board early in the second (and last) year of its existence.[6]

CHORUS. And he *is* easily defeated by the women of the play.

*(*CHORUS *and* KAINOS *exit.* SOMMERSTEIN *and* MACDOWELL *are clearly going to bombard* KAINOS *with their observations. Meanwhile* PROESSAY *and* ANTIESSAY *enter equipped with large red penises.)*

PROESSAY. This is great, I wonder if they will ever put this play on?

ANTIESSAY. No chance.

PROESSAY. I think it deserves first prize.

ANTIESSAY. It deserves no such thing. It isn't sticking to convention at all!

PROESSAY. Look you. Yes you. I know you are marking this! You better give this play your vote or I'll...

(Unfortunately a large fragment is missing here – we can only guess and suppose at what the author had in mind.)

ANTIESSAY. Are you ok?

PROESSAY. What?

ANTIESSAY. You just looked like you phased out completely just then.

PROESSAY. Oh, I was just telling the marker to spare our comedy a few thoughts when reading our competition.

ANTIESSAY. I wouldn't have bothered.

(Exit PROESSAY *and* ANTIESSAY. *Enter* KAINOS *and* CHORUS*)*

KAINOS. Yes, yes, this is all very good. Aristophanes is being clever by using recent history to inform his writing. Perfect. But let's now take "intellectual comedian" to mean that Aristophanes appeals only to intellectuals in his audience. What do you think?

CHORUS MACDOWELL. Oooh pick me! Pick me! I know lots!

KAINOS. Oh go on then...

CHORUS MACDOWELL. I think we can safely assume that Aristophanes writes for the whole audience not just for a limited section of it.[7]

CHORUS. He must want to win, and to do that he would have to please everyone, surely?

KAINOS. Why *must* he want to win? Is that all that comedy is about? Writing for a whole audience would result in a random assortment of jokes in order to cater for all tastes.

CHORUS. Does Aristophanes himself not suggest wanting to win openly in *Birds*? "We wish to say a word to the judges on the subject of our victory: we'll give them all such marvellous gifts – if they vote for us."[8]

KAINOS. Your argument is convincing but I heard that many of his plays included references to bad, or even rigged, judging. Is *Frogs* not just one long critique of this matter?

(Enter a TIMETRAVELLER *flying upon a dung beetle.)*

TIMETRAVELLER. Hello! I am from the distant future. You need to hear this! A comparison to your judging system might be our competition called QI. The competitors do not care about the scores; indeed they are subject to sudden and unjust manipulation, and are a source of humour throughout. No one really wants to win – the biggest laugh goes to he who loses as they may complain about the unjust nature of the competition. Perhaps it is the same here, as in your comedy.

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[5] MacDowell 1995, 249.

[6] Sommerstein, preface to *Lysistrata*, 134.

[7] MacDowell 1995, 3.

[8] Ar. *Bir.* 1102-3.

KAINOS. Perhaps you have a point, you strange man...

CHORUS. But why would we keep records of victories if no one truly wanted to win? If playwrights want to win, I sustain that they must appeal to most of the audience. Also, people just wouldn't come to performances if they knew the humour would hold nothing for them. The skill of the playwright must be to balance his humour for as much of the audience as possible.

KAINOS. Purely theoretically, though, could our playwright know and understand this and therefore manipulate his theatrical productions to please the ill-educated members (the majority) of the audience, to secure his win, but labour most on writing the clever jokes for his intellectual friends. Really winning the majority of the audience, without actually writing 'for' them, could be one of the jokes.

TIMETRAVELLER. I have a neat comparison for that too! Productions written for our children include many jokes, and deeper themes, that most of the children will not understand. The enjoyment for the producers may be writing *these* jokes so that the children do not notice them and so that the adults can enjoy themselves as well.

KAINOS. So if your comparison holds true, just as your adults would not enjoy parts of productions written for the children, the more intellectual members of Aristophanes' audience would not find most of the simpler parts of Aristophanes' plays appealing, such as vulgarity, innuendo and bawdy behaviour.

CHORUS DOVER. But Aristophanes, in *Clouds*,[9] refers to a certain type of exaggerated phallic costume as designed 'to make the little boys laugh'.[10] Were such jokes simply written for the very young members of the audience with less mature taste?

KAINOS. If Aristophanes is writing for an intellectual audience then perhaps we could interpret 'little boys' as members of the audience who are ill-educated, therefore the joke is on them, in this case, for falling for it. Aristophanes himself may have enjoyed writing more clever jokes, like these, rather than the aforementioned simpler parts. Perhaps then the balance was wrong in *Wasps* as he claims to have overestimated the audience's intelligence and blames them for not understanding, 'The shame is yours for being so obtuse'.[11]

CHORUS. Well. We still think Aristophanes is an intellectual playwright as he includes all of the audience, aiming to win the competition, to gain fame amongst all tiers of society.

KAINOS. And I am aware that this opinion is fairly common, and, like Aristophanes, I would like to "always think up new ideas, not one which is ever the same as those that went before."[12]

TIMETRAVELLER. It is clear that my work here is done. Excelsior!

(Exit TIMETRAVELLER *and* CHORUS, *and enter* ARISTOPHANES.*)*

KAINOS. Ah Aristophanes, forgive my judgements passed – alas I know so little of your work. How can we ever hope to fully understand your art?

ARISTOPHANES. You must understand that no audience will pick up on every nuance or every nod you write without some explanation, and by looking too hard you will have already killed the joke. It is not for an intellectual man to copy his peers – to aim to innovate the genre is where the most gain lies. Perhaps only those of your intellectual equal may understand this, and you may have to throw in the odd simple and familiar statement to please all audiences and win their vote, but that does not mean that your art is restricted to the conventions of the masses.

KAINOS. Perhaps you can help me compare our arts. Do you agree than an intellectual essay writer, like an intellectual comedian, deserves acclaim?

(Exeunt.)

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[9] Ar. *Cl.* 540

[10] Dover 1972, 17.

[11] Ar. *Was.* 1050-60

[12] Ar. *Cl.* 547.

'Ode à Aphrodite'

(Sappho 1)

Patrick Ussher

Immortelle Aphrodite, sur votre trône tissé,

Fille de Zeus, tisserande de la tricherie,

Ma maîtresse.

Je vous implore, ma maîtresse,

De ne jamais tourmenter mon âme

Avec l'anxiété et l'angoisse.

Mais de venir ici, si, loin d'ici

Et à une autre époque, en écoutant mes cris

Et en quittant le domaine doré du Destin

Vous êtes venu dans votre char en or,

Guidé par les beaux moineaux

Battant leurs ailes avec acharnement

Et stridents traversant la sombre terre

Soudainement! Ils sont arrivés

Aux cieux célestes de Zeus.

Ô maîtresse éternellement bienheureuse

Votre visage m'a salué d'un sourire

Disant: 'Pourquoi, encore, cette souffrance Sappha?

Cette requête par la frondeuse pour la frénésie?

Laquelle, Sappha, la persuasion, doit-elle

Rapprocher de votre amitié?

Par l'injustice de laquelle êtes-vous vexés?

Si elle vous fuit, bientôt elle poursuivra

Si elle renvoie, bientôt elle donnera

Si elle n'aime pas, bientôt elle aimera

Ce n'est pas une question de son désir.'

Venez ici tout de suite

Soulagez ma douleur ardente

Et ce que mon âme désire

Donnez-le! Lutter pour moi.