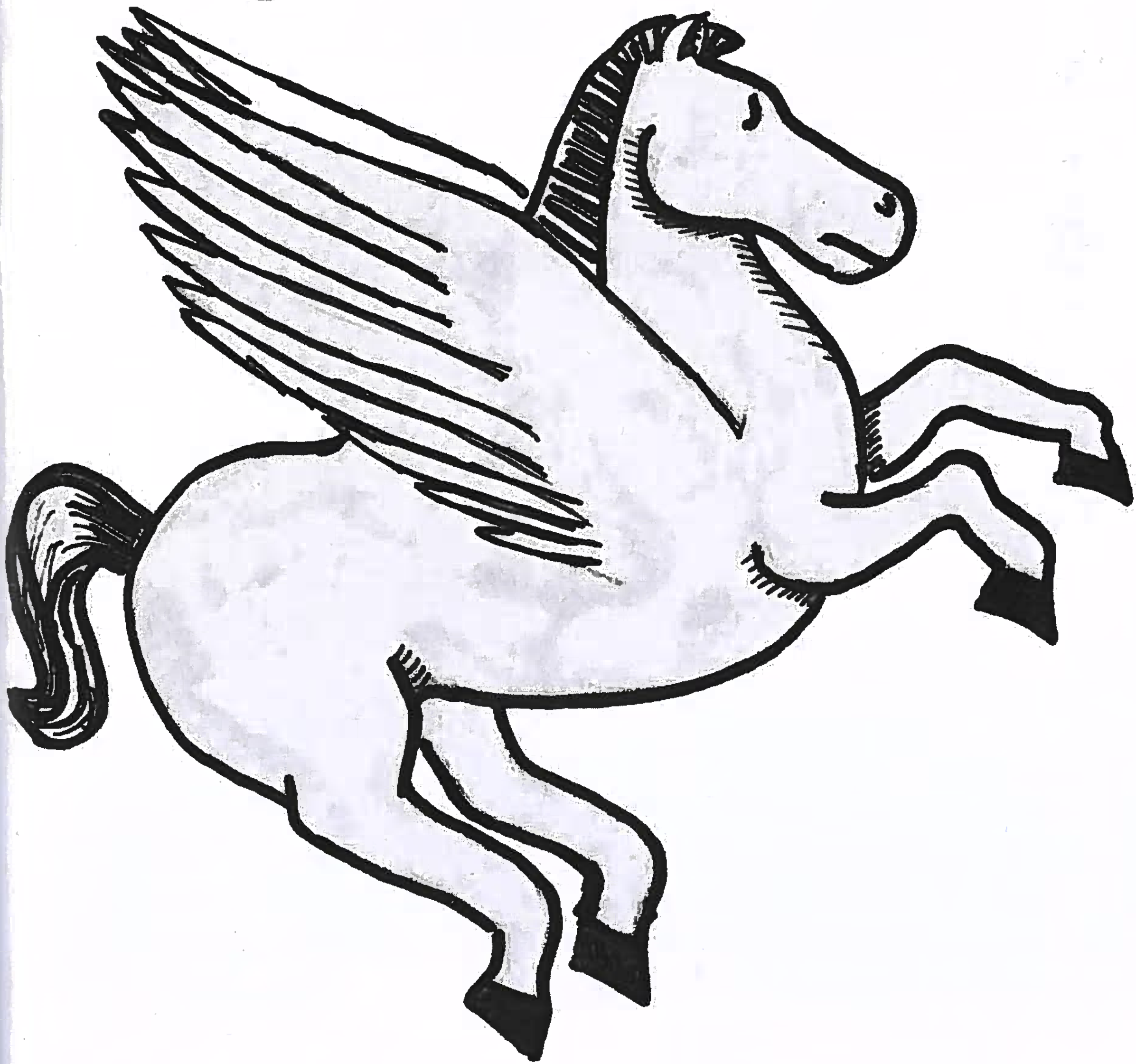
PEGASUS

Issue 56



PEGASUS

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

Editors: Christian Thrue Djurslev and Patrick Ussher

Creative Corner Editors: Claudia Berger and Jasmine Hunter-Evans

Cover: Claudia Berger

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- All correspondence about *Pegasus* should be addressed to:

  Pegasus, Dept. of Classics and Ancient History, Amory Building, Rennes Drive, University of Exeter, Exeter, EX4 4RJ

  E-mail: pegasus@exeter.ac.uk

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Contributions of any sort (articles, reviews or other items of Classical or Exonian interest) are always welcome. Please send all submissions and questions to pegasus@exeter.ac.uk. A complimentary copy of *Pegasus* is sent to all authors of published articles.

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Editorial

At the beginning of this academic year, we gladly accepted the task of editing the *Pegasus* journal. We are grateful to the editor of last year's issue, Shaun Mudd, who was very helpful and always on hand to guide us throughout.

This is an exciting moment in the history of *Pegasus*; for the winged horse in *all* its previous manifestations has landed in the *Digital Age*! Thanks to the kind generosity of Peter Wiseman, whose suggestion this also was, the back issues of *Pegasus* have now been digitised, a task carried out admirably by PhD students Andrew Worley and Jack O'Neill. You can read all back issues of the journal, with the exception of those from the last five years (for there must remain some kind of incentive to purchase the journal if it is to survive!) on our website (see below). Surely, a must for *Pegasus* fans everywhere!

We hope that this issue reflects both the academic vigour and creativity of our department. The former is evident in the broad-ranging topics of the articles inside by both lecturers and students, exciting and varied research news, and in the reviews of recent works by members of the department. The latter can be seen in our brand new section: the 'Creative Corner'. Therein you shall read the winning entries for translation (Alexander Mallin, for his translation of a passage from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*) and for a composition on a theme relating to the ancient world (Sam Hayes, for his *A Modern Juvenal*). In addition, the final part of the 'Creative Corner' comes in the form of a supplement which, once you read it, will forever change how you view the ancient world! This competition was wonderfully overseen and judged by Claudia Berger, whose artistic skill also created this year's *Pegasus* cover, and Jasmine Hunter-Evans. On another creative note, you will notice Dionysus (from Aristophanes' *Frogs)* staring intently at you from the back cover. This superb piece of art, by undergraduate Charlie Tyjas, is part of a larger work adorning a wall in the Leventis Room – *alumni* should make sure they see this next time they visit!

One important change for *Pegasus* readers to bear in mind is that it now has a new website (<blogs.exeter.ac.uk/pegasus>), which will, *inter alia*, house the back issues. It is in the process of being designed, but should be fully up and running by the time you read this. We would also like to express our thanks to Kyle Erickson, who completed his PhD at Exeter a few years ago and who is now a lecturer at the University of Wales Trinity St. David in Lampeter, for all his hard work in creating and maintaining the old *Pegasus* website (<projects.exeter.ac.uk/pegasus>), which will still be online while the transfer to the new address takes place.

This issue has been edited from many parts of the world; from Copenhagen to Dublin, from Athens to Nepal and only Exeter on occasion. Lo! how the white horse has ever been on the wing! Its journey has been long and perilous, and we are relieved that it has finally made its landing safely! And so thanks now go to all of this issue's contributors, sub-editorial teams, entrants to the Dr. Lawrence Shenfield Prize, and all those who have helped in any way in the making of this issue.

PU & CTD — Exeter, June 2013

Department News

The Department of Classics is proud to be thriving in difficult times for the Higher Education sector, and to be continuing to attract high numbers of well-qualified postgraduate and undergraduate students, despite the increase in undergraduate fees to £9,000 this year.

We started the academic year in September with a new tradition - a departmental Away Day involving a collegial day-long hike across Dartmoor culminating in a well-earned supper of rabbit pie and real ale in the Warren Inn. This proved an excellent way of getting to know some of our new postgraduate students as well as the new colleagues whom we have been delighted to welcome this year. We are very pleased that Charlie Rushforth has joined us as our new departmental administrator, replacing Alex Bordoli. We are also very fortunate to have been able to appoint three excellent young scholars to permanent Lectureships in the department. Dr. Claire Holleran works in the area of Roman social and economic history, and last year published *Shopping in Ancient Rome: the Retail Trade in the Late Republic and the Principate* with Oxford University Press. Dr. Richard Flower works on late antiquity; his book *Emperors and Bishops in Late Roman Invective* has just been published with Cambridge University Press. Dr. Sharon Marshall is a multiple alumna of our own department. She was recently awarded her PhD entitled 'The Aeneid and the Illusory Authoress: Truth, fiction and feminism in Hélisenne de Crenne's Eneydes', and now joins us as a Lecturer on the Education and Scholarship track, teaching ancient languages and literature and also holding the position of Senior Tutor.

We have also this year made two appointments within the framework of the externally funded Leventis Initiative *The Impact of Greek on Non-Greek cultures.* Dr. Daniel King (another Exeter alumnus, with an MA from our department) is the Leventis Lecturer in the Impact of Greek Culture (replacing in that role Dr. Myrto Hatzimichali who has gone on to a permanent post in Cambridge). His research examines the centrality of classical ideas to body image in the Victorian period. Also as part of the Leventis initiative, Boris Chrubasik joined us as a postdoctoral research fellow, working on the history of the Greek East in modern day Syria, Turkey and Afghanistan. Sadly for us, Boris Chrubasik is already moving on after a year with us to a tenure track position at the University of Toronto, and we are in the process of appointing a replacement.

In September 2013 we will welcome two further new colleagues. Dr. Gabriele Galluzzo will be joining us as Lecturer in Ancient Philosophy, an early replacement for Prof. Chris Gill, who will be retiring in 2014. In addition, Dr. David Leith joins our department as a Postdoctoral Fellow in Medical Humanities, a position that he has been awarded through the interdisciplinary Humanities and Social Sciences Fellowship Scheme, against stiff competition.

In addition, Prof. Lynette Mitchell's achievements in scholarship have this year been recognised by her promotion to a Personal Chair in Ancient History. Her inaugural lecture *In Pursuit of Excellence* took place this May.

Since last year's report, four postgraduates have been awarded their doctorates: Liz Dollins for "Readerly Curiosity: Theorizing Narrative Experience in the Greek Novel," Claude Kananack, for "Reconsidering "The Conspiracy of Catiline": Participants, Concepts, and Terminology in Cicero and Sallust," Cara Sheldrake for "The History of Belerion: An Investigation into the Discussions of Greeks and Romans in Cornwall" and most recently James Smith on "Social and Political Aspects of Female Performance in Archaic Greece".

Academic staff continue to bring in substantial amounts of external funding in recognition of the excellence of their research. Prof. Richard Seaford has won a two-year AHRC grant for his project on *Cosmology and the Self in ancient India and Greece*. Dr. Elena Isayev received an AHRC Research

Networking Grant for her project *Italy as a Crossroad*. Prof. Barbara Borg has been awarded a Hugh Last Fellowship at the British School at Rome.

The Department has hosted a number of conferences and workshops, including in September *Cultural F(r)ictions in Hellenistic Literature* organised by Dr. Karen Ni-Mheallaigh and, in March, Dr. Rebecca Langlands' *Heroes and Leaders: an interdisciplinary workshop on exemplarity and identity*. In February the department organised a Dissertation Symposium for third-year undergraduates writing dissertations, an inspiring series of presentations by students about a wide variety of Classics topics, with stimulating discussion from staff and students and followed by informal chat over wine and canapés.

The undergraduate-run Classics Society continues to go from strength to strength, and as we go to press has been shortlisted for the Students' Guild Awards for its contribution to the academic experience at Exeter. This is thoroughly deserved recognition for the work the Classics Society does through the language mentoring programme and events such as the World of Classics debate and the annual Classics play - this year an excellent production of Euripides' *Hippolytus.* Among many other activities organised by the Classics Society this year were the trip to Sorrento over the Easter vacation and the annual Classics Society Ball in March - always a highlight of the year - featuring a splendid dinner in Reed Hall followed by students, postgrads and staff dancing together to the fantastic Exeter University Jazz Orchestra.

Rebecca Langlands,

Acting Head of Department

The Classics Society become pillars of wisdom during their trip to Sorrento. For all the recent happenings in the Classics Society, see page 16.

Research Grants

Ātman and Psyche

Cosmology and the Self in Ancient India and Ancient Greece

Work on a comparative, interdisciplinary project, between ancient Greek and Indian philosophical thought, has begun after a successful bid to the Arts and Humanities Research Council. 'Ātman and the Psyche' is a collaboration between Prof. Richard Seaford of the University of Exeter and Indologist Dr. Richard Fynes of De Montfort University in Leicester.

The research will focus on the striking similarities between Indian and Greek philosophical conceptions of the universe, and the place of humankind within it, in the period 700-323 BCE. For example, philosophies in both cultures believed in an all-embracing, unchanging, formless entity, to which the self (or soul) is assimilated, a belief system in sharp contrast in each case to the tradition of anthropomorphic polytheism.

The project will aim, in particular, to uncover the *reasons* behind these similarities. Was it a case of influence from society on the other? Or is the fact of the existence of such similar worldviews the result of societies in a similar state of socio-economic development, such that their respective mindsets were conducive to similar world-views, although reached wholly independently? If the latter, what are the socio-economic parallels between these two cultures, and how could these parallels be the catalyst for similar philosophical world-views and modes of thought, irrespective of questions of philosophical influence?

The project will run for 18 months and will host two conference in 2014, one in London on June 21st (at SOAS) and the other on July 9th-12th at the University of Exeter.

Conversation Pieces and *Intimate Worlds* exhibition

The latest successes for *Sex and History*—the project run by Rebecca Langlands and Kate Fisher—include an award of £15,000 from REACT for the initial phase of "Conversation Pieces" (February-June 2013), developing social games as a way of delivering the project's sex education methodology. In addition the project has won an Arts and Humanities Research Council Engagement award and Catalyst funding for activities in the run up to the major *Intimate Worlds* exhibition (exploring sex and sexuality in the collection of Sir Henry Wellcome) which will be held at the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in 2014.

Conference: Cultural F(r)ictions in Hellenistic Literature

The Centre for Hellenistic and Romano-Greek Culture and Society, part of the Department of Classics and Ancient History here in Exeter, organised a conference both in order to celebrate Hellenistic literature and to raise provocative new questions about the interaction between Greek and other cultures. It took place in the Amory Building on Streatham Campus from 27th- 28th September 2012.

The conference was fortunate to have Prof. Flora Manakidou (Democritis University of Thrace) to speak to the delegates. Manakidou's talk on "Callimachus' *Iambi*: modes of travelling and politics" gave a well-thought insight into the geopolitical sphere which the poems of the *Iambi* occupy. Other scholars also gave some memorable and captivating talk on the theme of the conference. Dr. Karen Ní Mheallaigh (Exeter) presented on the fictional (or not?) textual transmission of text, or how prologues and other devices can base a new text in an 'earlier' time. Dr. Ivana Petrovic (Durham) presented on the geographical spread not only of Posidippus' gemstones, but of goods travelling into Rome. Prof. Tim Whitmarsh (Oxford) spoke of the cultural hybridity of the *Alexander Romance*, Prof. Barbara Borg (Exeter) on Homeric images on bowls and Prof. Ewen Bowie (Oxford) on Philicus' *Hymn to Demeter*. The conference also saw assured research by postgraduate students. Daniele Sberna (Durham) prepared an interesting talk on the link between Catullus and Callimachus through λεπτός/*lepidus*. Christian Djurslev (Exeter) gave a well-researched talk on the horned Alexander the Great through pictures and text. It was difficult to see the difference – in terms of quality of research and presentation – between the postgraduate researchers and other presenters.

The conferences began and ended with a group reading of Longus and pseudo-Longinus, led respectively by Prof. Bowie and Dr. Petrovic. The shared reading gave rise to some interesting discussions on the prescribed passages.

In between sessions, delegates were treated to some excellent refreshment by the 'Classics Kitchen', the wonderful duo of Miriam Bay and Stefanie Metcalf (both former MA students in Classics – see picture, right, for but one of their sweet creations!). British cakes and slices were accompanied by biscuits and snacks made according to Roman recipes. In general, the department was able to showcase the excellent hospitality that we last saw in the Classical Association conference in 2012. Delegates were also treated to an evening of conversation and wine, kindly hosted by Dr. Rebecca Langlands.

The small-scale conference was well attended by participants from Durham, Oxford, London and Exeter and everyone had a good time. Thanks must be given not only to those who attended, but also to Dr. Karen Ní Mheallaigh, who organised the conference.

Henry Lee,
Postgraduate alumnus 2011-2.

A Dutch Visit

Last October, I visited the University of Exeter with a colleague (Frits) and seven pupils aged 16 (Eline, Kris, Bart, Iris, Renee, Susanna and Cas). We come from Oss, a little town in the south-east of the Netherlands. The idea of the visit came up in the spring. I was reading the *Verae Historiae* of the Greek writer Lucian with some pupils. I myself had been introduced to Lucian's works by Karen Ní Mheallaigh when I was studying in the UK, and I have loved this author ever since.

My pupils became enthusiastic about the incredible stories as well. At one point during classes, I realised that the book I was using, was also used at British universities. "In theory," I said to my students, "you could attend classes at a university in the UK." It was just a loose remark, but they responded eagerly: could we actually do that? I remembered Karen, and thought that I might contact her and ask her if my pupils could attend a class of hers.

One thing led to another. I e-mailed Karen and she responded very enthusiastically. 'Of course, your pupils are more than welcome!' she said. So, my seven students spent their holidays studying Classics at the University of Exeter. And they loved it. We arrived on Saturday, and spent a day in Bath. Then we were in Exeter for four days. Each morning and afternoon we were at the university, where we were taught Latin and Greek by Karen and three MA students. We also attended a few classes on Greek literature and Roman history. The pupils were thrilled, and still are, after all these months. We hope to come again next Autumn.

Marianne van Dijk

The Dutch students reading Lucian with Karen and Marianne. For a reliable account (at last!) of the 'true stories', see the inside back cover for the Dutch students' wonderful drawing of scenes from the Verae Historiae. *It is also said that during the visit fierce Horse-vultures and Cloud-centaurs were seen fighting outside the windows of the Leventis Room, but that is another story...*

Future Conferences in Exeter

On the Psyche: Studies in Literature, Health, and Psychology

On the psyche: studies in literature, psychology and health is an international conference to celebrate the work of Prof. Christopher Gill, who is retiring in 2014.

There will be papers on the development of the psyche from Homer to tragedy and Plato, on the underworld, on medical and philosophical debates on psychology; on modern medical understandings of ancient wellbeing; on happiness, hope and truth, and freedom, and on Neoplatonic approaches to the self and the human relationship with the divine.

The conference will be held at the University of Exeter from the 4th of July to the 7th of July, and the last date for booking is the 21st June. There will be a gala dinner on the evening of the 6th, and there are postgraduate bursaries available. For more information, and to book, follow this link:

http://centres.exeter.ac.uk/medhist/conferences/On%20the%20Psyche/index.shtml

Dialogues between Greece and the East

Dialogues between Greece and the East is an international conference on the impact of Greek on non-Greek culture. Its subject is the exchange of culture in the Hellenistic world, and some of its themes are:

- Different geographical locations, including Asia Minor, Ptolemaic Egypt, Mesopotamia, and India;

- Diverse cultural fields such as the history of localities, of empires, religion and health;

- Literature, the contexts of literary production and consumption, and, especially, the relationship between indigenous and Greek literary forms.

One of its organisers, Dr. Dan King, writes: 'Building on recent work on ancient cross-cultural exchange, this conference will investigate the extent to which Greek culture made an impact on other cultures. What form did this impact take? How were Greek ideas and practices transformed and adapted in other contexts? How did Greek ideas and practices translate onto local communities, and was this a two-way process that also transformed Greek culture? Approaching this period from a varieties of angles, this conference will endorse the tensions and ambiguities of this complex period and offer a new approach for the Hellenistic world.'

The conference is part of the Leventis Initiative, and it is generously supported by the A.G. Leventis Foundation. It is to be held at the University of Exeter from the 9th to the 12th of September, 2013. There will be a number of student bursaries available for students wishing to attend the conference. Further information and the programme can be found on the following webpage:

http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/classics/research/conferences/greeceandtheeast/

Staff News

Barbara Borg (B.E.Borg@exeter.ac.uk): Over the past year, I have continued my research on Roman tombs and burial customs. My monograph *Crisis and Ambition: Roman tombs in the third century CE* will be out in September (OUP), and I am now working on a monograph on second-century Roman tombs (*The art of commemoration in second-century AD Rome*). The approach is a contextual and holistic one that allows for a re-assessment of many widely held but problematic assumptions. The main guiding question concerns a differentiation between attitudes of different social classes, which in turn can inform us about their mentalities and value systems more generally. I have been granted the Hugh Last Fellowship at the British School at Rome for three months in 2013 to pursue this project. I have also mostly finished editing *The Blackwell Companion to Roman Art*. It covers a wide range of topics and approaches related to the study of Roman art, and authors include scholars of various seniority and seven different nationalities to account for the diversity and vibrancy of the field.

Boris Chrubasik (b.chrubasik@exeter.ac.uk): I am continuing to write my book on usurpers in the Seleukid empire and hope to send the manuscript to the publisher by the end of the year. On a smaller scale, I have made a new reading of a treaty between a Hellenistic king and the *polis* of Lysimacheia, which might have several implications for the history of the Hellespont in the early third century BCE, and, after a few presentations, I hope to publish this as an article within the year; in parallel, I am currently editing a few fragments for the *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker Continued* project, focusing on two geographers from Asia Minor.

I gave a paper on Achaemenid and Hellenistic epistolography at the Celtic Conference in Bordeaux in September, and I will give a paper on succession in the Seleukid empire at Konstanz, Germany, in late July. Dan King and I have also organized an international conference on 'Dialogues between Greece and the East' at Exeter in September 2013, which we are very excited about and where I will present a paper on the impact of Hellenistic empires (see page 9).

Eleanor Dickey (E.Dickey@exeter.ac.uk): My edition and translation of the colloquia of *the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*, or at least the first volume of it, has been published by Cambridge University Press (see page 48 for a review). The colloquia are a set of little dialogues and narratives for language learners, composed during the Roman empire, and I have become so fond of them that it is hard to be parted from the project by its publication. Fortunately I have also been working on the second volume, which is getting close to done, and I have published articles on a wide range of topics: the re-edition of a papyrus, the re-interpretation of a grammatical fragment, how the ancient Romans said 'please', how Latin can be used as evidence for sociolinguistic work on politeness, and Latin loanwords in Greek. During the first part of the year I travelled to way more foreign countries than I really had time to go to, giving talks and inspecting manuscripts, but since then I have been unable to travel owing to my passport being impounded by the Home Office as part of my application for settlement in the UK. The high point of my year was a trip through the cellars of the Louvre's Egyptian section to look at a papyrus fragment stored there, and the low point was standing up to give a lecture to an audience that I thought would be composed of linguists and discovering in fact that they were almost all lawyers and did not understand English.

Richard Flower (R.Flower@exeter.ac.uk): As a new member of staff at Exeter, I've spent much of this year teaching existing modules, including Latin IV and Greek III, where I've been introducing students to the joys of Tacitus' *Annals* and Plato's *Symposium*, amongst other works. For next year, I'll be reviving the third-year module on 'The World of Late Antiquity', as well as creating a new MA course on 'Cultural Transformations in Late Antiquity', which is my area of specialism. My first monograph, entitled *Emperors and Bishops in Late Roman Invective*, was published in spring 2013, largely ending my project on this topic, although I am currently completing a volume of translations of Latin and Greek polemics against the emperor Constantius II. My research has, however, now moved into the field of heresiology (the cataloguing and refutation of heresies), a new form of technical literature which flourished in the later Roman empire and the early medieval period.

Chris Gill (C.J.Gill@exeter.ac.uk): Most of my research activities this year have been focused on Stoic philosophy. After completing a new translation and commentary of Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* Books 1-6 (Oxford University Press, Clarendon Later Ancient Philosophers Series), I have prepared the introduction and notes for a new World's Classics edition of Epictetus' *Discourses*. A workshop on Stoicism as philosophical therapy has initiated a very active collaboration between academics and psychotherapists interested in Stoicism (see page 54); Patrick Ussher has taken a leading role in taking this collaboration forward. In future work, I want to ask what Stoicism can contribute to modern thought about ethics, psychology, and our understanding of the natural environment.

Claire Holleran (C.Holleran@exeter.ac.uk): Following the publication of my book last summer on retail in ancient Rome (*Shopping in Ancient Rome*, Oxford University Press, 2012), I have been continuing my research into this area since I started at Exeter in September, completing a further two papers which will be published in edited volumes later this year - one on representations of food hawkers, in M. Calaresu and D. van den Heuvel (eds.), *Food Hawkers: Selling in the Street from Antiquity to the Present* (Ashgate, 2013), and one on women in retail in Roman Italy, in E. Hemelrijk and G. Woolf (eds.), *Gender and the Roman City: Women and Civic Life in the Western Provinces* (Brill, 2013). An article on shopping in ancient Rome appeared in the 2012 Christmas edition of the BBC History Magazine, along with a podcast of an interview with the editor on an accompanying website, and I have also spoken to Classical Association groups in Exeter, Taunton, and Bristol. I recently completed an article on the archaeological identification of commercial space, and am currently working on a paper on the hiring of free labour in Rome, which will be delivered at a conference in Ghent in May. This is part of the next project that I am developing, focusing on the structure and organisation of the labour market in Rome. I am also editing the *Blackwell Companion to the City of Rome* with Amanda Claridge.

Ronald Impey (R.A.Impey@exeter.ac.uk): My association with the Classics Department in a teaching capacity began sometime in the last century when I was asked to help out with Greek translation and prose composition. It is ending with a crescendo as, in covering for a sick colleague, I have had the rare (and rather demanding) privilege of teaching the whole of Latin 1, 2 and 3 for a few weeks, instead of my usual single commitment in recent years. Along the way I have also helped out with the Medieval Latin module for MA students in the History Department and taught a Latin evening class in the Foreign Language Centre. It has been good to re-acquaint myself with Sallust and Suetonius at times, comforting myself that, for me, no Latin author can surpass Horace (though several come a close second); of course, Homer is supreme among the Greeks. I am grateful to the Department for their harmonious and unfailingly courteous and tolerant comradeship over the years. As a teacher, I am particularly indebted to successive groups of students; in return for the stimulus and enjoyment they have given me, I can but hope that I have on occasion imparted some pleasure and enlightenment. It was particularly pleasant to be invited to take part in the Classics Society's production of "Hippolytus": my role as an old servant is not an inappropriate finale as I bow out.

Elena Isayev (E.Isayev@exeter.ac.uk): A year full of thinking about ancient mobility and modern issues of migration. On the ancient side I have presented and written a number of papers, one of which is to appear in Pitts and Versluys' edited volume on gloabalisation. The paper given in Rome on Vespasian and the age of super-modernity will appear in a volume edited by Giardina *et al.* and the one in Geneva on Lucania, one in tandem with Ed Bispham, will be part of a collection on rethinking Italian regions. Some of this rethinking of pre-Roman Italy has also formed an introductory chapter to the *Blackwell Companion to Roman Italy* edited by A. Cooley.

Combining the ancient and modern I am continuing to work with colleagues in Oxford and Leiden on looking at Italy as a migratory crossroad over 3 millenia. Also a new initiative has begun with the historian Andrew Thompson, and, with help from Rob Fletcher and Paul Young, to take forward a long-term project *on Migration through the Lifecycle of Empires*. On the modern front, I have been fortunate in continuing work with the artist Catrin Webster on the *Future Memory in Place* project, by creating internships at the Waterfront Museum in Swansea, in relation with the *Tessera Hospitalis* Sculpture that we installed there last year. These initiatives continue to explore the bond between memory and place and the way that we experience place relationally. More ambitiously we joined forces with artist Iseult, archaeologist Givens and linguists Kaye and Phipps for an innovative project in Glasgow - *Future Memory in Red Road*, working again with the local community, that included an archaeological survey with pupils of St. Martha's of the iconic Red Road site which is about to be blown down, and this is to be followed by a festival event, with the help of the film maker Bask and the composer-musicians Wood and Saunders, who, with the assistance of a choir, will be turning one of the 30 storey building shells into a musical instrument, the largest in the world, using it to express the stories and memories through colour and sound. Some of the excitement of these activities I have tried to feed into courses this year - thanks to the enthusiastic students whom I have had the pleasure to teach, in particular my brave PhD students, Young, Siwicki, Montesanti, and Fusari (Kananack has now got a PhD for his excellent work on the Catalinarian Conspiracy), and also to share ideas with them and my fellow colleagues in my capacity as Director of Education.

Dan King (D.King@exeter.ac.uk): I am still working on my book: *Painful Stories*. In other news, I've just returned from the US where I spoke at a conference on *Narrative Medicine* in the 21st century. My presentation looked at Rufus of Ephesus (a doctor from the early second century AD), and his treatise *Medical Questions*, in which Rufus lays down what sort of questions doctors should ask their patients, and why. I'm now focused fully on

continuing to develop my book for submission and also on planning an interdisciplinary conference, with Boris Chrubasik, entitled *Dialogues between Greece and the East*. This conference will be held at Exeter in early September (see page 9).

Rebecca Langlands (R.Langlands@exeter.ac.uk): I am still writing my book on Roman exempla for CUP, now entitled *Exemplary Ethics in Ancient Rome*, which I intend to complete next year. In the meantime I have been finishing my edited volume *Sex, Knowledge and Receptions of the Past*, which I am about to submit to OUP. Two interdisciplinary research projects have also been keeping me busy this year, both of which have been developed under the umbrella of the University of Exeter's new interdisciplinary Humanities and Social Sciences Research Strategy, and both of which have been awarded funded from that strategy. The first is *Heroes and Leaders*, in collaboration with Dr. Kim Peters in Social Psychology, which in March brought together scholars from a range of disciplines (including Psychology, Management Studies, Leadership Studies, History, Film Studies, Modern Languages and Philosophy – as well as Classics) in an international workshop on Exemplarity and Identity. The second is project is *The Medicalisation of Sex? Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Sexual Science*, which is a collaboration with Kate Fisher and Jana Funke within the Centre for Medical History.

Sharon Marshall (Sharon.Marshall@ex.ac.uk): I have started work on the monograph based on my PhD thesis, which will look at a 1542 translation of *Aeneid* 1-4 into French by a woman named Hélisenne de Crenne. The book brings together my interests in the reception of Virgil in Early Modern France, translation studies, women writers, and the history of the book. I presented part of my research on female exemplarity in the French Renaissance at the interdisciplinary Heroes and Leaders workshop in Exeter in March. Otherwise, I have had a busy but rewarding year as Senior Tutor and teaching a range of modules from Greek I to Latin V. Having spent far too much time in the last couple of years in the murky depths of Lucan's underworld, I have particularly enjoyed resurrecting a module on Roman Love Elegy and rediscovering a love for Ovid and Propertius.

Lynette Mitchell (L.G.Mitchell@exeter.ac.uk): In the last twelve months, I have seen through publication an edited volume arising out of the 2008 conference, *Every Inch a King*. The volume is published by Brill, and contains an essay of my own on 'Alexander the Great: divinity and the rule of law'. I have also completed a monograph, *The Heroic Rulers of Archaic and Classical Greece*, to be published by Bloomsbury Academic during 2013. With two major projects completed, I am now starting a new monograph on Cyrus the Great for Routledge, and am developing a project on ideas about democracy and tyranny in ancient and modern political thought.

Karen Ní Mheallaigh (K.Ni-Mheallaigh@exeter.ac.uk): This year I have: completed three articles on Phoenician fictions and Egyptian forgeries; organised a smashing little conference 'Cultural F(r)ictions', with speakers from Oxford, Durham, Thessaloniki and Exeter (see page 7); organised a study-visit from a marvellous group of Dutch students with the help of the dynamic Sharon Marshall and our MA supremos, Alex, Alex and Sam (see page 8). I am also conspiring with colleagues (Matthew Wright, Sharon Marshall and some under-cover operatives in Reading and Cambridge) to launch a research project on the world of the book, to be called 'The Ancient Bibliocosm' (I organised a panel at CA 2013 in Reading to launch this project) and I am considering founding *The Exeter Centre for AstroClassics* (hub: Amory 261).

Daniel Ogden (D.Ogden@exeter.ac.uk): 2012 leaves me with little to report beyond modest accretions to my Hispano-Portuguese empire. The year saw the appearance of 'Medeia, senhora das serpents e dragões' (in M.R. Candido ed. 2012, *Mulheres na Antiguidade*, NEA/UERJ, Rio de Janeiro, 94-122). This, curiously, is my second Brazilian-Portuguese publication and even a third is said to be imminent ('a god in Colchester', as Claudius might have observed). The year also allegedly saw the publication of 'Alexander, Agathos Daimon and the *argolaoi*' (in V. Alonso Troncoso and E. Anson eds. *After Alexander*: *The Time of the Diadochi* (323-291 BC), Oxbow, Oxford, 2012, 243-52), proceeding from a 2010 conference in La Coruña, though Oxbow has yet to do me the courtesy of imparting a copy. And I have recently completed 'Fantasmas romanos' for a collection edited by Mercedes Aquirre Castro. That was a rare feat: I have been able to write little during the last year, my duties as 'Director [!] of Research' having been ruinous of time and intellect alike. It is a matter of considerable frustration that I have not, accordingly, been able to give adequate scrutiny to the proofs for the two books due to come forth shortly, *Drakon: Dragon Myth and Serpent Cult in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (OUP UK) and *Dragons, Serpents and Slayers in the Classical and Early Christian Worlds: A Sourcebook* (OUP USA).

Martin Pitts (M.E.J.Pitts@exeter.ac.uk): This year will see the publication of my first book, *Alien cities: Consumption and the origins of urbanism in Roman Britain* (with Dominic Perring, University College London), which is the culmination of a long running English Heritage project exploring the urban hinterlands of Roman Colchester and London in the first two centuries of their existence. Rather than providing role models for aspiring locals, the results of this project highlight the 'alienness' of the urban communities of *Londinium* and *Camulodunum* and a lack of cultural

integration with their surrounding hinterlands. Whilst the *pax Romana* guaranteed a steady flow of rural produce for urban consumption, the evidence for reciprocal exchange is slim by comparison. In the last year I have also continued to edit the next book, *Globalisation in the Roman world* (with Miguel John Versluys, Leiden University), which will appear in 2014 with CUP, and have been developing a future research project on mass consumption.

Richard Seaford (R.A.S.Seaford@exeter.ac.uk): 2012 saw the publication of my *Cosmology and the Polis* (Cambridge University Press) (see page 45 for a review), which concludes a trilogy of books on how the classical age emerged from the Homeric age - the others being *Reciprocity and Ritual* (1994) and *Money and the Early Greek Mind* (2004). I am now embarking on what could be an even bigger project: I have obtained AHRC funding for eighteen months of full-time collaboration with an Indologist (Richard Fynes) on a historical comparison of the intellectual transformations in Greece and in India in the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries BCE. (see page 6 for details).

Richard Stoneman (R.Stoneman@exeter.ac.uk): This year's research largely continues what I had begun last year. My introduction to Pindar for the I.B. Tauris 'Understanding Classics' series, which I edit, is with the publisher, and will appear with two or three other titles in the series towards the end of late 2013. I am halfway through a biography of Xerxes for Yale which I expect to complete this year; then I can move on to my book on Megasthenes for Princeton, which they are threatening to entitle 'In the Land of a Thousand Gods'. I continue to investigate the meanings of Alexander's Mirror in Greek and (mostly) Persian tradition, and am giving a paper on the subject at a conference on 'Alexander in the East' in Wroclaw in September.

In April 2012, I gave a paper at the first international conference on Syriac Culture in Mardin, Turkey: my subject was 'The Syrian Contribution to the development of the Alexander Romance'; and in November 2012 I spoke at a conference in Naoussa, Greece, entitled 'Discovering Alexander's World': most of the papers were reports on the latest archaeological discoveries throughout his empire, and mine (on 'Alexander, Philotas and the origins of modern historiography') was the only one without a powerpoint. I also published a popular article on 'Drowned Cities of Eastern Turkey' in *Minerva* for Jan/Feb 2013.

John Wilkins (J.M.Wilkins@exeter.ac.uk): My work on Galen's preventive medicine continues, with a focus both on the ancient world and modern applications. A pilot trial, developed in collaboration with Prof. of Health and Wellbeing Paul Dieppe and others, of Galen's programme is about to start in Exeter. *Galien*: *Sur les facultés des aliments* is to be published by Budé (Belles Lettres, Paris) in May 2013. My edited volume (with Robin Nadeau) *The Blackwell Companion to Food in Antiquity* - all 37 chapters of it - goes off to the publishers this April (2013).

Peter Wiseman (T.P.Wiseman@exeter.ac.uk): *The Roman Audience* is proceeding, and the first six chapters (out of ten) are being mulled over by a potential publisher, whose readers will no doubt hate it. I got side-tracked in the autumn by the appearance of the wonderful (if infuriating) *Atlante di Roma Antica* and Filippo Coarelli's new book on the Palatine, the result of which will be a hefty review article in *JRS*. Other items which may or may not see the light of day in the next year or two are on the mysterious 'temple of Apollo and Diana' mentioned in Vitruvius 3.3.4, and on Rosemary Sutcliff's *The Eagle of the Ninth* and Aileen Fox's excavations of Roman Exeter.

Matthew Wright (M.Wright@exeter.ac.uk): I have returned from my research fellowship at Vassar, and later this year I shall be taking up another fellowship at the University of Sydney (where I shall be working alongside Bob Cowan, a much-missed member of the Department at Exeter). My latest big project is called *Greek Tragedy and Quotation Culture*, but I have also been producing a few smaller outputs, organizing a conference, and writing an introduction and notes for a forthcoming English edition of some of Euripides' tragedies.

Postgraduate News

This year Exeter's Classics and Ancient History postgraduate community has set up two new ways for postgraduate students to share ideas about the ancient world. Postgraduate Research Seminars, organised by Chris Siwicki and Matthew Skuse, have run every two weeks through the academic year. These seminars have provided the opportunity for postgraduates to present on-going research for discussion in a constructive and friendly environment. A wide array of papers was presented by speakers at every stage of postgraduate study. Examples of topics presented on literature included vocalization in Livy and Cicero, an examination of the work of Ptolemy Chennus, and a guide to reading Martial's epigrams. Material culture was also discussed, with topics ranging from the concept of heritage in Roman architecture to the interaction of Greek and Egyptian art. As well as Research Seminars there have been weekly Greek and Latin Reading Group meetings, organised by Sam Hayes and Alex Keane. These meetings not only helped with translation, but also provided a relaxed environment for the discussion of a wide range of Classical texts including Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, Catullus, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, *The Alexander Romance*, Sappho, and Pliny the Younger. The success of both groups has been realised through the participation and enthusiasm of the entire postgraduate community in creating a vibrant research atmosphere.

Matthew Skuse,

Second year PhD Student.

New PhD Students

Katrina-Kay Alaimo (ksa206@exeter.ac.uk): My research focuses on how social practice was changed through the participation of ritual activities. I concentrate on the province of Roman Britain, and plan to include all types of communities whenever possible, including military and civilian as well as urban and rural. As such, I am interested in whether a new identity was formed through the prominence of Roman religion in Britain and how this affected those living in the province. A different analytic approach is taken by also utilising small finds amongst other sources. This study explores the connection between religion and material culture, and forms a bridge between the fields of classics and theoretical archaeology.

Christian Djurslev (ctd201@exeter.ac.uk): What did Alexander the Great mean to people living in (and outside) the Roman empire in Late Antiquity (3rd to 7th centuries AD)? This was a period of change: Christianity took root in the Roman empire, Rome's power was split in two and the East and West were under pressure from Huns, Sassanians and Goths. Amidst all of these changes, a 'literary tradition' about Alexander prospered. Many people wrote stories about the long gone conqueror, e.g. that he had visited Paradise (but was rejected at the door), had acquired a set of horns or flown to heaven in a chariot drawn by griffins. My endeavour is to explore these colourful representations of this Alexander figure and to reconstruct the underlying perception of him across a wide range of sources. I also seek to bring out contemporary ideas of him through art. My study aims to bridge the gap in our knowledge of Alexander between Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Jack O'Neill (jo281@exeter.ac.uk): My research examines Roman conflicts with the Ardiaean Illyrian kingdom during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC and places these in the wider context of Roman imperialism and expansion during the Middle Republic. This involves a close textual analysis of the surviving historical record and aims to resolve the factual discrepancy that exists amongst the ancient authors. My research shall also employ a careful consideration of the surviving material cultures and a reflection on the surviving oral and cultural traditions of Illyria which significantly shape modern national identities of the associated Balkan communities.

Keith Stewart (kas211@exeter.ac.uk): I am analysing the presence of scientific methodology in the development of ancient medicine. I am exploring the use of rational and systematic methodology in the theory of the four humours (blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile) by Galen in the second century CE and how this theory was developed from the work on humours by the Hippocratics. My research will discuss the similarities and differences between the representations of the humours and other related ideas in the Hippocratic *corpus*; this will be used to understand more fully how the theory of the four humours was further developed by Galen. I am also investigating the presence or absence of humoral

theory in wider Greek and Roman literature to see whether this theory became part of a more rational and scientific understanding of medicine in Greek and Roman society.

Patrick Ussher (pu203@exeter.ac.uk): The Stoic theory of ethical development, or *how and why one can come to value leading a virtuous life most*, has been a controversial topic in scholarship. Widely different positions have been reached, largely, I think, as a result of the fragmentary and otherwise limited nature of our usual sources for Stoicism. Marginal in the debate thus far, however, has been the substantial evidence base from Stoic texts for 'philosophy as a way of life' (such as Epictetus' *Discourses* and Marcus Aurelius' philosophical diary *To Himself*). Whilst these texts are not theoretical treatises, they are necessarily underpinned by Stoic theory, and so my hope is that areas of Stoicism often considered problematic, such as how concern for oneself can be reconciled with concern for others, what *exactly* is the nature of 'the good' in Stoicism (and what all this has to do with how the Stoic ate his breakfast), will be clarified through the study of this larger evidence base, such that the philosophy can be presented as much more cogent, and coherent, than has been the case.

Andrew Worley (ajw234@exeter.ac.uk): I am engaged in investigating the presentation and manipulation of expressions of public opinion in literature of the Roman Imperial period (c. 50 BC – 400 AD). Mainly this is the role of acclamations, but also shouting by non-elites. Acclamations as a whole are largely viewed as a product of later antiquity on the basis of epigraphical remains, yet there are references to such vocal expressions in earlier authors. Not only do I hope to be able to shed some light on the attitudes toward and behind such expressions, but also the intents and purposes of certain authors in their usage (or non-usage) of these events. My research is also pursuing attitudes amongst elites toward vocalization by those outside of the group (either on account of politics or social background) as a means to untangle the whole problem further.

MA Theses, 2011-12

Katrina-Kay Alaimo	*Legend of Caligula*
Miriam Bay	*Ovid's Wonderland: Recreating the Garden of Flora*
Alexander Bradshaw	*Gods Help Me! Foreign Religious Cults Imported into Rome in the Third Century BC*
Henry Collison	*Homer's Heroes and the Polis: Ideology, Evolution and Visualisation within the Archaic City-State*
Christian Djurslev	*Alexander the Great: Death, Omens and Mania. A Study of the* Alexander Romance *and its Date*
Alison Freezer	*Beer in the Roman Empire*
Benjamin Jones	*Tribunes, the People, and the Past in the Late Roman Republic*
Hannah Kirtley-Paine	*Mapping the Underworld in Classical Literature*
Henry Lee	*The Victory of Berenice and the Epinician Genre*
Timothy Lunn	*Pirates and Brigands in the Ancient Greek Novel*
Christina March	*The Dynamics of an Informant: Interlocution and Meta-Aetiology in Ovid's* Fasti
Stefanie Metcalf	*Flavouring the Moment: (re)creating Time, Place and Identity through Recipes*
Alexander Michael	*The Book Trade and the Circulation of Texts in the Roman Empire*
Hannah Porter	*Food, Medical Food! Analysing food in Petronius and Horace from Satirical and Medical Perspectives*
Harry Richardson	*A New Look at* On Philodemus' Poems*: his work, his context and its impact*
Natasha Sabo	*The Relationship between Freedman, Myths, Urns and Altars*
Stephanie Schnobel	*The Fashion of Female Warriors: Amazon Accoutrements in Identity Formation*
Sara Steel	*Strange Kind of Women: The Nature of Female Argead Power*
Patrick Ussher	*Stoicism and Western Buddhism: A Comparative Study of Two Philosophical Ways of Life*

Classics Society News

This year has been a fantastic one for all of us in the Exeter Classics Society. Near the start of the academic year, we worked closely alongside the department to rejuvenate the 'World of Classics' lectures, which resulted in a truly invigorating and exciting debate. The motion "this house believes that Classics should be on the national curriculum for all schools" was successful, with a strong argument from the team comprising of Prof. Richard Seaford, MA student Alexander Mallin and undergraduate James Lloyd. But, with only one or two votes securing their victory, the opposing panel, consisting of Prof. Chris Gill, MA student Chris Siwicki and undergraduate Chris Southcombe, put forward a very convincing argument. After such a fantastic afternoon, with enthusiastic involvement from staff and students (not to mention delicious baked goods provided by the Society Committee), the World of Classics events are set to recur again in the years to come.

Our Social Secretary Annabel Bar ensured our infamous and hugely popular Classics Socials once more took the city by storm, with classic events such as the Masters and Slaves toga night, the Twelve Labours challenge and the Centurion making a return by popular demand, as well as the brand new Gladiator Social. Our annual Classics Ball was a roaring success, held once again at our very own Reed Hall, with entertainment from the incredible Exeter University Jazz Orchestra. Various awards were presented to those outstanding members who have contributed most to the society, as well as the star players on our intramural netball and football teams.

Departmental Liaison Secretary Ben Street has certainly had a busy year maintaining Latin and Greek Tutoring scheme, which enables students who could use a little extra help to be assigned a student tutor who studies at least two language levels above them. We have received a lot of positive feedback from both tutees and tutors, who have commented in particular that being a tutor has been both rewarding and beneficial for their CV!

After the success of our award-winning production of Euripides' *Bacchae*, this year we decided to take on another Euripidean tragedy, *Hippolytus* (see page 52 for a review). Starring some extremely talented Classicists, our wonderful leading lady Flo Venables (who even studies Maths, not Classics), and fantastic Latin teacher Ron Impey, *Hippolytus* received very positive reviews and was a great opportunity for us to showcase the extraordinary breadth of the skills of our members. Over the Easter break, Vice-President Sam Ward headed our annual trip abroad, which this year took roughly 20 students to beautiful Sorrento, and included a visit to the stunning ancient site of Pompeii.

The 2013-14 Committee has now been elected. Amidst fierce competition, the eight committee positions have been filled after about 30 students put themselves forward. I am also very proud to announce that we have been shortlisted in the Guild Awards for the second year running, this year for Outstanding Academic Contribution, which is testimony to the hard work and dedication that is consistently given by the whole of the Classics Committee, and the enthusiasm and inclusive spirit of all of our members. It has been an absolute privilege to be Society President this year, and I wish Ronnie Henderson the very best of luck in his 2013-14 Presidency - there will certainly be big things to come in the next academic year.

Sophia James-Sweeney, 2012-2013 President

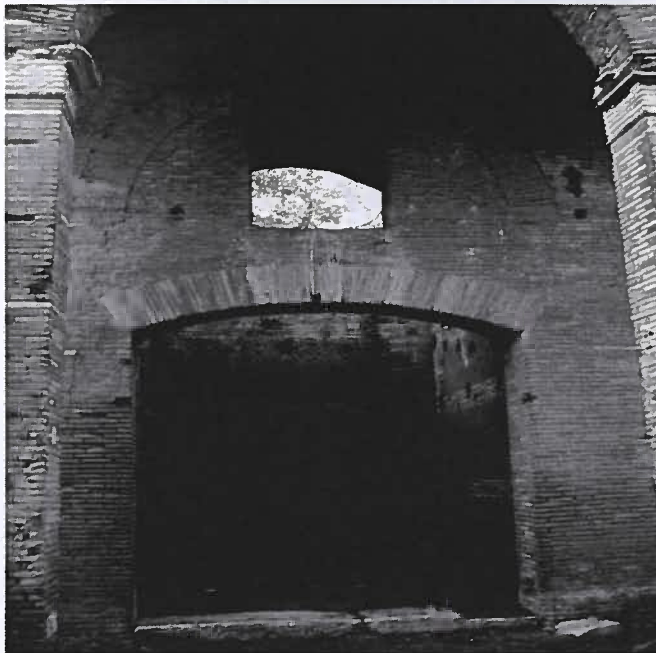
Shops and Shopping in Ancient Rome

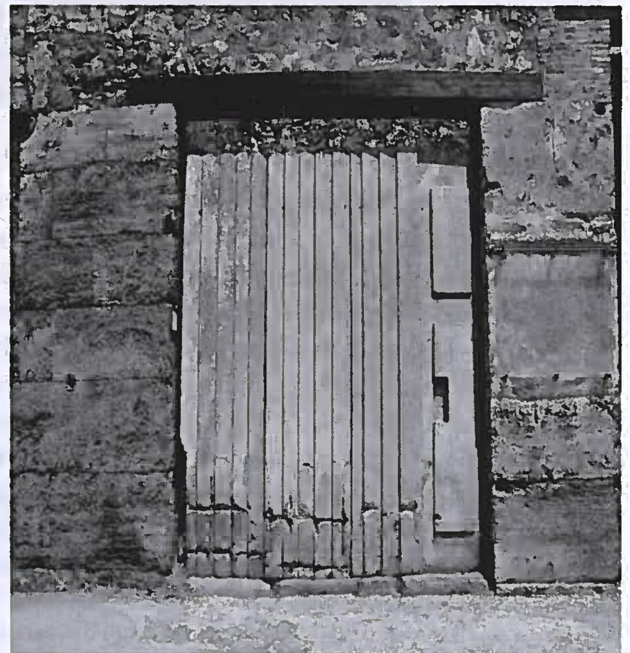
Claire Holleran

The population of ancient Rome was densely-packed and socially-diverse, crammed into multi-storey apartment blocks and ranging from the super-rich to the desperately poor. This was also a population that was almost entirely dependent on the market for the supply of food and other goods. Although elite households may have drawn a proportion of their staple foods from their rural or suburban estates, they were far from self-sufficient. Likewise, the privileged subsection of the urban plebs who received monthly distributions of subsidised or free grain were by no means removed from the market.

Furthermore, few had access to land either inside or outside of the city on which they could grow their own food, or even a few vegetables or herbs to supplement their diet. Consequently, a thriving retail trade developed in Rome in order to serve the needs of this population, supplying them with food, drink, and a variety of manufactured goods. This retail trade was as diverse as the population that it served, encompassing fixed commercial units, periodic and permanent markets, fairs, auction sales, street traders, and hawkers. This paper focuses on two of these modes of retail, namely fixed commercial units, and street traders and hawkers, providing an introduction to the lively and dynamic world of Roman commerce.[1]

Fixed commercial units are commonly referred to as *tabernae* in modern scholarship. The Latin terminology is typically linked to structures in the archaeological record that follow a particular architectural typology. These structures consist of ground floor rooms with wide entranceways opening directly onto the street; they are marked by grooved thresholds, into which shutters were placed when the rooms were closed. Some are single rooms, while others have backrooms or mezzanine floors above, lighted by windows situated above the entranceways.





To the left: a taberna *in Ostia; on the right: a cast of shudders (Pompeii IX.7.10)*

1 This paper is based primarily on material drawn from Holleran (2012).

Such structures are commonplace in well-preserved urban centres of Rome and Italy, such as Pompeii and Ostia, where these units line the main thoroughfares. Although continuous occupation means that visible examples are fewer in Rome, a modern visitor to the city can see units on the ground floor of the apartment block built into the side of the Capitoline hill, incorporated into the side of the churches of SS. Giovanni e Paulo on the Caelian and S. Lucia in Selci on the Via in Selci, and along the Via Sacra. Examples also lie hidden beneath the modern city, such as underneath the Piazza Colonna and the Piazza dei Cinquecento. The biggest piece of evidence to suggest that such structures were commonplace in imperial Rome, however, is the Severan Marble Plan of the city. Only around 10% of the plan now survives, but many of the surviving fragments show rectilinear units opening directly onto streets, colonnades, or arcades, indicating that such structures were doubtless as ubiquitous at Rome as they were at Pompeii or Ostia, and probably more so.[2]

Tabernae, SS Giovanni e Paolo, Clivus Scauri, Caelian Hill, Rome.

Numerous studies focusing on the domestic sphere have demonstrated that the practice of applying Latin terminology to particular structures in the archaeological record is not without problems,[3] and with the *taberna* also, the identification cannot be conclusively proven. No surviving texts set out the architectural form of a *taberna*, nor are there any structures labelled as *tabernae* on ancient plans or in the archaeological record. However, there is some evidence that indicates that the modern connection made between such structures in the archaeological record, and the *taberna* of the ancient literary and legal world, is broadly correct. At Pompeii, for example, rental notices on the outside of the Insula Arriana Polliana (VI 6) and the *praedia* of Julia Felix (II 4) offer *tabernae* to rent alongside other rental units such as *cenacula* (upstairs apartments) and *domus* (houses).[4] Also at Pompeii, a notice promises a reward for the safe return of a stolen vase.[5] These notices provide a unique opportunity to link ancient usages of the term *taberna* with physical remains, and all can be connected with structures that fit the established

2 For more details and high quality images of all the surviving fragments, see the Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae project: http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/

3 See, for example, Allison (2001).

4 *CIL* [*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*) IV 138; 1136.

5 *CIL* IV 64.

modern architectural typology of a *taberna*. Literary descriptions also indicate that wide entranceways were commonly associated with *tabernae*. Ancient etymologists, for example, argue that the term derived either from *tabula* or *trabs*, both referring to wooden boards or planks, but they stress that this is because they were initially constructed out of wood, not because of the shuttered doorways commonly associated with these structures.[6] Easy accessibility from the street is also suggested by the Jurist Paul, who describes a fugitive taking shelter in a *taberna*, only to be attacked by a dog.[7]

It is possible then to draw on a combination of archaeological material and literary evidence to identify the function of these units in antiquity. Ancient literature in particular points to a multiplicity of function for *tabernae*; indeed, one of the reasons for the ubiquity of these structures in the urban landscape of Roman Italy was probably their flexibility, since they could be used for practically any purpose the owner or tenant desired. *Tabernae* were primarily commercial, housing shops, workshops, and perhaps most commonly, a combination of both. They also played a key role in the provision of services and food, housing barbers, doctors, fullers, butchers, and most notably, bars and bakeries, as well as offices. Furthermore, many *tabernae* had a residential function; the separation of domestic and commercial space is after all a relatively modern phenomenon and many workers will have lived and worked in the same place.[8]

Although the relationship between form and function is a complex one, the form of these units is ideal for a commercial function. The wide doorway allowed the interior of the room to be visible immediately to passers-by, enabling the room itself to act as its own advertisement. If a unit were being used as a workshop, an open frontage also provided essential ventilation, keeping the room at a more bearable temperature, while also maximising light, essential for a craftsman. The area directly in front of the doorway could also be used as additional space for the display of goods, with the *taberna* behind acting as a workshop, or perhaps primarily as a storage area. Furthermore, some *tabernae* were fronted by colonnades or arcades, which allowed the commercial arena to be extended into a covered area beyond the threshold, enabling shoppers to browse the merchandise without blocking the streets themselves. By the later first century, however, the problem of *tabernae* spilling out over their thresholds was apparently severe enough for Domitian to enact an edict ordering all *tabernae* to keep within their own thresholds.[9] Further legislation was necessary in the following century, suggesting that this was an ongoing issue in the city.[10]

The issue of obstructions caused by *tabernae* spilling out over their thresholds must have been compounded by the presence of street traders and hawkers in Rome. Even some of those with businesses based in fixed locations sent sellers out to make sales elsewhere in order to maximise the market for their goods. Ulpian, for example, discusses a baker who sent a slave out daily to sell bread in a different location, as well as tailors who sent sellers out to sell cloth, while Seneca describes the shouts of people sent out to hawk food produced in the cookshops of Rome.[11] Sellers also made sales within private homes, especially those of the wealthy, calling either speculatively or on invitation.[12] Elite women in particular may have been the prime target of many such sellers. Ovid, describes the difficulties caused by a trader

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6 Festus p.490L; Iul. Paul. 38; Diom. *Gramm*. 3.489.15; Cassiod. *Variae* 14.11.31; Isid. *Orig*. 15.2.43; Paul. *Fest*. 38.

7 Paul. *Dig*. 9.1.2.1; see also Liv. 6.25; Sen. *Ben*. 7.21.2; Juv. 3.302-4.

8 For example: retail and manufacture: Liv. 6.25.9; barbers: Vitr. 9.8.2; doctors: Plin. *Nat*. 29.12-13; fullers: Apul. *Met*. 9.25; butchers: Liv. 3.48.5; bars: Cic. *Att*. 1.13.1; administration: Suet. *Nero* 37.1; money lenders: Liv. 26.11.7; housing: Var. *L*. 5.160; Hor. *Carm*. 1.4.13-14; Tac. *Hist*. 1.86. Fuller references and discussion of the archaeological material is given in Holleran (2012) 113-58.

9 Mart. 7.61.

10 Papin. *Dig*. 43.10.1.3-5.

11 Ulp. *Dig*. 14.3.5.4; 15.3.5.9; Sen. *Ep*. 56.2.

12 For example, Hor. *S*. 2.3.225-30; Paul. *Dig*. 14.3.4; Ulp. *Dig*. 19.5.20.2.

calling at your girlfriend's house; apparently claiming to have no money was not a defence, since such sellers were more than willing to accept a credit note.[13] Indeed, the sexual threat of a pedlar calling on elite women when they were alone at home was common enough to become a literary cliché.[14]

In addition to such sellers visiting homes privately, street traders and hawkers were more than likely a familiar sight and sound on the streets of Rome. The Latin terminology indicates that sellers could either move around or sell from fixed locations; words such as *ambulator* and *circitor*, for example, derive from verbs of movement (*ambulo* and *circumeo* respectively) and imply ambulant sellers, while *circulator* derives from the verb *circulo*, meaning to form circles around oneself, a term also used to describe entertainers and anybody who draws a crowd. In literature, such sellers trade in a variety of goods, from cloth to gladiatorial programmes, but they appear primarily as sellers of food, from fruit and vegetables to prepared items such as bread, sausages, pastries, and hot chickpea dishes.[15] The provision of prepared food, from both street sellers and bars, was probably particularly important in Rome, where much of the working population lacked both the facilities and time to produce their own meals.

Pictorial representations of sellers are also dominated by the sale of food.[16] A relief from Arlon, for example, depicts the sale of fruit from a trestle table, while another from Narbonne shows an ambulant fruit seller, carrying a basket of apples around his neck. Two late second century AD reliefs from Ostia depict a vegetable seller and a poultry seller. The vegetable seller stands behind a trestle table on which various types of vegetables are displayed for sale, either in bunches or baskets; a basket, in which the produce had presumably been carried, is shown beneath the table. The stall of the poultry seller is more elaborate and is made up of cages holding live chickens and rabbits, with freshly slaughtered birds hanging to the left of the stall, while a man on the far left is shown holding a dead rabbit and in conversation with another man. A woman stands behind the stall, on which are placed two bowls of fruit and a barrel; this presumably contained snails, as a small snail is carved just to the left of the barrel. On the other side, two monkeys are depicted sitting and facing the viewer.

Food sellers are also strongly represented among the retail traders depicted in a painting of forum scenes from Pompeii. This painting was originally located in the atrium of the *praedia* of Julia Felix (II.4), and formed a frieze running around the upper levels of the walls. It shows everyday scenes in the Pompeian forum, including depictions of legal judgements and business transactions taking place, a school pupil being punished, people reading public notices, numerous mules making deliveries, and people chatting, interspersed with scenes of sale. In one scene a man is shown selling hot food heated in a cauldron over a brazier, while another shows tables and baskets holding bread and fruit. Further scenes show sellers of a wider variety of goods, including a shoe seller who has marked out his place of sale with curtains strung between columns, and has put out wooden benches on which his customers are sitting, and a seller of copper utensils, whose stock is set out at his feet; he is shown banging on the inside of one of his vessels, perhaps to demonstrate the quality of his merchandise or to attract the attention of passers-by.

Indeed, many of the sellers depicted in Roman art are clearly active sellers of their wares. Most are shown touching their produce, as though inviting potential customers to do the same and feel the quality for themselves. Very often sellers also have an arm raised in a gesture of declamation, as though they are addressing a crowd; in fact, the Ostian vegetable seller is shown with a raised arm and a hand with the palm out and the thumb and first two fingers raised in what Apuleius tells us was a typical oratorical gesture.[17] The Ostian poultry seller even has two monkeys sitting on the end of her stall, who were

13 Ov. *Ars*. 1.421-8.

14 Ov. *Rem*. 305-6; Hor. *Epod*. 17.20; *Carm*. 3.6.30; Prop. 4.2.38; Jer. *Adv. Iovinian* 1.47.

15 Clothes: Ulp. *Dig*. 14.3.5.4; gladiatorial programmes: Cic. *Phil*. 2.97; fruit and vegetables: Lucil. 5.221-2; Cic. *Div*. 2.84; Hor. *S*. 1.6.111; Petr. 6-7; Calp. *Ecl*. 5.97; bread: Cic. *Pis*. 67; Ulp. *Dig*. 14.3.5.9; sausages etc: Sen. *Ep*. 56.2; Mart. 1.41.5-10.

16 See Holleran (2012) Figs. 5.1-5.8 for images of street traders and hawkers.

17 Apul. *Met*. 2.21.

presumably there to attract and entertain customers. Such artistic representations of sellers are, of course, silent, but our literary evidence can go some way towards providing them with a voice. Seneca, for example, describes the cries of hawkers in his local bath house, detailing the shouts that he can hear in his apartment, including those of the pastry cook, the sausage dealer, the confectioner, and all the vendors from the cookshops, each with their own distinctive cry.[18] According to Cicero also, a fig seller's shout of *cauneas* (Caunean dried figs) at Brundisium was heard by the soldiers of M. Crassus embarking in ships to Parthia as *cave ne eas* ('beware going'), and interpreted as a bad omen.[19] One of the biggest indicators of the familiarity of sales cries in Rome, however, is the way that our elite authors denigrate the poetic and oratorical skills of their rivals by likening their words to those of a trader. Pliny the Younger, for example, likens Regulus' oratory to that of a seller in the forum, while Quintilian instructs his pupils to aim at forceful oratory, rather than the rapid speech of a street seller.[20] Perhaps most memorably, Martial compares the poetry of one of his imitators to the shouts of those who collect broken glass in Rome, while elsewhere he complains about the noise of traders in Rome disturbing his sleep.[21]

The noise caused by traders must have been inescapable in Rome and there is no evidence that anything was done to crack down on such noise. In any case, while such noises must have disturbed those living in multi-storey apartment blocks, particularly those with *tabernae* on their ground floors, the houses of the elite were largely inward-facing and may, to a certain extent at least, have been insulated against such noise. Yet as we have seen with regulation directed at *tabernae*, some efforts were made to keep the streets and pathways of Rome clear and passable. It is difficult to believe then that street trade was largely unregulated, although there is little evidence in our sources for any widespread move to control the activities of such traders. Painted notices from Pompeii marking out places of sale on the exterior of the amphitheatre, however, indicate that the aediles in that town granted permission to certain individuals to trade in specific places.[22] Some spaces may have been allocated in a similar manner in Rome, either by the aediles or, in the later empire, the urban prefect; there is no direct evidence for this practice in the city, but in the late Republic at least, the use of porticoes in the city was controlled by the aediles, again suggesting a concern with the regulation of space.[23] It is certainly likely that spaces outside the amphitheatre, the theatres, the circus, the temples, and so on were particularly contested and it may have been thought necessary to issue licences to individuals to trade there. Conversely, if certain political and religious spaces needed to be protected from traders, custodians could have been placed at the entrances,[24] or notices with a local bearing put up to maintain the dignity of the space. For example, a clause was included in the dedicatory inscriptions on altars erected by Domitian to commemorate the great fire under Nero (AD 64), forbidding traders to loiter in their vicinity.[25] In practice, however, the mobility of hawkers and the temporary nature of many street stalls probably made such traders difficult to control and regulate across the city as a whole.

In fact, retailers must have been highly visible in Rome, competing with each other for the attention of potential customers. Shops and workshops spilled out over their thresholds into the streets, arcades, and porticoes of the city, while the shouts of stallholders and ambulant hawkers sought to attract the custom of passers-by. To this picture, we can also add other elements of retail not considered here, such as high-frequency periodic markets, known as *nundinae*, or the low-frequency fairs or *mercatus* that were associated with religious festivals in Rome, such as the fairs that followed the *ludi Apollinares,* the *ludi*

18 Sen. *Ep.* 56.2.

19 Cic. *Div.* 2.84.

20 Plin. *Ep.* 4.7.6; Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.8; also 2.4.16.

21 Mart. 10.3.1-6; 12.57; 14.223; see also Juv. 3.236-48.

22 *CIL* IV 1096; 1096a-b; 1097; 1097a-b; 1115.

23 *Tabula Heracleensis* II. 68-72.

24 See, for example, Suet. *Aug.* 40.5.

25 *CIL* VI 826; 30837.

Romani, and the *ludi Plebeii* in July, September, and November respectively. The festival of the *Sigillaria* also, celebrated towards the end of the Saturnalia in December, was marked by a fair in the Campus Martius and the exchange of gifts,[26] adding to the holiday atmosphere in Rome much in the same way that temporary Christmas markets do today. There were also purpose-built permanent markets in Rome, known as *macella*, selling high-quality meat and fish to wealthy customers; here the elite of the city competed with each other in auction sales to purchase rare and expensive fish, showing off their wealth as they did so. The retail trade was not only essential to the survival of the city of Rome and its inhabitants, but it must also have been one of the most vibrant and visible manifestations of its urban economy, catering for rich and poor alike.

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'Taking it Like a Man'
Gender, Identity and the Body in Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*

Dan King

This paper critically re-examines the current approach to female subjectivity in Achilles Tatius' novel *Leucippe and Clitophon* (*Leucippe*). Traditionally, approaches to this question have emphasised the misogynistic character of the text: scholars have stressed how the narrative's focalisation through Clitophon occludes female perspectives on the world; denies the possibility of empathising positively with female experience; and, ultimately, downplays female empowerment.[1] A number of recent studies of Christian and Jewish martyr texts (Shaw 1996, Moore & Anderson 1998, Chew 2003) have emphasised how female acts of resistance are central to the (re)negotiation of issues such as political power, cultural authority, and gender identity.[2] In what follows, I investigate how we are invited to engage with Leucippe's endurance of physical hardship by reading this issue through models of resistance developed in Christian and Jewish martyrologies. Approaching the *Leucippe* through this framework will, I contend, tell a more positive story about female empowerment and agency in the Achilles Tatius' novel.

Leucippe is no shrinking violet: she is attributed a degree of control and agency throughout the entire narrative. Recall the seduction scene of 2,6 where she is presented as consciously flirting with Clitophon. At the same time, she plays an influential role in controlling the tempo of the novel: recall her narration of the dream of Artemis to delay the consummation of her relationship with Clitophon (4,1,4).[3] These intimations of female agency are brought to a head during Leucippe's experience as a slave in books 5 and 6. Leucippe's empowerment in these scenes can be seen in a number of ways—it is a period in which she speaks with great eloquence and coercive power.[4] In this analysis, however, I am interested in two closely related questions: in what way does the body become a site of narrative?; and, how is it presented as a site of resistance to the physical abuse meted out by other figures such as Thersandros?

My interest in the body has important implications for our approach to the broader structure of the text. Much recent work on the body has emphasised how it operates as a place for the creation of alternative narratives: a site where the disempowered, where those who are denied a voice, are able to speak: martyrs and slaves speak through their body.[5] The image of a woman, whose story, whose perspective is (largely) excluded from the narrative, speaking through her physical resistance is particularly poignant. Part of what I want to suggest is that Achilles Tatius is actively inviting the reader to think about not only Leucippe's resistance to the physical actions of others, but her ability to resist or confront the focalising

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1 Morales (2004); Konstan (1994) 60-73, esp. 64; for an alternate version of the status of women in these texts, see Doody (1996) 62-81.

2 Shaw (1996) 269-312; Moore & Anderson (1998) 249-273; Chew (2003) 129-141, for a discussion of why women are the subject of violence in ancient novels and martyrologies; Perkins (1995) 104-123; cf. Chew (2003) 205-222; Burrus (2005) 49-88.

3 In her ability to control the tempo of the novel, Leucippe is reminiscent of figures like Penelope, whose cunning weaving helps control the pace of the *Odyssey*: cf. Winkler (1990) 129-161, esp. 155-156 on Penelope's weaving as a figure for Homer's cunning.

4 See Morales (2004) 202-203.

5 See Shaw's discussion of the body as a 'silent script': Shaw (1996) 275-276.

structure of the novel:[6] if the novel is told through Clitophon's eyes, privileging his perspective, his story, then her resistance invites the reader to engage with the possibility of creating another narrative; with how the disempowered, *aphonous*, speak; and, ultimately, with what this text is about.

Seeing Leucippe's Body and Hearing her Story

Visual engagement with the female (and particularly Leucippe's) body is one of the major themes of the *Leucippe*. It has, not surprisingly, been central to debates about female agency and empowerment in the novel.[7] Generally speaking, scholars have seen the novel's interest in viewing Leucippe as reinforcing her subservient position within the gender hierarchy of the text.[8] In this section, I explore the way in which Leucippe appears to actively participate in shaping the way viewers see her physical actions. In doing so we will be able to see how she mobilizes her body in order to construct her own identity as someone who endures.

Let us start by thinking about a particular suggestion of theatrical manipulation.[9] At one point in book 6 Leucippe instructs herself to continue acting out the role of the slave-girl Lakaina:

> *ἆρα ἀποκαλύψασα τοῦ δράματος τὴν ὑπόκρισιν διηγήσομαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν; μή με νομίσῃς ἀνδράποδον εἶναι, Θέρσανδρε. στρατηγοῦ θυγάτηρ εἰμὶ Βυζαντίων, πρώτου Τυρίων γυνή· οὔκ εἰμι Θετταλή· οὐ καλοῦμαι Λάκαινα. ὕβρις αὔτη ἐστὶ πειρατική· λελῄστευμαι καὶ τοὔνομα. ἀνήρ μοι Κλειτοφῶν, πατρὶς Βυζάντιον, Σώστρατος πατήρ, μήτηρ Πάνθεια. [...] φέρε πάλιν ἐνδύσωμαί μου τὸ δρᾶμα· φέρε περίθωμαι τὴν Λάκαιναν.* (6,16,4-6).
>
> Shall I disclose the roles in our play and explain the truth? 'Thersandros, cease to regard me as a slave. I am the daughter of a Byzantine general, and wife of one of the leading men of Tyre. I am not Thessalian, and my name is not Lakaina. This is an insult imposed by pirates who robbed me even of my name. My husband is Kleitophon; my country, Byzantium, Sostratos is my father, and Pantheia my mother.' [...] Come I shall return again to my play; come I shall put on again the mask of Lakaina.[10]

Leucippe's language here is underpinned with a range of implications about the manipulation of her identity. The stress on her parentage, her marriage, her place of origin constructs an identity based on traditional Greek, polis-based notions of self-hood. The suggestion that pirates stole her original name seems to play up Leucippe's disempowerment—she is the passive object of others' actions, her true self-hood is always liable to be stolen, or denied, by other (male) figures.[11] Yet the framing of the passage with references to drama, to her dramatic role, grate with this passive reading: her initial question bespeaks conscious and deliberate thought about the expedient revelation of her true identity; her final injunctions to put on a dramatic costume point again to a conscious decision to continue playing a (deceitful) role. Leucippe's language presents her servility as a subtle combination, both a passive experience of others' actions and a theatrical, strategically motivated presentation.[12]

6 On the fissures in the ego-narrative structure, see Morgan (2007) 105-120.

7 For examples of the debate, see: Doody (1996) 62-71; Morales (2004) 152-226; Konstan (1994) 60-73.

8 Doody (1996) 66 argues that female beauty and its effects on male viewers figures novelistic heroines as powerful women. For a strenuous, and insightful, critique of this view: Morales (2004) 160-163. Konstan (1994) 64 reminds us that the scopic regime of the text is deeply asymmetrical.

9 For the language of, and allusions to, the theatre in the novel, see Morales (2004) 60-77, esp. 61-62; and Bartsch (1989) 109-143.

10 All English quotations are taken from the translation of Winkler (Winkler 1989) unless otherwise stated. The Greek text is quoted from Vilborg (1955).

11 For a reading of this passage in terms of Leucippe's self-effacement, see Haynes (2002) 77-78.

12 There are, of course, a number of interpretative problems here which undermine the presentation of Leucippe as an

The implications of strategic revelation in Leucippe's soliloquy (under cut as they may be by the broader context of her situation—she is still a prisoner being watched by her captors) build on a range of similar moments throughout her experience of slavery. At one point, during her initial meeting with Melite, Leucippe engages in a powerful speech act in which she complains about her treatment at the hands of Sosthenes and angles for a better deal from her mistress. Interestingly, in the middle of this speech, she removes her clothing and reveals the evidence of Sosthenes' treatment: '... And at the same time, she removed her *chiton* and revealed the more pitiful things which had been inscribed on her back...'[13] (*καὶ ἅμα διανοίξασα τὸν χιτῶνα δείκνυσι τὰ νῶτα διαγεγραμμένα ἔτι οἰκτρότερον*, 5,17,6).

The presence of wounds on Leucippe's back could be approached in a number of ways. One reading might be to see her scars as an affirmation of her position in the social/economic order: her servility is literally inscribed into her body by her master.[14] Yet the passage allows us to approach the issue in a slightly different way. The participle *διανοίξασα* and the active form of the verb *deiknumi* both carry strong implications of conscious, deliberate revelation. This revelation, moreover, becomes a central part of a narrative about her resistance to the excesses of shameful treatment—she tells her audience (inside and outside the text) that she received these marks when she refused to submit to her master's sexual advances (5,17,4).

There are other moments where Leucippe strategically reveals her body: her letter to Clitophon moments later is a case in point: recall her eloquent statement that she had for him '...wielded the hoe, scraped the earth, and endured the lash...' (5,18,4).[15] The dynamics of bodily revelation in these scenes can, arguably, be read through the framework suggested by scholars such as Maud Gleason and Matthew Leigh. For these scholars the revelation of mutilation (of others' and one's own body) operates as a particularly privileged language.[16] Leucippe's actions here mobilize a particular form of cultural communication in which the strategic display of the body is key. Leucippe's wound may speak at one level of her status as a passive object of the power regime, but she is also the one who manipulates the revelation of her scars, and attempts to control their meaning.[17]

This manipulation of her body's visual aspect is also present in other episodes, such as her conflict with Thersandros in Book 6. Throughout her engagement with Thersandros Leucippe does not simply present her body as something that can (and must) be viewed, but also actively shapes the nature of that visual

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empowered actress. Leucippe, as has been noted, is secretly spied on by Thersandros and as a result her words betray her situation. Helen Morales is right to point out that in this particular scene the invasion of Leucippe's privacy serves to undermine the insinuations of agency: Morales (2004) 201-202. Nevertheless, what is interesting is that Leucippe can be conceived as someone who has some degree of agency. For the breakdown of the ego-narrative structure in this scene and its implications for how Leucippe is perceived, see Morgan (2007) 106-108.

13 My translation.

14 As David Potter puts it in reference to slaves and condemned criminals, 'the body of the condemned became a vehicle for the reaffirmation of the public order, and, indeed, for a reaffirmation of the power of the central government': Potter (1953) 65.

15 Helen Morales is correct to note that once again in these scenes Leucippe's body is constructed as a spectacle to be viewed by others: Morales (2004) 203. But the critical point, for my purposes at least, is that unlike other scenes where this happens in the novel, Leucippe does the revealing.

16 On the use of scars by Roman generals to confirm their martial valour, see Leigh (1995) 195-216; see also his informative discussion on the use of scars during rhetorical performances to verify character: Leigh (1995) 205-207; on the effectiveness of strategically revealing the mutilated bodies of others and oneself see: Gleason (2001) 50-85.

17 Leucippe's letter here appears to wreak emotional havoc: cf. '*τούτοις ἐντυχὼν πάντα ἐγινόμην ὁμοῦ· ἀνεφλεγόμην, ὠχρίων, ἐθαύμαζον, ἠπίστουν, ἔχαιρον, ἠχθόμην*' ('On reading this, my feelings exploded in all directions—I turned red; I went pale, I wondered at it; I doubted every word; I was rapt with joy and racked with distress.') at 5,19,1; Clitophon is emotionally distraught when he reads the letter since he is able to see the things which she has suffered ('*ἔκλαον ὥσπερ αὐτὰς τὰς βασάνους βλέπων αὐτῆς*'; 'I wept as if I were witnessing them myself', 5,19,6). Like a good rhetor she is able to control the emotions of her audience.

engagement. She begins by ordering Sosthenes to 'witness' ('*μαρτύρησον*', 6,20,3) how she acts in the face of injury. A few lines later her language becomes even more aggressive:

> *πείσθητι τῷ Σωσθένει, φησὶν ἡ Λευκίππη· συμβουλεύει γὰρ καλῶς· τὰς βασάνους παράστησον. φερέτω τροχόν· ἰδοὺ χεῖρες, τεινέτω. φερέτω καὶ μάστιγας· ἰδοὺ νῶτος, τυπτέτω. κομιζέτω πῦρ· ἰδοὺ σῶμα, καιέτω. φερέτω καὶ σίδηρον· ἰδοὺ δέρη, σφαζέτω. ἀγῶνα θεάσασθε καινόν· πρὸς πάσας τὰς βασάνους ἀγωνίζεται μία γυνὴ καὶ πάντα νικᾷ...* (6,21,2-3).
>
> 'Take his advice' said Leucippe. 'He is a good counsellor. Bring on the instruments of torture: the wheel—here, take my arms and stretch them; the whips—here is my back, lash away; the hot irons—here is my body for burning; bring the axe as well—here is my neck, slice through! Watch a new contest: a single woman competes with all the engines of torture and wins every round...

Leucippe's language here is eloquent on a number of levels. Her initial commands 'to look' play upon her status as a passive object of male violence and gaze. The connection created here between the act of looking at various body parts and their subjection to violence invites us to see Leucippe's body (and perhaps Leucippe) as nothing more than a series of points upon which violence can be enacted. Yet, Leucippe's final assertion seems to resist this andro-centric reading. Her suggestion that Thersandros '... will see a novel agon...' encodes the physical engagement not as inevitable physical destruction, but as an act of athletic competition: contrary to expectation what Thersandros and the reader see is a woman competing with her persecutors.

It is arguable that this recoding taps into some aspects of the theatrical dynamics of martyrdom. Scholars such as Potter have emphasized that martyrologies gain much of their meaning by denying their audience's expectations: rather than seeing Roman power confirmed in the destruction of Christian bodies, the audience views the failures of Roman power, and the transcendent victory of the martyr and their faith.[18] Leucippe's challenge to her masters is framed by Sosthenes' advice that she should be tortured until she learns not 'to despise her lord' (6,20). Sosthenes' words remind the audience of the central part physical punishment plays in the enforcement of power hierarchies in the ancient world.[19] By closing her statement with a dramatic confirmation of her capacity to compete and her inevitable victory Leucippe confounds the audience's expectations for the spectacular confirmation of the asymmetrical power structure in which she exists.

What is at stake in these scenes of visual manipulation? According to one approach the representation of female suffering is designed for the pleasure of the reader.[20] In some of the scenes mentioned above, there is certainly an erotic element associated with the act of viewing a woman's suffering. Nevertheless, it is also important to acknowledge the questions Achilles Tatius raises about the politics of representation and revelation: in a novel which is often concerned with the politics of speaking and viewing—who speaks, who views, and how—it is important that at the moment other methods of control are denied, Leucippe manipulates the privileged language of her body. He may allow readers the opportunity to view the suffering female body erotically, but he also asks readers to think about how and when the body is revealed, and how Leucippe exercises a degree of control at certain critical moments in the text.

It is clear that Leucippe's body is constructed as the site of resistance to the physical impositions of other (male) figures. There are a range of political implications to this theme of resistance. What interests me at this point, however, is that it is Leucippe who is presented as playing a leading role in this construction:

18 For audience expectations of confirmation of Roman power, see Potter (1993) 53-54, 65.

19 For the role of violence upon bodies as an affirmation of power, see Potter (1993) 54-5.

20 Cf. esp. Richlin (1991) 158-179. For scenes in which female suffering invites 'erotic' viewing see: *Leucippe*, 3,7-8; 6,18. For a discussion of this in relation to Achilles Tatius, see Morales (2004).

she is the one who mobilizes her body at strategic points, who structures the way audiences (inside and outside the text) interact with her body. Serious questions about how we read not only the scopic regime of the text, but also the novel as a whole are raised here: are we to see Leucippe as the disempowered figure, whose story is denied by the ego-narrative structure of the novel? Or, are we invited to see her, at particular points, as actively participating in the construction of her own story, her own identity?

Resistance and the Gender Hierarchy

In the final example of the last section we suggested Leucippe's restructuring of the visual reception of her resistance was imbued by a range of political implications. As has often been pointed out, Leucippe's impassioned self-defense at 6,21 is deeply reminiscent of contemporary martyrologies.[21] In this section I use contemporary martyr texts to help flesh out some of the gender dynamics at play in Leucippe's resistance to the threat of rape and torture in this episode.

Martyrologies continually explore questions of the gender and identity of both the martyr and their persecutor. In the account of the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas, Perpetua is said to perceive herself becoming male during her torture.[22] At other times, the failure of torturers to physically or psychologically defeat the martyr undermines their connection with the values of civilized manhood. In *Maccabees 4*, for instance, Antiochus' inability to defeat his captives undermines his possession of the ethical quality *sophrosune*.[23] In other examples, conflict between torturer and tortured is presented as a sexual encounter in which the man inability's to defeat his victims is presented as sexual impotence.[24] The concern martyrologies present for overturning existing political hierarchies is gendered; they provide a model for thinking about resistance within a gendered framework.

Leucippe's resistance to Thersandros raises questions about Thersandros' possession of various civilized masculine qualities. At Leucippe's resistance to Thersandros' attempts to kiss her at 6.18 is one example: here, Leucippe's resistance results in behaviour which she figures as incongruous with Thersandros' status as a civilized and free nobleman—'you are not behaving like a free-man, and much less a noble one; you have merely copied Sosthenes—a slave to match his master' (*'οὔτε ὡς ἐλεύθερος ποιεῖς οὔτε ὡς εὐγενής. καὶ σὺ ἐμιμήσω Σωσθένην· ἄξιος ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ δεσπότου'*, 6,18,6). The point is reinforced moments later: a 'virgin after Thersandros, a more wanton sinner than the cut-throats' (*'καὶ μετὰ Θέρσανδρον παρθένος, τὸν καὶ λῃστῶν ἀσελγέστερον...'*, 6,22,3).[25] Negative comparison with the pirates (so often the antithesis of civilization) effectively denies Thersandros' connection with the ethical values that define civilized manliness: there is little room for the exercise of *sophrosune or enkrateia* in Leucippe's vision of Thersandros. Read against the concern for gender reversal in roughly contemporary martyrologies such denials take on a particular poignancy.[26]

That Thersandros is presented negatively is perhaps not surprising. Importantly, this element of the episode is accompanied by an increasingly positive presentation of Leucippe (which has often been downplayed by scholars). Discussions of this scene have generally focused on the issue of virginity.[27] I

21 Goldhill (1995) 117; Shaw (1996) 269-270; Morales (2004) 203-206; for more general connections between the novels and martyrologies, see Pervo (1994) 239-254.

22 At one point before her execution, Perpetua has a vision in which her 'clothes were stripped off and suddenly [she] was a man'; moments later her imaginary assistants 'began to rub [her] down with oil, as they are wont to do before a contest...' Musurillo (1972) 119.

23 Moore & Anderson (1998) 254-255; Shaw (1996) 273, 273 n.7.

24 Shaw (1996) 273-274 with some poignant examples drawn from Jerome's *Epistles*.

25 Note also Leucippe's recoding of Thersandros' actions as those of a tyrant: 'Since you mean to be master, be mastered I must, but I will not be taken by force' (*κἂν τυραννεῖν ἐθέλῃς, κἀγὼ τυραννεῖσθαι, πλὴν οὐ βιάσῃ* 6,21,3). Arguably, Thersandros has ceased to be the noble, free-man but rather the tyrant governed by his passions.

26 Cf. Haynes (2002) 84-85.

27 Morales (2004) 203-220; see also Goldhill's discussion of virginity throughout the whole novel, Goldhill (1995) 116-119.

want to shift direction and explore the implications of thinking about this scene through the references to the agon which we touched on above. The agon is a concept with both a heavy Stoic and Christian baggage: this athletic language and imagery saturates the work of Paul, Philo,[28] and anonymous works such as the heavily Stoic, second century martyrology, *Maccabees 4*.[29] The use of athletic imagery in these contexts has implications for questions of gender identity. In *Maccabees 4*, for instance, the athletic metaphor is used to emphasize an elderly woman's physical manifestation of *andreia*: Eleazar's wife is said to be 'victor in the contest of the heart' (*...τοῦ διὰ σπλάγχνων ἀγῶνος ἀθλοφόρε...*', 4,15,29) and 'more noble than men in endurance, and more heroic than heroes in perseverance' ('*...ὦ ἀρρένων πρὸς καρτερίαν γενναιοτέρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ὑπομονὴν ἀνδρειοτέρα*', 4,15,30).[30]

The continual highlighting of Eleazar's wife's manifestation of explicitly masculine qualities such as *andreia* flags a more pronounced engagement with the idea of gender reversal than in the *Leucippe*. Nevertheless, there are a series of implications which are worth examining. Leucippe's references to the agon—'you will see a novel *agon*' ('*ἀγῶνα θεάσασθε καινόν...*', 6,21,3); '...one woman competing against all your tortures and defeating all' ('*...πρὸς πάσας τὰς βασάνους ἀγωνίζεται μία γυνὴ καὶ πάντα νικᾷ...*', 6,21,2-3)—are accompanied by other references to (predominantly) male spheres of action: at one point she likens her engagement with Thersandros and Sosthenes to war: 'let Sosthenes, your counsellor, join the campaign too' ('*συστρατευέσθω δέ σοι καὶ ὁ σύμβουλος Σωσθένης*', 6,22,4).[31] Such allusions explain the erotic engagement (or more accurately the resistance to rape) as a particularly privileged field of activity in which the achievement of traditional masculine virtues is at stake. Arguably, by arrogating to herself the status of an athletic champion, she lays claim to the virtues and status associated with these spheres of activity.

There is more than simply the achievement of martial or athletic virtue at stake in this agon. A central theme of ancient martyrology (and particularly female martyrologies) is the way in which virtuous resistance constructs individuals as models for imitation. Eleazar's wife, for instance, is said to become a paradigm of virtue for others to follow;[32] the cultural function of the martyr accounts as both didactic and encomiastic works elevates martyrs (and often female martyrs) to the status of cultural icons.[33] This theme of cultural centrality dominates the final stages of Leucippe's resistance to Thersandros. She reminds us that his shameless behavior will result in even greater glory for her ('*λανθάνεις δὲ ἐγκώμιόν μοι διδοὺς πλεῖον διὰ ταύτης σου τῆς ἀναισχυντίας· καί τις ἐρεῖ, κἂν νῦν μαινόμενος φονεύσῃς·*', 6,22,2). Leucippe's reference to her encomium is tied up with assertions about her story and its relationship to the novel. It implies in the first instance that her actions will, in future, constitute their own story (note the use of the future tense)—her praises will one day be sung! But her language also challenges our reading of the novel itself: is it, the *Leucippe*, an encomium of Leucippe? To what extent are readers challenged to prioritize her story, the glorification of her deeds, over the other potential readings of the text?[34]

28 For the centrality of the athletic metaphor to Stoic discourse throughout the first and second centuries AD, see Pfitzner (1967) 29, 38-48; König (2005) 133 n.93.

29 Debate about the precise date of *Maccabees 4* continues—most recent accounts place it around 100 AD: Shaw (1996) 276 n.18. *Maccabees 4* is often thought to be strongly versed in Greek philosophy, for discussions see Reneham (1972) 223-238.

30 Translations taken from Hadas (1953). Maccabees, 4.16.14. Cf. *Maccabees 4*, 4,17,11; 4,17,13; 4,16,14; on the issue of manly values such as *enkrateia* and *andreia* and their association with athletic metaphors in *Maccabees 4*, see Moore & Anderson (1998) 258-260; Shaw (1996) 278.

31 Cf. the use of the instruction '*ὁπλίζου τοίνυν*' at 6,22,3. The compatibility between the language of the agon and martial metaphors in Stoicism and Judaic / Christian literature, see O' Hagan (1974) 96-97; see also König (2005) 133. The use of the word *agon* (and other athletic allusions) throughout the novel seem to figure the erotic encounter (seduction/rape) as an athletic contest: Clitophon is referred to as 'an athlete of Eros' (2,4,4); cf. references to the palaistra at 6,19,4 and 5,3,5.

32 For a discussion of the woman as a 'Paradigm of Consummate Virtue' in *Maccabees 4*, see O' Hagan (1974) 101-103.

33 For a discussion of the problems of martyrdom as a practical model of behaviour for Christian communities, see Potter (1993) 54-56.

34 Indeed, Leucippe's story appears to have been valued within Christian circles as a model for chaste resistance to the

Conclusions

There are two points I think we can draw from this discussion. The centrality of the body to the Greek novel has long been understood. The treatment of Leucippe and her corpus reveals an engagement with a particular cultural and literary milieu in which the body is constructed both as a site of physical resistance and narrative construction. The engagement with this approach to the body raises questions about how readers engage with the novel as a whole. Just because the *Leucippe* is focalized through the eyes of Clitophon, we do not have to read it that way: alternative narratives, alternative focalizations are possible; focalizations which, moreover, do much to question the andro-centric reading of the text.

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impositions of others: cf. *AP* 9.203: *'πῶς τετυμμένη, κεκαρμένη τε καὶ καταχρειωμένη, τὸ δὴ μέγιστον, τρὶς θανοῦς ἐκαρτέρει.'* 'How although she was beaten, shaved, and badly violated, and above all, died three times, she endured.'

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Inside Gaddafi's Libya: Photographing Lepcis Magna in the 1970s and 1980s

Charlotte Young

At the Amphitheatre, Lepcis Magna 1970s/1980s (source: Department of Antiquities)

Lepcis Magna... it's infectious... and the good news is that there is no cure for that.
Mohammed Arreshy (2011)

My love affair with the archaeological photographs of Lepcis Magna began in 2009. Whilst conducting research for my Masters in Classics at the British School at Rome, Dr. Elena Isayev brought to my attention the vast photographic archive of Lepcis Magna by John Bryan Ward-Perkins, a former Director of the School and an eminently important scholar of Classical architecture and archaeology. Little did I know at this stage in my education that this archive would provide the foundation for my PhD research into visual literacy and the photographic record of ancient sites in the Mediterranean in the mid-twentieth century. The power of photography, as a visual record, and as a process of discovery and exploration, has captured the interest of an audience that extends far beyond the scholarly circle. Indeed the question of whether photography is an art or science is still a debate at large today. Yet the study of the visual in archaeology has really only gathered momentum in the late twentieth century, and the visual impact of photography within the discipline of archaeology has remained a rather obsolete and specialised research area. The

purpose of this article however is not to draw attention to my primary PhD research, nor is it an attempt to provide a short history or literature review of archaeological photography in the twentieth century. It is rather to tell you a story about how archaeological site photographs are about the *people* as much as they are about the place, and about the *present* as much as they are about the past.

In 2011, I attended a talk organised by the Decorative and Fine Arts Society in my hometown of Stratford-upon-Avon. The subject of the lecture was on "Libya uncovered: the magnificence of Lepcis Magna, Sabratha and Cyrene," presented by Chris Bradley, a Middle East tour leader, photographer and TV filmmaker. After the lecture, I initiated discussions with Chris Bradley regarding my PhD research on the photographic archives of Lepcis Magna, and was kindly offered to be put in contact with some local tour guides of the ancient site to help pursue further research within the Department of Antiquities. One of these tour guides was Mohammed Arreshy, a young passionate student who has a wealth of knowledge about the ancient and contemporary history of Lepcis Magna. Through a series of emails and long discussions, Mohammed became my aide, and my friend, in exploring the photographic history of the discovery and excavation of Lepcis Magna. Most importantly, Mohammed had access to the fundamentals of my research project: the physical site and the archives at the Department of Antiquities in Tripoli.

The Libyan Revolution in 2011 had a great impact on both the people and places of historical interest in Libya. Daily reports of fighting cast a dark shadow on the present crisis that was taking place, and the idea of a research trip to Tripolitania in 2011 was unfortunately no longer a possibility. My quest for further information about the Libyan photographic archives of Lepcis Magna was now solely dependent on Mohammed and several scholars of Libyan archaeology in England, notably Dr. Robert Morkot and Dr. Philip Kenrick. As the primary sources of my PhD investigation started to change course, my passion and interest in Libya, and the "lost city" of Lepcis Magna grew enormously. What particularly captivated my interest was the constantly changing contemporary history of the ruins of Lepcis Magna. Since the inception of its discovery, Lepcis Magna has faced many challenges surrounding national and political identity. In the nineteenth century, the British consul Hanmer Warrington, having received permission from the Pasha of Tripoli, proceeded with excavations at the site. British Commander W. H. Smythe was granted permission to take anything back to England as a token gift for the Prince Regent. The carefully designed folly of ancient ruins at Virginia Water was constructed with fragments taken from Lepcis Magna at this time. In the early twentieth century, the Italians invaded and occupied the region of Tripolitania, using the Roman ruins at sites such as Lepcis Magna as symbols of ancient national rights to the control of the land. Italian teams of excavators proceeded with archaeological investigations until the end of the Second World War. In 1948, Ward-Perkins along with several other scholars from the British School at Rome conducted various research projects in North Africa, culminating in the publication of the incredible and meticulously detailed *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (1951) with Miss Joyce Reynolds, Reader in Roman Historical Epigraphy. It was also during this time that Ward-Perkins personally took thousands of archaeological photographs of sites and artefacts in Libya, with over two thousand photographs capturing the contemporaneous remains of Lepcis Magna.

In the 1960s, British, American, French and Italian teams continued to organise research projects at Lepcis Magna, spending several seasons excavating and restoring various architectural remains. In 1969, Muammar Gaddafi became the leader of the country until his reported death in 2011. Many scholars have reported that under Gaddafi's regime, funding for archaeological projects became quite scarce. In addition, Dr. Kenrick states in the preface of his guide book *Tripolitania* (2009), "It is [therefore] not surprising to find some ambivalence in Libya today about the monuments, as to whether they represent signs of odious foreign oppression or part of a national heritage to be valued. Likewise, the government itself has sought for a sense of national identity beyond its own borders- at first in the Arab/Islamic world and more recently in the African continent at large." As a result of poor funding and years of weather erosion, some of the ancient sites have unfortunately deteriorated, and quite considerably in some places

such as Villa Silin, a large Roman coastal residence on the outskirts of Lepcis Magna. Concerns of preservation of the ancient sites in Libya was further supported by Alastair Sooke, arts journalist and broadcaster, in a recent discussion I had with him at the British Museum. Alastair, who presented the BBC TV series *The Treasures of Ancient Rome* in 2012, said that his visit to the region whilst filming this series after the revolution not only heightened his sense of wonder of the ancient ruins, but also indicated the rapid need for their preservation for future study, especially the mosaics at Villa Silin.

The preservation of ancient monuments is always at the forefront of archaeology. Due to the historical significance of the archaeological site of Lepcis Magna, there are many established institutions which continue to preserve, restore and research its richly diverse cultural history, including the Department of Antiquities at Tripoli, UNESCO, the British School at Rome, and the Society for Libyan Studies. Lepcis Magna, the alleged birthplace of the Roman Emperor Septimius Severus, has a fascinating ancient and modern historical past. It is a site that has been used as the seat of power both in ancient times and modern times anew. The archaeological documentation of the site is extensive, archived regionally at the Department of Antiquities and abroad at various educational institutions. The complex and diverse history of Lepcis Magna is difficult to visualise, but the power of photography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can serve to aid the process of understanding the discovery, restoration and impact of this archaeological site on various different peoples. Having studied the photographic archive of Ward-Perkins at Lepcis Magna in 1948-1953, I was eager to compare these historical views with the archaeological photographs of the site taken in the latter part of the twentieth century.

Before the revolution of 2011, at the Department of Antiquities, Mohammed took the opportunity to preserve various photographic records of Libyan archaeological work at Lepcis Magna during the 1970s and 1980s. Mohammed kindly shared this research with me in the hope that they will aid my PhD project on archaeological photography. The photographs show the devastating floods of 1987 which caused much destruction to the site of Lepcis Magna, restoration work taking place at the amphitheatre and the mosaics at Villa Silin in 1979. Taking a look at these photographs, I was struck immediately by their contrasting perspectives of Lepcis Magna with those found in the Ward-Perkins archive. Long gone were the visual conventions of a clean site, scale, good lighting and absence of people which formulated the idealised archaeological photographs in British archaeology in Ward-Perkins' time. Instead, the photographs from the Department of Antiquities were, as Mortimer Wheeler once said about defining archaeology, "seasoned with humanity." Dominant themes of co-operation, action, unity and pride emerged instantly from the visual narratives within these photographs. The key visual narrative is action: the act to preserve and maintain the ruins at Lepcis Magna, and the co-operation of the people involved in conducting this work. The views of the site also seem to provide a narrative on unity because the majority of the photographs capture extensive sections of the site. There are very few images of singled-out artefacts or monuments that one may find in an archaeological archive to highlight particular features of detail, which is certainly true of Ward-Perkins photographs of Lepcis Magna. Finally, there is the theme of pride of the people. In the images, the people are alongside the ruins, communicating and engaging with their national heritage. They do not appear in singular form on the periphery of the site for scale as one often observes in older archaeological site photography. Instead, they are the subject of the image and the key players in the protection and continuation of Libyan archaeology, despite the conflicting and varied political context within Libya at that moment in time.

What these photographs show is that archaeology is an active and unifying process, and photography is instrumental in documenting the socio-historical processes involved in archaeology which are too often obscured from view. The theme of unity is not only present in these photographs, but continues to be advocated in the present spirit of the Libyan people today. I asked Mohammed recently about what the future of Lepcis Magna and Libyan archaeology holds for the Libyan people since the revolution. This was

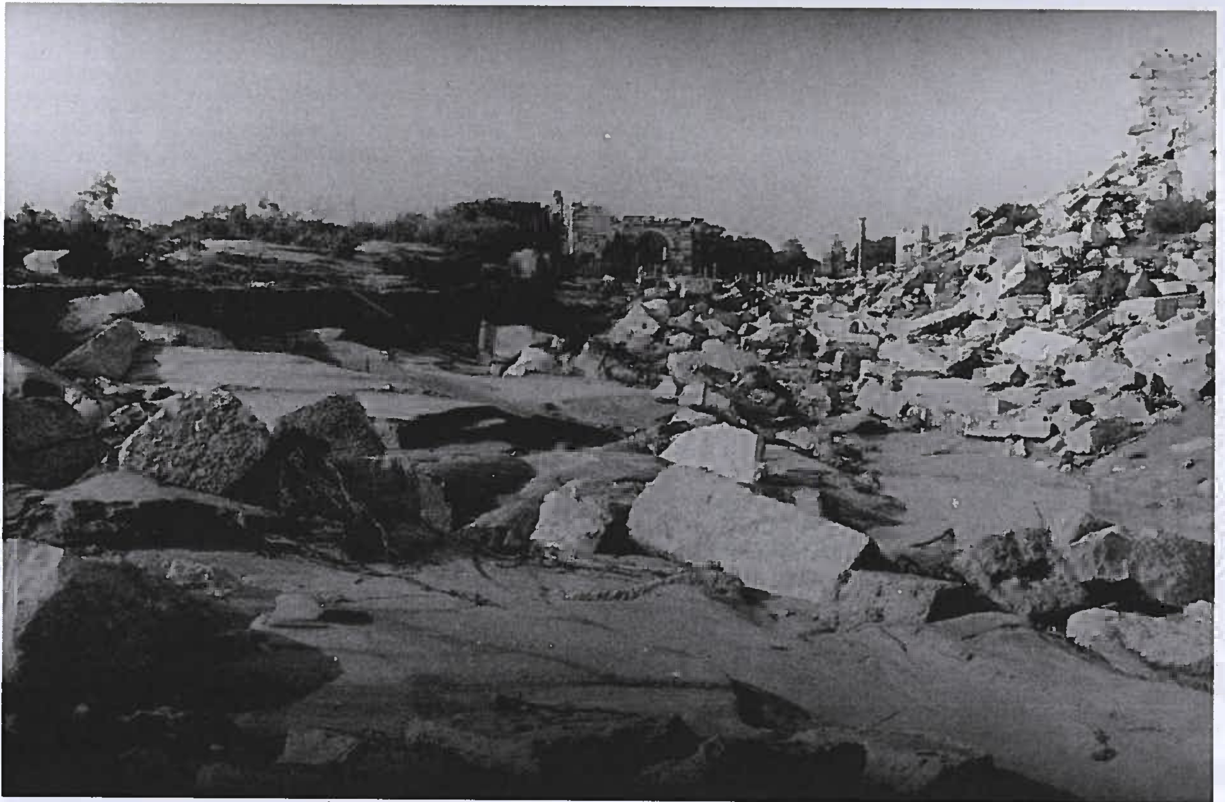
his reply: "After the Revolution of the 17th February, the Libyans felt closer to their heritage and they started to take care of the cities in their own way, for example some provided protection from stealing and smuggling the antiquities. Now in Lepcis Magna there is an annual festival for the first time!" These archaeological photographs of Lepcis Magna from the Department are significant in leaving a lasting impression of the real spirit of Libyan archaeology- one that is based on the people and the place, in the present and in the past.

A note of thanks

دون سلسلة من الاتصالات، فإنه لم يكن ممكنا أن تتاح لها الفرصة لدراسة هذه الصور لا يصدق من دائرة الآثار لبحوث الدكتوراه. وأشعر بامتنان عميق لصديقي محمد ودائرة الآثار في طرابلس من أجل الوصول إلى محفوظات التصوير الفوتوغرافي الأثرية.

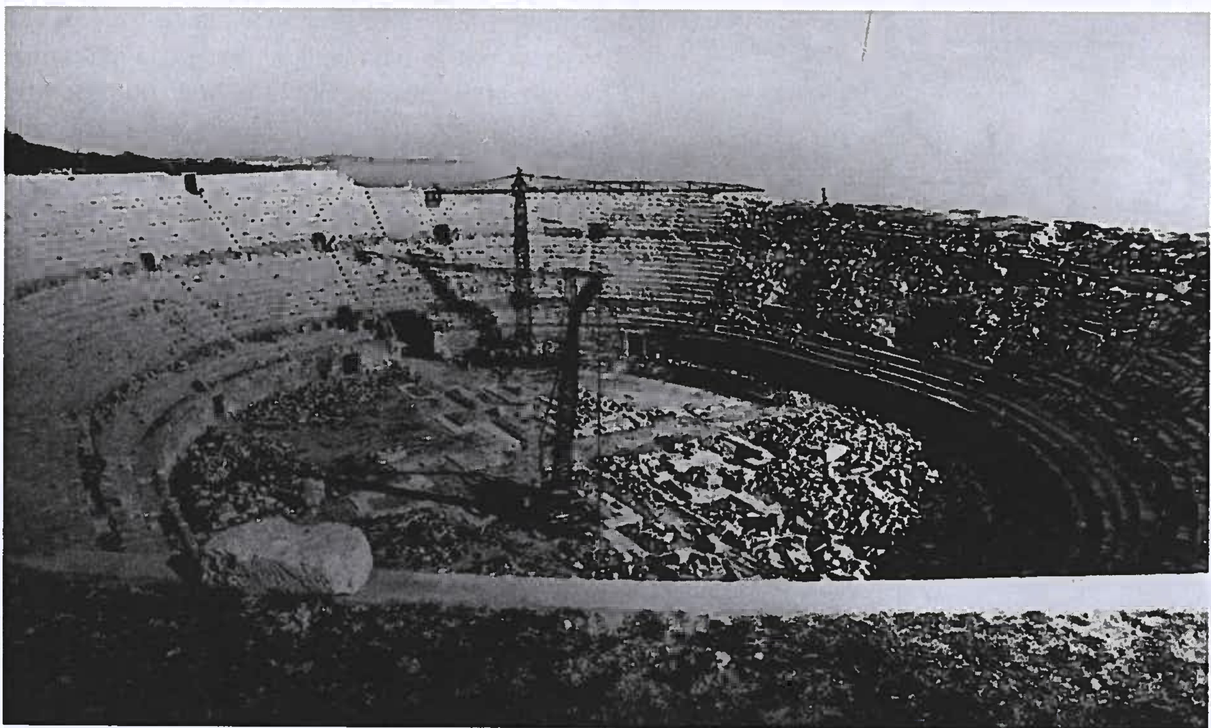
Without a string of connections, it would not have been possible to have had the opportunity to examine these incredible photographs of Lepcis Magna from the Department of Antiquities for my PhD research. I am deeply grateful and would like to dedicate this article to my friend Mohammed Arreshy, and the Department of Antiquities at Tripoli for access to the archaeological photography archives. I would like to thank Dr. Philip Kenrick, Dr. Robert Morkot and the Society for Libyan Studies for sharing their knowledge and expertise on Libyan archaeology. I would also like to thank Chris Bradley and Alastair Sooke for their insightful comments on their visits to Lepcis Magna. Finally, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Elena Isayev for providing me with the inspiration and confidence to pursue a PhD in this research area.

Floods of 1987 at Lepcis Magna (source: Department of Antiquities)



Restoration Work After the Floods of 1987 (source: Department of Antiquities)

Restoration of the Amphitheatre at Lepcis Magna 1970s/1980s
(source: Department of Antiquities)



Preservation of the Roman Mosaics at Villa Silin 1979 (source: Department of Antiquities)

Dr. Lawrence Shenfield Prize, 2013

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 Shenfield's memory, for the fifth year running we are awarding £50 for the best undergraduate submission. We are pleased to award this year's ***Dr. Lawrence Shenfield Prize*** *to* ***Tom McConnell, a first year BA Classics student.*** *Also highly recommended were submissions by Jessica Mackenzie and Ed Sykes; these runner-up submissions can be found on our website: <projects.exeter.ac.uk/pegasus>.*

Oral Composition and its Effect on the Intertextuality of the Homeric Poems[1]

Tom McConnell

Knowledge of a prequel is not a pre-requisite for knowledge of a sequel. For example, there is no knowledge required of *The Hobbit* when reading *The Lord of the Rings*, despite Tolkien's use of some of the same characters in the same setting. Regarding the ancient Greek epics, this essay will argue that the *Iliad, Odyssey* and 'Epic Cycle' were known to a general audience throughout the stages of their composition, being part of a rich oral tradition; secondly, supporting this notion of a popular awareness of all the stories, by means of an inter-textual study, both that the stories of the *Odyssey* were known to the *Iliad*, and that the stories of the *Iliad* were known to the *Odyssey*. In these ways, it will be argued that the *Odyssey* was composed continuously for an audience which knew the stories within the *Iliad*, but not *The Iliad* itself as we know it.

The theory of oral composition, with regard to the Homeric poems, has been described as becoming 'generally accepted' in the wake of the work of Milman Parry.[2] Parry's work on formulae, tradition and composition, and the comparison with modern oral composition in Yugoslavia, provides a convincing account of the composition of tales in ancient Greece.[3] Parry himself said the following:

> 'The direct proof that the style of the Iliad and the Odyssey is traditional is, of course, the schematization of the diction itself, and the number of artifices of verse-making which makes up this schematization. It is not possible, for example, that one man by himself could work out more than the smallest part of the series of formulas of the type '*Πηληιαδεω Ἀχιληος*'. We may make ourselves believe that the one poet who composed both the Iliad and the Odyssey first used '*οὐλομενην ἤ*', which is found three times in the first poem and as often in the other, yet we canot go on endlessly adding '*νηπιοι οἵ*' (5 times), '*δυσμορος ὅς*' (6 times), '*σχετλιος ὅς*' (4 times), '*νηλεες ὅς*' (Π 204), and so on. One cannot grant the same poet '*ἱεμενος περ*' (10 times), '*ἀχνυμενος περ*' (13 times), '*κηδομενη περ*' (11 times), '*οὐταμενοι περ*' (4 times) and yet more. Virgil, striving to do as Homer, was able to repeat in the Aeneid 92 verses. How many of the 1804 repeated verses in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* can we then give to one poet, for whom we shall have to find I know not what reasons to repeat himself, since he could scarcely have had those which led Virgil to do so? Finally, how could one man even have made a beginning of the technique of the diction as a whole in which the various types of formulas accord with one another so well? Indeed, the more one studies the formulas in Homer and the artifices of their use, the more one sees what efforts have gone into their making. One may well say that the single series of formulas '*παθεν ἀλγεα, ἀλγεα | πασχει*' and so on, is by itself alone far beyond the power of any one man. For the formulas are not only too ingenious to be the work of

1 The original essay question was '"*The* Odyssey *was composed for an audience which knew the* Iliad." *Discuss.*'
2 Foley (2007) 2.
3 *Ibid*. 3-4

the one poet of the Iliad and the Odyssey; they are also too good. The epithets, the metaphorical expressions, the phrases for the binding of clauses, the formulas for running the sentence over from one verse into another, the grouping of words and phrases within the clause and within the verse, all this is many times beyond whatever supreme creative genius for words one could imagine for the poet Homer.'[4]

Parry's findings showed it to be extremely unlikely that the poems were composed by one single person, and that the poems were composed orally, as part of a tradition.

Before Parry in the 20th century, Alois Schmaus conducted similar experiments in similar regions.[5] He was told repeatedly that there was a *guslar* (bard) who, outstripping all others, composed all the best songs. His name was reportedly Cor Huso Husovic. However, he was nowhere to be found; he was always said to be in the next village or so. It became clear from accounts that he was surrounded by contradictory and ridiculous stories, and that he was more legend than fact. No *guslar* interviewed had ever met him. This suggests that in this setting the best stories are attributed to a legendary storyteller; Cor Huso in Yugoslavia, Homer in Greece.

Within this sort of context 'heroic stories were a valuable cultural resource; they provided entertainment, historical continuity and a method of ethical thought. Epic performance was an especially important vehicle for transmitting these tales'.[6] The stories were part of a much wider tradition in the Indo-European culture, and this can be seen in other epics such as *Beowulf* and the *Epic of Gilgamesh*.[7] In Greece there was a family of stories and recognisable characters who were their subjects.[8] Furthermore, references to the Epic Cycle are common, the Argo is 'famous to all', and Oedipus is mentioned, as is the Thebaid.[9] Furthermore, the epithets ascribed to the heroes hint to a wider tradition where they earned them, e.g. Odysseus, the 'sacker of cities', and 'swift footed' Achilles.[10] In this way, the Neo-Analyst methodology of looking at the poems is becoming more accepted over the Unitarian and Analyst attempts, as it increasingly is shown to be coherent with the findings of Parry.[11] This shows that both poems, along with many other stories, existed together within the oral tradition, and the audiences of the rhapsodes knew both of them during their composition.

The next step from this background of oral theory is to investigate how the composition of the *Odyssey* relates to its writing down. If one accepts this idea, the *rhapsodoi* (rhapsodists) of ancient Greece were constantly 'making and remaking' the epics.[12] This is even reflected in the poems themselves; Achilles takes the role of the bard, in his tent 'singing of men's fame'.[13] One theory that emerged from Parry's work is that of Dictation Theory, whereby the Slavic *guslari*, realising that they were being recorded, began to weave together the known shorter songs and create larger more epic poems.[14] Parry, having seen this phenomenon occur right in front of him over a long period of time, concluded that the phenomenon was so powerful that the entire poems were dictated, as the bards were more and more inspired to string together their stories:

'The more I understand the Southslavic poetry and the nature of the unity of the oral poem, the clearer it seems to me that the Iliad and the Odyssey are very exactly, as we have them, each one

4 Parry (1987) 314.
5 Foley (2007) 5-6.
6 Scodel (2004) 45.
7 Foley (2007) 12.
8 Dowden (2004) 118.
9 Fowler (2004) 196-7; *Od.* 12.69; *Il.* 23.679, *Il.*11.271; *Il.* 6.222, 14.113-32.
10 *Il.* 2.278, 10.36; *Il. passim*; Scott (1921) 202.
11 *Ibid.*, 133.
12 Foley (2007) 10.
13 *Il.* 9.189.
14 Fowler (2004) 233.

of them the rounded work of a single singer... I even figure to myself, just now, the moment when the author of the Odyssey sat and dictated his song, while another, with writing materials, wrote it down verse by verse, even in the way that our singers sit in the immobility of their thought, watching the motion of Nikola's [Parry's scribe] hand across the empty page, when it will tell them it is the instant for them to speak the next verse'.[15]

In a similar way to the introduction of Parry's scribe, writing was introduced to ancient Greece in the 8th Century BC, and those capable began to record the stories of the bards. This would mean that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were written down concurrently, at the dawn of writing in Ancient Greece, and so the *Odyssey* cannot be thought to have been written down in response to or after the *Iliad.*[16]

However, Parry's conclusion that each of the poems was dictated by a single rhapsode may be challenged in the wake of more recent scholarship. The new technology of writing stimulated larger tales to be strung together, which were then recorded, creating one written story even larger than a rhapsodist could ever tell, indeed, it is impossible for one man to recite the *Iliad* in one sitting. This is hinted at in the Greek word *ῥαψῳδός*, a 'stitcher-together [of songs]', suggesting that it was part of their role to bring together smaller tales into larger more epic stories, which they did even before the invention of writing.[17]

There were surely many bards with their own versions of the stories, which they believed to have originated from a certain Homer (as the *guslari* thought their songs came from Cor Huso). Of these bards at least some must also have dictated their versions, resulting in variations, both large and small. It is known that in the 6th century the poems were quite close to being standardized at Athens, presumably working with the many transcripts of the various stories that they had.[18] This means that there was a period of two hundred years with a strong oral tradition and growing literacy.[19] There have been speculations as to the exact history of the poems during this time, but it is fundamentally unknown to us.[20]

One can reasonably suggest however that during this time the stories went through many changes; such as additions like Phoenix into book 9 of the *Iliad*, when it is heavily suggested from 9.182-98 that another version didn't include him.[21] This was suspected in antiquity itself. Firstly, we have marks, *obeloi,* designating lines which Alexandrian scholars suspected as spurious. Furthermore Aelian, a 2nd century AD commentator, supports this: 'the ancients originally recited Homer's poems separately. For instance they spoke of The Battle by the Ships... The Catalogue of Ships, The Patrocleia... The raft... The Cyclops story [and many others]... Later [they were] put together and produced [as] the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*'.[22] Despite being a minor source, Aelian's insight, being much closer to the Classical world than we are, is valuable, as it shows that this oral theory was suspected, although not in so many words, even in the Classical world itself. All this is evidence for a wide set of stories, and that a standardising agent chose to combine certain episodes in ways which worked best, creating <u>the</u> *Iliad* and <u>the</u> *Odyssey*, as we have them now.

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15 Parry (1987) 451.

16 There is much statistical evidence concerning differences of vocabulary and grammar between the two which some e.g. Page (1955) 155-7 and Janko (1982) 189 (see his whole work for a detailed statistical survey) use to argue a difference in time between the poems. A reconciliation of the two arguments is yet to be made, and here is not the place to speculate, but it doesn't matter: Either the poems were written down at the same time with the introduction of writing, and so the audiences were aware of them both, or the *Iliad* was written down earlier for whatever reason, which, given references in the *Iliad* to the *Odyssey* detailed below, also means that the *Odyssey* was known to the audience when the *Iliad* was written down.

17 Kirk (1962) 302.

18 Scott (1921) 52.

19 Kirk (1976) 125.

20 Fowler (2004) 230.

21 *Ibid.* 229.

22 Ael. *VH.* 13.14.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'composed' as 'made by putting together parts or elements to form [something]'.[23] As we have seen, the *Odyssey* has gone through much change, with different aspects of certain tales being added at certain places, and so it could be said to have been composed continuously, perhaps even after it was first written down, as different rhapsodes' variations were included. The *Odyssey* is full of references to alternative stories originally 'foreign to each other', and things which do not make sense if it were written down in one sitting.[24] The 'Cretan Tales', for example, in which the disguised Odysseus gives a fake back-story, are versions of the story which people enjoyed, and thus were included.[25] It has been argued that the *Odyssey* as we have it now is an amalgamation of a *Telemachy* (books 1-4), 'Deep-Sea Yarns', Odysseus' maritime adventures, and the Saga of Odysseus, the basic plot of his story of return to Penelope, beset by suitors.[26] What this gives us is an *Odyssey* which has undergone much change, being part of an oral tradition, making the stories within known to the audience even before the poems were written down, as they were sung about by rhapsodists. By the 6th century certain stories, such as the *Telemachy*, were put together into something which could be called the *Odyssey*. Therefore, given the concurrent composition of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* from their oral beginnings through to their recording, the audience knew the stories of the *Odyssey* in just the same way as they knew the stories of the *Iliad*.

If this argument concerning oral composition is not enough, there is also evidence from both poems that they, and therefore their audiences, were aware of the other. In the *Iliad*, Odysseus is called the 'father of Telemachus', and is given epithets of 'resourceful', and 'long-suffering'.[27] Furthermore, Athene saves him from death; helping him as she does in the *Odyssey.*[28] Odysseus has no need to mention his son, his suffering is equal to others, and is helped by Athene; it is quite possible that all these references give away knowledge of the *nostos* (return) of Odysseus.[29] It is conceivable that the Iliadic Athene inspired her role in the *Odyssey*, but it seems more likely that she is a constant feature of Odysseus' life, prominent in both poems and the whole tradition.

There is also evidence in the *Odyssey* that it is aware of, and thus its audience knew of, the *Iliad*. There are many unanswered stories in the *Iliad* which the *Odyssey* picks up.[30] In the *Odyssey* the Trojan War is the subject of songs of Phemius, Demodocus, and the Sirens.[31] The *Odyssey* also often mentions post-Iliadic events, including the death of Achilles, the fight over his corpse, his funeral and funeral games, the reconnaissance mission into Troy by Odysseus, the wooden horse, and the *nostoi* of many heroes on top of this.[32] Furthermore, book 11, in which Odysseus goes to the Underworld and converses with the ghosts of Achilles, Agamemnon and Ajax, is made much more significant if made in response to the *Iliad*.[33]

As convincingly argued by Page, book 11 is actually a later addition to the story; it is nonsensical that Odysseus goes to Teiresias to be told his future, given that Teiresias tells Odysseus nothing like that which Circe says he will, only warning them not to eat the sheep of Helios.[34] Upon Odysseus' return, he is told as much, in more detail, and more by Circe. Furthermore, Teiresias tells Odysseus about the suitors, but he

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23 *OED*, s.v. 'composed'.
24 Beye (1968) 183.
25 *Od.* 13.256-86, 14.199-359, 19.164-307;Beye (1968) 184.
26 Woodhouse (1930) 219-237.
27 *Il.* 2.260, 4.354; *Il.* 9.308; *Il.* 9.676.
28 *Il.* 11.447-8.
29 Woodhouse (1930) 249.
30 Wright (1997) 36.
31 *Od.* 1.325; *Od.* 8.72, 499-520; *Od.* 12.189-90
32 *Od.* 5.308-310, 24.36-92; *Od.* 4.240-59; *Od.* 4.271-289, 8.499-520; Including Nestor, Menelaus and Agamemnon, *Od.* 3 and 4; Burgess (2001) 47.
33 Bowra (1962) 46.
34 1955, 24-46; *Od.* 11.108-9.

appears to have forgotten about them later in book 13.[35] This suggests that book 11 was added later to have Odysseus talk to the ghosts of Iliadic heroes, and the interpolater was not careful enough in modifying the remaining text. Moreover, Woodhouse presents a structural survey, detailing a clear pattern of episodes which are short, short and then long.[36] This happens three times, yet the Underworld scene interrupts this sequence, coming after the second set; a blemish on an otherwise ordered pattern, suggesting interpolation.

Page's arguments have been criticised, but unconvincingly, with the suggestion that it is in prophets' nature to give vague and unhelpful responses, but this ignores both the contradictions still caused, and the broken pattern.[37] Importantly, however, its addition sometime between the 8th and 3rd centuries BC (when the poems were divided into 'books' in another stage of composition) was specifically done to recall the *Iliad*, showing that the audience knew of it. However, the two poems don't have complete knowledge of each other; Odysseus is said to have been the best archer at Troy save Philoctetes, but in the *Iliad* Philoctetes never goes to Troy, although we can hardly expect such consistency from the oral tradition.[38] In this way, 'the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* presume each other, border and limit each other', and show much knowledge of each other.[39]

To conclude, within the context of ancient Greece, to talk of *The Iliad* or *The Odyssey* is misleading – it is a modern concept; they were standardized after roughly two hundred years. Before then the stories were under constant flux, being part of a great oral tradition, meaning that the stories of both the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* were known to their common audience, and were known in some form or other ever since they were first composed, sometime in the 8th century, down through their stages of composition until they were split up into 'books' in 3rd century Alexandria. Furthermore, in both poems there are references to each other. Therefore, both the oral theory and inter-textual analyses point to an *Odyssey* composed continuously for an audience which knew of the stories of the *Iliad*, but not *The Iliad* as an entity.

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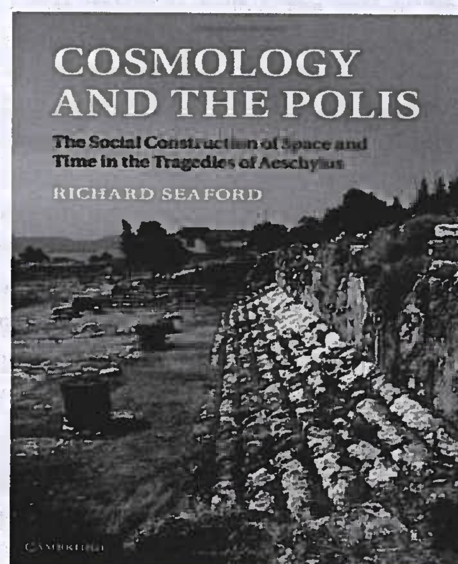
Book Reviews

Richard Seaford, *Cosmology and the Polis: the Social Construction of Space and Time in the Tragedies of Aeschylus*

Cambridge University Press, 2012. Pp. 380. Hardback, £61.00.

ISBN: 978-1107009271.

Adrian Kelly (Balliol College, University of Oxford) - adrian.kelly@balliol.ox.ac.uk



With his characteristic intellectual ambition, S(eaford) explores Aeschylean tragedy and its contexts through the Bakhtinian notion of the 'chronotope', 'where the spatial and temporal frameworks that are explicit or implicit in a text have the same form' (1). These chronotopes are 'cognitive structures, socially constructed in the (conscious or unconscious) mind, but nevertheless closely associated with socially integrative practices' (2). One eventually works out that this amounts to studying several cultural and political themes – reciprocity, money and ritual – and their influences on the culture in which Aeschylus lived and worked. The result is a bravura, if at times sprawling, discussion.

Part I ('The social construction of space, time and cosmology') sets the Archaic scene, arguing for a broadly progressive model: where the Homeric poems show no or very little sense of the monetised or aitiological (ritual) chronotopes, S. traces their evolution in other texts of the Archaic period. For instance, the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (which S. perhaps too confidently takes as 'Athenian'), *inter alia* in the way it dramatises Zeus' loss of power over his daughter, shows the transformation of his personal authority into a more communally oriented phenomenon which maps on the divine plane the growth of the *polis*. This seems a bit hasty, since Zeus in the *Iliad* is constantly acting against his own narrowly defined interests in order to maintain peace among the divine community, and S. does not adequately locate the hymn in its literary context, where Zeus' decisions about the freedoms and powers of the other gods (viz, acceptance into Olympos for his male children, control over sexual behaviour for the female goddesses) are an essential element to the establishment of his power. But S. also brings in the wider sweep of Archaic history and philosophy, in order to suggest, persuasively, that the period sees the retreat of the reciprocal chronotope, in so far as it is associated with powerful individuals, before the advance of more communally oriented dynamics.

Part II ('Dionysiac Festivals') returns to the material of S.'s *Ritual and Reciprocity* (OUP 1994), but this time articulates the ritual topography of Athens in order to show that tragedy's origins (from dithyramb, with Aristotle) represent a ritual/political evolution, in which the entry of Dionysus into the city moves from a possible royal reception in the Prytaneion to the public space of the *temenos* of Dionysus Eleuthereus. This process is also affected by the rise of monetisation in the late Archaic polis, and S.'s wide-ranging and challenging discussion of this influence, whilst necessarily speculative, is very intriguing.

Having set this background, S. then turns in Part III ('Confrontational and aetiological space in Aeschylus') to the dramatist, examining in turn the *Suppliants*, *Septem*, the *Oresteia* and *Persians*. S. is concerned with

the conflict therein between monetisation (with its unlimited potential) and ritual (with its limiting purpose): the *Suppliants* dramatises the clash between foreign tyranny and Argive communality through the institution of marriage and deferred sexuality, looking forward to the establishment of that institution at the end of the trilogy; the *Septem* contrasts the positive associations of communal ritual and agricultural imagery with the endogamy and 'endophony' of the Theban ruling household (some analysis is forced: e.g. [pp. 170–1] the attempt to see a thematic opposition, à la Hesiod, between agriculture and sailing in vv. 764–61 is unconvincing, reading against the grain of the passage; or the certainty with which S. posits a cultic ending for the play, on which he then bases much of the concluding section [pp. 175–8] of his discussion); the *Oresteia* perverts a whole series of ritual actions to illustrate the inversion of the royal household, in both its present and past behaviour, though one wonders whether the extensive language of monetisation in the trilogy explains the ills in the house or merely describes them; the *Persians* expresses and resolves the tension between the movement and attitude of the chorus by confirming the authority of the royal household, as they all exit into the *skene* at the play's end (see also the Appendix, pp. 337–9). The chapters in this section build steadily on S.'s previous work (hence the sometimes constant self-reference), but – though this reviewer is generally in sympathy with S.'s analysis of the underlying direction of tragedy's political or moral 'message' – something is forgotten or oversimplified here: Eteocles, for instance, is much too complex a character simply to be thought of as a monarch justly about to fall, and (to take one element) the gendered nature of his complaints about the chorus would not have made him seem unreasonable or inexplicable to an Athenian audience, so that audience's reaction to him would have been much more nuanced and ambivalent than S. seems to suggest. Indeed, the inexorable teleology in S.'s accounts leads sometimes to a ritualised flattening of the drama. That said, there are real insights in almost every paragraph, and one comes away from his interpretations invigorated, especially when S. teases out the implications of significant and repeated terminology.

Part IV ('The Unity of Opposites') now expands the view to include Herakleitos and Pythagoreanism, and reads Aeschylean language against that broader cultural and intellectual background, beginning with an examination of those elements in the plays which share features with ritual cries and expressions (repetitions and mirrorings = 'form-parallelism') and do so in order to underline the very monarchic transgressions which ritual is designed to prevent. S. then moves into a discussion of these co-existing opposites in Herakleitos' thought, proposing that monetisation is a key concept for both the philosopher and the dramatist, and that mystery cult (unity in opposites) is at least part of the cause for that similarity. S. links several different Aeschylean metaphors into a 'cosmos interconnected, like Herakleitos', by a unity of opposites' (p. 248): thus victory over Troy becomes defeat for Argos, light from Troy becomes fire in Argos which is then eventually reconstituted as torches for the Eumenides, etc. So tragedy attempts to limit and break down this unity by combining with it – or opposing to it – the aetiological chronotope, which wins out by seeking the *telos* of those action cycles in some communal ritual.

All of this is informative and stimulating (the connections between presocratic thought and Aeschylus, especially) and, in its general direction at least, probably correct. One wonders, however, whether the 'unity of opposites', on which S. places so much weight, is either so strongly marked in these authors or as individual as he makes it out to be: for instance, to the archaic Greeks, the notion of 'woman' is simultaneously attractive and valuable on the one hand (and thus desirable) and dangerous on the other (and thus undesirable). Is this contradiction (chronotope?), found in the earliest phases of Greek literature, not also a 'unity of opposites' in S.'s sense? Though (more) generalisations may not be welcome here, does not human culture in general attempt to reconcile contradictory and hopelessly irreconcilable conceptions into a practical, workable system? One begins to suspect, in other words, that his conceptual framework is not quite as distinctive as S. needs it to be. This becomes clear in those cases where connections are more intuited than argued – e.g. p. 251 ("Just like the Herakleitean *logos*-in-fire, money is

transcendent, abstract but embedded in the concrete, unlimited, impersonal but all-powerful, universally inter-connective, and effective by creating unity of the opposed"), where the connection is at once so vague and so all-embracing that almost any significant theme could be read (indeed, why not Zeus? cf. pp. 312–15) in the place of its actual subject, 'money'.

Part V ('Cosmology of the Integrated Polis') begins by venturing further into Pythagoreanism and presocratic philosophy. Herakleitos' sense of order in opposites is compared to the Pythagorean opposition between the limited and the unlimited, and their combination into the 'One', a tripartite conception of the universe which S. argues is also fundamentally affected by the process of monetisation. Traces of Pythagorean thought and sympathy are then sought in Aeschylus, though S. does not argue that the playwright was an adherent. The earlier unity in opposites evidenced in the *Oresteia* now becomes a Pythagorean 'integration of opposites on which permanent stability depends' (p. 293); S. then elucidates these opposites (light-darkness etc.) and the significance of the number three (including the trilogic form itself), concluding that Zeus' role as the third ruler and saviour makes him analogous to 'the universality of the completing function of three in early Pythagoreanism' (p. 303). The *Danaid* trilogy is similarly analysed (though necessarily in a more speculative manner), before the concluding chapter wraps the argument up in a dazzling synthesis, including Sophokles but, disappointingly, not Euripides (*Bacchae*, of course, recurs throughout the work).

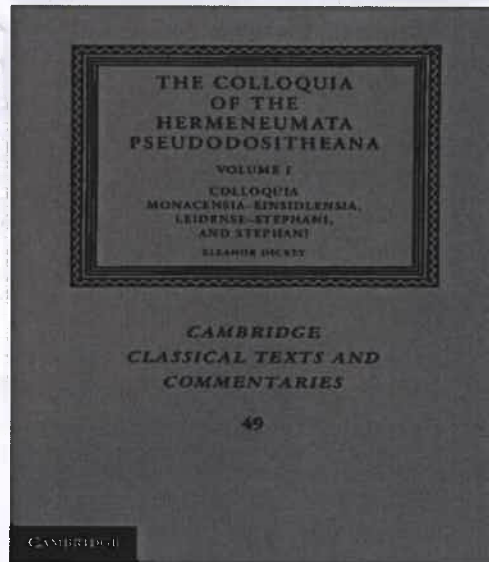
A very brief Appendix sets out the case for a *skene* in Aeschlyus' early works.

As the above review has made clear, it is difficult to summarise such a variegated and ambitious work: few will be convinced by all the links which S. seeks to make between tragedy, philosophy and the development of the Athenian polis, but all readers will be challenged and stimulated by the sheer range and quality of his analyses. It is, moreover, refreshing to have a study which treats Aeschylus in *his* context and which portrays him as an original thinker and dramatist in his own right, rather than merely the somewhat crude, archaic conservative that many moderns have taken from Aristophanes' characterisation in the *Frogs*. No-one should any longer contest that Aeschylus was deeply involved in the cultural and intellectual discourses of his day, and this book will contribute importantly to that continuing discussion.

Eleanor Dickey, *The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*

The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana. Volume I. *Colloquia Monacensia-Einsidlensia, Leidense-Stephani,* and *Stephani.* Edited with introduction, translation and commentary by Eleanor Dickey. Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 49. Cambridge University Press 2012. 276 pp. £ 90.00.

Chr. Gorm Tortzen (Copenhagen University) - gorm.tortzen@gmail.com



The title of this book could easily double as an alcohol breathalyser test, but beneath the surface you find a series of highly interesting texts concerning an important question in the history of education: How did the Greeks and Romans learn (and teach) foreign languages?

As for the latter, we are rather well informed by the Romans themselves. The only foreign language of interest to them was Greek, and children of the upper classes were taught by native Greek teachers resident in Rome and elsewhere. For many young Romans, a study trip to Athens or Rhodes was the next step in their education. However, in all layers of Roman society Greek words and expressions had a big impact, just as English has had in modern languages all over the world. The Greek influence on Latin is evident in literary texts from Cicero to Petronius (as well as in inscriptions). Quintilian gives the more theoretical perspectives of this education; all this is well known and need not be explored further here.

But did the Greeks ever learn foreign languages? The sources are few and perhaps late, but this new edition of the *Hermeneumata* composed by a person (or rather a group of persons) erroneously identified with the grammarian Dositheus (4th century AD), provides, for the first time, the general reader with an answer to the intricate question of bilingualism in the Roman Empire.

Eleanor Dickey's edition in this volume I of the so-called *Hermeneumata* or *Colloquia* is the first since G. Goetz's edition in *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* III (1892): the texts have never before been published with a translation into a modern language, and with its full *apparatus criticus* and a copious commentary this series marks a new beginning for these texts, which deserve more readers than they have had until now.

The volume is divided into four sections. The first is an introduction to the manuscript tradition (pp. 1-15), to the contents of the *Hermeneumata* (*pp. 16-43*), and to ancient language teaching (pp. 44-56). For students of ancient pedagogic theory, pp. 44-56 are of particular importance.

The second section concerns the genre of *colloquia*. These texts are by no means homogenous and, furthermore, very difficult to date as they have been corrected and augmented ever since they were composed in (perhaps) the first century BC, probably in the eastern provinces of the Empire. The texts are not literary masterpieces, but intended as practical advice for young Greeks who wanted to communicate in Latin. Thus, they are similar to a modern phrase book in two columns: phrases in one language with facing translation. Very simple and effective—if the book contains the phrases you need. Since the texts can be used to learn both languages, they spread to the West where they survived in medieval

manuscripts—some of them rendering the Greek into Latin transcription.

The core of part two is the *Colloquia Monacensia-Einsidlensia*—a rather inappropriate name for the text, since the editor has shown that the bilingual manuscripts of the text can be traced and restored behind Goetz's edition of two variant versions of the text. It is now one text and deserves a proper name.

The third part reproduces the *Colloquium Leidense-Stephani* (now in Leiden), and the fourth part gives the so called *Colloquium Stephani*. Furthermore, there are all sorts of appendices and a list of the 12 very informative plates of the manuscripts.

For the general reader, the second section is of the greatest interest. Pp. 101-130 reproduce a wholly new text for the *Hermeneumata*, based on a new stemma and new readings throughout. The text is presented in a synoptic triglot version: a Greek, a Latin and an English column (with an extensive *apparatus criticus* appended at the foot of the page), and a commentary. This disposition makes it easy to compare the way the author presents his text, e.g.:

ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ	in hoc libro	In this book
πάντα τὰ ῥήματα	omnia verba	I have written all the words
συνέγραψα	conscripsi	

The book begins: 'Good fortune, fortunately (*ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, εὐτυχῶς*)! Since I see many people desiring to converse in Latin and in Greek, and that they cannot easily do so on account of the difficulty and the multitude of the words, I have not spared my suffering and hard work and refrained from doing it, so that in three books of *hermeneumata* I might write all the words...'

The following sections make it clear that the main character in the book is a teenager or a young man. As in a modern phrasebook, the author concentrates on situations from daily life: morning routine, school, a court case, borrowing money, returning the money, visiting a sick friend, having a guest for lunch, bathing, giving a dinner party, settling the house for the night. Some of the sections are monologues describing dressing, arriving at school and so on; others are dialogues where people meet and make small talk, or the young master gives orders to his slave. Most of these dialogues consist of single lines, such as 'δὸς ἄκρατον, da merum, give [us] undiluted wine,' and while the scenes are not very realistic, they provide, if read from the perspective of cultural Roman history, an interesting picture of everyday life in (late) Antiquity.

The third part of the edition contains the *Colloquium Leidense-Stephani* (there is one surviving manuscript in Leiden and an edition based on two lost manuscripts printed by the famous Henricus Stephanus in 1573). This short text is not a dialogue but a *totius diei conversatio*, i.e. a glossary 'in order of appearance' of things happening from morning until dinner, including alternative directions for mixing wine (warm, lukewarm, cold, fresh, hot, at a moderate temperature). We get a lot of information about everyday activities, but the text is actually an extended vocabulary.

The fourth text, *Colloquium Stephani*, was printed by Stephanus together with the above-mentioned text, but in a very bad condition and is manifestly corrupt. The conversation opens with 'What did you do today?' and results in a description of a student's day at school reading Homer and Demosthenes.

The Greek and Latin in these texts is interesting for several reasons, first of all because it is so syntactically simple. There are also words you would never find in the texts we normally read, and that is perhaps the main objection against the use of this text in Greek and Latin primers. But it might be worthwhile to insert at least a bit of one of the texts in an introduction to the languages.

The idea of using dialogue as a pedagogical means was very popular in schools in later times too. In Denmark and Norway, Thomas Bang's *Aurora Latinitatis* was in print from 1638 to 1789 (and I suppose that there are British equivalents as well). The *Aurora* consists of an alphabetical glossary along with

declensions and conjugations, and 12 *colloquia* between two schoolboys. A comparison with the *Hermeneumata* illustrates, I think, why the ancient *colloquia* can be read as sources to Roman life, just as the Danish text gives a picture of a schoolboy's frame of mind in Lutheran orthodoxy. May I present Christiernus and Georgius (Christen and Jørgen):

> C: Nonne hodie liber missus est tibi a Patre tuo? G: Accepi librum, qvi jacet super mensa ante fenestram. C: Cujus manu scriptus est? G: Liber non est scriptus manu aut calamo, sed est excusus literis. C: Nonne libenter legis hunc librum? G: Lego nullum magis. C: Qvinam est ille liber? G: Catechismus Lutheri. C: Qvando soles recitare Catechismum Lutheri? G: Die Mercurii, hora octava, & die Saturni, hora sexta. C: Nullus est pretiosior illo libro ob doctrinam salutis, qvam continet...
>
> C: A book was sent to you today from your father, wasn't it? G: Yes, I received the book, it is on the table in front of the window. C: Whose hand has written it? G: The book is not written with hand or pen, it is printed. C: Do you like to read the book? G: There is no other book I prefer to it! C: What book is it? G: Luther's *Catechism*. C: When do you recite Luther's *Catechism*? G: Tuesdays at eight o'clock, Saturdays at six. C: No book is more precious than this because of its doctrine of salvation...

The anonymous authors of the *colloquia* and Thomas Bang both write fiction (and not very good fiction at that), but if you read the texts with caution the fiction will tell you a lot about the conventional values of two societies long gone.

Eleanor Dickey has done many services to classical philology (my personal favorite is *Greek Forms of Address*, Oxford 1996), but this volume in particular has added considerably to the understanding of education in Late Antiquity. It is to be hoped that an *editio minor* of at least some of the texts may be made soon for seminars and even *colloquia* at schools and universities all over the world.

A Letter to the Editors

Sirs,

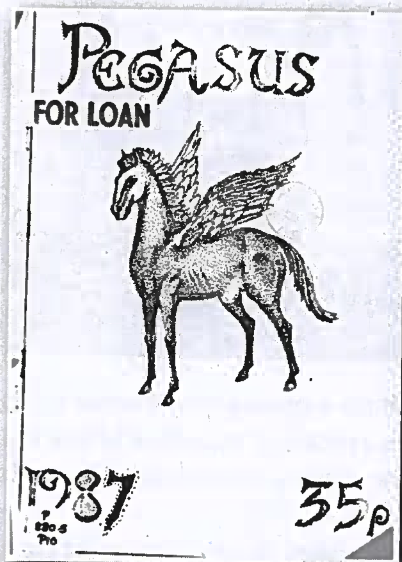
I was surprised to read in *Pegasus* 55 (2012) a review of my book *The Ancient Oracles* by Trevor Curnow, whose otherwise useful work I criticised at a couple of points in my own book for its lack of documentation. In his review, he accused me of 'uneven scholarship': what he means is that I did not conduct internet searches to uncover the evidence he should have cited himself for the existence of certain oracles. He takes me to task for suggesting that Greek oracles are giving answers to questions, on the grounds that a healing oracle is not 'answering a question': I disagree, for the consultant wants to know above all how s/he is to be healed. I confess to having confused two different places called Larissa, which Curnow calls 'a horrendous and inexplicable howler', but which makes not the slightest difference to the argument. He points out that, besides oracles of the gods, there were oracles of heroes and of the dead, as if I had not devoted an entire chapter to the matter. He agrees with me that oracles were subject to scepticism, and fraud, but goes on to point out that the institution survived for hundreds of years, as if this were not exactly the point I was making myself. He tells me I should not have said that Greek oracles make statements about the future, because some make statements about the past. This is mere hair-splitting. One would not get an accurate idea of what my book actually covers from such a review.

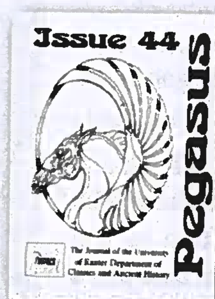
Yours faithfully,

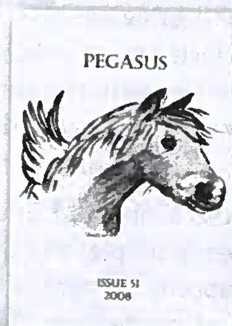
Richard Stoneman

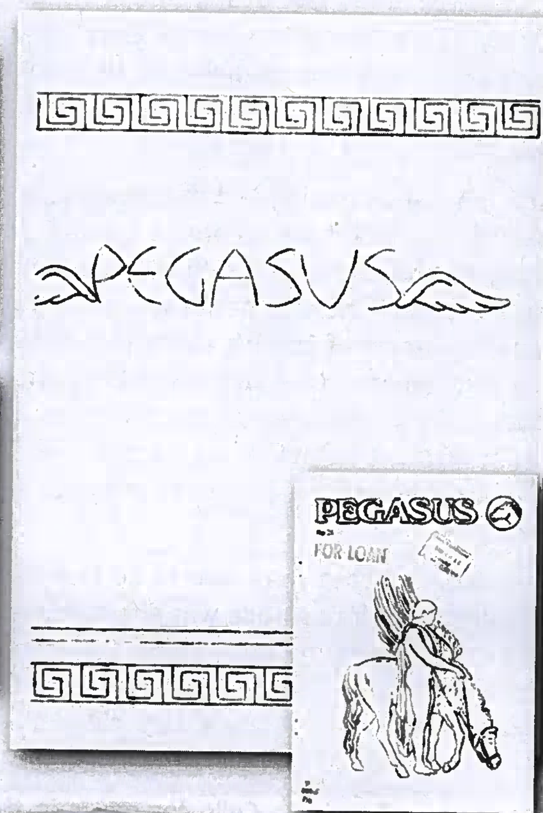
Special Announcement!

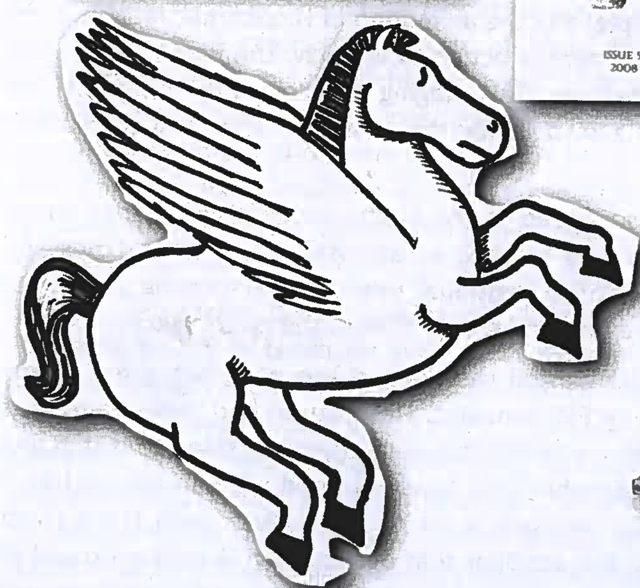
...the horse now has (even more) digital wings!









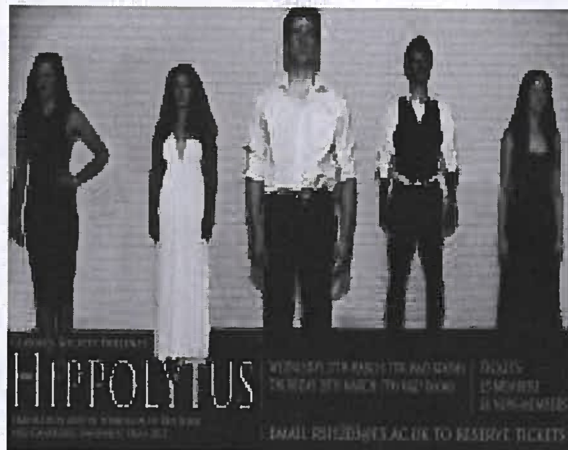


Read back issues of the *Pegasus* journal on our (new) website:

<blogs.exeter.ac.uk/pegasus>

Review of the *Hippolytus* Play

Rory Morgan



Taking on Euripides' classic, director Ben Street was immediately faced with some considerable difficulties. In a move away from last year's *The Bacchae*, the Classics Society picked one of the less accessible tragedies and, in doing so, took a considerable risk of alienating audience members unfamiliar with the play. And thank goodness they did.

With innovative staging and the reinventing of the usually drab chorus, Street has created a sophisticated and highly engaging production. I specifically draw attention to the chorus, as their staging, performances and direction are a perfect example of Street's ability to provide a production that compliments the traditions of the past whilst bringing accessibility to the modern day audience. The inclusion of simple unified movement animated the piece and provided a necessary aid for those less familiar with the complex literary language, and the chorus' small size allowed the actors the scope to become truly involved in the play and not simply be muttering spectators.

Interesting touches were also to be found in the simple but effective staging. The use of a silhouette in revealing Phaedra's suicide was effective and eerily simple, and the animation of Hippolytus' fatal incident with the bull from the sea added a previously absent element of action to the play. The flash of lights also heightened the drama and created a sense of excitement. This staging coupled with the strict text dialogue between the characters all in all conveyed a respect for the past with the thrill of modern theatre.

The choice of a single Cello for music in the play also added to the subtle modernisation that Street created. The musical accompaniment throughout the play created an atmosphere of older times and greatly helped in creating a strong sense of an event. The continual musical interspersing prevented potential staggering and uncomfortable pauses, giving a nice and steady flow to the entire piece.

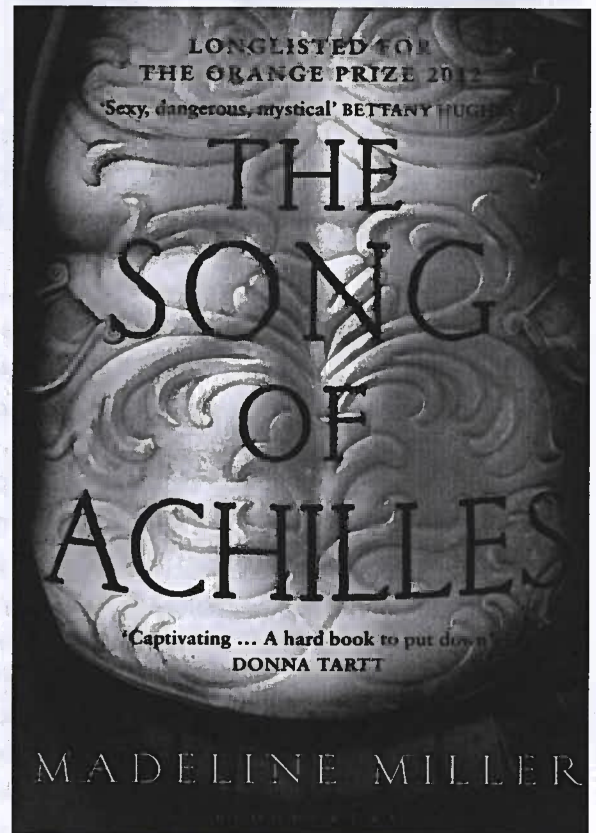
Performances in the play were all competent and the central cast looked the part, but a few actors certainly stood out. Phaedra was treated with ease by Flo Venables. Her natural and melodrama-free approach to the part allowed her to be one of the more comfortable performers on stage to watch and appreciate. Most importantly she was completely believable as a love poisoned woman plagued by a conflict of emotions. The supporting male actors also brought a lot to their parts, with Daryl Hurst delivering a solid and engaging monologue describing the accident that occurs. Sam Ward's portrayal of Theseus was also highly enjoyable and was entirely convincing in the role of a mournful widower and conflicted parent.

Although the direction of the play, staging and certain performances were exceptional, it would be incorrect to label the production as completely flawless. A few early line hiccups and hesitations throughout the play held it back from being truly magnificent, but these occasions were greatly overshadowed when considering how accessible Street has made it.

Review of *The Song of Achilles*

Kirsty Harrod

As many classicists would, I met Madeline Miller's novel with a sigh, lamenting "not *another* retelling of the *Iliad*!" The twist, however, is the first-person narrative, not by Achilles as would be expected, but by Patroclus, bringing a more modern psychological aspect to the tale. Miller also brings in a focus on their relationship; the concept that Patroclus and Achilles are romantically linked is implied in myths and the *Iliad*, yet is explicitly described and taken as fact in Miller's novel.



Classicists may want to stick to the original (the original and the best, as many say), as the characterisation of Thetis and Menoetius are far more extreme than readings of the *Iliad* have portrayed. Thetis is shown to be ruthless, relentlessly biased towards her son, giving the image of a water nymph to be entirely evil. Patroclus' father is practically Spartan in his anger towards his son's lack of heroism. The ancient view, which every classicist should be taught to adopt when analysing texts, emphasises the role of *kleos*, that is, glory. This drives Achilles to choose a short life which will be remembered for centuries, over a long, happy, but largely forgotten life. Miller looks at the tale with a more modern view, promoting male vulnerability as opposed to the heroic personality which was highly regarded in antiquity.

Taking it away from the context of the *Iliad* and taking it as a book in its own right, it is thoroughly enjoyable. Patroclus' character arc is particularly interesting, as we see his courage develop and dialogues between himself and Achilles less one-sided. Of course, the story of a relationship morphed into tragedy by fate is a captivating tale, which those unfamiliar with its father text will devour and enjoy. What is also interesting is the lens through which we see Achilles. As Patroclus is introduced to him, we view the typical hero, the best of the Achaeans, the man who everyone reveres, just as he is in the Iliad. Yet as the two boys become closer, we see a softer side to the soldier: the lover. Similarly, the eventual and more drastic change in Thetis, who accepts Patroclus after his death by etching his name into Achilles' grave, is poignant.

Ultimately, the enjoyment of *The Song of Achilles* is tainted by my bias as a classicist. In an age where modern epics such as 'Game of Thrones' are popular amongst most demographics, Miller's book is doubtlessly successful, yet from the view of a Hellenist no modern author can write the tale of Achilles and Patroclus as Homer can.

Stoic Week: The Student View

Christopher Thompsett

From the 26th November to the 2nd of December 2012, volunteers worldwide participated in the first 'Stoic Week', an endeavour which would put to the test the philosophical school of Stoicism in applying its ethical theories to contemporary life. 'Stoic Week' was set up as a satellite of the Classics and Ancient History Department's recent work on *Health and Wellbeing in the Ancient World*, which is considering what may be learned from the ancient world's practices in psychotherapy and diet for modern day living. The team which organised it included Prof. Christopher Gill, Prof. of Ancient Thought here at Exeter, and Dr. John Sellars, lecturer in philosophy at Birkbeck in London.

Making the work truly interdisciplinary, however, was the involvement of leading psychotherapeutic professionals, such as Dr. Donald Robertson, author of *The Philosophy of Cognitive Behavioural Therapy* (which examines the Stoic roots of this modern-day therapy), and Tim LeBon, author of *Wise Therapy*, who, among other things, provided wellbeing surveys and questionnaires for the measurement of any psychological benefits. What started as a project for students taking *Roman Philosophy* in Exeter ended up attracting interest from all parts of the world, with 130 officially taking part. In this report, I hope to give some personal reactions to the events of the week in which we followed Stoic principles, reactions from fellow students, and also those who shared their experiences online through the blogosphere and in the press.

Prior to studying Roman Philosophy, it was very difficult to know what to expect from 'Stoic Week'. Perhaps this is because of the modern cultural resonances of being a Stoic. The term 'Stoicism' has, for British culture, become inseparably linked with the trench and Blitz spirit, the *Keep Calm and Carry On* stiff-upper lip. For a Stoic, indeed, acceptance of those things which are outside of one's control is an important factor. However, just as Epicureanism has often been malignly portrayed as hedonism, Stoicism has been portrayed as a cold philosophical creed, for which emotion was considered a hindrance for leading the good life.

The two ideas, *stiff upper lip* and *apatheia* are not entirely dissimilar. Both stress acceptance of those things which cannot be changed, yet the outward reflections of them are entirely different. As was to become clear, Stoicism has at its heart the striving for *eudaimonia*, or "human flourishing". For a Stoic, the goal is to lead a happy life, and happiness comes from not merely trying to remove negative emotions, but also from trying to cultivate good ones. This comes from gaining control and understanding the importance of individual responsibility for how one reacts to misfortune in one's life, and the importance of maintaining a structured life based on ethical principles. As Prof. Gill, in the introduction to the 'study booklet' which participants followed for the week, wrote:

> "I think one very valuable thing that Stoicism can offer is the idea that we can give our lives structure or coherence. More precisely, we can *all* give our lives structure or coherence (not just special people) – and we can do this in spite of all the problems and setbacks that seem to threaten

any coherence our lives might otherwise have."[1]

In line with this intention to develop a more structured, ethical, life, the study booklet included a host of Stoic exercises (or *'askeseis'*) to follow. The exercise which was found to be the most useful, according to a survey of participants after the trial, was a reflective 'retrospective evening meditation'. This involved, for example, writing a journal to consider to what extent Stoic precepts were followed throughout the day (as Marcus Aurelius did in his *Meditations*). Another exercise, in the form of an audio recording provided by Dr. Donald Robertson, was the 'view from above' meditation, which encouraged the listener to think of each individual as part of a wider world network of causes and effects, gradually seeing both one's place in the world and one's (important) role within it. On a personal level, the application of Stoicism to day-to-day life provided the most challenges, such as waking up earlier than usual for meditation. Waking up in the morning has always been a problem: it is a mixture of laziness and inertia, the feeling that sleep will be undoubtedly more interesting than learning Greek principal parts. But, of course, for Stoic Week, I had the words of Marcus Aurelius to inspire me when I woke up:

> "Early in the morning, when you find it so hard to rouse yourself from your sleep, have these thoughts ready at hand: 'I am rising to do the work of a human being'."[2]

It is this feeling of purpose which pervaded the Stoic advice given to me during the week, and which is an integral part of the Stoic school. This motivation, however, can only take one so far towards the ideal Stoic sage. Mornings, with or without Marcus Aurelius, will always be difficult. But other than these marked incidents where I actively called to mind Stoicism, very little changed from day to day - there was still Latin to attend at 9 a.m. Those to whom I spoke also concluded that they had not turned into Stoic sages overnight. The process of habituation was slow and it is comforting to remember that, for the Stoics, the sage figure acted as a kind of *perfect* 'guide' for one's action in life, and was not someone that one would actually *become*. In any event, one would need more than a week of 'Stoicism-lite' to get to grips with 'Stoicism proper'.

Then other questions began to raise their heads later on in the week, which put Stoic ethical principles to the test. A young man approached me asking for money in the vicinity of Exeter Central Station. He often begs in that area, and I had seen him before and had always refused him money. I find giving to beggars very difficult out of principle: there is an all too likely chance that one's money is fuelling the drugs underworld. Pretending that one does not have any money is an often used lie of mine (frankly anyone who knows me could conceive of me going out without money, though that was not the case on this occasion). I decided from the doctrine of Stoicism that since I had the power to hand over the money, it was in my moral duty to give it and for others to consider their *own* moral positions. Later, in discussion with others, it was suggested that whilst it is quite clear that I had the power to give the money, I also had the power *not* to give the money. The Stoic emphasis on knowing what is in one's power might actually be about understanding that the performance of *right* action is always something I *can* do, no matter what the circumstances. This highlights a question about Stoicism as an ethical creed. Whilst Stoicism might stress the mindset of individual human agency it does not always tell us what we should do, or, at least, knowing the exact Stoic ethical position needed for the above situation would have required much more study than one week could ever have allowed for. Therefore, it might have been better for the situation if I had not dropped my normal ethical frameworks.

As the week continued, the project began to be noticed by the national press. Patrick Ussher, the seminar leader for the Roman Philosophy course and coordinator of the online *Stoicism Today* blog, wrote for *The Guardian*'s online page in order to put across this new reinterpretation of Stoicism on a wider scale.[3]

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1 Study Booklet, 4.

2 Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations, 5.1.* (trans. Hard)

3 For links to this, and other articles which appeared in the press, see the endnotes.

However, the project received not entirely favourable press coverage. For example, Julian Baggini's article in *The Independent* argued that the problem with Stoic Week was that it encouraged choosing your philosophical system based purely on its 'therapeutic' benefit, rather than on, for example, the intrinsic value of seeking the 'good'. He wrote:

> "It would be as stupid to become a Stoic because tests showed it tended to make people happier than Aristotelianism as it would to choose your religion, or lack of it, on the basis of which one tended to make people feel better."

I think Baggini had misunderstood the project. In fact, Stoicism was considered 'therapeutic' in the ancient world, but in a different sense to Baggini's understanding of that word. For the ancient Stoics, the attempt to live the 'good' life was itself 'therapeutic': a kind of therapy which, certainly, was not about just 'feeling better'. In addition, when we compare Stoicism to our own contemporary forms of psychotherapy such as 'cognitive behavioural therapy', Stoicism has the potential to bring something more to our own therapeutic modes today. For example, its therapy draws on a rigorous philosophical structure in which therapy through meditation can be combined with ethical principles. Finally, the idea was not that we were 'becoming' Stoics so that suddenly those who had existing beliefs would somehow be 'converted' to Stoicism, but that it could provide some kind of additional basis for encouraging quality of life. Those who had pre-existing religious beliefs tended to suggest that the Stoic exercises which were practised during the week helped them to cast a different light on those religious beliefs that they held, rather than believing that they felt some kind of inherent conflict between the two, a point which emphasizes the values of Stoicism as a philosophical way of life.

One of the experiences which indicated the practical advantages of Stoic Week came from abroad. Joe Callahan from Massachusetts, USA, wrote on his blog about how he ended up in the emergency room after an accident, and in recovery decided to put Stoicism into practice. Stoicism provided for him a way of accepting those things which were outside his control, and of responding to those events with a calm disposition:

> "I recognized that no likely result of this accident would prevent me from continuing my business, my practice of martial arts, my studies or anything else I wanted to do. Some things might have to be adjusted and be inconvenient but that was all about external conditions and not the well-being of my mind or character. All these thoughts did have a calming effect."[4]

This story provided the way in which Stoicism can be effective in coping with serious trauma and for maintaining a positive outlook in the most difficult of circumstances. Of course many within the student body did not have life-changing experiences as a result of Stoic Week. Those that took part in the project, whom I interviewed recently, feel that they have had slight but noticeable change to their views on dealing with problems. Tim LeBon's report at the end of Stoic Week after statistical analysis of the questionnaires showed a positive increase of approximately 10% on various measures of wellbeing and particularly in facilitating responses to negative emotions. For my part, Stoicism gives one better acceptance whether one ends up in hospital or is required to rise for an early morning lecture. And so, as I enter back into a world largely forgetful of Marcus and Epictetus, and yet again the trains have been delayed owing to an incident at Ealing Broadway, it is time to put Stoicism into practice once again.

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4 From the blog agathoi.wordpress.com.

For more on the 'Stoicism Today' project:

Visit the blog for articles, resources, videos, the original booklet which participants followed during the trial, and for the report of the week: http://blogs.exeter.ac.uk/stoicismtoday/

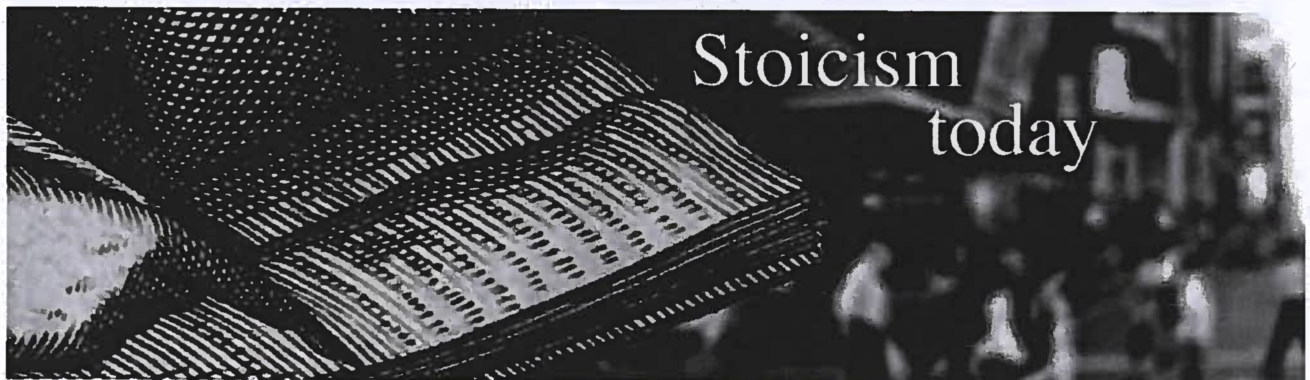
Articles that appeared in the national press:

Baggini, J. 'Why are we so obsessed with therapy?', *The Independent.*[5]

Ussher, P. 'Be Stoic for a Week! Stiff upper lip not required', *The Guardian.*[6]

Vernon, M. 'A reminder that Stoicism can be divine', *The Guardian.*[7]

For more general information about work on the *Ancient Healthcare: Modern Wellbeing* project at the University of Exeter, see also: http://blogs.exeter.ac.uk/ancienthealthcare/



5 http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/why-are-we-so-obsessed-with-therapy-8372420.html

6 http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/nov/28/stoic-week-stiff-upper-lip

7 http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/belief/2012/dec/04/stoicism-can-be-divine-stoic-week

'The Calydonian Boar Hunt'

Phoebe,' ait Ampycides, 'si te coluique coloque,
da mihi, quod petitur, certo contingere telo!'
qua potuit, precibus deus adnuit: ictus ab illo est,
sed sine vulnere aper: ferrum Diana volanti
abstulerat iaculo; lignum sine acumine venit.
ira feri mota est, nec fulmine lenius arsit:
emicat ex oculis, spirat quoque pectore flamma,
utque volat moles adducto concita nervo,
cum petit aut muros aut plenas milite turres,
in iuvenes certo sic impete vulnificus sus
fertur et Hippalmon Pelagonaque, dextra tuentes
cornua, prosternit: socii rapuere iacentes;
at non letiferos effugit Enaesimus ictus
Hippocoonte satus: trepidantem et terga parantem
vertere succiso liquerunt poplite nervi.
forsitan et Pylius citra Troiana perisset
tempora, sed sumpto posita conamine ab hasta
arboris insiluit, quae stabat proxima, ramis
despexitque, loco tutus, quem fugerat, hostem.
dentibus ille ferox in querno stipite tritis
inminet exitio fidensque recentibus armis
Eurytidae magni rostro femur hausit adunco.
at gemini, nondum caelestia sidera, fratres,
ambo conspicui, nive candidioribus ambo
vectabantur equis, ambo vibrata per auras
hastarum tremulo quatiebant spicula motu.
vulnera fecissent, nisi saetiger inter opacas
nec iaculis isset nec equo loca pervia silvas.
persequitur Telamon studioque incautus eundi
pronus ab arborea cecidit radice retentus.
dum levat hunc Peleus, celerem Tegeaea sagittam
inposuit nervo sinuatoque expulit arcu:
fixa sub aure feri summum destrinxit harundo
corpus et exiguo rubefecit sanguine saetas;

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.350-383

Translation Prize: Alexander Mallin

"O Phoebus", called out Ampyx's son, "If I have both worshipped you and still do now, allow me what I pray for; to hit with a sure strike." The god answered his prayer with what he could; the boar was struck by that dart, but without injury. Diana had stolen the iron from the flying spear, and the shaft arrived without its tip. The beast's anger was enflamed and blazed no more lightly than a thunderbolt. Flames leap from its eyes and blow from its chest alike. As a mass flies, impelled by taut sinews, when it seeks either walls or towers filled with soldiers, thus against the young men with sure assault the mutilating pig was driven, and struck down both Hippalmus and Pelagon who guarded the right flank; their allies dragged away the prone men. But Enaesimus, offspring of Hippocoon, did not escape deathly blows; trembling and preparing to flee, his nerves melted from his powerless knee. And perhaps Pylian Nestor might have perished before the days of Troy; but, with his attempt aided by his anchored spear, leapt into the branches of a tree which stood nearby, and looked down from his safe refuge at the enemy which he had fled. That fierce beast threatened destruction with its tusks sharpened on an oak trunk and, trusting in its refreshed weapons, tore the thigh of Eurytius' mighty son with its bladed snout. But the twin brothers, not yet celestial stars, who were both conspicuous among the others, both riding horses whiter than snow, both, with brandishing gesture, sent the flashing tips of their spears through the air. They would have wounded it, had not the bristled beast retreated among the solid wood, impenetrable to missile and horse alike. Telamon pursued but, incautious in his hasty advance, fell headlong, tripped by a tree root. Whilst Peleus was lifting him up, Tegean Atalanta placed a swift arrow on the string and shot it from her curved bow; the shaft grazed the top of its body and pierced below the beast's ear and it reddened its bristles with a trickle of blood.

Poetic Composition Prize: A Modern Juvenal

Samuel A. Hayes

Must I always be lectured? Never dare reply?
Against all these physicists who spit in my eye,
And shout and scream and ever deny,
To modern world my field at all does apply,
Well here I sally forth blazing and great,
My tongue's tip is pointed and now quite irate.
"No more place for aged Ajax and Nestor?"
You poor little fools, you'll see what's in store,
For if Homer gets a Catalogue of Ships
I shall describe a Catalogue of Shi- Ack! Alas!
Even as my satirist bile does now arise
I fear that editorial hand will chastise.
With neutered Priapus henceforth I go,
(here note poor Martial's most dreaded woe)
Yet even now I shall try my best,
For in most straight terms can't I attest?
How easily I can call a spado a eunuch
His digging tool now forever at rest!
There's your one in the eye, and thus begins my recital,
No longer now can I suffer reprisal!
When I stand on the street of our Forum, most noble,
With copybooks ready like a modern day Juvenal,
Then I cry in rage and hate,
Served up such a dreadful plate,
The cream and crust of our fair society,
The very den of worst impropriety:
Look, there they go, all decked out in finery,
On student's budget aided by daddy's winery,
"Outfitter to the gentry" goes our friend Jack Wills,
All ready and prepped for today's thrills and spills,
Proving once more the age old title of such noble slobs,

The ancients rightly called them all nobs,
Those Toms and Harries, and of course those great Dicks,
Are always so happy to show off their tricks.
One now passes; look there goes another,
With stick or club now aimed at their 'brother',
Thus armed and attired do they sally forth,
Their long voyage started to the gym in the North.
Truly these folks are modern day heroes,
Above and beyond us regular zeroes,
If ever at all they might manage to lug,
About half the weight that on evenings they chug,
Here's great advice that should be in the news:
May you never dare to touch one of their shoes!
But harken next to that chittering and chattering,
I cannot abide such incessant nattering,
It's true, they say, that there's a time and a place
But clearly the library is not such a space.
I have also heard that for those who there yell
A very special place is reserved in Hell,
At the very least (you must get the gist),
Your place is specially reserved on my list.
For what can one do when one cannot work,
When having to listen to such an obnoxious berk?
"Did you see how drunk I got last night?"
"Of course I did! T'was such a sight!"
"Excuse me, sir, for my imposition,
But would you, kindly, quit exposition?
Some of us, note, have things to be doing,
And I'm afraid that the tale that you are brewing,
Could bore the ears off the most eager ass,
Who I'm sure, unlike you, does turn up to class."
Before then they let their fists slip,
We look up once we've noticed the drip,
Of rain down from the library roof,
What more do we need of investment's proof?

Two and a half years are all that they need,
To bring the great change that they guaranteed:
Behold former palace of journals and books,
Safe haven now to fresh rivers and brooks!
Do you not reckon they thought it was funny,
When they ended up spending all of that money,
While those of us here with no blue in our blood,
Must scrimp and save alone in the mud?
I hold down ten jobs and still cannot bear,
The cost of this life, the clothes that I wear.
I ask for my handout, outstretched goes my hand
But business student cries out "I've spent my nine grand!
Aren't I entitled to more, a few contact hours?
Should I appeal to much higher powers?"
Go on then! Give this dog a bone:
Free tablets for all, a brand new smart phone!
Why should they know the ways of the world?
A place that is empty, soulless and cold!
One day they'll notice, one day they'll see,
It's all driven by wealth, life's one true fee.
"Education for all!" A clarion call,
And why ever stall? It sounds such a ball.
No longer it seems, do the triumphant cry
For education itself, or have we gone shy?
Of utmost import is a job at the end,
Not personal enlightenment, heaven forfend!
Education is learning, learning's a friend,
There to guide you round life's wobbling bend.
And what might be better, than reading a letter,
By former traveller, a former go-getter?
This dead buried soul will aid with your goal,
Of self fulfilment, minus the toll,
That some fatted suit might extract,
Don't quibble now – you know it's a fact!
So keep reading Homer, or fair noble Pliny,

Set down the rest, don't even dare whinny!
You know that I'm right, yet I may well incite,
Your anger, your rage, your lust for the fight,
You may well have seen, some loved one within,
On behalf of whose honour, you'd ruin my skin.
So I supplicate one who for me will intone
"May he without sin cast the first stone."
More ancient words, more words for the wise,
More time to reflect on this fair compromise.
Yet I must away, my time soon runs short,
I'm called now away, to some foreign port,
Mayhap will I there be warmly received,
Far from "Fool-struck Exeter" I have perceived!